VALUING MODERN ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE IN THE UK AND CHINA

CASE STUDIES OF THE CHANGING NATURE, EXPRESSION AND USE OF HERITAGE VALUE

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ABSTRACT

This research reviews how the heritage of modern architecture has been valued. In particular, it studies how modern buildings and their meanings have been created, disseminated, contested, revised and employed in different social, political, economic and cultural circumstances. Six case studies are examined, representing chronological episodes in the modern history of the UK and China. A variety of evidence, including documents and archives, is interpreted according to an interdisciplinary framework combining qualitative methods. Based upon a theoretical premise that heritage value is culturally and socially structured, the analysis focuses upon changing interpretations of the value of modern buildings, by identifying the factors influencing these changes and their consequences for the changing values of heritage conservation. The cases studies are grouped in pairs under three key themes examining the changing nature, expression, and use of heritage value.

The first theme addresses the changing attitudes to the interpretation of early modern buildings in terms of the development of modern conservation. Two early railway stations – London Euston Station and Jinan Old Railway Station – are analysed, focusing on the shifting values attached to the buildings in changing historic, social and cultural contexts. Consequences of these changes are observed not only in the modernisation of technology and social culture, but also in the development of modern conservation in the two countries. The shifting values have also led to rethinking the demolition of both stations, which became a catalyst of controversial movement to rebuild symbolic elements of these stations.

The second theme concerns national identities embedded in the case studies of modern buildings and their conservation. The architectural expression of national identity became associated with modernity, and has been perceived as culturally influential in national modernisation. This is examined through the Royal Festival Hall, London, and the National Museum of China, Beijing. The specific meanings of national identity and conservation measures are quite different between two buildings, with

distinctive political attitudes, social cultures and recognitions of the nation's past, present, and future in the two countries. However, maintaining or reconstructing a national ethos and culture was important in the conservation projects of both buildings.

The third theme examines how heritage and heritage value have been used and integrated in modern social policy, particularly in social housing policy, through case studies of housing projects in Byker, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Ju'er Hutong, Beijing. Both were originally constructed in response to social issues in relation to ideas of social welfare. Their utility value continued after the projects later became understood as heritage. The relationship between heritage and social policy here illustrates important challenges and potentials to urban development in the two cities.

Summarising these three pair of case studies, the research concludes with an argument about the increasingly important role that modern architecture plays in heritage practice and study. Challenges and opportunities coexist in the conservation of modern architecture because of its close relationship to both modern history and contemporary development. In response, more diverse approaches are called-for in valuing and reconceptualising heritage today.

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Chapter 1   Introduction

This research reviews how modern architecture has been valued as heritage. Particularly, it studies how the meanings of modern buildings have been created, disseminated, contested, revised and employed in different social, political, economic and cultural circumstances. Six case studies are examined in this thesis, representing chronological episodes in the modern history of the UK and China. The body of the thesis is structured around six case studies organised in three pairs, each including one British and one Chinese example, and each having its own thematic introduction and conclusion.

This introduction sets out the broader context of the research pertaining to: key concepts of heritage and heritage value; the materialisation of heritage value and cultural heritage; and heritage in relation to ideas of modernity. The introduction concludes with opening stories of two buildings which set the scene for the two subsequent chapters: a literature review on heritage value and conservation in the UK and China; and an account of the research methodology employed here.

1.1   CAPTURING TWO KEY CONCEPTS OF HERITAGE: MATERIALISATION AND MODERNITY

1.1.1   Materialisation of heritage value and cultural heritage

The study of the social, culture and economic values attributed to heritage remains significant in the academic field of heritage and in diverse conservation practices (Gibson and Pendlebury, 2009). The concept of heritage value is both explicit and implicit in the creation, development and deployment of the notion of heritage. Often, certain meanings embodied in the materialisations of heritage are accentuated while others are diminished in value. Meanwhile, certain places, objects and events are recognised as heritage, whilst others that could be considered comparable are not. The selection interpretation of heritage here becomes fundamental. Through these activities, certain objects and activities become meaningful and valuable, and heritage value is attributed.

The contemporary study of heritage value was advanced by Louis Dumont (1980), rooted in his socio-anthropological lecture, 'On Value', first given at the British Academy in 1980. The concept of heritage value was subsequently expanded through

diverse disciplines and fields including cultural studies and archaeology. In the field of heritage itself, a common but fundamental question concerns how specific materials, sites and activities, in relation to their cultural ingredients, acquire heritage status. Here, the materialisation plays a significant role in constructing the idea of culture in particular modern societies, as well as in conceptualising the idea of heritage more broadly (Pearce, 1998). In modern societies, especially capitalist ones, cultural capital, including architecture, gets used to demonstrate and consolidate the social status of the ruling class (Ballantyne, 2002). The dominance of key aspects of culture gets embodied in the properties owned by dominant parties, reinforcing the assumed importance of buildings of certain styles and unique forms of city planning. The production and consumption of the values thus promoted becomes central to heritage construction. However, in the last few decades, when the emphases of late capitalist societies seemed to transform from production to consumption, it can be argued that consumption also replaced production in heritage creation activities. Material goods, such as tourist attractions and ceremonial activities, express cultural information and themselves became consumed as valued heritage. Within the dominant cultures, the physical appearance of valued artefacts gets maintained, transmitting preferred attributes from the past, through the present to the future. What has to be remembered is that this notion of 'past' remains a product that is promoted or downplayed by various participants in the selection and interpretation of heritage. In other words, in relation to historical objects, this 'past' is a combination of subjective understandings of objectively existing historical artefacts. The selection and interpretation of heritage can also shift over time, oriented and modified by the values of those engaged in heritage activities of various kinds. Which is to say that the idea of heritage is socially constructed.

Pearce (1998) argues that, in modern societies, heritage is the memorial and inherited existence of people's memories of history. In relation to modern architecture, all modern buildings embody special memories. However, participants in heritage tend to select only those that reflect their preferred identities. Time and space embodied and represented in building are thus interpreted as containers of the past oriented towards the future development. The concept of modern architectural heritage is thus created through production and consumption activities, such as conservation and sustainable redevelopment.

As discussed above, while the processes of valuing heritage occur in relation to concrete artefacts – such as buildings, natural scenes, handicraft, art, or performances –

heritage is effectively a cultural product consisting of two parts (Geertz, 1973). One depicts the culture from the historic past that has now been chosen to be passed to the next generation. The other part relates to present culture, used in the self-identification of individuals and groups as well as in the maintenance or promotion of their social status of certain individuals and groups. Here, identity becomes one of the key notions in discussing the cultural value of heritage, an important criterion to distinguish the specific culture of an individual or group from others. In this way, heritage becomes both a symbol of a self-identified group and an essential element in the construction of that group's identity (Blake, 2000). Furthermore, the 'added value' of cultural heritage relates to its emotional impacts. Some cultural heritage contains various strong sentiments in relation to identity. This is seen in the area of colonial architecture: where the New Delhi Arch and other monumental buildings erected in India during the colonial era may inspire a sense of familiarity and pride in British tourists; where, for many Indians, a sense of offence or hate is stimulated by the same colonial constructions (Pasricha, 2011). Values contributed to colonial buildings vary, and indeed switch significantly, in relation to political targets and economic strategies. For example, in some Chinese cities such as Wuhan, Qingdao and Harbin, which have been entirely or partly occupied and governed by foreign forces, buildings constructed in the colonial periods are now tourist attractions and have been advertised widely as an integral part of local culture (Li *et al.*, 1992). Therefore, cultural definitions of heritage reflect collective emotions onto solid memorial constructions. Heritage thus gets used positively and negatively to introduce certain cultures in the present and to influence their appreciation by future generations. For example, some monuments erected by the Axis powers during the Second World War are now recognised as a declaration of violence and aggression (Logan and Reeves, 2009), preserved and maintained not only to reflect the historical identity of a group of people in the past, but also to stand as a corrective to values which are completely opposite to those which currently prevail.

Heritage is used to identify the cultures of past or present times and to establish a new culture or identity. This instrumentalising trend of heritage has been criticised for bias or for its utilitarianism (Godfrey, 1944), although it is increasingly widespread (Binney and Hanna, 1978; Delafons, 1997). Defined, controlled and regulated by elite groups and individuals, the management, study and practice of heritage seem to have become top-down processes. In past decades, this has been acknowledged, with the increasing representation of popular and minority views. However, the dominant value

accorded to elite culture has rarely seen any widespread challenge, as long as the power to define and value heritage remains primarily with states, authorities, institutions and corporations (Gibson and Pendlebury, 2009). It might be argued that this elitist control of heritage has both advantages and disadvantages. Concentration of power and resources may increase efficiency in every aspect of heritage conservation, whilst the neglect and misunderstanding of non-elitist cultures may lead to the outcome of homogenisation or even damage to the original culture. For example, gentrification has taken place through a lot of urban regeneration projects, in which for example original poor residents are displaced for multiple reasons, including increased rent and living costs caused by the projects (Zhang and Fang, 2002; Wu, 2012; Pendlebury, 2016).

1.1.2 Heritage value in nature of modernity

The emergence of the concept of heritage was closely related to the development of modern historical consciousness (Jokilehto, 1999). Modern historical consciousness is an important criterion in distinguishing modern societies from the foregoing societies. It developed in conjunction with the Western *Weltanschauung,* or 'world view' (Jokilehto, 1999). Innovative concepts of history, aesthetics, religion and nature were generated together with new understandings about the relationships between humans and these concepts. From this new *Weltanschauung*, there occurred further judgements about time and value. In the ancient world, people were linked inseparably with the natural environment, and myth and legend were used to explain and understand history. In this way, it has been argued that everything in nature was endowed with humanity (Carmichael, 1994). Tradition, identity and meaning were all passed to the next generation through relationships between humans and nature. However, this relationship changed with the advent of industrial society. History became independent from folk tales and instead became portrayed as a science that uses existing knowledge to explore and understand the past (Collingwood and Knox, 1946). This transformation in historical consciousness was one of the decisive factors that led to the occurrence of the modern heritage movement (Jokilehto, 1999). From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, culture, politics and the economy in Europe were fundamentally changed. Political and social revolutions generated nations. Movement on an intellectual level began to challenge the old systems between humans, gods and nature. The period is now named the Age of Enlightenment, during which the concept of cultural paradigms

was put forward and a series of ideas established the modern concept of heritage, such as the patina of age and the 'picturesque'.

The Age of Enlightenment laid the foundation for people's interests in archaeology and systematic research into historic sites and relics (Pendlebury, 2009a). At the end of the eighteenth century, there came the first statement of modern principles for heritage protection. The French Revolution, a milestone in modern Western civilisation, promoted the development of modern heritage protection. During this period, concepts and ideas from the previous few decades were integrated. Abbé Henri Grégoire stressed the documentation value of historic sites of all periods and the necessity to protect them integrally. After the French Revolution, new theories emerged against the absolute order and discipline of the former age.

The so-called Age of Romanticism that followed was arguably the critical period for developing new approaches to preserving historic places and objects (Jokilehto, 1999). Under the influence of modern historic consciousness, these new approaches no longer focussed solely on aesthetic factors but also paid more attention to ideas – whether accurate or not – about the original qualities of an artefact, and understanding the meaning of heritage as the demonstration of a nation's historical achievement. Subsequently, people began to acknowledge the relativity of values and cultural diversity. Previous references to supposedly universal ideas of art were gradually abandoned. In the mid-nineteenth century, John Ruskin led the 'conservation movement' against the former 'style restoration'. Guided by the movement, restoration was replaced by conservation.

Principles and methods accepted in present-day heritage conservation were gradually built up. Some ideas from the conservation movement were carried forward into the twentieth century. In addition, heritage conservation underwent new developments in art history and its relationship with science, technology, politics and the economy. Ideas of conservation were gradually approved by governments and authoritative institutions, becoming more established and institutionalised. Heritage conservation has thus become a broad discipline orchestrated by authorities and international organisations. Theories from modern and contemporary philosophy and cultural theory have prompted heritage values to become more relative and accepting of cultural diversity (Foucault, 1994; Jokilehto, 1999).

In summary, modern conservation has been fundamentally characterised following four principal aspects by Jokilehto (1999). The first is a necessity to reflect

the changed meaning of universal value. In the modern context, universal value implies that an item is seen as a representation of the common heritage of all humans. The second aspect is authenticity, which emphasises an artefact's credible or truthful testimony about the past to claim heritage value. The third is integrity, referring to a situation of being 'undivided or unbroken', referring to 'material wholeness completeness, or entirety' (Jokilehto, 1999). Applying this concept to heritage sites may help to define the significance of certain items within an integrated environment. Finally, the fourth characteristic of modern conservation is its close relationship with modern science and technology. Science has become increasingly instrumental in all human activities, including heritage conservation, since the Age of Enlightenment. What has to be pointed out is that in practice, new technologies may lead to the discussion of the loss of authenticity when the original materials or structural systems are replaced.

1.2   TWO OPENING STORIES

Two practical stories directly inspired the author's personal interest in this research: Gateshead car part in the UK and Yuanmingyuan, Beijing. These are introduced here because they develop themes of heritage and conservation to modern architecture introduced above and exemplify some key practical questions about the application of theoretical ideas in practice. They illustrate the grounding of the foregoing discussion, and the complexity of the issues involved, discussions of which will be developed further through the six primary case studies in the thesis towards the Conclusion.

1.2.1   *Gateshead car park: the rise and fall of Brutalism*

The Gateshead car park building, once a local icon, was not as famous as other Brutalist works of its contemporary time. On the contrary, it had been criticised for most of its existence. The building (see Fig. 1-1) was a constituent part of the Trinity shopping centre complex (see Fig. 1-2) in northeast England, which was once a significant industrial area in British modern history. Nowadays, the car park is remembered more for its role in the 1971 film *Get Carter* (Hodges *et al.*, 2005). However, attitudes to the building have always been controversial and kept changing during its half-century-long life. When Gateshead car park was designed in 1962, the Brutalist style was considered to be the cutting edge of architecture (Harwood *et al.*, 2015). But, not long after the car part was opened in 1967, the public and the

architectural establishment became less interested in Brutalism. In the following years, when its exposed concrete became characterised by severe weathering, the building became unpopular because of its impact on the town's skyline. The failure of local economic investment aggravated the dislike of the building (BBC, 2007). Nevertheless, there was still a group of people who were interested in the car park for its artistic value, recognising it as a celebrated cinematic landmark (Jeffries, 2015). However,
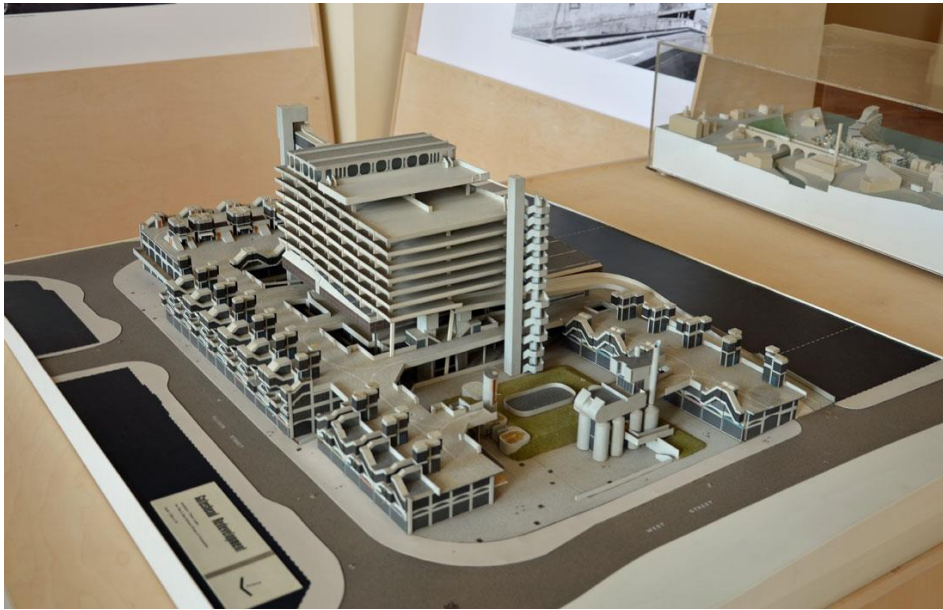
Fig. 1- 1 Model of the old shopping centre and car park

Source: (Ellwood, 2014a)

Fig. 1- 2 Trinity Centre Car Park, Gateshead, 2007

Photographer: Rodge500 (2007)

preservation attempts, advocated by artists, designers and film practitioners encountered strong resistance from the public, businessmen and local government. In 2010, the building of Gateshead car park and its surroundings were demolished (see Fig. 1-3) and replaced by a commercial complex with the same name, Trinity Square (see Fig. 1-4). Ironically, this new complex was nominated as the ugliest building in the ensuing 2014 'Carbuncle Cup' sponsored by *Building Design* magazine (Bdonline, 2014). At the

Fig. 1- 3 First day of demolition of the car park structure, 26th July 2010

Photographer: Fintan264 (2010)

Fig. 1- 4 Trinity Square from Newcastle Quayside

Photographer: Steve Ellwood (2014b)

same time, the concrete bricks from the remains of the old car park were put in specially decorated tins and sold by Gateshead Council as 'commemorative' pieces to *Get Carter* fans for £5 each (BBC, 2011).

It would be wrong to say that the preservation campaign and the demolition of Gateshead car park could represent all the conflicts of modern architectural heritage in the UK, but it did reflect some prominent problems. Seen from the outside, the controversy over the car park building's appearance, which had been the obvious ho issues throughout the story, reflects changing attitudes to the modern architecture – or Brutalism, in this example, to be more precise – in the UK. At arguably the lowest ebb of the popularity of modern architecture, the demolition of the Gateshead car park contributed to the attack on Brutalism that the style did 'not stand the test of time' (Croft, 2008). However, the loss of the building is, in fact, the outcome of the struggle and conflict among multiple valuing processes, in which the assessment of the aesthetic value of Brutalism was only of limited consequence. For example, most tower block style was abandoned overnight after a gas explosion in London in 1968. The influence of the accident was not confined to housing safety and style preference but expanded to all social-political aspects (Glendinning and Muthesius, 1994; Pendlebury *et al.*, 2005; Ballantyne, 2010). Indeed, the aesthetic value of modern architecture has always been one of the most difficult aspects of defining heritage value. Some professionals, commentators and designers ascribed the fall of the building and Brutalism in the UK to its being somehow non-English, anti-traditional or non-localised, although their attitudes shifted variously (Whiteley, 1995; Whyte, 2009). In the meantime, persistent dislike of the building remained there among the public, described as an instinctive reaction to its alien architecture and ideas (Whyte, 2009). These different attitudes to the Gateshead car park expressed by different groups of people could be analysed and explained in relation to social, cultural and historical values. However, in the case of the demolition of Gateshead car park, local demand for economic development and political considerations, in the end, played more decisive roles (BBC, 2007).

1.2.2 Yuanmingyuan: a royal gem and a national scar

The name of Yuanmingyuan in Chinese is equivalent to 'the Garden of Gardens' (Yao, 2014). It was originally constructed in 1709 as a royal garden of the Qing dynasty, and it kept expanding over the following 150 years (see Fig. 1-5). The garden in Yuanmingyuan is regarded as standing for the highest level in both art and technology in China at the time. However, after China was defeated in the Second Opium War by the UK and France in 1856, the garden was looted and burned down by allied intruders in 1860 (Zhang, 2010c). Afterwards, the site suffered from looting and vandalism for many years (see Fig. 1-6). When the name of Yuanmingyuan is used nowadays, it usually refers to the heritage park – Yuanmingyuan Ruins Park (Fig. 1-7), which was planned and constructed on this ruined site in the early 1980s (Yao, 2014). The main theme of this park is an interpretation of the catastrophes of China's early modern history. In other words, contemporary Yuanmingyuan is considered as a heritage site in relation to China's modern history. There are two major orientations in the management of Yuanmingyuan as a heritage park. One is to maintain its current condition as much as possible. Its status as a ruin is essential to the park's construction
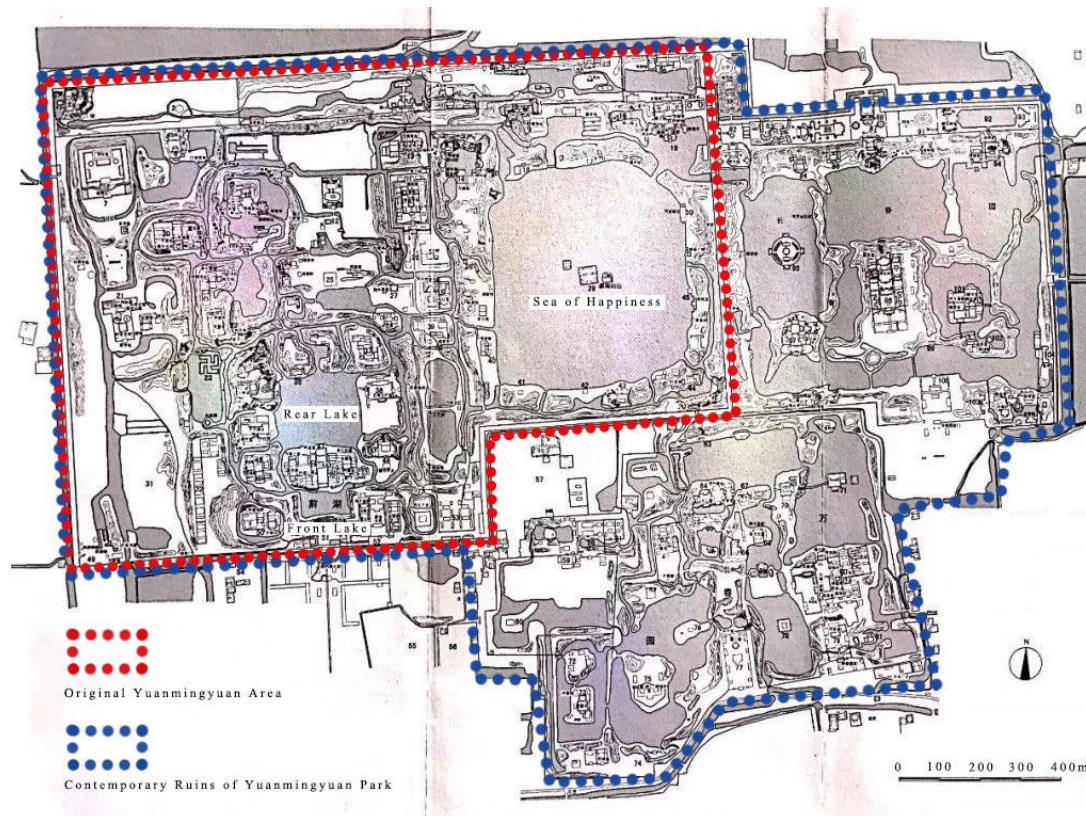
Fig. 1- 5 Plan of Yuanmingyuan

Redrawn according to a 1934 survey map
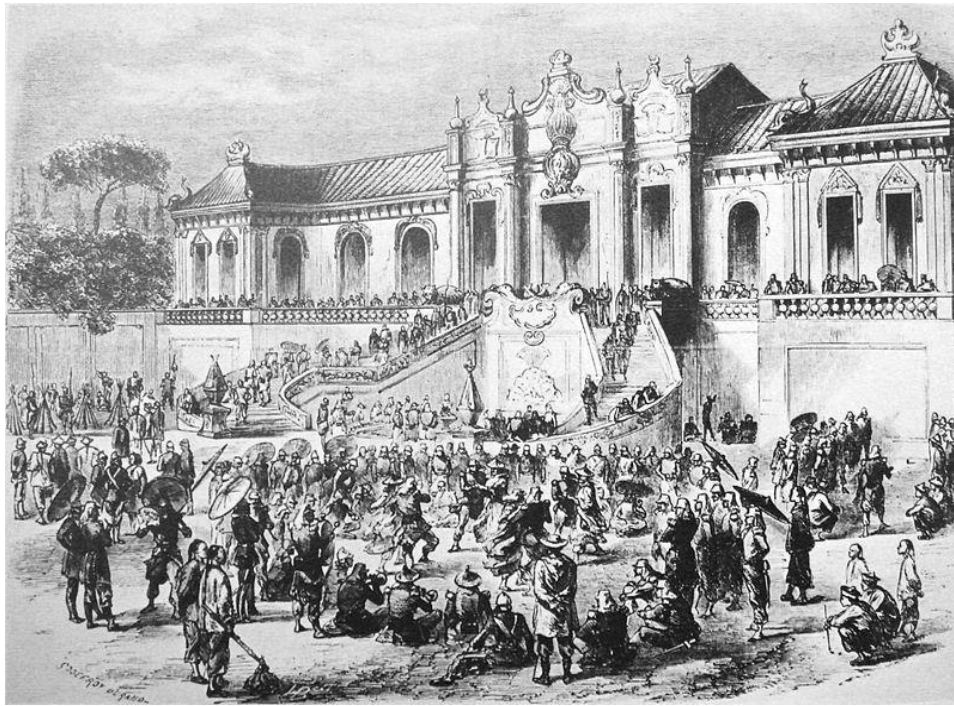
Fig. 1- 6 Looting of the Xiyanglou section (Western mansions in Yuanmingyuan) by Anglo-French forces

Illustrator: Godefroy Durand (1860)

Fig. 1- 7 Ruins in Yuanmingyuan

Source: Author's collection

as a nationwide base for patriotic education (Zhang, 2010a). Another attitude holds that a certain amount of construction, such as restoring certain landmark buildings and aspects of landscape, should be permitted, in order to demonstrate the achievement of ancestors in building national confidence. In addition to being preserved as a memorial

area signifying grief and pain, it is argued that Yuanmingyuan should be emphasised more as a modern public park to serve contemporary city life (Sun, 2012).

The fundamental difference between these two attitudes rests on their interpretation in relation to China's early modern history. Some people consider the patriotic education value as the primary aspect of Yuanmingyuan's meaning and insist on keeping the place in its ruined condition (Qiao, 1999; Yu and Wang, 2011). Instilling

Fig. 1- 8 Educational tours in Yuanmingyuan for the young usually hold the position that history should never be forgotten

Source: author's collection

Fig. 1- 9 Restored Yuanmingyuan (virtual reality)

Source: (china.com.cn, 2007)

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feelings of pain and shame among people is seen as an essential component of their sightseeing. Only by exhibiting the ruins can this sentiment be intensified (Fig. 1-8). Others argue that in addition to a patriotism education base, contemporary Yuanmingyuan should play more active and multiple roles in the modern city life (Sun, 2012), and they support certain restorations and reconstructions (Fig. 1-9), the aesthetic achievement of outstanding works of architecture and gardening is valued more. For the former, the negative sentiment is essential in building national identity and encouraging the nation to progress; whilst, for the latter, this pain and shame could and should be relieved by restoring glorious former achievements and representing contemporary urban life. In addition, restoring the site to an open public park also meets the requirement of a modern, democratic and development-oriented society. The divergence in the attitudes to the heritage management in Yuanmingyuan lies in the divergent approaches to China's early modern history and ideas about the direction in which the country should develop in the future.

1.2.3 Modern Architecture as heritage in the UK and China

These two opening stories provide an opening illustration of issues surrounding the heritage of modern architecture in the two countries. In the case of Gateshead car park, different groups of people expressed their attitudes to the building and these different valuing processes brought about the demolition of the building and subsequent commemoration activities in relation to it. In contrast, the discussion about the value of Yuanmingyuan has developed mostly among the professionals and institutional agencies. This is partly because of state ownership of most Chinese heritage cases, and partly because of the relatively lower degree of participation of the public. More arguments and analyses are built on the understanding of heritage value, which is considered against the rich content of history, science, art, society and so on in a worldwide context (Wang, 2008). This indicates that heritage research in China is increasingly connected with the international study of heritage. A lot of modern heritage concepts, such as authenticity have been introduced, whilst China is eager to import its own understanding of heritage value (Zhang, 2008a; Zhang, 2010a).

Ideas about valuing heritage are decisive in the process of heritage conservation. The results of the evaluation may be influenced by individuals' values and experiences. Also, it reflects how the integrated society reads and explains the past and what society expects for the future. Demolition of the Gateshead car park occurred not only because

of the denial of its aesthetic value, but its fate represented a broad introspection over the architectural culture within the country. This reminds us that economic and political factors are playing more and more important roles in modern heritage practice. The controversy over the Ruins of Yuanmingyuan Park epitomises different concepts of history in Chinese academia and society. Though one aspect of heritage value, in the case of Yuanmingyuan, is to be a patriotic education base, which usually plays a dominant role in most of China's modern heritage practices concerning the more recent past, there is a trend of taking other approaches into account since the last decade of the twentieth century, when international heritage concepts and management ideas have been imported to China (Chen and Yu, 1995; Liu, 2008; Yao, 2014). Heritage systems and management strategies in the UK and China are far apart from each other. However, with the increasingly frequent exchanges over the past decade and the common recognition of the importance of heritage value, a parallel study conducted in the two countries is clearly of merit to understand heritage in more complex circumstances.

In addition to the theoretical and practical contexts provided by and extended from the Gateshead carpark and Yuanmingyuan, the two cases also inspired some thoughts over my personal understanding of heritage. During most of my education and life experience, pains, sufferings and difficulties in China's modern history have been repeatedly emphasised. Antiquities, buildings and relics from these periods are therefore more often explained as the bearer of these negative feelings. And it is taken for granted that all things related to these tough periods can be recognised as heritage. For example, revolutionary historical heritage is a significant exhibition theme in the National Museum of China. The reconstruction project of the building complex of the museum will be discussed in Chapter 8 under the topic of national identity and heritage. But obvious changes have taken place in recognising and interpreting the modern history in China, particularly in the last one or two decades, either among the authorities, the professionals or the public. The once dominated atmosphere of mourning is increasingly balanced with positive meanings, such as the predecessor's achievement in construction and aesthetics, and industrious and brave spirit of the nation. In other words, the negative history is intended to be told in a relatively positive way, demonstrating a forward-looking tendency in China's heritage policy. Gateshead carpark, the first heritage event I encountered in the UK, impressed me with a reversed story that an icon of a developed industrial society can turn into the scapegoat of economic recession. The issue I am interested in is not about positive or negative interpretations of modern

buildings. It is about the unstable or perhaps vulnerable characteristic of heritage, both conceptually and physically.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS, HYPOTHESIS, SCOPE, METHOD AND LIMITATIONS

Based upon the theoretical backgrounds, practical situations, and personal interests introduced above, this research aims to examine how modern architecture has been valued, in relation to heritage conservation study and practices, in the cases from the UK and China. Specifically, there are three main research questions: 1) How did the changing attitudes toward modern buildings influence the development of heritage concepts and the legislation and practice of conservation? 2) How national identity is perceived as culturally influential in the conservation of nationally important buildings? 3) How are the concepts of heritage value integrated into modern social policy?

To answer these questions, the study focuses on people's changing values as well as the influences on their understandings of modern buildings, such as personal experience, social background, and political ideas. Furthermore, concerning the controversial treatments in heritage events such as the two opening stories, this research seeks to identify the key factors that influenced people's interpretations of modern buildings; and to highlight the significance of valuing processes in heritage conservation. In general, this thesis is developed upon a central idea that how modern architecture has been valued reflects how people read their culture and history; and in the meantime, these interpretations of the past are carried out as a significant step in modern conservation practice to serve the future-oriented goals.

The time scope of this research does not follow from the stylistic classifications of architectural history, instead of seeking examples that trace humanity's modern history from the mid-nineteenth century up to today. The research selects six modern architectural works located in the UK and China and focuses on the related heritage events. Some of the buildings no longer exist, with only a few traces that mark their original locations. Some have undergone renovation or reconstruction. Others are awaiting the decisions of the valuing processes. Therefore, the case study is used as the main method in this research.

When case studies are designed further in the following chapter on methodology, three primary limitations about this research are realised. First, while the participants of heritage activities come from all walks of life within society, in this thesis, the only information available through data collection and fieldwork is analysed.

Second, research and future practice are not closely linked. Though the research examines what has been neglected in the past in relation to these case studies, it does not provide any recipes for other projects on different sites. Third, case studies in both the UK and China may give rise to a misunderstanding that the research is about the comparisons of the two countries, where the primary purpose is to explore the diversity in different contexts, representing chronological episodes in the modern history of the UK and China through parallel studies. As the exchanges between cultures have been increasing in the past decades, the interpretations of heritage value and the treatments of heritage in different contexts are considered to be equal and relatively independent. Therefore, the research seeks to contribute to deepening and extending the field of heritage study from the examination of valuing modern architecture in more complex circumstances.

Chapter 2   Literature Review

Heritage, in this thesis, is argued as being constructed upon certain historical, cultural, and social backgrounds. Many heritage studies and practices so far have also focused on local and wider contexts. Established upon different understandings of the relationship between the elements in these contexts, such as government, public, and market, and their impacts on heritage, many innovative ideas and intense debates have emerged, from the origins of heritage to its late-modern expansion, including those around tradition, identity, nationalism, and so on. This chapter traces these concepts and debates from when the idea of heritage first emerged up to recent decades, to establish the context for the general argument of this thesis that heritage value is socially and historically constructed. It intends to sketch out the direction of research in order to motivate the following case studies in terms of the cultural and political dimensions of heritage seen in investigating it as a social practice. To make clear the functions and uses of heritage, the chapter outlines the current situation of heritage practices in the UK and China, focusing on legislation and management systems.

2.1   A HISTORY OF HERITAGE AND HERITAGE DEBATES

2.1.1   *The origins of heritage*

The origins of heritage rest in the new concerns for the past, which emerged from the ideas of what generally known as modernity (Graham *et al.*, 2000, p. 11). When the secular culture conceived in the Renaissance evolved into the Enlightenment during the eighteenth century, a Eurocentric perspective on the world was framed, with its belief that individuals *can* think and act for themselves. In this Age of Reason, values and traditions of the medieval power structures of church and nobility were replaced by nationalism and legitimacy as the principal social and political driving forces in European society (Graham *et al.*, 2000, pp. 11-2). As a result, the modern European territorial state was shaped; and the emergence of the ideology of belongingness, or national identity, defined the modern era of humankind (Hall, 1995, p. 185; Woolf, 1996, pp. 25-6). Furthermore, the ideology of nationalism kept expanding during the process of modernisation in Europe (Davies, 1996, p. 821).

During the conceptualization of the modern nation-state across spatial scales and social relationships, heritage played a role as a primary instrument in constructing and nurturing national identity, that 'sums up the collective expression of a subjective,

individual sense of belonging to a socio-political unit: the nation state' (Woolf, 1996, pp. 25-6). Represented in the form of national heritage, a modern understanding of the past, which is sometimes defined as synonymous with nostalgia, has been employed in the discourses of élites to legitimate the power of the nation-state (Dicks, 2000, p. 60). Designated as national heritage, a united national identification could be consolidated between potentially competing social-cultural groups or regions (Graham *et al.*, 2000; Ballantyne, 2002). In the meantime, the nation's heritage has been exploited to shore up the national psyche and to help battle against other nations for territories or cultures (Dicks, 2000). For example, when Britain's colonialist global domination came under threat from the 1880s to the mid-1920s (Nairn and Gasson, 1988), the supposed superiority of British identity and tradition over that of the colonised societies was fervently promoted by the British state (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Robertson, 1990). Under Thatcherism in the 1980s, another boom of heritage was on the agenda of policy-makers and entrepreneurs (Wright and Krauze, 1985). Particularly in this period, the concept of national identity expanded to the level of everyday life with the listing of coal mines, tenements, and many other vernacular elements (Billig, 1995). This strategy of popularising heritage brought the nation into alignment with the people and ensured that an appropriated British image could be defined through ideological values of tradition, conservatism, and family values.

In general, conceptualizations of heritage in terms of cultural achievement and social evolution emerged to carry modern values, or European values to be precise (Graham *et al.*, 2000). Though triggered by concerns for the past in the discourses of the élite, the initiative for the identification of heritage was always governmental.

2.1.2 *Heritage as the invention of tradition*

As discussed above, the concept of heritage originated in the changing rendition of the past that was shaped in the Enlightenment. This era also distinguishes the modern stage of humankind from earlier times, through intellectual movements in philosophy, art, literature, culture, and the most prominently, the idea of a discontinuity with history (Kompridis, 2006). Though heritage shares many similarities with history in its origins and achievements, such as archaeology and the study of antiquity, in the earliest academic debates on issues of heritage it has often been argued that heritage is in a counterpoised position to history (Dicks, 2000). For example, Robert Hewison (1987, p. 47) points out that history is pursued to preserve the past in order to preserve the self. In

contrast, Hewison criticises heritage practice for 'imprisoning' the present through a shallow simulation of the past. Similarly, David Lowenthal (1998, p. xv) claims that history 'explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time', whilst heritage 'clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes'.

Many of these arguments about the contradictions between history and heritage are concerned with how the past has been used by governments to construct a certain sense of national identity (Harrison, 2012). In other words, heritage is a modern social and political practice that invents, constructs, and institutes traditions. For example, Eric Hobsbawm argued in *The Invention of Tradition* (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983, pp. 13-4) that under conditions of rapid social and technological change, particularly during the rise of nation-states and the era of colonialism in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries, traditions were used increasingly to reflect a contemporary sense of nationhood situated in a far-distant, glorious past that lacked a close connection to real history. Many works also pointed out how, for political purposes, there had been increasing interest in tracing strong connections between ancient peoples and the modern nation-state within theoretical research and practice, particularly in archaeology for political impulses during the 1980s and 1990s (Trigger, 1984; Harrison, 2012). In this period and after, attitudes towards the relationship between the past and its use in nation-building have been critically developed in archaeology and heritage (Hamilakis, 2007). It was further argued that, in a world being transformed by plurality, the enduring and complicated relationships between heritage and place indicate a future of pluralising the past (Ashworth *et al.*, 2007). This relationship combining contradiction and connection between heritage and history will be repeatedly emphasised in the case studies in this research. For example, the history of being colonised has been represented differently according to different political and cultural purposes in the case study of Ji'nan Old Railway Station, which will be discussed in Chapter 5. In the case study of Ju'er Hutong in Chapter 9, Beijing's hutong renewal projects are often questioned in reflecting siheyuan as a traditional architectural form.

2.1.3   *Social and political dimensions of heritage: identity and power*

The study of heritage is not a direct engagement with studying the past, but enables research into interpretation and representation of the past according to the demands of the present, which is to be passed to an imagined future (Ashworth *et al.*, 2007, p. 3). Considering the mass-production, under political imperatives, of the past in

heritage, it was acknowledged that the social and political contexts, in which questionable historical knowledge has been produced, need to receive attention (Hamilakis, 2007). Therefore, there is much interest in the social and political uses of heritage and their role in the construction, elaboration, and reproduction of identities and, especially, in the relationship between heritage and the ideas about legislation, cultural capital, and dominant ideology (Graham *et al.*, 2000, p. 29). This social and political utility of heritage is well represented in the case studies of the Royal Festival Hall and the National Museum of China in chapters 7 and 8.

When the past transformed into heritage is recognised as a broad resource with multiple present-day cultural, economic, and political functions, the need of individuals to define social groups through constructing belongingness becomes more and more important, just as when, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the nation-state was defined through heritage in terms of national characteristics (Ashworth *et al.*, 2007, p. 1). The creation and management of collective identities were analysed and exemplified in *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture, Economy* (Graham *et al.*, 2000). This task was extended and made more specific in *Pluralising Pasts* (Ashworth *et al.*, 2007) through its exploration of how heritage is created in the representations of place – a core attribute of identity, and how these representations work as both constraint and opportunity in the plural, diverse, and fragmented societies.

Heritage is closely connected with the construction and legitimation of collective constructs of identity. As the narrative sense of belongingness or sameness, identity is visualised as a multi-faceted phenomenon that contains a variety of human attributes, such as class, gender, ethnicity, nationalism, and shared interpretation of the past (Guibernau, 1996). Reconstituted as heritage, the past enables individuals to distinguish themselves into different social groups and at different spatial scales by providing familiarity, guidance, enrichment, and escape (Lowenthal, 1985). Shared or different interpretations of the past are further constructed into discourses of inclusion and exclusion. For example, the attributes of otherness are argued as the key representations of identity in social interaction, coherence, and consensus (Douglas, 1997, pp. 151-2). The sense of belonging to a place is fundamental to identity (Graham *et al.*, 2000, p. 40). With such representations, the definition of place identity in heritage constitutes a powerful part of the individual and social practices by which the material world is transformed into the cultural and economic realm of meaning and living experience (Ashworth *et al.*, 2007, p. 5). For nationalists, identities are the intrinsic

qualities of geographical landscapes and cityscapes that validate timeless values and unbroken lineages (Lowenthal, 1985; Gruffudd, 1995). But being transformed continuously as heritage, these places are something more like 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1991), defined by cultural and political networks. For example, in the case study of Byker, the estate is identified as an important place to retain the culture of working-class communities, and the hutong neighbourhood is taken seriously in valuing Ju'er Hutong.

However, a definition and interpretation of place identity usually involves the inheritance of one particular social group and the disinheritance of others (Graham *et al.*, 2000, p. 34). These ideas of appropriation and disinheritance indicate that heritage is closely related to the exercise of power. For instance, in ways that were extreme and are now often redressed, the heritage of indigenous people was marginalised by the former colonial powers, as in Australia. In terms of both official and popular heritage consumption, social memory construction is regarded as an efficient approach to define the meaning of emblematic places authorised to pass to the next generations (Samuel, 1994). Furthermore, it is suggested that places of memory have replaced real environments of memory under the privileged and empowered narratives of the place of elites (Johnson and Thomas, 1995). Ashworth (1994) expresses similar ideas that dominant ideologies create specific place identities to serve particular national structures and political ideologies related to the nation-state. These discourses can be understood by borrowing the concept of 'cultural capital', which Bourdieu argued each governmental regime must capture (Graham *et al.*, 2000, p. 39). Though having continuing socio-political functions, heritage, however, cannot provide the state with legitimacy (Matless, 1992). This is because the relationship between memory and heritage, as well as the relationship between official and unofficial representations and forms, is fragmented and inconsistent (Graham *et al.*, 2000, p. 39). Of course, seeing heritage, the representation of the past, as a social and political practice, there is a widely-accepted conviction that the formation of popular political consciousness is vitally influenced by cultivating a proper sense of the place of history (Dicks, 2000).

In summary, through governments and jurisdiction at various spatial scales of heritage practice, the self-identification of people can be fostered and strengthened; and political ideologies that justify the right to dominate others can be promoted (Ashworth *et al.*, 2007, p. 2).

2.1.4 The late-modern expansion of heritage studies

Regardless of the critiques and concerns over the relationship between heritage, place, and identity (Wright and Krauze, 1985; Lowenthal, 1998), the field of heritage has in practice been largely technical and perceived to be inherently natural or correct (Harrison, 2012). For example, the Venice Charter (ICOMOS, 1964) essentially built a consensus of technical standards without critically discussing the meaning of conservation practices. Since the mid-1980s, a critical academic commentary on heritage has emerged, within which contemporary critical heritage studies have been generally agreed to be an interdisciplinary area of research (Harrison, 2012). Early critical arguments were developed by David Lowenthal, Patrick Wright, and Robert Hewison. In *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Lowenthal (1985) pointed out the huge gap between the past represented in contemporary heritage and the past written by historians. These distinctions were aggravated by many economic, social and political motivations in preservation practice. In *On Living in an Old Country*, Wright (1985) explored how Britishness was defined and popularized as the traditional culture under Thatcherism in the 1980s. In *The Heritage Industry*, Hewison (1987) expressed an anti-heritage position, arguing that many works of heritage with interests in conservatism and political authoritarianism and were constructing a superficial image of a false past, resulting in a devaluation of significance and impoverishment of meaning.

Rooted in these critical works, contemporary critical studies have kept developing as an interdisciplinary area of research (Harrison, 2012). For example, some researchers extend Hobsbawm's (1983) classic discussion of the invention of traditions from a European to a global frame through a series of post-colonialist and post-Foucauldian critiques (Boswell, 1999). Taking heritage as inherently political and discordant, Laurajane Smith (2006) analysed the power relations in the uses of heritage and read them as constituting a conversation, upon which an 'authorised heritage discourse' (AHD) is established, and thus understood heritage as a social and cultural practice, emphasising its significance in territorialising the conservation assemblage (Pendlebury, 2013). The AHD confirms one of the fundamental questions of heritage is why material objects from the past should be considered valuable. The question is further extended to what constitutes acceptable conservation practice. In addition, by understanding heritage as a series of decisions and choices about the uses of the past in the present, the political role of heritage is found to receive more attention in contemporary societies (Harrison, 2010). There are also more and more contributors

devoting themselves to the clarification and consolidation of heritage studies as a distinct discipline with its own means of investigation (Carman and Sørensen, 2009). Their works are united by a shared focus on the development of suitable reflexive methodologies and demonstrate the richness of this interdisciplinary field.

2.2 HERITAGE VALUE IN THE CONTEXT OF ARCHITECTURAL CONSERVATION

2.2.1 *Culturally and historically constructed value*

The exploration of heritage value has been one of the central topics since the concept of heritage emerged, for being fundamental in the validation of all practices. John Ruskin's mid-nineteenth century attitude to the cultural value of architectural heritage became influential, emphasising the concept of 'authenticity' (Ruskin, 1849). He advocated what was then a new heritage protection method: 'restoration'. Also, for the first time, the value of architectural heritage was expanded by Ruskin to include an appreciation of craft labour involved in construction rather than seeing buildings merely as abstract documents of architectural history. At almost the same time, Viollet-le-Duc advanced the idea of 'style-restoration' in his written works and practice (Hearn, 1990), although he was later criticised by peoples like John Ruskin and William Morrison as an 'architectural restorer' for his series of restoration work with creative modifications. However, in his time, he took the lead in setting out the work of architectural protection at a rational and theoretical level. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Alois Riegl (1903) produced what became regarded as the first in-depth and convincing summary of the composition of heritage value in its historical and artistic aspects (Jokilehto, 1999; Pendlebury, 2009a). He is regarded as the first person to use explicit value analysis in modern heritage studies (Jokilehto, 1999). From the 1940s to the 1960s, Cesare Brandi published a series of texts setting out his theory of restoration, in which artistic value rather than historic value was the decisive and most important aspect in valuing heritage (Brandi *et al.*, 2005). Like Ruskin, Brandi respected and emphasised the people who constructed the architecture. He insisted that protection or restoration should follow the understanding of its creators. Under Brandi's influence, international principles such as the Venice Charter (ICOMOS, 1964) put artistic value in first place in architecture conservation.

In the 1970s, Jukka Jokilehto finished his doctoral research on the theories and history of cultural heritage conservation. He was the first person to summarise the historical processes of architectural conservation in a global perspective. By analysing

all heritage activities up to the present, Jokilehto concluded that the universal value of heritage in modern times relied on a situation whereby specific cultural heritage was recognised as the creative and unique expression of a group, representing a correlative cultural context and inheritance (Jokilehto, 1999). Whilst Jokilehto's research mainly focused on historical activities and events, Françoise Choay critically reviewed the social and political factors behind the rise of architectural conservation and its multiple operational methods (Choay, 2001). In the meantime, works such as '*Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*' (Price *et al.*, 1996) began to pay more attention to artistic appreciation – which could also be expressed as the artistic value – of architectural heritage than their predecessors. Analysing the relation between the past and the present, the historian David Lowenthal (1985) convincingly argued that the past being preserved was actually alien to the present, as was the concept of tradition, which kept changing. He pointed out that the key to the conservation discussion should be to connect the past with the present, rather than making the present just like the past. Lowenthal (1998) also distinguished history from the historical value of heritage, the latter perceived critically as biased. Into the new millennium, studies on heritage value were increasingly specialised, concerning, for example the nature of heritage, the factors that influenced heritage conservation and the wide diversity of heritage value. Miles Glendinning (2003a; 2013) argued that conservation, previously presented as anti-modern, was actually of modern value. Like Choay, Glendinning was also devoted to analysing the social and political background of architectural conservation. A theoretical orientation determined that 'value is not an intrinsic quality but [...] an externally imposed culturally and historically specific meaning that attracts a value status depending on the dominant frameworks of the value of the time and place' (Gibson and Pendlebury, 2009). Many such creative heritage studies were carried out linking closely with heritage management and practice. For example, Edward Hobson (2004) demonstrated how the values of national and local decision-makers became implemented in built environment conservation. In addition to this, general agreement in academia emerged in which heritage value is seen as socially and culturally constructed in multiple ways. Institutions, organisations, and individuals have also devoted themselves to establishing a consensus about heritage value across a wide range of heritage concepts and practices. Additional themes such as commonality, and legal tools, were explored, interpreting heritage issues as an international context (Pickard, 2000). Laurajean Smith's research on archaeological heritage and cultural

resource management (CRM) contributed valuable concepts – such as identity, governance, and conflict – over material that existed between the physical object and its cultural and social interpretations (Smith, 2004). The sociologist Edward Shils (2007) explored the history, significance, and future of tradition as a whole. He particularly noted that heritage was valued because of its characteristic of being traditional. It was the historical nature of tradition, both physical and psychological, that created significance, he argued. In the past few decades, studies and practices relating to heritage and its value showed strong trends that more and more approaches, including interdisciplinary ones, have been considered.

Given all these changes and developments in the discussion of heritage value, contemporary heritage studies seem to have come to an agreement that heritage value is culturally and historically constructed rather than being an intrinsic quality (Gibson and Pendlebury, 2009). In this way, within the processes of valuing heritage towards its conservation, diverse meanings are seen as embedded in heritage, to the benefit and values of the interpreting subjects, which might be an individual, group, community or nation, or even a transnational group. It has been recognised that values of, and benefit, to the subjects are usually declared in the form of definite aims, such as local regeneration. Furthermore, to protect the rights and interests of the beneficiaries, there seems a consensus that activities relating to heritage should be supervised following specific policies and laws. In addition, regulations are required to guide and standardise strategies and detailed approaches. Education and publicity are utilised to establish a consensus about the heritage concept as an agreement on the universal value of heritage.

2.2.2   *Valuing heritage as a continuous progress*

Theoretically, heritage value, its means of representation, management, and its associated practical methods are often assumed to be directly related to each other as being in a cause-and-effect relationship of objectives, means, and methods. However, in practice, conflicts and problems often occur between objectives, means, and methods. For example, frameworks provided by heritage laws and policies formulated for a universal purpose are usually too broad to provide effective and detailed strategies to be applied in specific cases. Also, the outcomes of concrete heritage activities, which are claimed to be based on the conclusion of valuing heritage, remain difficult to predict. Moreover, the so-called cause-and-effect relationship between the three fields of heritage study still needs further demonstration. In other words, it is still under

discussion to what extent the valuing processes may represent a subject's values, how the attitudes to heritage guide the subsequent heritage activities, and how legislation and education influence heritage outcomes. Therefore, before exploring new strategies for heritage conservation and formulating new policies and laws, it is perhaps necessary to pay more attention to the process of valuing heritage. Here, the main question in the study of heritage value can be represented as: whose benefit does heritage serve? Or, as will be asked within this thesis, how is heritage valued by different people?

Practically, heritage value, as the fundamental issue of the modern heritage study, has been mainly explored in two directions. One is to enrich the categories of heritage value, and the other is to determine the characteristics of heritage. The former is more practically oriented and is often represented in the making of heritage laws and regulations. During the development of processes around modern heritage, the recognition and classification of heritage value become increasingly rich as understanding grew in-depth and became widely accepted among international conservation groups such as ICOMOS. For instance, in the Venice Charter (ICOMOS, 1964), it was suggested that there were universal human values and its restoration articles listed heritage value separately from mere aesthetic, historic and archaeological aspects. The Washington Charter (ICOMOS, 1987) admitted different values from different material areas. Kinds of heritage value such as commercial value were critically considered. The Nara Document (ICOMOS, 1994; Stovel, 2008) carried forward the spirit of the 1964 Venice Charter by emphasising authenticity and extended the discussion into respecting the diversity of values in culture and heritage. Ratified by 1996, a definition of cultural heritage was proposed by the 11th ICOMOS General Assembly, referring to 'monuments, groups of buildings and sites of heritage value, constituting the historic or built environment'. Recording history was put forward as the essential approach to understanding the value of cultural heritage. The International Cultural Tourism Charter (ICOMOS, 1999) put forward the idea that some universal heritage values coexisted with alternative values set up in different scopes and on different levels. Here, heritage sites were considered to have intrinsic value, which it was argued that all heritage programmes and participants should respect. The cultural value was repeatedly addressed in the document as the most significant aspect to be conserved, whilst the aesthetic and historical values were also emphasised. At the 14th General Assembly (ICOMOS, 2003), the technical value rose to be considered as

equally important as other aspects of heritage value. The innovative concepts of tangible and intangible values were promoted.

The other research direction in relation to heritage value is more theoretically founded and usually cuts across various disciplines such as sociology, philosophy, and politics, linking heritage events with broader social phenomena. For example, derived from Foucault's ideas on power and control, heritage value is considered as the way in which dominant groups deploy cultural capital to maintain their identity and social status (Blake, 2000). In this way, the rise of interest in heritage and heritage value has been associated with the political right, in relation to who has the power to determine what heritage is, for whom, and to what ends, seen in association with different kinds of social exclusion. At the same time, heritage can also be evaluated as a kind of social inclusion rather than exclusion (Pendlebury *et al.*, 2005), admitting voices to certain arenas of high culture which otherwise might not be heard. Accompanying these debates, agreements seem to have been achieved on the nature of heritage. For example, heritage has been defined in the UK as the physical existence of a selected culture that is intended to be passed to future generations (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2001). This concept of defining heritage comprises at least two key aspects of heritage. One is that the essence of heritage is a certain culture. On the other hand, this culture can only be identified as heritage by being embodied in a site, monument, building, environment or other physical materials, or intangible heritage. Modernity is another prominent factor in the determination of heritage ideas. This is not only because the concept of heritage is rooted in the Enlightenment period – the starting point of modern civilisation: all participants in heritage events are also from modern times for specific modern purposes (Gibson and Pendlebury, 2009).

Though some agreements have been achieved on the nature of heritage, as above, it may be stated that all conflicts and problems we encounter in heritage practices are rooted in the judgements about heritage value. For example, the characteristic of being a cultural and material notion has resulted in vagueness or misuse of some terms such as 'cultural heritage' and 'intangible heritage' (Gibson and Pendlebury, 2009). The idea of historical authenticity, which has provoked the most obvious controversy in heritage history, encounters difficulty because of heritage is itself a modern idea and is characteristic of modernity. The modernity of heritage determines that the participants value heritage from the angle of modern historical concepts (Jokilehto, 1999). In other words, what people select to represent their idea of

true history reflects how people read and tell history. The subjectivity and relativity of authenticity result in the instability of heritage strategy. When the question is narrowed down to the field of modern architecture, it becomes more complex and immediate. Superficially, this is primarily because of the relatively short history of the physical existence of modern architecture. We have more efficient ways and better technology to record the history and culture of modern times. This brings about the question of the necessity of conserving modern heritage as a physical approach to retain the culture of the modern era.

To take the UK as an example, since the nineteenth century, urban improvement has been substantial. Significant clearances and rebuilding have been implemented in Victorian times, and then in the post-war era, in large cities like London and Birmingham. This pace was accelerated during the 1960s on a larger scale. Subsequently, modern buildings have often queried or even demolished to provide space for redevelopment (Stamp, 2010). Similarly, because modern buildings seem somehow conceptually more immediate in time, and perhaps space, valuing modern buildings can involve stronger sentiments, impacting heritage strategies. By way of another example, this is outstandingly obvious when observing China's heritage sites of pertaining to its early modern history, such as the Nanjing Massacre Memorial, which has been designated as a national site for patriotic education by commemorating Chinese victims of Japanese atrocities during the Second World War (Qian, 2009). Nevertheless, modern architecture clearly provides an appropriate starting point for the study of valuing heritage. A great number of modern buildings have been preserved in good condition because of their short history and proper maintenance. Moreover, information about the building, and their physical and cultural environments, is much easier to access than in the case of ancient buildings. Furthermore, as the historical value of modern architecture is often considered not as dominant as in other heritage fields, valuing modern architecture can provide more opportunities and a strong impetus to diversify the categories of heritage value.

2.3   FUNCTIONS AND USES OF HERITAGE

2.3.1   Heritage conservation in the UK: abundant theories, comprehensive systems and substantial experiments

The Enlightenment, as discussed above, is the ideological source for heritage concepts in the UK. Improvement of transport greatly enhanced industrial productivity

and led to construction on a large scale. Architectural technology and theories progressed prominently. However, massive construction was accompanied by massive destruction of older historic and natural environment. In this context, the British intellectual elites and the middle class sought new strategies in the ideas of heritage to satisfy their pursuit of individuality, the natural world, and sentimental emotion (Zhu, 2007). In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England, there sprang-up a large number of literatures, movements and practices of conservation, laying foundations for the theories, policies and strategies we accept today. For example, Augustus Pugin (1836) set Christian morality, as well as the original structure and details, as the standard to judge whether a restoration work was authentic or not. John Ruskin (1849) emphasised the significance of authenticity by praising the value of vernacular architecture in his book *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*. In another book, *The Stones of Venice*, Ruskin (1907) again insisted on protecting all traces of authenticity and strongly opposed restoration. William Morris advocated craftsmanship and presented an idea of 'conservation repair'. He pointed out that restoration should be based upon the assessment of existing elements, and maintained that new parts should be clearly distinct from the original (Morris, 1877). In 1877, Morris, together with Philip Webb and other intellectuals, established the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB). The Society was arguably the first civil group for building protection. It reacted against conservation principles of the day. Sir George Gilbert Scott, a prominent restorer, shared ideas with Viollet-le-Duc. The relative prosperity of English architecture since the mid-nineteenth century greatly promoted academic activities in the field of heritage and urged the formulation of policies for conservation. In 1841, an Antiquarian Commission was set up by what later became the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) under the advice of Gilbert Scott. In 1865, there arose a society dedicated to the Conservation of Ancient Monuments and Remains. The foundation of the Society for Photographing Relics of Old London also occurred. In 1880, the London Topographical Society was established to record the changes of urban patterns. These flourishing civil movements promoted conservation legislation. In 1882, the Ancient Monuments Act was approved, to take a list of ancient monuments and places of prehistoric origin into governmental guardianship (Fawcett, 1976). The Act is regarded as the first conservation legislation in Britain (Delafons, 1997). In 1895, the National Trust was founded by Octavia Hill, Sir Robert Hunter and Canon Rawnsley, considering the threat of industrialism to the countryside and ancient buildings. The

Trust was empowered by the National Trust Act of 1907 to acquire, and preserve places of historic interest and natural beauty, including historical villages, coastlines, buildings, and relics (Zhu, 2007). Property left to, or acquired by the Thrust could not be sold or radically altered (Fawcett, 1976). In the first two decades of the twentieth century, further Acts and powers were approved. This protection supplanted what had been previously been considered as a responsibility towards heritage shared by government, social elites, professionals and the public.

This interest in protection emerging during the nineteenth century was largely limited to ancient and prehistoric objects (Fawcett, 1976). Until the 1930s, attention was focused on items with a relatively short history. In 1937, the City of Bath Act was approved to preserve the character of the city, an important example of eighteenth-century planning. In 1937, the Georgian Group was set up with special interests in buildings and planning of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, Sir John Betjeman, Sir John Summerson and many other celebrities were among its early active members. The group provided significant advisers to the local authorities in many English conservation projects. After the Second World War, which caused massive destruction of historical buildings, the public and government became increasingly concerned about the disappearing 'monuments of our art and history' (Fawcett, 1976).

A sensibility towards the importance of historic cities and conservation developed during the 1940s and 1950s (Pendlebury, 2009a). The conservation–planning system as we know it today also really began to evolve in the post-Second World War period (Larkham, 1996), though conservation was not firmly established as a key element of planning policy until the 1980s and 1990s (Pendlebury, 2009a). The Town and Country Planning Acts of 1944 and 1947 introduced the system of listing buildings. The Civic Trust was founded in 1957 to encourage the awareness of historic areas in town planning. In 1958, interests in preserving Victorian buildings prompted the establishment of the Victorian Society. The Society directed some conservation campaigns which gained public attention, including the campaign to save the Euston Arch (Fawcett, 1976). In the 1960s, the importance of conservation began to be institutionalised through legislation and government financial assistance (Pendlebury, 2009a). However, the preservation of post-war buildings did not come widely into view until the late 1970s. The Twentieth Century Society was set up in 1978 to campaign for, and consult upon, the preservation of buildings dating from 1914 onwards. In the 1980s,

ideas of heritage and conservation gained greater popularity and developed into a political era where terms such as 'new' and 'modernising' were greatly emphasised (Pendlebury, 2009a). Since then, a lot of post-war buildings, including a few dating from the two world wars, have been listed for preservation for being of historical significance, architectural importance, collective value or having connections with historical events (Zhu, 2007). For example, Bracken House was the first post-war building to be listed by English Heritage in 1987. When it was spot-listed in 1991, the Willis Faber Building in Ipswich near London had only been erected for 19 years. The listed post-war buildings cover all types and styles.

After decades of enormous development in legislation and practice, one of the most prominent features of contemporary heritage conservation in the UK is its substantial body of legislation and policy, particularly in terms of inclusiveness. The British system of heritage protection nowadays is unusually extensive and relatively flexible, encompassing a significant part of the British townscape and landscape within an often strict legal framework (Pendlebury, 2000). Since 1997, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) has been in charge of all heritage objects around the country. In general, Acts and powers concerning heritage conservation are enacted by Parliament and the government, within which regulations may be made by local authorities. However, the specific jobs that are directly linked to heritage items are assigned to agencies such as English Heritage and the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF). English Heritage was established in 1983 based on the National Heritage Act. As the government's chief consultant for the protection of historic environments, English Heritage ran the national system of heritage protection and managed a range of historic properties. English Heritage is partly government-funded and has priority in the subsidies from HLF. On 1 April 2015, English Heritage was divided into two parts: Historic England, which continues most statutory and protection functions of the old organisation, and the English Heritage Trust. The new charity operates the historic properties. In addition to the central government and its agencies, local authorities also play an important role in the UK's heritage conservation. They are the basic units to manage and supervise heritage practice and to coordinate heritage sectors. The city council becomes the communication hub between all conservation groups and English Heritage.

Heritage conservation in the UK is developing towards broader social and political purposes. For example, academia and government have explored ways to solve

social exclusion in relation to cultural built heritage (Pendlebury *et al.*, 2010). In turn, social theories have also been adopted in explaining the heritage phenomenon. For example, Foucault's theories on governmentality and biopolitics are incorporated in analysing how techniques of power and control radically affected how the modernist housing development of Park Hill in Sheffield was subsequently viewed and conserved (Hollow, 2010).

2.3.2 *Conservation of modern architecture in China: a new field full of potentials and challenges*

The conservation of modern heritage in China has developed along with the study of China's modern architectural history, with emphasis on the early modern era. Modern architectural heritage in China shares some similar characteristics with world architectural heritage, also possessing particularity due to its distinctive historical, geographical and social factors.

The development of early modern architecture in China is not seen as a single process unlike the evolution of modern Western architecture. China's early modern architectural history includes the transformation of its traditional architecture to modern forms, the importation of classical architecture from the West and the localisation of architecture from elsewhere (Chen, 2014). The history of China's early modern architecture is a part of the nation's early modern history, seen as different from other historical eras because of the influences from outside. A series of aggressions and invasions disrupted the developing procedures of the law that had been followed for over a thousand years. The traditional culture was shaken fundamentally. Cultures from the West became the mainstream, influencing fashion at every level in China, including in the field of architecture. Three primary strands of China's architecture were prominent in development towards its early modern history (Lai, 2007). The first was the process by which foreign architecture entered China and subsequent localisation. The second was the variation, transformation, and further progress in China's domestic architecture, particularly traditional Chinese architecture. The third strand was the process of architectural modernisation. The preconditions and embodiment of architectural modernisation in the West may be summarised in relation to the Industrial Revolution and mechanised production. However, in China, modernisation in architecture was the essential result of the localisation of foreign cultures (Chen, 2014). It was not a simple procedure of the transplantation of western styles, but the integration of the improvements in construction material and technique, the increasing recognition

in different localities, and the development of architectural types and ideas in various degrees.

Accepting the decisive role of foreign cultures and their localisation, studies of China's early modern architectural history concentrate on four main fundamental issues: defining early modern architecture; its time span; the main lines of development; and the division into different development periods (Liu, 2012). In its broader conception, early modern architecture in China refers to all buildings appearing between 1840 and 1949. However, studies of early modern architecture in China pay closer attention to buildings that reflect the social changes in China's early modern history (Lai, 2007). More specifically, researchers expect to understand the relationship of the traditional and modern, the domestic and foreign, and changes in social structure, consciousness and lives through studying the forms, techniques, and ideas of China's early modern architecture (Rowe and Kuan, 2004). In this way, buildings that represent the old political, economic and cultural environments, such as Yuanmingyuan, are not included in the concept of 'Chinese modern architecture'. In contrast, station and museum buildings that contain new life activities and embody new uses and social functions tend to be recognised as within the range of Chinese modern architecture. Under this definition, some modern buildings may still be of traditional appearance. The prevailing academic view assumes that the time span of Chinese early modern architecture is the same as that of early modern social history, which covers the period from the First Opium War in 1840 to the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, though controversies exist concerning the end of this period. This is also the period of China's semi-colonialism and feudalism, as well as the history of the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution from its emergence to its victory (Li, 2002). Nonetheless, research on Chinese modern architecture is never restricted only to this time range, as the integral and continuous processes of the development of China's modern architecture, buildings and infrastructure constructions before 1840 and after 1949, and even those after the 1970s, have also been considered as extended branches (Lai, 2008).

The year 1986 is seen as the watershed that divides contemporary studies on Chinese modern architecture from the past (Zhang, 2010b; Li, 2012b). Before 1986, modern architecture was seen as a relatively secondary part of architectural history study. Its value was questioned or even denied, even though it had been discussed to a limited extent in some writings such as *Chinese Architecture History* (Liang and

Fairbank, 2005) and *History of Chinese Modern Architecture*, which was completed in the 1950s. In October 1986, the 'Symposium on Chinese modern architecture history study', convened in Beijing, marked the starting point of the nationwide study on Chinese modern architecture (Zhang, 2006b). This new era could be further divided into three stages: 1986–1993 was the initial stage; 1993–2008 was the development stage; and since 2008, studies on Chinese modern architecture have been claimed to be in a deepening stage (Zhang, 2010b). However, comparing the level of research in China internationally, the study of Chinese modern architecture is still in its infancy (Li, 2012b).

In the initial stage, most events related to Chinese modern architecture, especially collaborative symposia held with Japan, seemed experimental and communicative. There was no common view on definition, time range, division, building types and criteria for valuing Chinese modern architecture. In the 1990s, the 16-volume *An Overview of Chinese Early Modern Architecture* was published. This was a key achievement of the time. During the subsequent development stage, more scientific methods became important in surveying and documenting modern architecture (Zhang, 2006b; Zhang, 2010b) under the cultivation of a growing number of domestic researchers and practitioners. Furthermore, through cooperation between universities, a nationwide academic network was established to integrate studies of diverse fields and levels, such as the book series of *Study and Preservation of Chinese Modern Architecture* which is published annually as the anthology of the International Conference on Modern History of Chinese Architecture.

International communications were also enhanced through active participation in and exchange during international conferences. In the meantime, the research into heritage in China began to have a stronger influence on practical conservation activities from the 1990s. In the past decade, studies on Chinese modern architecture have established clearer intellectual frameworks and played an increasing role in guiding the conservation policies and practices in relation to modern architecture (Yang, 2012b). The public has also paid more attention to modern architecture in their daily lives.

After three decades of research, the preservation and reuse of Chinese modern architecture have also progressed simultaneously. In the 1950s, modern architecture first entered the scope of preservation due to its value of 'revolutionary history' (Yang, 2012a). Since then, early modern architecture in China has been administered under the laws and regulations formulated for the protection of cultural relics. In the 1980s,

numerous modern buildings encountered problems such as overuse and lack of maintenance. Urban development at a large scale following the economic reforms aggravated the situation, especially for those buildings perceived as being without revolutionary value. In the mid-1980s, the value of modern architecture had begun to be understood comprehensively, starting with the authentication of a group of historical and cultural cities. On 8 December 1986, a second list of historical and cultural cities was announced, indicating the historical and aesthetic values of urban modern architecture (Yang, 2012a). In November 1996, the State Council reclassified the types of relics, replacing the original notions of 'revolutionary site and revolutionary memorial building' with 'important early modern historical site and representative building' (Yang, 2012a). Chinese modern architecture was thus ascribed a broader range of value and a more integrative connection to the assumed progress of social civilisation. In parallel, regulations at the level of local authoritative were formulated for protection, management and strategy making. Some experimental projects were implemented, searching for new ways to restore and reuse modern buildings. For instance, the 1996 restoration of Zhengyangmen railway station rebuilt the station as a part of the China Railway Museum (Yang, 2012b). After entering the new millennium, research emphasis began to turn to theoretical and technological research into the preservation of historical districts and the production of planning strategy. National legislation for modern architecture is becoming more universal. In 2002, the law on cultural relics amended its definition of important modern architecture from one connected with an important historical event, a revolutionary movement or being noteworthy, to one of important memorial value, educational value or the value of being a piece of historical data. In March 2004, the Ministry of Construction (MOC) published its *Instructions to Strengthen the Preservation of the Outstanding Early Modern Urban Buildings*. Buildings in the *Instructions* generally refer to those that were constructed between the mid-nineteenth century and the 1950s, which may reflect urban development history and represent high historical and cultural value.

Compared with the UK's abundant conservation theories, comprehensive legal system and substantial body of conservation projects, limitations and challenges are noticeable in the conservation of Chinese modern architecture. First, studies of modern architecture have often been restricted to the field of historiography rather than being integrated with heritage and conservation strategy. Only a few original theories, such as Wu Liangyong's 'Organic Renewal' (Wu, 1989b), have been proposed to in relation to

domestic international heritage study and practice. Regional lack of balance is obvious in resource distribution, considering that the dispersal of modern buildings and research levels in developed areas is often higher than in other places. Even though the legislation concerning the preservation of modern architecture has progressed remarkably in the past 30 years, there are still a lot of common modern buildings in all types and styles that cannot be listed for protection because their historical, aesthetic and scientific value has not been approved. In practice, the most prominent problem is the common overlooking of the intangible cultural content of modern architecture and its connection with contemporary social lives.

2.4   SUMMARY

This chapter begins by reviewing a history of heritage, from its origins to the late-modern expansion. Lots of concepts and debates have taken place and have continuous influence on heritage study at present. Then the chapter focuses on the development of the concept of heritage value, which is fundamental in modern conservation and the central topic in this research. It is assumed that how modern architecture has been valued reflect how people read and re-tell their history. The functions and uses of heritage in political, cultural and economic fields determine that heritage conservation various in legal systems, research interests and practical process under different social backgrounds. This is demonstrated by observing the circumstances in the UK and China. The distinct feature of heritage and conservation in each country will be explored in detail in the case studies following in Part Two. Taken the study of heritage value as a primary study of cultural phenomena, it requires interdisciplinary research methods in relation to both empirical and theoretical ideas. Therefore, the next chapter will establish the research methodology by building theoretical framework, selecting research strategies, and designing case studies.

Chapter 3   Research Methodology

After reviewing the case study approach employed here, and associated methods of analysis, this chapter establishes research frameworks for each of the six cases considered below, and integral frameworks for the six studies as structured in three pairs. Historic resources such as documents, archives and others are introduced as research evidence, in relation to which analysis is carried out. For example, historiography and ethnography are combined to study historical phenomena within different cultural contexts; and interpretive and critical realist ideas are employed where the discussion focuses on values introduced by particular actors, and actors' intentions and motivations.

3.1   IDENTIFYING THE PRIMARY RESEARCH STRATEGY

The case study is selected as the main strategy in this research, with other complementary methods also applied to interpretation, analysis and comparison. By precisely portraying a phenomenon, a case study can help to explain the connections between factors (Yin, 2014) influencing heritage conservation values and events, accounting for causal relationships; for example, the links between people's attitudes to history and their actions towards heritage values. It can help to build better understandings of architectural heritage and propose theoretical insights.

There are a lot of ways of carrying out social science research, represented in different research strategies, including experiments, surveys, archival analysis, historical research, case studies and so on (Yin, 2014). For example, the experimental research strategy is often used to establish a causal relationship between two variables, through experiments that manipulate one variable whilst the other variable is measured, whilst other variables are controlled. Survey research, meanwhile, is appreciated by social psychological researchers in studying the complexity of social thought and behaviour. Survey research, conducted by questionnaire, is sometimes conducted with a narrow and homogeneous base of participants and therefore, the generalisability of findings may be queried. Archival research is used broadly to facilitate the investigation of documents and textual materials produced by and about organisations (Zald, 1993; Ventresca and Mohr, 2002). Historical research applied in social work, in contrast, enables researchers to explore and explain the meanings, phases and characteristics of a phenomenon or process at a particular point of time in the past, analysing and

interpreting historical texts, primarily through the approach of textual hermeneutics. Data in historical research may be collected from primary sources, secondary sources, official records and private materials, and key questions concern studies across cultures, and the researcher's epistemological approach. The case study, meanwhile, is a form of empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 2014). Cases often look at individuals, a small group of participants or a group as a whole. Data collection in case study research may come from documentation, interview, direct and participant observation and from multiple methods. To analyse the data collected in case studies, analytical frameworks are required to look for patterns that give meaning to them. There is concern about the validity, reliability and generalisability of case studies when the information from the strategy is compared with statistical analysis methods.

Each of these strategies has its own method of data collection and analysis, and each strategy has its advantages and disadvantages, but there are also few boundaries between different strategies. It can be argued that three conditions distinguish them, as listed by Yin (2014): the types of research questions, the extent of control over behavioural events and the degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events. By comparing the characteristics of the research strategies introduced in the previous paragraph in these three aspects, the most advantageous and efficient approach for a particular research study can be identified.

One straightforward way of categorising research questions is to consider whether they may be generalised into 'what', 'how', and 'why' questions. As worked out by Yin (2014), questions of 'what' usually require justifiable rationales and detailed outcomes to be conducted in exploratory studies, of which survey and archival strategies are likely to be advantageous. The 'what' questions are sometimes represented in the forms of 'who', 'where', 'how many' and 'how much'. In contrast, 'how' and 'why' questions are often linked with issues which recur throughout history. These questions are more explanatory and tend to prefer strategies of case studies, history and experiments. The second way of distinguishing the different strategies is the extent of the investigator's control over, and access to, behavioural events. Only experimental research requires the creation of an artificial environment to monitor and control variables during the procedure. Other strategies, such as most historical methods, require virtually no access or control over the past. When history is dealing

with contemporary events, the strategy overlaps with the issues of the case study. Therefore, another condition for strategy selection is to see whether the research focuses on contemporary or historical events. It is preferred to use case studies when examining contemporary events.

The case study method is particularly appropriate when the research question starts with 'how' or 'why'. As identified in Chapter 1, the central research question of the thesis is about how the heritage of modern architecture has been valued in the UK and China. Further, the research aims to find how people's attitudes to modern architecture might influence their decisions about its heritage conservation. Furthermore, the case study method is of special interest when the studied phenomenon is not clearly or not sufficiently theorised. Although various theories of heritage value and heritage conservation have been proposed to conceptualise heritage, these theories cannot be used to manipulate or control one variable whilst the other variable is put under observation. Instead, heritage events are closely related to the actual behaviour of a specific individual or group, whose attitude may switch or transform over time. The phenomena of heritage events operate under the complex influences of actors, assignments, procedures, goals and so on. Regarding heritage events in relation to modern architecture, some relevant people are not alive to report. Indeed, their attitudes and behaviours may be reconsidered in retrospect, and their influences may or may not still be apparent. It was primarily decided to choose case studies as the main strategy in this research because, 'a "how" and "why" question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the investigator has little or no control' (Yin, 2014).

3.2 DESIGNING CASE STUDIES

3.2.1 General approaches of case studies

There are different definitions of research design. For example, Frankort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1992) defined research design as a principle that

> *guides the investigator in the process of collecting, analysing, and interpreting observations. It is a logical model of proof that allows the researcher to draw inferences concerning causal relations among variables under investigation. The research design also defines the domain of generalizability, that is, whether the existing interpretations can be generalized to a larger population or to different situations.*

Yin's definition of research design emphasises logical sequence connecting the empirical data to a study's initial research questions and conclusion (Yin, 2014). In general, an appropriate research design is the fundamental guarantee of raising questions, collecting data, analysing data, answering questions and drawing conclusions. Yin (2014) further identified five components that are essential in designing a case study: a) a study's question; b) its propositions, if any; c) the unit(s) of analysis; d) the logic linking the data to the propositions; and e) the criteria for interpreting the findings. As set out in Chapter 1, the research question concerns how modern architecture has been valued in heritage study and practice in the UK and China. This central question not only points towards case study methods but also ensures the coherence of the detailed action plan. Another significant idea expressed in Chapter 1 is the nature of heritage, which is argued as being material, cultural and of modernity. Because, as established in Chapter 1, the characteristics of heritage value are constructed by diverse aspects, processes and material artefacts, the research is oriented towards the identification and analysis of different interpretations and the factors influencing them. The broader units of this research are heritage conservation events, which can be related to a single building, a complex or even a large-scale estate. In relation to each object, the attitudes and actions of the participants, including individuals, groups and institutions, are identified as the primary objects of study more than the artefacts themselves. In other words, the data collection in this research is primarily the description of these narrative attitudes and actions in connection with the broader units of heritage events. All data collected should be examined continuously in order to support or oppose the rationality (Rowley, 2002) between their attitudes and actions. Consistent criteria are therefore important.

In a general approach to case study methodologies, it is normally accepted that a preliminary theory is first required (Yin, 2014). Established in Chapter 1 and 2, consolidating – and working in relation to – this theoretical background is an essential part of the design phase in assembling case studies. Covering the above five components, this grounded theory is required to establish a theoretical framework that defines the boundaries of the case study research.

Documents are the most important source of data collection for this research, including accurate records of modern buildings provided by institutions, as well as articles, papers and relevant literature written by individuals who have participated in the heritage events. Data from documentation provides an abundance of information

within a broad coverage of time and space, and can corroborate and link the evidence collected with other resources. For example, in the case study of Jinan Old Railway Station, some interpreters mentioned the name of the architect as Hermann Fischer (Fang, 2010). Yet, no record shows a German architect or engineer with this name, except for a few news reports in recent decades (tsingtau.org, 2010). Therefore, it has been concluded here that the stories about the architect are not reliable enough to be quoted as reliable historic evidence. However, because people's attitudes and actions have already been impacted by these stories, this unreliable information is still introduced, presented as an influential factor in the demolition and reconstruction of the station.

After being collected, all pieces of evidence wait to be examined, categorised, tabulated or recombined to address the initial purposes of the case study. This process is called the analysis of case study evidence. A general strategy should formulate to ensure that the data analysis can consistent with the original theoretical propositions. Simultaneously, 'a descriptive framework for organising the case study' will be developed (Yin, 2014). Based upon this general strategy, many detailed analysis methods, such as pattern matching, explanation-building, time-series analysis and program logic models, can be introduced to conduct a high-quality case study analysis. In this research, in order to examine the interplay of all the factors at work in the case studies addressed in this research, to provide a complete understanding of heritage events, thick texture has been employed as a form of data analysis. This involves in-depth description of the architectural artefact being evaluated, the circumstances in relation to which the heritage events occur, the characteristics of the people involved in the events, and the nature of the community and society in which the building is located.

3.2.2 Theoretical frameworks

Heritage value, the subject of this research, is conceived of as a cultural phenomenon embodied in the substance of artefacts or practices. The interpretation of heritage value includes not only the abstraction of heritage as a concept, but also the perception of human emotional activities including self-consciousness and thinking. In other words, in this research, the value of modern architecture deals with the conception of buildings, considering them as having a material existence that enters humanity's field of activity and thus becomes objectified. Therefore, the epistemological structure of this study mainly involves two closely-related levels of material and historical views.

Considering historical materialism is an important part of the Marxist theoretical system, and Marxism in the broad sense is taken as the basic theory in constructing my theoretical frameworks, whilst ideas and methods used by sociologists such as Max Weber are referred to in order to explain the relationship between social phenomena and social consciousness. First, in historical materialism, the material is independent. It is the root of consciousness. Consciousness is dependent on the material. It is a derivative of material. In the field of architectural heritage, heritage value cannot be created out of the specific buildings, but rather from the 'rewriting, photographing, or reflecting' (Chen and Xiong, 2003) of our perception of the material buildings. Secondly, the Marxist historical view holds that history is the movement, change, and development of the material according to the laws inherent in time and space. Here, human practice is both a part of objective existence and a material embodiment of society. This social existence determines social consciousness. But social consciousness can also be counterproductive to social existence. Therefore, on the one hand, theories of heritage, particularly the concept of heritage value, may relatively independent of social activities in the form of conservation, while on the other hand, conservation practice in certain social contexts specifically and historically determines the changing concept of heritage value. Further, Weber defined social action 'as the acting individual attach[ing] a subjective meaning to his behavior' (Weber, 1968, p. 4). Action such as conservation practice and heritage legislation take place within the social sphere. Therefore, the subjective meaning of heritage events takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented by it in its turn.

In addition to these broad philosophical ideas, many previous heritage theories discussed in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 also help to establish the detailed theoretical structure in this research. This thesis accepts that heritage value is not an intrinsic characteristic but is constructed culturally, socially and historically. It assumes that the characteristics of modernity are derived from modern ideas embedded within artefacts and practices, and from the modern values of actors involved. In addition to the theories of modern heritage study, such as that of Alois Riegl (1903) who divided heritage value categories, modern philosophical, aesthetical and cultural theories have also greatly influenced the understanding of heritage value in this research. For example, Nietzsche and Heidegger have greatly developed modern aesthetics by explaining the dissolution of values in the 'world' (spirit) and 'earth' (substance) (Bartky, 1979; Roberts, 2013). Heidegger further extended Nietzsche's theories and pointed out that people require a

real existence that may be replaced and inherited to maintain the continued existence of themselves at the material, physical, mental, and spiritual levels (Steiner, 1978; Sharr, 2006). Furthermore, the monumental works of Karl Marx were unfolded through the definition of value during the development of economics (Foucault, 1994; Jokilehto, 1999). Michel Foucault further indicated that, in the modern age, value could not be defined 'on the basis of a total system of equivalences, and of the capacity that commodities have of representing one another' (Foucault, 1994). In Foucault's understanding, value is no longer a sign but a product, and labour's productive activities are its sources.

3.2.3   Designing case studies for valuing heritage of modern architecture

All these theoretical principles not only guide the establishment of research questions, which has been introduced in Chapter 1, but also help the process of structuring the thesis, selecting cases, and collecting data. In general, the research is developed in three parts. Part One introduces the theoretical approaches and research strategies. Part Two is the main body of the thesis, comprising three pairs of case studies. Part Three concludes the discussion of the six case studies, connects the conclusions with the integral research questions and extends the argument into further perspectives.

Chapters 1, 2 and 3 constitute Part One of the thesis, which establishes the research context and methods. Chapter 1 reviewed key aspects of heritage study, concluding with two opening stories, outlining the research questions, hypothesis and limitations. Chapter 2 extended ideas concerning the conceptualisation of heritage and heritage value in relation to theoretical and practical developments in the UK and China. The current chapter establishes the research methods employed in this thesis, particularly case study methods, and introduces the structure of the thesis.

Six case studies are organised to comprise Part two (Chapters 4 to 12), which is the main body of the thesis. The cases are not only selected according to the chronological order of the construction of the buildings, but, more importantly, is centralised to answer the three main research questions introduced in 1.3. Therefore, the six case studies are divided into three groups. Each is comprised of one case study from the UK and another from China, followed by a discussion chapter to generalise the sub-theme corresponding to a research question. For example, to observe how changing attitudes to modern buildings had influenced the development of heritage concepts and

modern conservation, the research needs to look at the buildings that had experienced controversial events. These events may include reconstruction, renovation, or even demolition, and had brought about intense discussions which greatly influenced the development of heritage study and conservation practice. Therefore, the first group of case studies choose two railway stations in the UK and China, not only because they are the very early buildings in the modern history of the two countries and had gone through multiple transforms in different periods of modernisations. But also, the stories happened around the two stations, especially their endings of the demolition, have directly and indirectly changed the attitudes to heritage of modern buildings their conservation. In each group of case studies, it must be pointed out that although different concerns are apparent because of the projects' different backgrounds in the two countries, the case study in the UK is to some extent conducted as the pilot study for the subsequent case study in China, providing theoretical support as well as practical outcomes to be compared. This relationship of complementary rather than a comparison between the two cases in each group is also indicated in the general theoretical backgrounds introduced in the previous two chapters that the value of heritage is constructed culturally and historically. Therefore, studies of heritage value in this research will only link the case with its own cultural and historical background. However, after each pair of case studies, a discussion chapter is organised to conclude the two case studies within the argument of a central sub-theme to answer the related research question.

Case Study I is comprised of Chapters 4, 5 and 6. To answer how the changing attitudes to modern buildings influence the development of heritage concepts and modern conservation, case studies in this group should explore the general beliefs surrounding heritage meanings that have changed with patterns of construction during different historical periods. Two early railway stations – London Euston Station and Jinan Old Railway Station – are selected and analysed, focusing on the shifting values attached to the buildings in changing historical, social and cultural contexts. Consequences of these changes are observed not only in the modernisation of technology and social culture, but also in the development of modern conservation in the two countries. Shifting values have also led to the reappraisal of the demolition of both, which became a catalyst of controversial movements to rebuild symbolic elements of these stations. As both stations were demolished, the data collection first looked at the documents that record the history when they still existed. For example, Royde

Smith's book of *Old Euston* (1938) described the history from the beginning of the London Birmingham Railway to the construction of Euston Station and some subsequent changes. Alison and Peter Smithson's (1968) book pays more attention to the construction and demolition of the station's Arch. News reports during the key events support these formal writings and provide some supplemented stories such as the protest to save the Arch (*The Guardian*, 1961b). In addition to the professional works about the relationship between heritage, conservation, and the station (Fawcett, 1976; Hunter, 1996; Delafons, 1997; Simmons and Thorne, 2012), public discussions and social activities (The Euston Arch Trust, 2008; Enoch, 2016) are introduced to provide different angles to read the station. In contrast to the direct documents and records of Euston Station, materials collected for the station in China are more indirect, such as the revolutionary stories from Archives of Shandong Province (Shandong Provincial Committee of CCP, 1927; The Communist Youth League of China Executive Committee of Shandong, 1928; Revolutionary Labour Union of Jiao-Ji Railway, 1931; Shandong Provincial Committee of CCP, 1932; Staff Division of Bohai Military Region, 1945; Yi, 1946; Front-line Headquarters of Mid-South-Shandong Military Region, 1948; Qingdao Municipal Committee of CCP and Jinan Railway Bureau, 1959), building changes in government documents (CCP special branch on Jin-Pu Railway, 1947; Xinhua News Agency East China Bureau, 1949; Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, 1984a; Jinan Railway Bureau, 1988) and studies of China's railway history and modern architectural history (Li, 1961; Wang *et al.*, 1983; Zhang *et al.*, 1995; Li, 1996; Yang, 1997; Zou, 2006). The Archives is in Jinan, the same city where the Chinese station in Case Study I once seated. Multimedia materials are also included to look at different attitudes in the public (Radio Broadcasting and Television Office of Shandong Province, 1985; Guo, 2000; Fang, 2010; Feng Shu Yu Zhou, 2011). Although the major buildings of the two stations do not exist, field investigations were still taken and brought me some immersive feelings and general impressions of the two stations in modern urban life. When I arrived at Euston Station, it was getting dark in London. The two remained lodges of the old station were transformed into bars adjacent to Euston Road (see Fig. 4-11). The outline of the Victorian mason works was blurring in the blue and green neon signs, traffic lights, and street lamps. In Jinan, no trace of the old station could be found at its original site (see Fig. 5-6). But the crowded square, busy crowds around the station, and heavy traffic of the city kept reminding me how important a transportation hub this station has always

been and how urgent the requirement of an efficient railway station in this city. I felt it reasonable that many proposals to enlarge or reconstruct the station had been submitted before the final decision of demolition.

Chapters 7, 8 and 9 form Case Study II, which concerns ideas about national identities embedded in the case studies of modern buildings and their conservation to answer how national identities had been perceived as culturally influential in the conservation of modern buildings with national importance. As the architectural expression of national identity became associated with modernity and has been perceived as culturally influential in national modernisation, this part looks for modern buildings that have been admired to symbolise the image of the nation and related to recent conservation projects. The Royal Festival Hall, London and the National Museum of China, Beijing are examined and meet the criteria. Being the products of significant national events, materials about the historical background of the buildings are necessary (Casson *et al.*, 1951; Cox *et al.*, 1951; Banham and Hillier, 1976; Zou, 2002; Sandbrook, 2006; Zhu, 2008). The positions and influences of the buildings in the history of architecture and conservation are also required to be examined (McKean, 2001; Glendinning, 2003b; Crump, 2007; Whyte, 2009). Considering the central topic of national identity in this part, political contexts such as cultural policy, city management and museum organisation (Jackson, 1965; Newman and Smith, 2000; Richard, 2000; Shan, 2011; Jarman, 2012; Masami, 2012; Varutti, 2014) require certain attention in data collection. Other points of view to value the two cases are also considered such as the public space around the Royal Festival Hall (Pinto and Brandão, 2015; Madgin *et al.*, 2018) and the educational function in the National Museum of China (Li, 2012a; Wang, 2012). All these materials can demonstrate that the idea of maintaining or reconstructing a national ethos and culture is important in the conservation projects of both buildings. This kind of thought is also strengthened during the fieldwork in the two places. For example, the impact of commercialisation is observed during the visit to the Royal Festival Hall. As a student with little funding, I did feel a bit embarrassed to enter the Hall because the ground level is full of stores, coffee shops, and canteens. When I first visited the National Museum of China, an exhibition was held to display the 100-year history of the museum (National Museum of China, 2012c; National Museum of China, 2012a; National Museum of China, 2012b). Other temporary exhibitions with the topic of Chinese culture in a new era were also arranged in the ground level halls with easy access from the main entrance. The

experience in the museum inspired me to extract the key theme of national identity from valuing modern architectural heritage to produce collective cultures.

Chapters 10, 11 and 12 compose Case Study III. This part discusses how heritage and heritage value have been thought in relation to social policy to answer the question that how heritage and heritage value have been used and integrated into modern social policy. Housing policy is an important part of social policy and is mostly related to everyday life. Therefore, case selection in this part turns to modern estate projects and their conservation programmes. Byker in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Ju'er Hutong in Beijing are both constructed in response to solve social housing issues in relation to ideas of social welfare. Amber Films have recorded the changes of Byker in the form of documentaries (Amber Films, 1983; Amber Films, 2011), which can be watched in the Robinson Library in Newcastle University. Materials about political and social backgrounds receive special attention (Glendinning and Muthesius, 1994; Harwood, 2000; Zhang and Fang, 2003; Zenou, 2012; Pendlebury, 2016). Contribution of the architects and the projects in the field of architecture and planning are also considered as an important angle to understand the value of the two projects (Sherwood, 1978; Malpass, 1979; Erskine *et al.*, 1980; Wu, 1991a; Wu, 1994). Both projects have attracted continuous studies on urban renewal, neighbourhood, tourism, etc. (Abramson, 1997; Fang, 1999; Konttinen, 2009; Yarker, 2014). By generalising ideas about social policy in a different scope, including definitions, criticism, and practical approaches, a discussion chapter concludes that social policy and heritage share similar political values to achieve certain social and political targets, including human welfare. Some discussions in the collected materials are verified during the fieldwork in Byker and Ju'er Hutong. Because Byker is in Newcastle, I had direct experience with the poor living environment of the area. I can easily tell that the infrastructure in Byker is worse than the surrounding area. The security situation is the same. I even lost my cycling backpack in Byker. The most intuitive impression of the Hutong areas when I was in Beijing is the commercialisation of these traditional dwelling districts. Many of them are developed as tourist attractions (See Fig. 11-7). Although the new Siheyuan buildings in Ju'er Hutong is not opened for tourism, the tourists are everywhere in the district because the adjacent hutong – Nan Luo Gu Xiang – is one of Beijing's famous tourist site of Hutong culture.

Part Three, Chapter 13, presents the Discussion and Conclusion. It summarises the three pairs of case studies and reconnects the three key themes to the theoretical

background and research frameworks established in Part One. The argument is then extended to the increasingly important role of modern architecture in heritage practice and study, demonstrating both opportunities and challenges. The chapter and the thesis close with perspectives calling for more diverse approaches in valuing and reconceptualising modern architectural heritage.

PART TWO: CASE STUDIES

Case Study I: Changing Attitudes to the Interpretation of Early Modern Buildings

Chapter 4 London Euston Station

Chapter 5 Chapter 5 Jinan Old Railway Station

Chapter 6 Modernity as heritage

Chapter 4   London Euston Station

4.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter concerns the changing attitudes to London Euston Station in different historical periods, with an emphasis on the station's symbolic entrance known as the Euston Arch, the debates around whose demolition greatly influenced modern conservation in the UK. Furthermore, as the first case study under the theme of the changing attitudes to early modern buildings, this Euston chapter opens the discussion of the interaction between modernity and heritage. Euston Station was constructed at the onset of the Victorian Age when the idea of modernity was becoming widespread. During the era, railways and railway stations not only changed the means of transport, but also made a significant contribution to the modernisation of everyday life and popular ideas. Since the Railway Age, British social structure and urban culture evolved towards their contemporary forms. With the stimulus of the Industrial Revolution and associated success of the railway industry, buildings at early modern stations, including the Euston Arch and the Great Hall of Euston Station, were constructed, to seek new architectural forms deemed appropriate to dignify what was imagined as the glorious Victorian Age (Pevsner, 2005). In the subsequent one-and-a-half centuries, alterations and reconstructions have been carried out towards successive modernisations. Indeed, it was nothing other than this pursuit of further modernity that led to the demolition of the original station in the early 1960s, and its reconstruction in modern style, when London recovered from the war and turned to intense redevelopment through mass construction. The demolition of Euston Arch has subsequently become regarded as one of the greatest negative events in the conservation history of the UK (Hunter, 1996; Pendlebury, 2009a; Stamp, 2010). The demolition is seen as the turning point of the UK's conservation values and processes towards their contemporary form. A number of conservation groups and individuals including the Victorian Society gathered experiences of working with the government from their attempts to preserve the Arch. A series of Acts for modern heritage conservation was developed in the aftermath of the demolition, such as the 1967 Civic Amenities Act which introduced conservation areas (Fawcett, 1976). What is more, a general awareness grew of the value of early modern architecture, including Victorian buildings, as concern for heritage was awakened in both public and government. Years after the Arch's demolition, discussions and debates about Euston still exist in many forums, stimulating a contemporary movement to

rebuild the arch, focusing on how the demolition of the Arch has influenced conservation and heritage studies in the UK (Cook and Bayley, 2015; Enoch, 2016).

4.2   A HISTORY OF EUSTON STATION

To tell the history of Euston Station is actually to briefly portray the history of British railways, considering that the station stood through several of its most important historical periods (Francis, 1851; Richardson, 1936; Smith, 1938; Barman, 1950; Ferriday, 1963; Smithson and Smithson, 1968; Betjeman and Gay, 1972; Binney *et al.*, 1979; Dixon and Muthesius, 1985; Carter, 2001). The station had witnessed the rise and fall of British railways and railway buildings in its early construction, then massive alterations, catastrophic demolition and then being held in memory and proposed for reconstruction. Being closely bonded with the Industrial Revolution and its subsequent technical achievements, Euston Station had been a legendary to stand for the characteristic of the Victorian Age, which required a confident and proud showcase of the era (Dixon and Muthesius, 1985). When the requirements of the post-war period changed to the efficiency of electrification and automobile, the old station was demolished and replaced by a modern building (British Rail and London Midland Region, 1968). But the demolition was not the end of the story. It has had continuous influence on the development of conservation and of heritage studies in the UK into aspects of conservation groups and legislation. It also aroused the awareness of valuing modern architecture among the public. Meanwhile, campaigns to rebuild the Euston Arch – the old station's symbolic entrance – have sought every opportunity in the last few decades. Furthermore, the story of Euston Station has been continued referenced when heritage studies have progressed (Pendlebury, 2009a; Sharr and Thornton, 2013). Therefore, this section would chronologically review the significant historical periods of Euston Station.

4.2.1   *London and Birmingham Railway*

The primary stimuli for the creation and innovation of railways were the increasing need of a new mode of transport with high speed and mass capacity (Francis, 1851). In the nineteenth century, rapid development of industry and economy in the UK brought about heavy demand in transporting goods from producing areas to markets. The amount of traffic and transport increased hugely in the early nineteenth century. For example, coaches on the London and Birmingham road rose from 8 in 1800, with an average travel time of 18 to 20 hours, to 22 in 1831, with an average time of 12 hours

(Smith, 1938). The old modes of transport had obvious defects and could not meet rapidly increasing demand. When canals were frozen in winter they could not carry any goods. Coaches only had small load capacity. Besides, old modes of transport are usually slow and expensive. Thus, merchants and manufacturers were eager to look for a better way of service. They turned to the potential of the steam locomotive which was first built at the beginning of the nineteenth century (BBC, 2004). Promoted through intense experiment and promotion, railways eventually became the most important mode of transport in the Victorian Age (Ottley, 1965), and in some cases, still are even today. The success of railways in the Victorian Age was not easy. Although advocated as a solution for mass transport in 1820s, the earliest application of railways had been in the coal mines of Northern England (Biddle, 1973). At the beginning, the outlook for railways was unpromising, until technical improvements were made such as innovations in locomotives (Francis, 1851). It is said that two historic events – the Rainhill contest of locomotives in 1825 and the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in 1830 – inaugurated the British railway age (Smith, 1938). After that, Britain picked up speed, both on the rails and in social and economic transformation (Ferriday, 1963). Meanwhile, changes also took place in architecture, landscape and urban forms in the UK (Dixon and Muthesius, 1985).

In the eighteenth century, Birmingham was already one of the most important manufacturing cities in the country (Smith, 1938). The explosive increase in industry and economy brought about mass growth in manufacture and population. For example, the population of Birmingham grew rapidly from 25,000 in 1781 to 120,000 in 1831 (Smith, 1938). Therefore, it was a pressing issue to find a new and efficient way to carry goods and passengers from the 'grand toyshop of Europe' to 'the enormous stomach' of England, London (Smith, 1938). When locomotives achieved technological breakthroughs in the 1820s, a railway between London and Birmingham seemed truly viable. As early as in 1825, surveys and preparations had been made for such a railway (Roscoe, 1839). Three years later, a company was formed for undertaking this project, claiming the line to be 'easy, cheap, and expeditious' for interchange of commerce between the Midlands, London and northern counties (Smith, 1938). In 1830, two independent schemes were brought before the public: one would pass through via Oxford and Banbury, the other would run from Birmingham to London by way of Coventry, Rugby, Hemel Hempstead and East Barnet to Islington (Roscoe, 1839). The latter was deemed to give 'an incalculable impulse to the commerce of the Empire too

obvious to need elucidation' (Smith, 1938). On 30 September of the same year, the two rival schemes were combined by their respective promoters (Smith, 1938). Also in 1830, George and Robert Stephenson were appointed as engineers of the project (Roscoe, 1839; British Rail and London Midland Region, 1968). In 1831, the railway company calculated that the estimated cost would be over £3,000,000 (Roscoe, 1839). More detailed statements and reports were published subsequently, including the restriction of land use and expected annual passenger- and goods volume. However, the plan for a London and Birmingham Railway was rejected by the Lords in Parliament, partly because the cost estimated in the Bill of land required for the plan was questionable (Roscoe, 1839). It was not until 1833 that a new application was submitted to Parliament, in which capital was reduced (British Rail and London Midland Region, 1968). On 6 May 1833, an Act was approved for the construction of the railway line between London and Birmingham (Smith, 1938). In the initial 1833 proposal, the line was to start on the west side of the high road from London to Hampstead, at or near the first bridge west of the lock on the Regent's Canal at Camden Town, with a terminus built at Chalk Farm, near the present Roundhouse. As suggested by Robert Stephenson
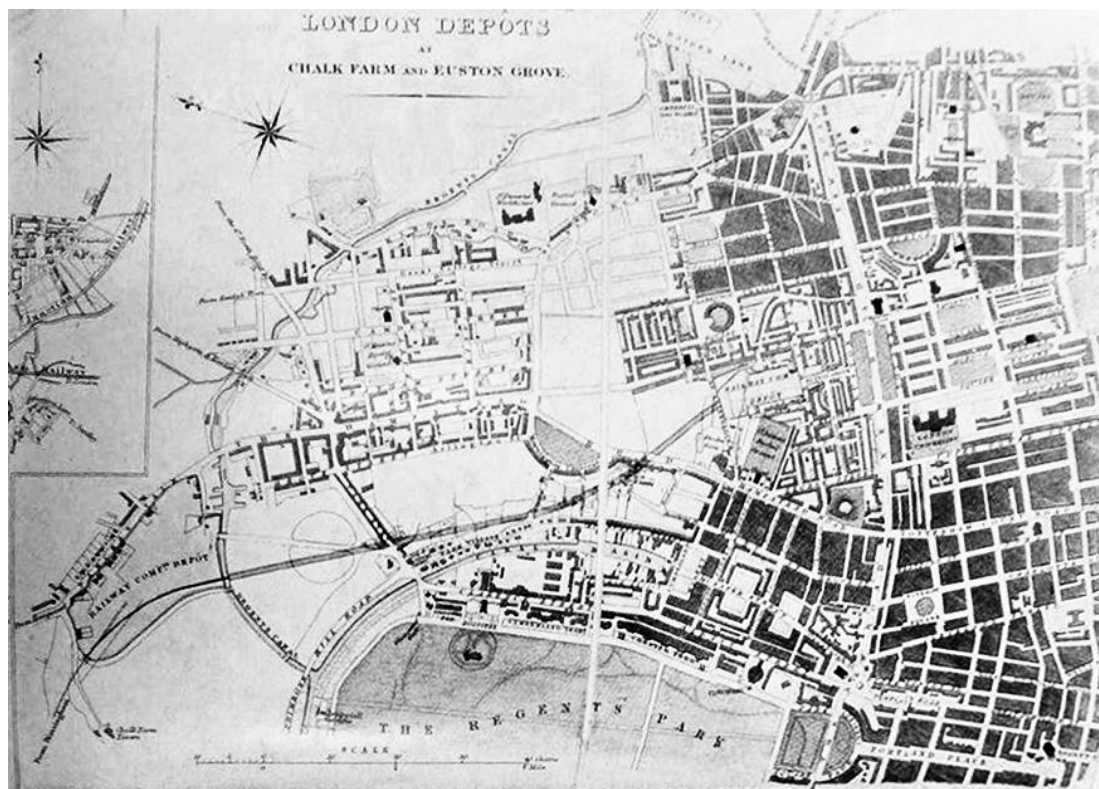
Fig. 4- 1 The extension line and surrounding district, from a map made for the London and Birmingham Railway

Source: (Smith, 1938)

in 1834 and authorised by an Act of Parliament in 1835, the London end of the line was then extended to Euston Grove (see Fig 4-1), on the north side of Drummond Street near Euston Square. The rapid industrial and economic development of the Euston area motivated the decision to make this extension. On 20 July 1837, a part of the London and Birmingham line was opened, and the whole line was opened on 17 September 1838 (Smith, 1938). By then, in the field of Euston Grove taken by Euston Station, a first mainline terminus stood as a grand entrance to the greatest capital city of the world.

4.2.2 Construction and alteration of Euston Station

The whole station was officially opened for operation on 20 July 1837 (Euston Arch Trust, 2008a). The general plan (see Fig. 4-2) of Euston Station was made by Robert Stephenson and the engineering parts including the platform sheds (see Fig. 4-3)
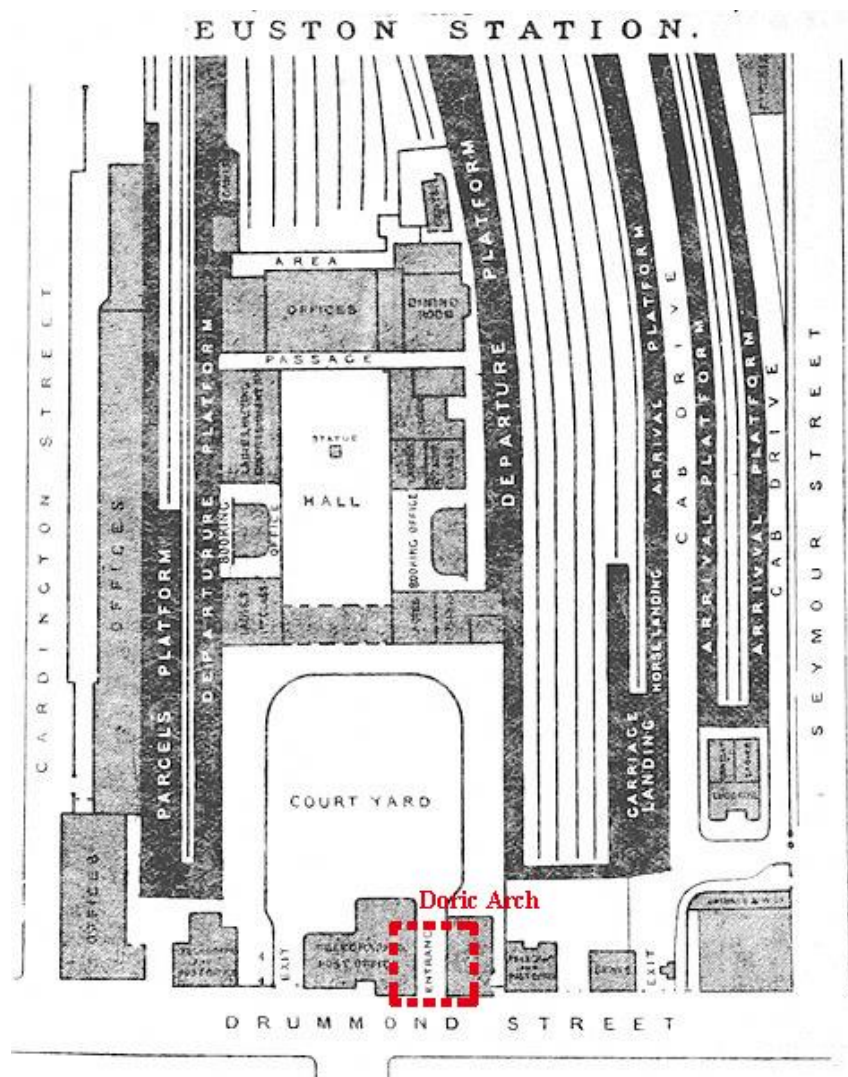
Fig. 4- 2 Euston Station plan in 1888, marking out the position of the Doric Arch

Source: (Kendal, 2017)
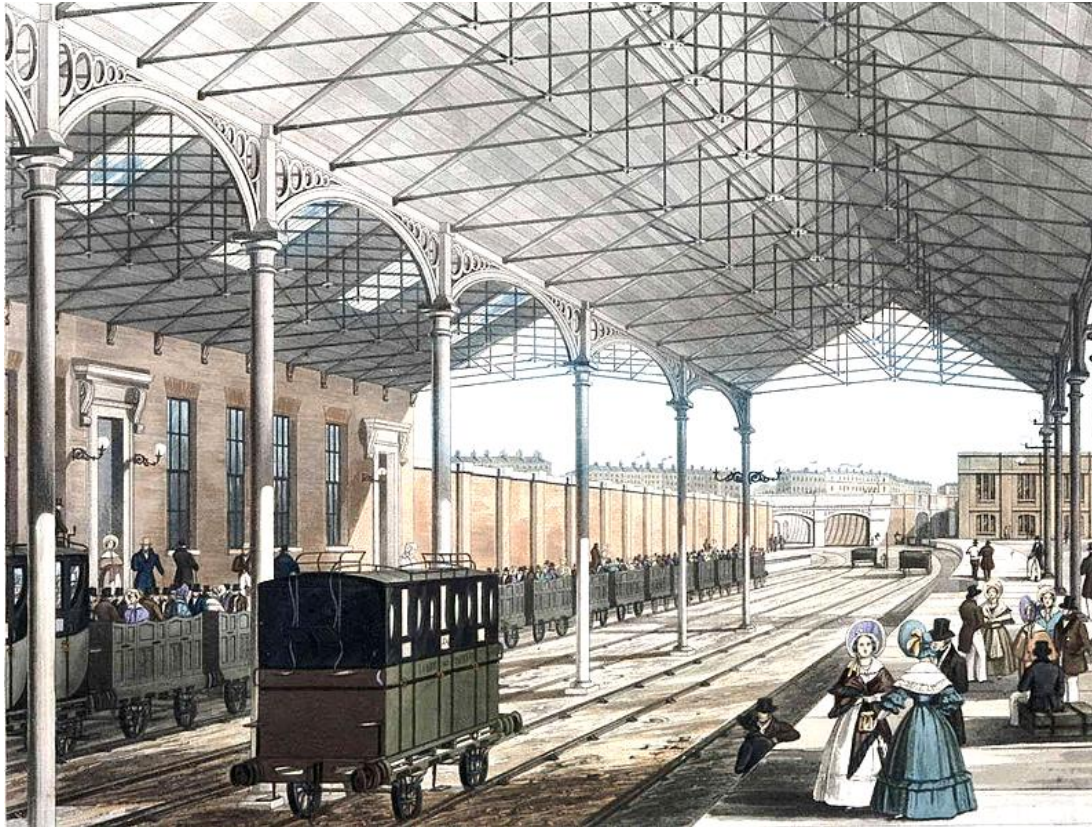
Fig. 4- 3 Wrought iron shed, Euston Station

Source: (Kendal, 2017)

were designed by Charles Fox (Barman, 1950). The early structures in the station consisted of two platforms, one for departures and one for arrivals; platform coverings; a two-storey building adjacent to the departure platform; an architectural front structure in the form of portico; and a larger building containing booking offices. The most famous part of the station became the grand entrance building, known as Euston Arch or Doric Arch, which was designed by Philip Hardwick in 1837 and built in 1838 (see Fig. 4-4).

Before Stephenson put forward his plan, there had been a persistent idea that the terminus of London & Birmingham Railway should represent a monumental entrance to a modern capital city, just like the city gate to an ancient city (Betjeman and Gay, 1972). A mighty gateway was expected to be produced for London, England's capital and heart. After Stephenson's plan was approved in November, 1835, Philip Hardwick, a Royal Academician and classically trained architect of talent and versatility, was summoned to prepare the elevation of the entrance building in July 1836 (Betjeman and Gay, 1972). He then put forward a design with the entrance in the form of a high Doric
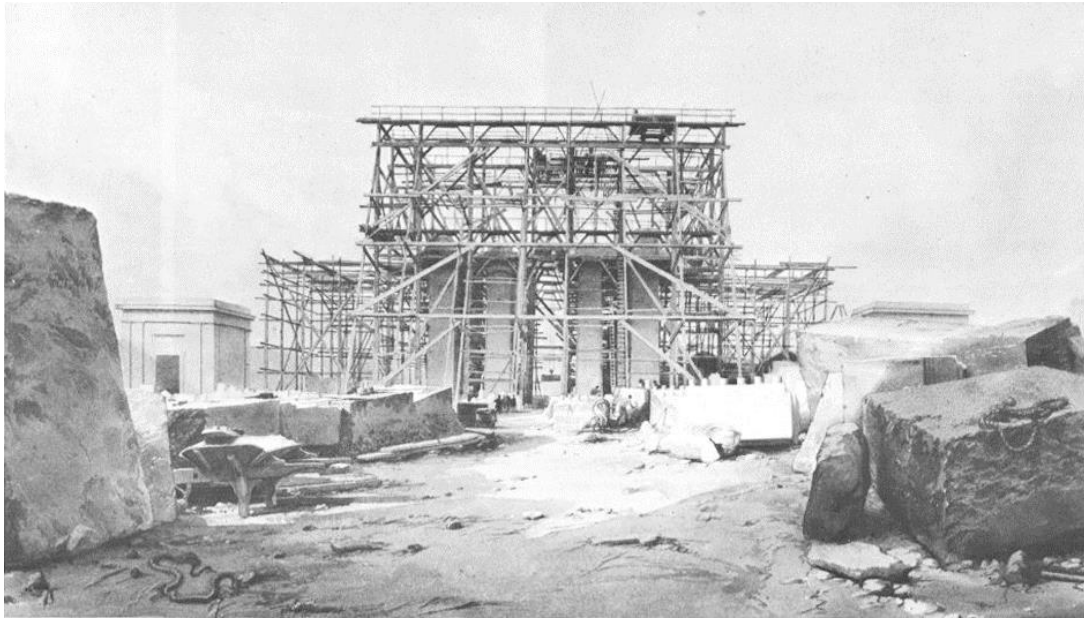
Fig. 4- 4 Euston Arch under construction, 1838

Source: (Smithson and Smithson, 1968)

propylæum. In the report to the proprietors in February 1837, the construction of the Arch was announced:

> *'The Entrance to the London Passenger Station opening immediately upon what will necessarily become the Grand Avenue for travelling between the Metropolis and the midland and northern parts of the Kingdom, the Director thought that should receive some architectural embellishment. They adopted accordingly a design of Mr. Hardwick's for a grand but simple portico, which they considered well adapted to the national character of the undertaking.'* (Smith, 1938)

Though being well-known as Euston Arch, strictly speaking it was not an arch at all, but a propylæum built according to the Doric order (Betjeman and Gay, 1972). The central structure stood 70 feet 6 inches (21m approx.) high and 44 feet (13m approx.) deep (Euston Arch Trust, 2008a). The columns of the Arch was higher than those of any other building in London at the time (Smith, 1938; Betjeman and Gay, 1972). The triangular pediment was supported on four fluted columns, each of which was 8 feet 6 inches in diameter (Betjeman and Gay, 1972). These columns formed the main carriage entrance. They also served as picture frames, through which the green hills of Hampstead beyond could be glimpsed looking out from inside the station (Betjeman and Gay 1972). In 1839, John Britton, an architect and architectural historian, described the details of Euston Arch with high praise:

> *The Propylæum is remarkable for [its] magnitude and simplicity of arrangement, and for its strictly classical character. It is, indeed, a most*

successful adaptation of the pure Grecian Doric; admirably suited, by the massiveness and boldness of its design and execution, for an approach to a line of communication connecting the British metropolis with the most important towns of the Kingdom [...] All spectators are impressed by magnitude of mass, or by highly enriched detail in public buildings; and it is often remarked by critics that the English are too parsimonious and calculating to produce either the one or the other. The following comments by a judicious writer are in unison with our convictions: 'As a specimen of Greek architecture, this structure has not only the merit of being upon a grander scale than anything of the kind yet attempted in this country, but also free from any adulteration of the style by the admixture of features which, however well they may be designed in themselves, almost invariably detract more or less from classicality of design. Here there was, fortunately, no occasion for having sash-windows peeping out between Doric columns. Neither have we a severe Doric portico; correct, perhaps, and unexceptionable in itself, yet tacked to a building of different and modern physiognomy, and to which it is merely an adjunct, and an expletive. On the contrary, the Grecian outline is preserved entire; on which account the structure exhibits itself to most advantage when viewed obliquely, so as to show its line of roof and depth, especially as the cornice is of unusually bold and new design, being not only ornamental with projecting lion heads, but crowned by a series of deep antefixae; while when beheld from a greater distance, the large stone slabs are also seen that cover the roof.' (Smith, 1938)

On the east and west sides of the portico, two pairs of square stone lodges were built (see Fig. 4-5). All four lodges were in Greek Revival style, adorned with flat

Fig. 4- 5 Euston Arch and four lodges, Euston Station

Source: (Kendal, 2017)

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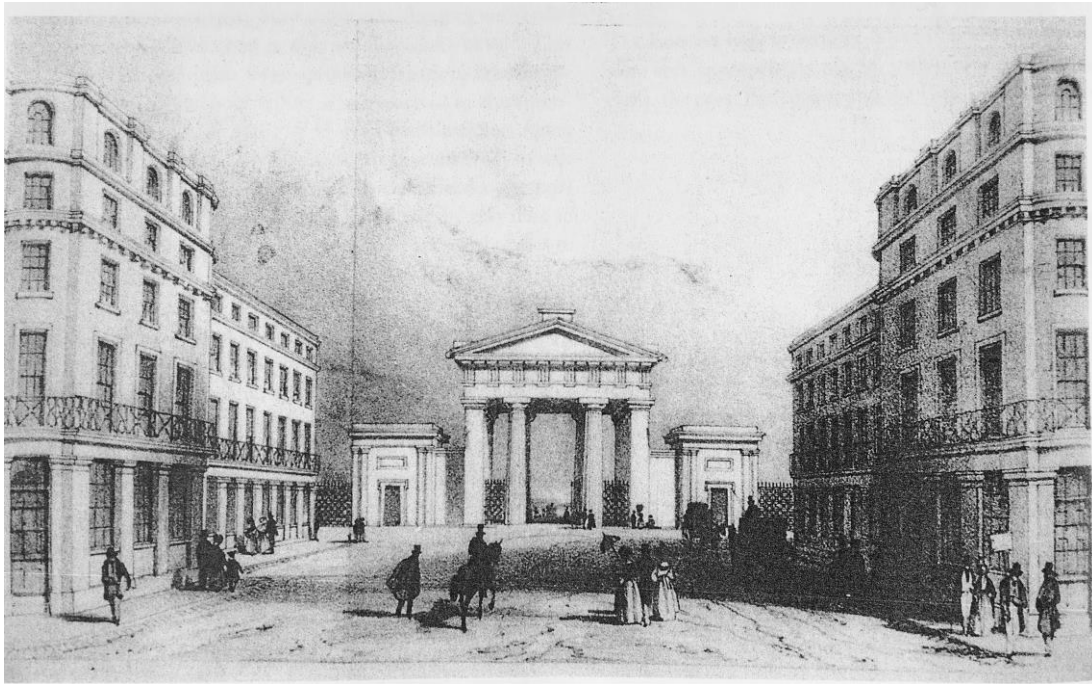
Fig. 4- 6 The first railway hotels, the Victorian and the Adelaide (subsequently called Euston, flanked the famous Doric Arch at the entrance to the station

Source: (Denby, 1998)

pilasters (Euston Arch Trust, 2008a). A grand Doric central door opened on each lodge. Each pair of lodges was connected by a lofty and ornamental screen and gates of cast-iron.

After 1837, the scale of Euston station had kept growing as a response to heavily increased traffic. In 1839, two hotels were erected flanking the approach to the portico (Binney *et al.*, 1979; Denby, 1998). These two hotels were known as 'Euston Hotel' on the east and 'Victorian Hotel' on the west (see Fig. 4-6). Both hotels were designed by Philip Hardwick. The erection of the two hotels was so impressive that Mr Jorrock (Binney *et al.*, 1979) said: 'But look first at the dimensions of the Euston – why it's a town in itself! Take its opposite neighbour and twin brother, the Victorian, with it, and they are a city of themselves; in olden times they would have returned a Member of Parliament between them.'

In 1846, the London & Birmingham Railway company merged with the Grand Junction and Manchester and Birmingham Railways into the London and North Western Railway, and an Act was approved to entrust the new company with Euston Station (Smith, 1938). From 1846-49 the growth of the station saw a series of prominent designs and construction, including the Great Hall, meeting and board rooms, general offices and new booking offices. The architect for this extension scheme was still Philip

Hardwick, but the work was actually done by his son, Philip Charles Hardwick (Barman, 1950). The huge range of new buildings was well combined with the existing station buildings, including the portico and platform (Binney *et al.*, 1979). After the extension, an integral station complex was ready to provide passengers with linear experiences they had never had before. Behind the magnificent Doric entrance, the

Fig. 4- 7 Impression of the Great Hall

Drawn by P. C. Hardwick (Smith, 1938)

Great Hall in the middle of the new buildings would at once catch the eye. Its initial design was in the form of a Roman bath with large semi-circular windows. But eventually, the spectacular hall was built in considered Roman Ionic style (see Fig. 4-7) (Smith, 1938; Barman, 1950). The Great Hall was regarded as one of London's finest public rooms in its time (Betjeman and Gay, 1972) which was well-known for its sweeping double-flight stairs, coffered ceiling, and allegorical statues (Smith, 1938).

To the east and west of the hall, two blocks of identical size were built. The east one was the London and Birmingham booking office reconstructed from a previous building. The west one was of the office building of Midland Counties Railway. Another block was built to the north of the Great Hall, holding meeting room, board room, and so on. A building for a parcel office was erected in a long narrow plot running from north to south on the west side of the oblong station yard. To the south of the parcel office, the building of the Queen's Apartments was built to accommodate royalty and other dignified passengers. These two buildings were also designed by Philip Charles Hardwick in Greek style to echo the Arch (Smith, 1938). The coverings of the station platform were extended to shelter the new tracks. Behind these new buildings, new arrival platforms 1-3 were added, one of which made Euston the only London terminus that connected with York at the time.

A phase of expansion began in 1851, in the same year the Great Exhibition was held in London, and by 1855 Euston station was displayed again in a new image (Smith, 1938). The influence of the Great Exhibition lasted into the 1860s. In this period, the station was enlarged towards the east. New arrival platforms were added, replacing some old properties on the site. A bridge for signal cabins was erected over the north end of these platforms. New parcel offices and additional accommodation buildings were also built in this period. Parts of the old platform coverings, which were extremely low and unfavourable compared to the newly-built King's Cross and St. Pancras stations nearby, were raised 6 feet higher in 1870. More platforms and other extensions were added in 1871-73. In 1880-81, the Euston and Victoria hotels were joined together, and new office buildings were erected on the west and east side of the station yard, carrying on the cornice line of the nearby Great Hall. In 1883, the station was authorised by Parliament to purchase ground to the west for further expansion, which was still ongoing in the 1910s-20s (Smith, 1938).

4.2.3   Threat, survival, fight and demolition

Generally speaking, Euston Station had been admired as one of the greatest monuments of the Railway Age and as an iconic gateway to London, for its massive scale and magnificent ornamentation, particularly when considering its symbolic entrance, the Doric portico (Biddle, 1973). In the 1930s however, this reputation of the station changed, and the Arch was threatened with demolition. This was not the first time Euston Station had faced this threat. As early as 1841, a plan to erect an entirely new station had been put forward, because growth of traffic had increased unexpected quickly just after Euston was built. For example, from 1831 to 1841, the consignment of packages almost doubled, and Euston Station, which had only been open for a few years, was blamed harshly for failing to fulfil various requirements including delivery of packages, shelter for passengers and accommodation (Smith, 1938). Too many complaints damaged the reputation of the station and led to a plan to erect an entirely new station at the beginning of the 1840s. But this reconstruction idea was quickly abandoned in 1842, on considering the huge expense, and was replaced by continuous enlargement and renovation projects (Smith, 1938).

In the 1930s, Euston Station met its first real threat. This time the insistent demands of modernised and electrified traffic played a decisive role. In 1936, the London Midland and Scottish Railway (LMS) announced its plans to build a new Euston Station, claiming that most British railway stations were 'far below the standard of excellency maintained by the passenger services' (*The Observer*, 1936). Mr Percy Thomas, President of the Royal Institute of British Architects, was appointed as consulting architect for this new station. This programme had the financial backing of the government, under the Railways Agreement Act. It involved the reconstruction and re-planning of the station, hotel, and office buildings. It was particularly mentioned by the authority that the façade would be brought up to Euston Road. But what would happen to Euston Arch had not yet been settled. In 1938, LMS proposed a design competition for rebuilding the station complex, suggesting that the Arch could be moved and make a place where the station could be rebuilt. Percy Thomas provided a design inspired by modern stations in the United States (Beatty and Moorcroft, 1971). His plan was a large stripped-Classical block with wings (see Fig. 4-8) to incorporate the station, a hotel and offices. The plan also required the removal of the Euston Arch. Later this was to persuade pro-conservation groups and individuals that by their efforts the Arch could be rebuilt on another site (Beatty and Moorcroft, 1971). But in the

Fig. 4- 8 New Euston Station in the 1930s plan

Source: (Kendal, 2017)

1930s, there was no doubt that Euston Station, including the Euston Arch and Great Hall, would be demolished, and only pity and regret were left:

> *Countless millions of travellers have passed beneath it during the hundred years of its existence, and now its days are numbered. It is to disappear like the Great Hall that stands behind it, and the beautiful lanes of England that are being destroyed daily by the insistent demands of modern traffic.* (Smith, 1938)

Thomas' plans were never realised because of the outbreak of the Second World War. During the war, the Blitz destroyed a mass of buildings near Euston Station (Museum of London, 2017), although the station stayed mostly intact. However, by the second half of the twentieth century, its demolition seemed inevitable. After the Second World War, many British cities were under intense reconstruction, trying to recover from the damage. Ironically, this recovery sometimes meant demolition of old buildings. On the one hand, badly damaged old buildings could be identified as dilapidated, and were to be removed for safety. On the other, when commercial activity increased in the capital, renewing everything became the prevailing aim of developers and government. The demolition of Euston Arch was a direct result of this wave of modernisation-oriented urban redevelopment (Pendlebury, 2013).

The story of the demolition of Euston Arch started in August 1959, when a meeting took place between the officers of the London County Council (LCC) and the British Transport Commission (BTC) about a proposed reconstruction of the whole of Euston Station (Smithson and Smithson, 1968). The demolition was part of a modernisation programme which was conceived to upgrade and electrify the main line between Euston and Scotland (British Rail and London Midland Region, 1968). As Euston Station at the time was regarded as inconveniently sited and impractically small,

the proposal called for the demolition of the entire old station, including the Arch and the Great Hall, which were both Grade II listed buildings at that time (Smithson and Smithson, 1968). In January 1960, BTC gave formal notice that they intended to demolish the Arch to the LCC town-planning committee. At the same time however, BTC, with agreement of the LCC, was still considering re-erecting the Arch on a 'dignified' site (*The Guardian*, 1960a). However, after a further survey, BTC informed LCC, that there was no financial possibility of preserving the Arch, just it had been claimed not long before that the Great Hall had to go (*The Guardian*, 1960b). It was estimated that to re-erect Euston Arch would cost £180,000, later increased to £190,000, and would not be funded by BTC, LCC nor the government, whilst a simple demolition would only cost £12,000 (Smithson and Smithson, 1968). No wonder the outcome of a further discussion between the LCC and BTC was that the Arch was quite unrelated to the new station (Smithson and Smithson, 1968).

Individual protesters immediately moved after that they knew the Arch had to go. In February 1960, one month after the BTC's first notice, Woodrow Wyatt, MP, who was a public champion of the Euston Arch, spoke about this in Parliament (Smithson and Smithson, 1968). In his opinion, moving the Arch meant the denial of its significance. A month later, Mr Wyatt raised a question with the Minister of Housing in Parliament where he suggested applying a Building Preservation Order on the Euston Arch. He then received a perfunctory reply that experts in the LCC had given similar advice and were in touch with the BTC on this. In October 1960, Mr Wyatt was still trying to raise a question through Parliament. But he would not receive any further replies because the Arch's future had approached the cabinet level, the progress of which was suspended and finally dropped (Smithson and Smithson, 1968).

Institutions that treasured the Arch also reacted quickly as a response to the demolition announcement. The Royal Fine Art Commission (RFAC), which was responsible for advising on questions of 'public amenity or of artistic importance', indicated that the LCC and BTC should consult RFAC for a major project like this before making the final decision of demolition (Smithson and Smithson, 1968). But this initiative was passed between LCC, BTC, the Ministry of Housing and local authorities. Finally, the LCC and BTC agreed that the RFAC could supervise 'as watchdog' on the public's behalf. Local planning authorities were also expected to seek advice from the RFAC on development schemes with national or major regional importance. But the truth was that the RFAC had actually not been given the chance to approve or

disapprove anything in the event of Euston being demolished (Smithson and Smithson, 1968).

While Mr Wyatt and the Royal Fine Art Commission were seeking opportunities to save Euston Arch through administrative and legislative approaches, many social groups were making energetic efforts to rescue the Arch in various ways, such as establishing a special preservation committee, launching a foundation to support the cost of removing the Arch, and even carrying out a protest march to stop the demolition (*The Guardian*, 1961b). Many celebrities and significant figures who were interested in either architecture, town planning, or just the building, including John Betjeman and Nikolaus Pevsner, had expressed their sadness, anxiety and anger over the loss of Euston Arch, which was repeatedly recalled in the writings of these people after the demolition (Pevsner, 1968; Betjeman and Gay, 1972). There were also others trying to lobby government to preserve the Arch, including Sir Charles Wheeler, the President of the Royal Academy, backed by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, the Georgian Group and the London Society (Smithson and Smithson, 1968). The Victorian Society pleaded for a stay of demolition while attempting to raise £90,000 to relocate the Arch. The Society even succeeded in finding a Canadian firm who was willing to finance moving and re-erecting the Arch to a nearby site (Smithson and Smithson, 1968). However, this relocation proposal was finally rejected because it would badly delay the construction of the new station (*The Guardian*, 1961a).

While so many groups, institutions and individuals endeavoured to preserve the Arch, others were not so fond of it. Those who wanted it demolished argued that the Arch was functionally useless in the new station plan (*The Guardian*, 1961a; British Rail and London Midland Region, 1968). In this view, the Arch was not a necessary part of a railway station but only an entrance to the forecourt, especially when considering that the Arch was even not in the axis of the station plan (see Fig 4-2). In contrast to Sir John Betjeman and Sir Charles Wheeler, there were other people in 'the Establishment' who were willing to demolish the Arch. Sir Frank Markham had written a letter to *The Times* to express his favour of demolition (Smithson and Smithson, 1968). Pevsner had recalled his response to such arguments a few years later after the demolition:

There is a spiritual as well as a material function of architecture and [...] a building has an emotional effect on the beholder. [...] Looked at in this way the Euston Propylaeum assumes a new significance. Here was the gateway to the London & Birmingham Railway, one of the great achievements of man, as Alison and Peter Smithson are going to tell you. To celebrate it and then to commemorate it, only that style of architecture is worthy which stands in everyone's mind associatively for the greatest human achievements, the style of the Age of Pericles. (Pevsner, 1968)

However, all the efforts to save the Arch in the lobbies and among the public only postponed its doom into late 1961. On 12 July 1961, the Ministry of Transport announced that 'the preservation of the Arch does not justify the sort of expenditure that would be involved in removing it to another site' (*The Guardian*, 1961b). Besides, three 50-year-old Underground lifts near the Arch had almost reached the end of their useful lives and required immediate replacement. Under these circumstances, the Arch, though to be regretted as the passing of a major monument of the early railway age, was not worthy of huge expenditure for relocation. One day later, the final decision of the government was released in *The Guardian*, that the Arch was too costly to preserve and

Fig. 4- 9 The demolition of the Doric portico at Euston Station, London, 1961

Source: collection of Science & Society Picture Library (Science & Society Picture Library)

had to go (*The Guardian*, 1961a). At the beginning of August 1961, the RFAC was informed by the LCC that no change would be made to their decision to demolish Euston Arch. Up to then, all efforts to save Euston Station had proved to be in vain, though there were still people lobbying and protesting at the last minute. On October 16 1961, Mr Gary Slater, a 32-year-old architect led a protest march to stop the demolition of Euston Arch, with a band of London architects and students (*The Guardian*, 1961b). About seventy people marched round Euston Square with the slogan of 'Save the Arch' on a long banner. The last determined but powerless attempt to save Euston Arch occurred on 24 October, 1961, when a group of campaigners including several eminent figures was able to meet Harold Macmillan, the Conservative Prime Minister, to plead for the preservation of the Arch (Smithson and Smithson, 1968). They tried to persuade him concerning its amenity, architectural value, historic association and intelligent planning. It was suggested that if the Arch really had to go, it should be re-erected elsewhere. The Prime Minister did not reply then and there to their request, except to say he would consider the matter. Two weeks later, on 2 November, 1961, the deputation received Macmillan's negative answer (Smithson and Smithson, 1968).

The demolition of Euston Arch began in December 1961 (see Fig. 4-9). On the site of the old Euston Station, a new Euston Station was then erected in an international modern style.

4.2.4 *New Euston Station and movement to rebuild Euston Arch*

The construction of new Euston Station was commissioned to Taylor Woodrow Construction Ltd and was carried out in two stages (*The Guardian*, 1962; *The Guardian*, 1964). The first stage was confined to the areas concerned with train working in and out of the terminus, and the second to the provision of passenger facilities and associated work, dealing with the modernisation of tracks and platforms to allow for increased traffic and to give better facilities for handling parcels (Beatty and Moorcroft, 1971). To symbolise the coming of the 'electric age', the rail station building was designed in the international Modern style (see Fig. 4-10). The new station building was structured in a long, low concrete box with a frontage of about 646 feet (197m approx.) wide (British Rail and London Midland Region, 1968). All vehicular movement in the station was rearranged to take place below ground, with passengers having sole use of the ground level area (British Rail and London Midland Region, 1968). The new station was connected with London Underground by escalators in the main concourse building

within which most main facilities were concentrated to solve all travelling issues, including ticket sales, enquires and reservations (British Rail and London Midland Region, 1968). More facilities to provide for everyday comfort and convenience were arranged on the first floor above, including a first-class hotel. The front of this modern station was later hidden behind the buildings of the second phase of the reconstruction programme which included a bus terminal and three low-rise office towers and was completed in the late 1970s (British Rail and London Midland Region, 1968). All these buildings are in modern style. Most building exterior walls made in polished dark stone, complemented by white tiles, exposed concrete and plain glazing. Only a couple of remnants of the old Euston were preserved, such as two stone lodges (see Fig. 4-11). The statue of Robert Stephenson, which had been in the Great Hall, now stands outdoors in the forecourt (see Fig. 4-10).

Fig. 4- 10 New Euston Station

Photographer: Richard Rogers (2009)
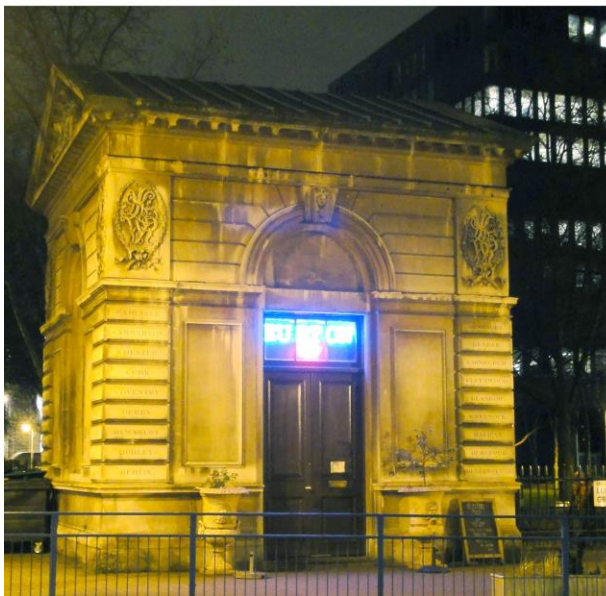
Fig. 4- 11 Two preserved lodges of the old Euston Station

Source: author's collection

The design of the new Euston Station, in particular the concourse building, has been widely and severely criticised ever since it was built, with only a few words of praise made by the railway company. Beyond that, only a few newspaper articles, published at the opening of the new station by the Queen, proclaimed the achievements and amenities of the new Euston in aspects such as standardisation and kinetic art (Moorhouse, 1968). The praise of the new station started with attacking words to the demolished Euston Arch: 'At Euston, the site was merely cluttered by Hardwick's Doric arch, whose magnificence was obscured for most […] by the muck that had been allowed to accumulate on it for a century.' As a contrast, the new station was to be

regarded as the most exciting modern railway station in Britain. There are also some relatively positive or neutral reviews about the new station. In a book of sketches of London railway architecture (Symes and Cole, 1973), the authors describe the exterior of the new Euston of 1969 as 'dry but not unattractive'. Compared to the rich words for other stations in classical or rural style in this book, the description of Euston is rather simple and rough. It looks as if the only merit of this new station is its glossy outside and light interior. Besides, even in the few sentences for the new Euston, only the surviving classical lodge and the war memorial to the employees of the London & North Western Railway are really highlighted, rather than the new building (see Fig. 4-12). Moreover, it seems hard for the authors to find something interesting of the new Euston to draw in this sketch book. The new station is drawn in few light lines as the background of the lodge and memorial which are drawn in thick black lines. The inside space of the new station seems so boring and characterless that the authors only illustrate half of an interior escalator.

Meanwhile, far more critical words about the new station can be found. The new station building's low-rise international style was often described as ugly and unfriendly to use. For example, Betjeman and Gay (1972) refused to recognise the new station as a masterpiece. They condemned the new station as an inhuman structure, as there was no place for people to sit and the underground taxi-entrance was full of fumes. They also criticised that the external appearance of the glass building was a mere imitation of
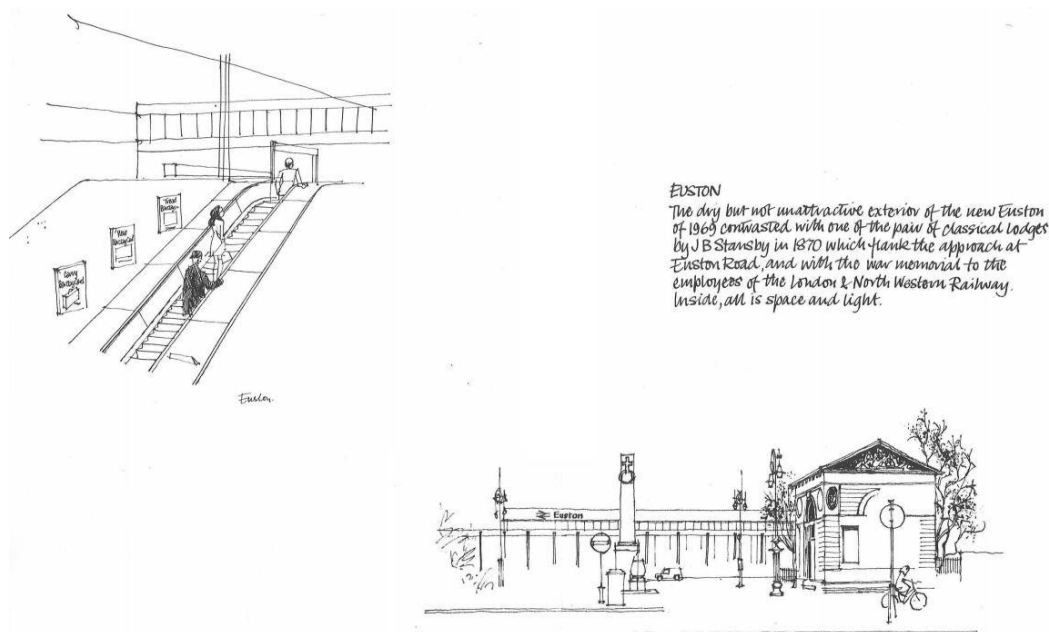
Fig. 4- 12 Sketches of Euston Station, 1970s

Drawn by Rodney Symes & David Cole (1973)

London Airport. The so-called convenient and comfortable facilities only existed, in their view, to aggravate anti-social behaviour and annoy passengers. The loss of the Great Hall meant that London had lost its finest public room. Although some defects do exist in the design of the new station, to a certain extent these harsh critiques, especially by those who tried to save the old station, are often transferred anger about the previous demolition.

Forty years later, as the number of passengers had continuously increased, the 'new' Euston station again faced familiar problems such as insufficient platforms and service facilities. To those who have always regretted the demolition of Euston Arch, opportunities to rebuild the Arch have arisen from the proposal to enlarge or reconstruct Euston Station. Since the 1990s, there has been a new wave of campaigns to rebuild the Arch (The Euston Arch Trust). The first came in 1994 from a TV documentary programme, 'One Foot in the Past', where architectural historian Dan Cruickshank expressed his strong desire to rebuild the Arch (ATKINS, 2009). He claimed that he had discovered about the 60% of the stones cut and dismantled from the old Arch during the demolition. Some of the stones were used to fill in a hole in a river in East London. Others were piled up in the retaining wall of a private domestic garden in Kent. Cruickshank said although the columns had been cut brutally into pieces, the stone had not been weathered badly. As he added in the programme, 'this makes the reconstruction of the Arch a tangible reality,' (*BBC*, 1994). In 1995 Cruickshank launched the Euston Arch Trust together with many journalists, historians and architects (Euston Arch Trust, 2008b). The organisation has played an active role in advocating the reconstruction of the Arch although most of its activities are merely appeals rather than having a continuous and solid influence in reality (Euston Arch Trust, 2008c). Nevertheless, traces of their campaign can be found in various situations, which are usually connected to new railway development projects. For example, in April 2007, when the Trust heard that the 40-year-old Euston terminal was to be redeveloped, possibly to be replaced by another brand-new station, this programme was seen as an opportunity to reconstruct the Arch. To make their appeal more persuasive, the Trust made a detailed plan of reconstruction with site selection and budget forecasts (the estimated cost was about £10 million). The campaign was further reinvigorated by the reopening of St. Pancras station, also once under threat of destruction after the demolition of Euston Arch, but which had survived and was later upgraded as the London terminus for the Eurostar service. It is claimed that the experience gained

through the campaigns to save Euston Arch greatly contributed to the preservation and renovation of St. Pancras (Simmons, 1968). With the efforts of the Trust and other campaigners, the developer of the Euston programme did seriously think about rebuilding the Arch and a Euston Arch Discussion Document was produced (ATKINS, 2009), providing several illustrated proposals for reconstruction (see Fig. 4-13). In one of the proposals in the document, Euston Arch was to be rebuilt as a 'memory arch' in the exact original location, supposedly to help people understand the history of the site and how the station has evolved over time. This proposal has gone no further in the subsequent decade. The 2012 Olympic Games in London were seen as another chance to rebuild the Arch (Enoch, 2016). To host the 'greenest ever Olympics', the canals and waterways into which many old stones from the Arch had been dumped were involved in definite plans for development of the Olympic Park, meaning that more Euston stones might be fished out. But again, the reconstruction campaign made little progress before or after the Games. In 2015, four blocks from the lost portico were deposited outside the station by Euston Arch Trust, in an attempt to rouse the public to re-evaluate the importance of the Victorian railway age and the demolition of the Arch (Cook and Bayley, 2015). In 2014, another reconstruction scheme for Euston Station was announced, with a reconstructed Arch as the gateway of the High Speed 2 line (Enoch, 2016). It was said that the old Arch could be included in a major upgrade project, coinciding with the launch of high-speed rail services in 2026. For those who have persisted in the hope of the Arch's reconstruction, this scheme is perhaps the best chance they have ever had. This time, they seem rather confident in convincing the authorities. It is claimed that the estimated cost of rebuilding the Arch is £10 million, which is only a small sum compared with the £55 billion bill for the High Speed 2 project (Enoch, 2016). The scheme once again brought about a series of fierce debates in the media about whether Euston Arch should be restored half a century after its demolition. Proponents believed that a rebuilt Euston Arch would herald an architectural renaissance, which contemporary architecture in the UK is supposedly badly in need of. Dan Cruikshank, for example, insisted that rebuilding Euston Arch would constitute 'the righting of a great architectural wrong', and John Hayes, then Transport Minister, argued that the rebuilt Arch could combat the 'horrors' of modern architecture on the transport network (Enoch, 2016). But others worry about bring a building from the dead, arguing that the reconstruction is actually a backward-looking idea against the modern progressive spirit which will do no good to the development of

Fig. 4- 13 Illustration of rebuilding of Euston Station

Source: (ATKINS, 2009)

architecture and aesthetics (Cook and Bayley, 2015). Until now, there is still no assured programme to rebuild Euston Arch.

4.3   CHANGING MEANINGS OF EUSTON STATION

Figures from the conservation movement such as Betjeman, Pevsner and Cruickshank devoted themselves to valuing Euston Station, particular the Euston Arch, emphasising its significance in the modern history of the UK. However, the Arch had no obviously accepted significance on British architectural history, if the significance of a historic building is considered to depend on its influence on later buildings and how likely it was to be imitated by these descendants (Ballantyne, 2002). In terms of this understanding of significance, Euston Station, particularly its Doric Arch, did not perform as a building of especially historic prominence in the UK. Nevertheless, considering Euston Station as integrated with all railway buildings as a new architectural type in modern history, it becomes a significant entry point to understand how railway stations enormously boosted the UK towards modernity in all social aspects including technology, architecture, social structure and ideology. Understandings of the meaning of Euston Station have also greatly changed within these different dimensions of modernisation.

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4.3.1   Victorian architecture as a pioneer towards modern architecture

The historical context of the construction of Euston Station was the Victorian Age, which witnessed rapid social, intellectual, technological and political change in Britain. Great developments in industry, politics and the arts had already come about with the Industrial Revolution, which had started seventy or eighty years before Victoria's coronation (Dixon and Muthesius, 1985). This revolution provided new techniques and materials, and, correspondingly, new requirements (Dixon and Muthesius, 1985). For example, the large increase in population resulted in growing demand for housing, workplaces and transport buildings. Development of new industrial cities changed urban layout. Techniques such as iron-smelting brought metal into building construction as a significant material. Iron frames were gradually accepted and popularised during the century. Steam engines replaced hydropower in industry and transport. What is more, travel was no longer exclusive to the rich. However, Victorian building was not only about engineering. It also required new architectural styles that could represent the overwhelming human achievements of the age, especially those achieved by the new classes who had recently obtained social, economic and political power. As Thomas Harris (1860) noted: 'It is an age of new creations; steam, power and electric communication are entirely new revolutionizing influences. So must it be in Architecture.' But compared with the rapid developments in technology, architectural aesthetics made relatively slow progress. This means that for much of the Victorian Age, architectural attitudes were still finding their principles and forms from past ages (Pevsner, 2005), and structures in Euston Station such as the Great Hall and Euston Arch followed this pattern. The split between the developing orientations of technology and aesthetics not only confused the architects of the nineteenth century, but also endowed characteristics of both innovation and historicism to Victorian architecture. As Geoffrey Scott (1914) explained this historicism of Victorian architecture: the peculiar characteristic of the present day is that we acquainted with the history of art.

Put simply, the Victorian age can be seen as an age of industrialisation, during which most social wealth was transferred to the owners of capital, firstly to the aristocracy who owned the land and made investments, but then to the middle-class proprietors and professionals (Dixon and Muthesius, 1985). The new distribution and concentration of social wealth led to a change in the social perception of social aesthetics. The new class from industry and commerce replaced the nobility as the major client of the arts (Ferriday, 1963). This new class was usually free from the

educational background of the Georgian gentleman. Neither did they acquire as much artistic leisure as the nobility. In addition, science and technology took the place of art as the most significant elements for social development (Ferriday, 1963). In other words, external intellectual knowledge was considered more important than internal aesthetic values. As a result, in the nineteenth century, artists broke away from a society which required them to create art according to commodity aesthetics instead of pure art aesthetics. Unlike these proudly independent artists, pressures of earning a living constrained most architects in the nineteenth century to compromise with their patrons (Pevsner, 2005). In keeping with these new cultural and social ambiguities, Victorian buildings were usually found to lack of unity between façade and plan, with Victorian architects lacking unity between theory and performance, particularly in the area of using iron and glass, which had broken the boundary between architects and engineers (Ferriday, 1963).

Nevertheless, architects of the Victorian Age had never stopped looking for a proper style to stand for the era. As mentioned above, historicism was a prominent feature of Victorian architecture. Many imitative styles, such as Grecian, Gothic and neo-Renaissance, were prevalent in a sequence between the 1830s and the early twentieth century. Hardwick's Euston Doric propylæum was among these attempts. It aimed to represent an overwhelming achievement of human intellect, in this instance, that of the railway company. But a new style cannot be created merely by imitating the past. As Heinrich Hübsch (1992) pointed out, the new style 'must proceed not from a past, but from the present state of nature and resources', for example, 'from our ordinary materials, from the present point of technological experience, from the shelter needed in our climate'. To the Victorians, new techniques applied on the railways could be used to maximise the extent of the Victorian buildings in all respects. The great promotion of transport capacity and speed by railways enabled building construction to use materials from faraway places. The popularisation among the public of travelling by train called for buildings to protect them during the journey and new building components such as platform shelters came into being. All these changes occurred firstly in railway stations. In this case, the fundamental contribution of Victorian architecture to architectural history is perhaps the railway station as a new architectural entity (Richards and MacKenzie, 1986).

4.3.2 *Railways as a catalyst of modern life*

Railways not only gave birth to great railway stations within the modern architectural history of the UK, but also enormously boosted the development of British social culture towards a modern era. Early railways changed economic structures by improving the travelling experience. Through constructing new relationships between people, railway stations, and railways in general, formed modern urban culture. Furthermore, railway stations and their surroundings still play an effective role in sustainable urban regeneration (Bertolini and Spit, 1998), although much of rail transport has been superseded by cars, trucks and aircraft (Carter, 2001). In general, railways have continuously promoted progress since the early stage of-modern times (Richards and MacKenzie, 1986).

As one of the most dramatic symbols of the Industrial Revolution, railways have had a great impact on the change of cultures and social relationships, taking advantage of modern technology. Railways' contribution to the economy can be easily observed through data comparing population, production, railway length and trading volume. But the influence of railways to society is more obscure and needs further explanation (Carter, 2001). New methods of transporting goods and passengers provided different experiences of time, distance and capacity. These changes on rails unified the nation more tightly within a modern form of civilisation (Richards and MacKenzie, 1986). The railways acted as unifying force in the country, ironing out regional differences and altering patterns of settlement. Travel, which had previously been the privilege of the rich, became part of the life of a much wider section of the community, including the working classes (Dixon and Muthesius, 1985). As the central focus of travelling activities (Bertolini and Spit, 1998), the railway station is a good site observing these cultural changes. The station is the start and end of every railway experience for both passengers and goods. It connects cities and countries to the outside world. It is one of the principled forces in society for order, regulation and discipline (Richards and MacKenzie, 1986). It is also a place where new social problems grow along with complexity (Thorner, 1951).

Before the Railway Age, Britain had kept to natural time, dictated by the sun's progress, and old rhythms of life. To make transport more efficient, the railway system promoted a standard national time, a human time (Richards and MacKenzie, 1986). To begin with, measured times in railway stations were different in different parts of the country. As Greenwich Mean Time (GMT) prevailed, it was soon adopted by most

railway stations and was known colloquially as 'Railway Time' (Richards and MacKenzie, 1986). With a unified time-scale, the clock became a prominent feature of all stations, and the site under the clock or clock tower became a popular place for gathering, especially by lovers. Requirements of time-keeping in railway stations also forced the formulation of timetables. Victorian people's lives had to be programmed, just like nowadays. In addition to strict time arrangement, railways had tight discipline, strict hierarchy and military-style regulations from the very beginning. In the nineteenth century, the regimentation of Britain's railways was one of a series of potent factors contributing to a more structured and ordered society (Richards and MacKenzie, 1986).

Railway stations have played an important role in urban development, from forming new urban fabric and landscape to changing the social and occupational structure of British towns and cities (Richards and MacKenzie, 1986). Railway companies usually wanted their stations as close as possible to the centres of cites. But the location of a station depended on a number of often interrelated factors such as topographical considerations, land-ownership patterns and inter-company rivalry. In great cities, city planning required that stations should serve passengers and freight with fluent and efficient connection to all destinations and links between each other. Beaver (1937) sets up an ideal urban plan resembling in a shape of wheel, on the radiating plan of railway lines on which railway stations are located as the cross-city linkage. By the end of the nineteenth century, there were fifteen passenger terminals and eleven goods depots in London (Richards and MacKenzie, 1986). They were linked to each other by various networks including underground railways and docks. Outside the great cities, in the small industrial and market towns, railway stations had dramatic impact on the visual urban form. The station was a focal point of the inhabitant's lives. Some of these railway towns were themselves the creation of steam technology. With a newer era, many industrial cities have faced the challenge of redeveloping railway station areas (Bertolini and Spit, 1998). The potential of railway stations in urban restructuring and sustainable development still exists in the form of a dual role (Bertolini and Spit, 1998), whereby a historic station is not only the one of the nodes that helps to link urban networks but also the station itself becomes a 'place in the city' for its contribution in the civilisation of the modern history of the city.

4.3.3 Rethinking the demolition of Euston Arch

With changing understandings of Victorian architecture and modern railways, people began to rethink profoundly the demolition of Euston Arch as well as their attitudes to buildings like Euston station in the urban development strategy. Arguing from the historic details of Euston Arch, some people claim that the demolition was a totally wrong decision and only a reconstruction can correct it (Euston Arch Trust, 2008a). Others are concerned with the social, political and economic background under which this decision was made and look to avoid future mistakes (Smithson and Smithson, 1968; Toffler, 1971; Betjeman and Gay, 1972; Aldous, 1975). Others have tried to assess how the demolition fundamentally shifted people's attitudes to modern buildings (Toffler, 1971; Aldous, 1975; Fawcett, 1976; Pendlebury, 2009a).

As a founding member of the Victorian Society, Sir John Betjeman was a passionate defender of Victorian architecture. He had written several forewords for books mourning the loss of great architecture in British cities during the 1950s and 1960s. Many of these books were published in the 1970s. In these forewords, Betjeman explained his opinion on architectural preservation during the last two decades. He criticised those who carried out so much damage to architecture of the Victorian age. Moreover, he tried to unearth the deep social and cultural reasons why so many good buildings had not been recognised and why people should instead value their buildings. He frequently used the Euston Arch as a typical case in his discussion. In the foreword to Alison and Peter Smithson's book on the Euston Arch (Smithson and Smithson, 1968), Betjeman denounced those who wanted demolition, those who argued the Arch was a useless object not only in a practical but also a more general functional sense. To counter this argument, Betjeman emphasised that architecture has a spiritual as well as material function and a building has an emotional effect on people. Therefore, the Euston propylaeum had assumed its significance as the gateway to the London & Birmingham Railway, marking the great achievements of its engineers. Only Doric, a style of ancient Greece, could embody this significance (Betjeman, 1968). Betjeman argued that the rise and fall of the Railway Age and of Britain more widely was synchronous with the development of the Euston Arch. Betjeman also pointed out that the crime against the Arch had begun as early as the 1920s, which had a negative impact on its preservation for the next thirty years. Though it was a shame that the Euston Propylaeum had been demolished, Betjeman still suggested that it could act as a test case for the future matters of preservation in valuing the significance of a building. In

his foreword for the book of *Goodbye, Britain?* (Aldous, 1975), Betjeman summed up the history of topographical writing in Britain from the first quarter of the nineteenth century to early 1970s. During this period, the preference of topographical writers had changed from the picturesque to the Greek revival and Gothic revival in the first half of the nineteenth century, to the fancies of craftsmanship in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and to the Georgian style after the Second World War. He pointed out, with a certain anger, that after the Second World War the word 'develop' came to mean 'destroy'; and 'comprehensive development' was jargon for 'total destruction' (Betjeman, 1975). For Betjeman, the perception of utilisation – recognising buildings only as dehumanised machines – was one of the main reasons for the widespread destruction after the war.

Betjeman himself wrote extensively about the Euston propylaeum and the progress of preservation in his time. He wrote a book on *London's Historic Railway Stations* (1972), of which the last chapter is specifically about the Euston Arch. Firstly, he looked back upon the history of the London & Birmingham Railway and the culture of railway stations in the 1830s. At that time, the railway station was to the modern city what the city gate had been to an ancient city. He went on to describe the design and construction process of its Doric entrance in reverential terms. However, Betjeman argued that what made Euston Arch a masterpiece was not only its design and significance as a railway monument, but also its relationship with people and people's activities, especially when contrasted to the cold, airport-like, new Euston station around which nobody could sit. In this book, Betjeman made no secret of his regret and anger of losing old Euston and his disgust at the new station. But the reason why he acted like this can only be detected through his other works. In his foreword to *The Future of the Past* (Fawcett, 1976), Betjeman again recognised the demolition of the Euston Arch as a significant event in preservation history. In it, Betjeman did not simply divide people's activities into preservation and destruction; but he recognised that all these activities had two opposite sides. In his opinion, people's attitude to architecture was influenced by their childhood environment. To support this, he recalled the buildings he liked and disliked as a child and the people and experiences that had influenced his view. After an autobiographical description, Betjeman listed the oldest and newest preservation societies such as the National Trust founded in 1895 and the Civic Trust founded in 1957. He also listed several preservation pioneers and events from the late nineteenth century to 1950s. Specifically, he recalled some great loses in

London after the Second World War, including Hardwick's Great Hall and propylaeum at Euston Station. To conclude, he pointed out three main reasons for all this damage after the war: firstly, a prejudice against Victorian buildings; secondly, a prioritisation of finance and efficiency; thirdly, a political bias in the Conservative government.

Alison and Peter Smithson first became famous for works using the language of high modernism. They were most famous for being the leaders of New Brutalism. But in 1968, just six years after the Euston Arch was demolished, they published a book, which had been prepared since 1965, called *The Euston Arch and the Growth of the London, Midland & Scottish Railway*. The book is, at first sight, a document recording the process of decision making of the demolition of Euston Arch. More importantly, this book can help explain why some people, especially modern architects such as Alison and Peter Smithson, would regret so much in the late 1960s and 1970s the demolition of such a classical work. In this book, Alison did not conceal her personal emotion of regret and indignation. She started her statement from her individual experience of railways as 'a part of the blood stream'. Born in 1928, Alison described directly childhood experience of railways, through seeing, hearing and even smelling. She recalled family lives connected with trains and daily commodities brought by railways. This is perhaps the fundamental reason for Alison taking the Euston Arch as so special and precious. Alison then pointed out that the aim of preserving the Euston Arch was to offer a 'Cultural Fix' to the built environment, which London was in urgent need of. The unique form of the Euston Arch let itself to becoming an isolated and useless monument, but the propylaeum had accreted intellectual intentions to itself. It affected childhood memories of giants and locals; it measured Stephenson's achievement; and it recaptured the triumph of a heroic age of engineering. Therefore, it should have been kept, even though, after the fall of the Railway Age, railway stations had become less pleasant places. Alison criticised the whole of English society for the sin of denying preservation to the Euston Arch. She argued that there was no reason to demolish the Arch. The act of demolition could only be explained as a ritual act – an act of revenge by the south against the north in a cultural and political battle. It was a battle of anti-railway, anti-industrial wealth and anti-liberalism; and tearing down the Arch was the last punch (Smithson and Smithson, 1968). In the postscript, Peter Smithson emphasised again that they felt there was an obligation to explain why society did not value good buildings such as the Euston Arch, not only because of their personal reasons of folk-memory, but also to explain its demolition from social history.

Books in the 1970s about the loss of old buildings during rapid urban development (Toffler, 1971; Aldous, 1975) may explain why people began to regret the loss of the Euston Arch. It was argued that old buildings, with or without special architectural qualities, fitted the city in scale and character, whilst their replacement was by new buildings which were neither sympathetic nor respectful to the environment and the city. There was also a strong feeling of disconnection with the city as the character of places had been destroyed. For example, Tony Aldous (1975) picks out two factors for this growing discontent in the public: one is the sense that a place should have a distinctive identity; the other is the sense of the lively mixture and human scale which people can associate with are missing in new developments. Alvin Toffler (1971) also explains this disconnection between people and new buildings in terms of adaptation to rates of change. According to Toffler, individuals and societies can only assimilate a certain amount of change in their environment. But London was changing too fast and on too large scale in the 1960s and 1970s. The rate of change in London passed the point which most people could adapt to. As a result, people failed to relate the different parts of London together and failed to identify themselves in the city.

Regret at the loss of old Euston took on a new form in the last few decades. As mentioned in the history section, there have been continuous appeals to rebuild Euston Arch since the 1990s, at the same time as opposing plans. Though a series of arguments has been carried on over whether the Euston Arch should be brought back to life or not, people on both sides accept the way the previous period came to regret the loss of the Euston Arch. For those who have devoted themselves to the reconstruction movement, the Arch is one of the best architectural works of the early Victorian Age (The Euston Arch Trust). To restore the Arch is to correct a mistake that was made in the 1960s. Dan Cruickshank stated that: 'It was the first great building of the Railway Age and was the largest Grecian Doric gateway ever made,' (Euston Arch Trust, 2009), and: 'Its destruction was an act of barbarism.' But he added: 'Raising the stones means a great cultural wrong committed in the 1960s can yet be put right.' In addition, the restoration is expected to stimulate a new chapter in contemporary architecture in the UK, which is now dominated by modern buildings. For some people, buildings in the UK's public transport network have been swept across by a 'cult of ugliness' (Enoch, 2016). John Hayes, the minister who was responsible for Highways England, warned, against the 'descendants of the brutalists [who] still each day design and build new horrors from huge concrete slabs' (Enoch, 2016). The reconstruction is also expected to help to build

a better iconic image for the city and the nation, and to provide an inspiring point of cultural identification for its people. Ironically, ideas of cultural identification contributed to the demolition in the first place. Blamed by the reconstruction campaign activists as a major contributor to the demolition, Harold Macmillan, the Prime Minister of the time, regarded the Arch as a symbol to get rid of (Cook and Bayley, 2015). The Arch did not fit 'his image' of a modern Britain. His preference of modernism had been criticised at the time by Woodrow Wyatt, who had given several speeches to save the Arch in the House of Commons (Smithson and Smithson, 1968). 'An obsession with such buildings will drain our national vitality,' Wyatt said, 'Now the Germans are reconstructing many of the iconic buildings they lost during the Second World War. These rebuilt buildings soon become the focal point for the regeneration of an entire city.' It is believed there are countless other iconic buildings that could be raised from the dead in the UK, as in the Germany, and the Euston Arch is the best choice to begin with.

But not everyone agrees with this idea. It is agreed that the demolition in the 1960s was indeed a great loss of architectural heritage, on a historic scale. However, this does not mean the mistake can be corrected by rebuilding the Arch. If the demolition was an arbitrary decision made by pro-modernism elitists, then reconstruction is also driven by a possibly noble sentiment which finds delight only in the past (Cook and Bayley, 2015). The restoration is completely at odds with the spirit of the Victorian Age and will ruin the progressive Victorian values which are a positive meaning still embedded in the demolished Arch (Cook and Bayley, 2015). Many old buildings and environments that could stand for the Victorian era have been upstaged by this muscular Doric, and none of them is intended to be reinstated. Furthermore, in the architectural history of the UK, Philip Hardwick's Arch was not a traditional building at all. The style of the Greek Revival was brought to England by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth centuries. It had not been much preferred to other continental architectural fashions before the style was replaced by others (Collins, 1998). Any label of 'iconic' building would be dangerous for understanding history too, denying those cultures in the 1960s and 1970s as integral parts of London's architectural history. Besides, Euston Arch was not as popular in its time as the pro-reconstruction people have claimed. Its glorious image only exists in some individuals' impressions. It had been criticised for its overwhelming size and gloomy appearance (Smith, 1938). Even today, when recalling the Arch, some people

would describe it as an oppressive and prison-like monster (Morgan, 2015). The practical process of rebuilding the Arch is often questioned too. Stephen Bayley (2015) has satirised the reconstruction: 'It involves dredging a canal for architectural debris… Rebuilding is, in terms of civic sense, as pitiable and futile as injecting monkey glands into grizzled carcasses in pursuit of eternal youth.' For those who argue against the reconstruction, London lost a lot of great buildings during in the 1960s and 1970s but could still be great without rebuilding them.

As time passes, Euston Arch and many other demolished modern buildings have gradually faded out as hot topics in conservation discussions. When necessary, the Arch will be mentioned in simple words, like 'the demolition of Euston Arch is the most vandal[istic] activity of the century' (Betjeman and Gay, 1972). Yes, people still regret the Arch and other demolished buildings in the few decades after the Second World War. But unlike Alison and Peter Smithson, the new generation are growing up without experiences under the influence of the Arch. Present researchers and commentators usually have no intuitive feeling about the historical period of the Arch. Instead, the Arch is becoming a simpler case in descriptive conservation history. This chapter will develop this aspect in the next section.

4.4   FROM DEMOLITION TOWARDS MODERN CONSERVATION

As mentioned above, it is hard to say that Euston has any significant position in architectural history, though it is one of the earliest railway stations that brought about modern techniques, building styles and transport ways to the UK. By contrast, the demolition of Euston Arch has played a more important role in the heritage history in the UK. The event is regarded as one of the turning points towards modern conservation (Pendlebury, 2009a). It directly and indirectly connected with several conservation groups, of which one of the most active is the Victorian Society founded in 1958 (Fawcett, 1976). It has had a longer term of impact over conservation attitudes and legislation, such as the 1967 Civic Amenities Act which introduced conservation areas (Fawcett, 1976) and the resurveying of historic buildings for listing which took place in 1969-87 (Hunter, 1996). What is more, through debates during the demolition and the later reconstruction campaign, awareness of the value of early modern buildings among the authorities and the public has been awaken and strengthened. Other similar Victorian buildings, for example the hotel of St Pancras (Simmons, 1968; Simmons and

Thorne, 2012), were later successfully preserved through modern conservation approaches.

4.4.1 Changing attitudes to Victorian architecture and its conservation

It is now the consensus that buildings of historical and architectural interest need to be preserved. However, concern for buildings from different times and of different types has formed only progressively. The several decades after the Second World War are the most influential period to the establishment of the contemporary heritage system in the UK. Though the damage of the war drew some attention of the public and government to the loss of historic buildings in the country (Fawcett, 1976), the mass urban reconstruction after the war was more responsible for the thorough change of urban scape in historic British cities such as London (Aldous, 1975). The cities were torn into pieces by motorways. Old railway stations, houses, lanes, churches and hotels, great masterpieces or not, all faced potential destruction. Buildings of the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth century were replaced by larger and more efficient blocks. It is under these circumstances that the Euston Arch and other parts of the Euston Station were demolished.

London is perhaps the city in Britain of which the physical fabric changed most dramatically in the two decades of 1954-74 (Aldous, 1975). All these changes can be attributed to the desire of profit, though the process put this in conflict with the sentiment of conservation. As commercial activities increased in this large capital city, property owners and users wanted to 'renew'. Old, small buildings on small plots were replaced by larger and supposedly more efficient buildings on big slots. In the name of utility and economics, destruction of fine buildings and streetscape were carried out under commercial interests, causing more damage to the historic city fabric than all the air raids and flying bombs of the Second World War had achieved. Worse still, government departments including the Department of Environment and organisations such as the Civic Trust favoured developers who would demolish rather than preserve (Aldous, 1975). At that time, it was generally thought that only 'old fogies' would object to skyscrapers, office blocks and hotels which were recognised as dehumanising in later decades (Aldous, 1975). London's original skyline was lost overall, which used to be relatively low, punctuated by church spires and towers. It was then submerged in a sea of curtain-wall office buildings after the post-war reconstruction. The old landmarks such as monuments and churches came to seem smaller, while the landscape and the

people in it were also shrunk. The construction of new motorways was particularly blamed for these changes and for breaking the city into enclosed pieces with large-scale blocks rising between. Road engineers were even labelled as 'highwaymen' (Aldous, 1975) as pedestrian routes were cut by their constructions. During these changes of urban fabric and experience, countless historic buildings in London were destroyed, many of which are the Victorian buildings like the Euston Station.

The effort to save Victorian buildings started much earlier than these changes. In 1941, the first systematic photographic record of English architecture was founded as the National Building Record (Fawcett, 1976). The Town and Country Planning Acts of 1944 and 1947 legislatively introduced lists of buildings (Fawcett, 1976). Complicated criteria to assess buildings that should be listed as Grades I or II were formed upon special interest in national, architectural and historic aspects. For the first time in conservation history, engineering was recognised as a significant part of the history of architectural design: 'Certain industrial buildings are landmarks of the Mechanical and Industrial Revolution, and thus certainly ought to be listed' (Fawcett, 1976). It was advised that all buildings dating from before 1725 and the majority of those dated from around 1800 should be listed. This original system of listing was little concerned about buildings erected after 1800. It was not until 1962 that the rest of the buildings in Euston Station were proposed to be listed as Grade II. By the 1950s, Georgian architecture had been generally recognised for preservation, thanks to the long-term efforts of the Georgian Group, set up in 1937. However, little had been done to protect Victorian buildings during this period. The Victorian Society was established in 1958 to promote interest in Victorian architecture and emphasise its vulnerability. Though the campaign to preserve Euston Arch failed, the original aims of the Victorian Society actually succeeded, opening the traditionally blind eye towards Victorian buildings under threat (Fawcett, 1976). Opinion on the merits of Victorian architecture has changed over time. In the 1920s and 30s, the Victorian buildings had faced prejudiced as self-evidently ridiculous (Ferriday, 1963; Hunter, 1996). In the 1950s and 60s, historians, including John Betjeman and Nikolaus Pevsner, had devoted themselves to appreciating the merits of the Victorian Age and its architecture, and trying to turn public opinion so that the destruction of the Euston Arch would not be allowed to happen to other Victorian buildings (Ferriday, 1963; Stamp, 1996). In the meantime, the Victorian Society was active in establishing its influence with government (Stamp, 1996). The Society not only inserted the idea of conservation firmly into the political

agenda during the Wilson government from 1964-70 but was also a model for other conservation organisations such as the Twentieth Century Society for the conservation of much later buildings (Sharr and Thornton, 2013). The event that marked the turn in attitudes towards Victorian buildings is perhaps when the Duke of Edinburgh agreed to chair a meeting at Buckingham Palace about the future of St Pancras' hotel building (Simmons and Thorne, 2012). The details of how the Midland Grand Hotel was saved, and how this was influenced by the demolition of Euston Arch, will be discussed in the next sub-section.

The demolition of Euston Arch was not the only event that stimulated a change in attitudes to Victorian buildings. The demolition of London's Coal Exchange in 1963 and the battle to save government buildings in Whitehall also demonstrated how opinion on the merits of Victorian architecture changed in this period (Fawcett, 1976). But nevertheless, as a state-authorised act of vandalism, the demolition of Euston Arch has been constantly referenced by the subsequent conservation movement to remind the government to be cautious in the projects that may cause damage to Victorian buildings, as Lord Kennet criticised the 1960s plan to rebuild Whitehall in a speech in 1969:

> *I believe – and I think this Government have the right to take credit for it – that there has been a transformation in private and public opinion and in our statutory agreements about the preservation of buildings and towns of architectural and historic interest. I would remind the House that it is only eight years since the Euston Arch was demolished. This is the great shibboleth and paradigm of Philistine demolition in our century in London. It was not the present Government that did it. It is only eight years since the Coal Exchange in the City of London was demolished. Again, it was not this Government that did it [...]. It was not this Government which set Sir Leslie Martin's terms of reference for his Whitehall plan, which included the understanding that the Foreign Office was to be demolished, so that he was not even empowered to consider that question.* (Sharr and Thornton, 2013)

4.4.2   The St Pancras revival

The influence of the demolition of the Euston Arch has not only been reflected in the theoretical and systematic progression of conservation in the UK. Practically, it saved many buildings which were in a similar situation to Euston and had also been threatened with demolition. Among these cases, St Pancras Station is one of the most successful.

Only a quarter of a mile away, the station of St Pancras has many similarities to Euston. It was a great terminus facing the Euston Road on which several great rival stations had been built, including King's Cross next door to the east and Euston a

quarter of a mile to the west (Simmons, 1968). St Pancras has been a centre of controversy ever since it was first planned, particularly over its hotel building built by George Gilbert Scott. Before designing the Midland Grand Hotel, Scott had been forced to substitute his Gothic proposal with an Italianate one for the government commission of the Foreign Office. Having such a strong belief in Gothic style, Scott, the most famous British architect of the day, seized this station hotel project as a response to the previous rejection of his ideas (Simmons, 1968). Both Scott and his large and splendid hotel had received much admiration in the late nineteenth century. For some people, the building was regarded as the noblest of all the structures of its kind in London, standing 'without rival for palatial beauty, comfort, and convenience' (Pevsner, 1952b). For others with opposite taste, the hotel was just Scott's tawdry masterpiece (Fergusson, 1891). Nevertheless, in general, the influence of St Pancras, particularly its hotel building, on architecture was considerable (Simmons, 1968). It embodied the achievements of the past age. However, the full reaction against the Victorians after the First World War diminished reputation of the architecture of St Pancras (Simmons, 1968) and the electrification and nationalisation of British railways after the Second World War brought real crisis to the station. The demolition of Euston Arch and reconstruction of Euston station were among the important steps during this nationwide modernisation programme. In the name of development, St Pancras also faced demolition. A plan announced in August 1966 intended to merge St Pancras and King's Cross to create a single modern terminus (Simmons, 1968). A further report presented the following September, even recommended the closure of St Pancras. However, unlike Euston Arch, St Pancras and its grand hotel survived. Conservation groups such as the Victorian Society and conservation activists were experienced in lobbying and negotiating with the government and railway company. New conservation acts enacted after Euston's demolition, such as the Civic Amenities Act 1967, provided a legislative shield for St Pancras. Its train-shed and hotel were listed as Grade I on November 2 1967 (Simmons, 1968). Listing St Pancras altered the threatened closure. What is more important is that architectural taste had changed. The fight and debate which took place during the demolition of Euston Arch and the work of other campaigns carried out by conservation groups evoked an interest in Victorian buildings for their uncompromising romantic characteristics both in the public and the elite. St Pancras was seen as 'a Gothic design of splendid intricacy' and 'a great Gothic phantasmagoria', which should

'be preserved as a national monument' (Summerson, 1970; Simmons and Thorne, 2012).

Listing St Pancras was a minimal measure to keep it as a building. But plans to divert its trains to other stations were still being considered (Simmons and Thorne, 2012). To make possible the comprehensive protection and regeneration of the station, scholars such as Jack Simmons (1968) studied the history of the station in the round, in order to demonstrate its importance domestically and internationally. Pro-conservation architects suggested to the railway company that the station could have a profitable future after a modernisation project (Simmons and Thorne, 2012). In the 1970s and 1980s, the hotel building had been used as railway offices whilst electrification of the rest of the station was being carried out. It was not until the late 1980s that the Midland Grand hotel saw its own opportunity for change. In August 1987, a proposal was submitted for planning permission with the aim of bringing the hotel to life again (Simmons and Thorne, 2012). A survey made in 1990 showed that the hotel building was in bad physical condition, having been poorly maintained for a long time. In 1993-5 the whole of the exterior was restored. Afterwards, a competition was held in 1996, looking for a new use for the building. The winner proposed a hotel project which would restore Scott's work and add an extension to the west. English Heritage was

Fig. 4- 14 St Pancras Renaissance London Hotel (Former Midland Hotel)

Photographer: LepoRello (2011)

involved in the project to ensure that the work shall be genuinely like its Gothic ancestry, providing suggestions such as the necessity of a hierarchy of rooms and space and asking the developer to justify the need of the extension. The restoration and extension work covered every detail and taken over fifteen years to deal with a Grade I listed building under much public attention. In May 2011, the hotel re-opened with an appearance of grandest High Victoriana (Simmons and Thorne, 2012) (see Fig. 4-14). This outcome not only recalls the campaign to save St Pancras in the 1960s, but is also thanks to those conservation pioneers who had fought for the Euston Arch.

4.5 SUMMARY

Though it is hard to say that old Euston Station played any significant role the history of British modern architecture, its demolition, and particularly that of Euston Arch, was indeed a turning point of modern heritage conservation in the UK. From then on, not only has the value of modern buildings, including the Victorian buildings, been widely accepted, but a conservation system has been constructed in its contemporary forms such as the listing system and integrated planning with conservation. Many buildings with similar qualities to Euston Arch have been preserved. What is more, the modern nature of Euston Station provides important evidence for studying the complex relationship between heritage and modernity, which will be discussed more in Chapter 6. Railway stations, including Euston, are the product of a British process towards modernisation socially, culturally, technologically and politically. Station buildings were early explorations of modern approaches to the relationship between buildings, and machines and industry. Conversely, stations have changed the ways of production and living into forms we are more familiar with. Particularly with Euston Station, its alterations, expansions and even its final demolition were all the result of pursuing a higher level of modernisation. Subsequent studies of the value of Euston Arch and the reconstruction movement are also built upon modern values and approaches.

Chapter 5   Jinan Old Railway Station

5.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores some general features and changing ideas of early modern buildings as heritage in China, using Jinan Old Railway Station as an example. It starts by introducing the history of China's railways, with emphasis on the context of China's early modern history. The discussion is then narrowed down to two railways and their stations in Jinan. Among the two stations, the Jinan station of Jin-Pu Railway is the central research object in this case study. The chapter then reviews the historical periods of the station, from construction, alterations, demolition and potential reconstruction. During these periods, understandings of the meaning of the station have greatly changed from a colonial icon to urban cultural heritage, paralleling the modernisation process of the city. Nowadays, from the aspect of architectural history, Jinan Old Railway Station is mostly valued for its interactive impact on Jinan's modern urban pattern and architectural (Li, 1996; Lin and Dong, 2010; Lin *et al.*, 2011). For example, expansion projects of the station in the 1950s and 1970s aimed to solve the urban traffic problems surrounding it in the face of rapid growth of the city. The goal of the demolition and replacement project in 1992 was to serve the updated national railway system and to provide more efficient and comfortable regional transport. The reconstruction proposal of early 2010s is the result of awareness of the potential cultural benefit of the station (Guo, 2012). It is expected that the reconstructed Old Station can be utilised as a cultural force to improve the economic development of the city (Chao, 2013; Wang, 2014). In addition to this view of professionals and local authorities, more individuals are willing to value the buildings based on their personal experiences, especially since the concept of heritage has become widely acknowledged among the public in the last few decades. New media and technologies provide convenient ways for the public to be involved in the discussion of urban heritage (Xu, 2009; Fang, 2010; Feng Shu Yu Zhou, 2011). Modern values such as democracy also encourage the public to express their ideas and to influence heritage practices. In this case, sadness caused by the demolition of the station has been recounted repeatedly, as well as stories about celebrities and the station. It is increasingly realised that as one of the most significant landmarks in the city, Jinan Old Station can provide necessary feelings of familiarity and identification to the residents of the city. Having analysed and compared changing attitudes to and understandings of Jinan Old Railway station, the case study is then extended to how the

station, and particularly its demolition, is related to the development of conservation of modern architecture in China. One of the most remarkable features of this development is the strong national sentiment embedded in the early modern buildings, considering their background of colonial history. National emotion among both the authorities and the public has been an influential factor to consider in policy making and conservation practice of China's early modern buildings.

5.2 A HISTORY OF JINAN OLD RAILWAY STATION

5.2.1 China's early railways

Early railways are regarded as one of the most significant technologies to have been imported at the beginning of China's modern history (Li, 1961). The first railways in China emerged half a century later than their predecessors in Europe. But, as in Europe, early railways in China had met many difficulties, from both inside and outside the country. The difficulties from inside partly stemmed from backward social ideas. Indeed, it was never easy for an extremely conservative feudal society to accept new technologies or new objects like the locomotive. Voices and forces of opposition existed in every social level. From the public to the aristocracy, the early railways were seen as 'evil spirits' (Liu, 2007). In 1866, a train first ran in China on a short railway line. However, the line only existed for such a short time that its location is unrecorded. The Qing Government demolished the line right away when it saw the howling locomotive. Ten years later, in 1876, another railway, Hu-Song Railway, was constructed in Shanghai by the British, without the authorisation of the Chinese government. It was the first commercial railway in China and ran for sixteen months. Then the railway was purchased by the Qing Government and dismantled. It was not until later in the period of the 'Westernisation Movement', which lasted from the 1860s to 1890s, that the Qing Government began to realise the advantages of railways. To develop the economy and industry, and to resist foreign forces, the government began to provide financial and political support for domestic railways. Numerous state-owned and private railways were constructed during the movement. However, as these railways upset the reactionary forces both at home and abroad, following the 1890s the Westernisation Movement was suspended. The failure of the movement led to the result that China lost the initiative in developing railways independently. For a long time, the rights of railway construction and operation in China remained in the hands of foreign companies and financial powers. For the imperialist powers who attempted to carve up China,

railways became one of the most convenient means to expand military power, to dump goods and to plunder resources. Faced with these inner and outer dilemmas, early railways in China progressed slowly. In 1949, the total length of railways in China was still less than 25,000 kilometres (Yang, 1997).

Generally, the Chinese academic society of railway history defines the historic range of China's early modern railways as the period from 1874 to 1949 (Yang, 1997). During these seventy-five years of development, a sea-change had taken place in all social aspects in China, including in its social forms and economic types. From 1840 to 1949, the last feudal dynasty collapsed. Meanwhile the country suffered from being a semi-colonial society as well as a series of foreign invasions and civil wars. Nevertheless, the early railways, as the most advanced mode of transport in China at the time, accelerated the exchange of materials and cultures. To a certain extent, the birth of railway marked the beginning of China's modern history. The old self-sufficient natural economy was replaced by a market-oriented economy which was closely linked to the world economy. According to different railway policies and characteristics of development, the history of China's early railways could be divided into five stages (Yang, 1997):

From 1874 to 1889, the Qing Government began to change its attitude to railways, from a total rejection to considering building up state-owned railways. Reformists such as Li Hongzhang and Yuan Shikai from inside the government were the first group of people to realise the necessity of constructing railways. When the Qing Government was still hesitating with its railway policies, western states had already begun constructing railways in China. But, in general, these external and internal pressures were still not decisive for the Qing Government to develop railways. In July, 1874, Li Hongzhang, the governor of Zhili (now Hebei Province) and also one of the most significant figures in the Westernisation Movement, submitted a proposal to the Imperial Court, stating the necessity of constructing state-owned railways (Lin and Dong, 2010). In December 1874, Wu-Song Railway was constructed by British financial powers without permission, connecting the British settlement in Shanghai to Wusongkou, which was an important river- and coastal-defensive port. With a length of only 14.5 kilometres, Wu-Song Railway was the first operational railway in China. In the next year, the Qing Government bought the line from the Britain and demolished it. Ironically, in 1897, the line was reconstructed along its original route by the Qing Government as one of the last few projects of the Westernisation Movement. It was put

into operation in 1898. The hesitation of the Qing Government was also reflected in using locomotives. When the first self-built railway – Tang-Xu Railway – was completed in 1881 for coal transport, only horse-drawn carts were allowed on this line. During this period, there was no specific administrative department in charge of railways. Policy-making and management were temporarily under the administration of the naval ministry.

The period of 1889-1903 saw China's first period of mass railway construction. In this period, the Qing Government announced its first railway policy, to construct state-owned railways using foreign loans. The China Railway Corporation was established as the first domestic state-owned railway enterprise. A number of state-owned railway lines were built, including Jin-Pu Railway. While the Qing Government were striving to develop state-owned railways, most rights of railway construction had been seized by foreign forces through a series of unequal treaties. Many railways were built under the control of foreign countries, such as the Jiao-Ji Railway. In general, railways of this period were mostly built by foreign forces or by the Chinese government using foreign loans. This situation aggravated the situation of colonisation in China.

A third period can be identified from 1903-1911. The first railway law, Railway Concise Regulations was published on 2 February 1903 (Yang, 1997). Under the Regulations, private and nongovernmental capital was authorised with rights in railway construction, management, and marketing. The Regulations also specified engineering standards and management rules. With the support of this policy, many domestic railway companies were established in all provinces. In this period, the return of a group of talented engineers who had been sponsored by the government for overseas education during the Westernisation Movement also improved domestic railways. They brought back new techniques as well as the ideas of modernisation. For example, in 1905-09, Zhan Tianyou designed and built Jing-Zhang Railway (Duan, 2016). It was the first railway line using no foreign loans or technical support. Creative measures and techniques had been adopted in the construction. The line was extended in a zigzag pattern to solve the issue of great variations of gradient. Vertical shafts were used in building railway tunnels. However, in 1911, in the name of nationalisation, the Qing Government suspended the rights of private capital in railway construction and then sold the rights to foreign companies. This decision was immediately met with fierce opposition and led to a nationwide movement to defend the rights of railway

construction. Furthermore, the movement touched off the Wuchang Uprising on 20 October, 1911 (Liu, 2010b), the mutiny which finally triggered the collapse of China's last imperial dynasty.

The Wuchang Uprising is regarded as the beginning of the Xinhai Revolution, the Chinese bourgeois democratic revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (Liu, 2010b). However, the revolution did not retrieve the rights of railway construction for domestic capital. The period 1912-1928 was one of decline for China's railways. When the Republic of China was established in 1912, a bright prospect of railway development was expected by domestic entrepreneurs and investors (Yang, 1997). But when the Northern Warlords government seized power the following year, it was decided that the old railway policies of the Qing Dynasty would be maintained. All non-governmental-owned railways were thoroughly suppressed, and all new railway construction was required to use foreign loans. The political situation in this period was very unstable. Endless civil war had been taken place between regional regimes. New social revolutions were also brewing.

The period of 1928-1949 witnessed the second rapid development of China's railways. After Nanjing was chosen as the new capital of the Republic of China in 1928, the Kuomintang Government implemented new railway policies to encourage railway construction using joint capital (Yang, 1997; Li, 2008). In this period, many important railway lines and construction projects were completed such as the Zhe-Gan railway, Long-Hai railway, Qiantang River railway bridge and Nanjing railway ferry. Many of them are still in operation now. However, the outbreak of Anti-Japanese War in 1937 interrupted this progress. During the Anti-Japanese War and subsequent Civil War, many railway facilities were destroyed, and railway construction suspended. It was not until 1949 when the People's Republic of China was established that China's railways went into a new era of rapid development.

5.2.2 *Jin-Pu and Jiao-Ji railways*

The five development periods discussed above have different characteristics according to different railway policies, and internal and external factors. But a common feature of all five of these stages is that the rights of domestic private capital in railways construction had always been strictly curtailed. Most railways of the time were built by foreign companies or using foreign loans, including Jin-Pu and Jiao-Ji railways. Jiao-Ji Railway was constructed and run completely by German colonists. Jin-Pu Railway

borrowed money from Britain and Germany. Both railway lines are closely related to the station in this case study. These two railway lines were not only close in the physical distance, but were also constructed in a similar period, which witnessed the modernisation of the city of Jinan. This section introduces the history of these two significant railway lines across Jinan.

At the end of 1880, Liu Mingquan, another important figure of the Westernisation Movement, who later became the first governor of Taiwan Province, proposed building a railway from Beijing to Qingjiang for grain transport (Yang, 1997). In his report, Liu also advocated that construction should be implemented by raising loans from abroad. In January 1898, Rong Hong, vice-magistrate of Jiangsu Province, proposed to the Office of Foreign Affairs building the Jin-Zhen railway, which would run from Tianjin to Zhenjiang. The proposal claimed that a railway company had been set up to carry it out. A certain amount of money had also been raised through multiple approaches, including investment from the United States. The proposal ensured that there would be no financial burden for the government as the whole railway would be mortgaged after construction. Rong Hong's proposal met fierce opposition from other governors, such as Sheng Xuanhuai, who worried about paying foreign debt. Furthermore, the Minister of the German Embassy, Edmund Friedrich Gustav Freiherr von Heyking, known by the Chinese name Hai-Jing, also set himself against the plan. Hai-Jing claimed that Germany had the exclusive rights of railway construction in Shandong Province, which the Jin-Zhen Railway was planned to cross. In the end, Rong Hong's proposal of Jin-Zhen Railway was rejected. In August 1898, Colonel Sir Claude Maxwell MacDonald, Minister of the British Embassy, whose Chinese name was Dou Na-le, wrote to the Office of Foreign Affairs about Britain's willingness to undertake the construction of Jin-Zhen Railway. He also expressed that Germany was welcome to join the project. Hearing about this, Heyking contacted the Office with an agreement to co-constructing the railway. In September the same year, a meeting between the representatives from the British and Chinese Corporation, Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (HSBC), and a German syndicate held in London. Without permission of the Qing Government, the meeting reached an agreement that the Jin-Zhen Railway will be constructed under the collaboration of two countries. Under the pressure from both Germany and Britain, on 18 May 1899, the Qing Government had no choice but to compromise and sign a contract taking loans from the two countries to construct Jin-Zhen Railway. According to this contract, China would borrow

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£7,400,000 with a repayment schedule of fifty years. The project of Jin-Zhen Railway was divided into two parts by the southern border of Shandong Province. The northern part would be constructed by German companies and the southern part by British ones.

Construction did not start immediately because of the outbreak of the Boxer Rebellion in Shandong. After the rebellion was suppressed, Yuan Shikai, then governor of Zhili Province, was commissioned to sign the formal contract with Britain and Germany and to supervise the project. But the signing was delayed again. Fierce opposition against borrowing foreign loans broke out among local officials, landowners and returned overseas Chinese students. Furthermore, the Germans required two branch lines to be added to the project. To ensure that the contract could be signed soon, Zhang Zhidong was commissioned as the new supervising officer to assist Yuan Shikai. After analysing the situation, both Yuan and Zhang agreed it was impossible for the Chinese government to construct the line independently. The best and only choice was to surrender a part of the railway's interests to the two foreign countries in exchange for ownership of the line. The final loan agreement was signed on 13 January 1908. According to this contract, the railway was renamed as the Jin-Pu Railway. It connected Tianjin and Pukou, which is a district of the present-day Nanjing. The total loan was £5,000,000, with 63% from Germany and 37% from Britain. The loan period was only thirty years. Though the rights of railway construction and operation would be exclusive to the Chinese government, China was forced to hire two chief engineers, one from Germany and one from Britain. On 28 September 1910, another £3,000,000 was added into the loan contract. In August 1908, starting from Tianjin, construction of the northern section began. The southern part, starting from Pukou, was under construction by January 1909. In September 1911, both the northern and southern lines were completed. At first the two parts were put into operation separately. In 1912, the northern and southern lines were joined at a bridge across the Yellow River. This 1,255-metre-long bridge was built in cast iron. After being joined, the overall length of Jin-Pu Railway was 1,009.5 kilometres with four branch lines of 96.5 kilometres (Yang, 1997).

While lines such as Jin-Pu Railway were constructed under unequal contracts which forced the Chinese government to raise foreign loans, many more were built completely by foreign countries on the territory of China, especially in the areas under foreign control. The Jiao-Ji Railway was one of these railways.

As early as in 1860, Germany began to send troops to China to expand its sphere of influence and seize more benefits. After the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95, Germany

and Russia compelled Japan to return Liaoning Province to the Chinese Government. But their purpose was to establish their own spheres of influence in China. The Qing Government had to allow Germany to establish concessions and settlements in Tianjin and Hankou. At this time, the Qing Government still refused to give permission for railway construction to foreign countries. But Germany badly wanted railways, to transport coal from inland China to their colonised port cities. Therefore, Germany decided to establish these benefits by force. On 1 November 1897, two German missionaries were killed in the county of Caozhou in Shandong Province. Using the excuse of investigating the case, Germany sent its fleet and occupied Jiaozhou Bay on 14 November. After that, the Minister of the German Embassy von Heyking (Hai-Jing) made a series of requirements to the Office of Foreign Affairs as the condition of withdrawal. The requirements included authorising German priority in mining and building railways in Shandong. Under the pressure of German military force, on 6 March 1898, the unequal Kiautschou Leasehold Treaty was signed by Li Hongzhang and Hai-Jing. The whole story became known to history as the Juye Incident. According to the Treaty, Germany was authorised to build two railway lines in Shandong. One became the later Jiao-Ji Railway. The other project was abandoned because of the construction of Jin-Pu Railway. Jiao-Ji Railway were planned to run from Jiaozhou Bay to Jinan, the capital city of Shandong Province. The Treaty also gave Germany the rights in coal mining along the railways, within a range of 15 kilometres of the lines. In June 1899, the Schantung Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft (Shandong Railway Company) was established in Germany. Without notifying the Chinese Government, the German Chancellor gave the company permission to construct and operate the railway in Shandong. Under this permission, the Shandong Railway Company would construct a trunk line from the port city of Qingdao to Jinan, and a branch line from Qingdao to Boshan, another resource-rich city in central Shandong. The trunk line was later named the Jiao-Ji Railway, and was planned to connect the coal-producing areas and major cities in Shandong.

From planning, construction and engineering to management, Jiao-Ji Railway was under the control of Germany in all respects. In addition to the railroad, many allied buildings and facilities were also built and operated, such as station buildings and railway factories. The official launching ceremony for Jiao-Ji Railway was held on 23 September 1899, although construction had started a month earlier, on 25 August in Qingdao. The project was interrupted several times because of local peasant revolts, the

Boxer Rebellion and other social movements. Taking advantage of social unrest, Yuan Shikai, then the governor of Shandong Province, negotiated with the German company. He promised that the Chinese government could suppress the rebellions and provide security for German railway construction. In return, Chinese capital would be permitted to purchase a portion of shares in the railway. Under Yuan's effort, on 21 March 1900 the Regulations of the Sino-German Jiao-Ji Railway were signed. The Regulations
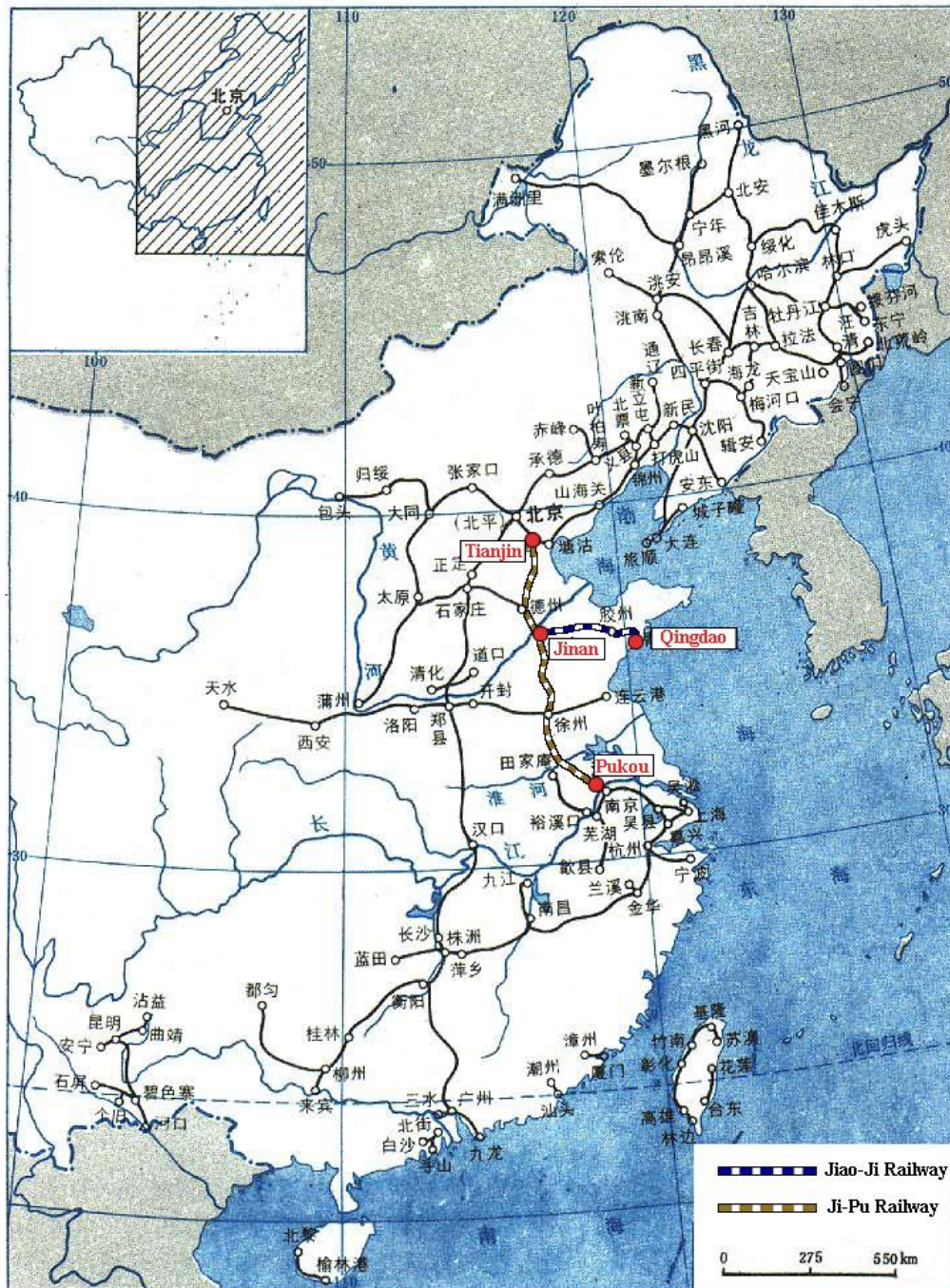
Fig. 5- 1 Jiao-Ji Railway and Jin-Pu Railway

Source: redrawn by the author based upon the map of railway distribution in China, 1878-1948 (chinabaike)

specified that the operation of Jiao-Ji Railway was temporarily exclusive to Germany, but Chinese capital would be allowed to buy shares of the line when the funds raised reached a certain amount. Chinese military would provide security for the railway construction when required. The situation in Shandong was finally stabilised in the autumn of 1900. Soon after, the construction of Jiao-Ji Railway restarted. On 25 February 1904, the first train arrived Jinan. By 1 June 1904, the trunk line of Jiao-Ji Railway from Qingdao to Jinan was 394.1 kilometres long. In addition, there were two branch lines of 46.6 kilometres from Zhangdian to Boshan, and from Zichuan to Hongshan.

The Jiao-Ji and Jin-Pu railways were the two earliest and most important railway lines in Shandong (see Fig. 5-1). They greatly changed transport systems, economic structure, the degree of industrialisation, and the social and cultural forms of the region. The two railways joined with each other at Jinan, the capital city of the province. Here the influence of the railways was strengthened and embodied even more clearly through their stations. The railway stations of the Jiao-Ji and Jin-Pu railways in Jinan had played a role as gateways, leading the ancient city towards its modernisation. This case study focuses particularly on the station that first served Jiao-Ji Railway. The station is not only unique in architectural forms in China's modern architectural history, but its experience from construction, alteration, and demolition to reconstruction also represents a typical pattern in China's urban construction. The next section introduces two railway stations in Jinan, with focus on the Jiao-Ji station and its changes during the urban development.

5.2.3   *Jinan Old Railway Station: construction, changes, demolition, and reconstruction*

When we talk about Jinan Old Railway Station today, usually this refers to the former Jinan station of Jin-Pu Railway. But there had been more than one railway station in the city. Sometimes a new station was built to replace an old one. Sometimes multiple stations co-existed with each other in a competitive or cooperative relationship. Throughout Jinan's modern history, the most important two railway stations were the station of Jin-Pu Railway, and the terminus of Jiao-Ji Railway. The former is known as Jinan Old Railway Station.

The first railway station to be built in Jinan was the terminus of Jiao-Ji Railway. When the first train reached Jinan in 1904, it felt like the whole city was shaken by this giant steel machine (Zhang and Xue, 2006). One month later, a temporary station was constructed as the west terminus of Jiao-Ji Railway. Only a few blurred images remain (see Fig. 5-2) to help us understand what this first station looked like (Liu, 2007). According to some of the literature, this first station building was built with a gross area of over 1,200 square metres. Though it only existed for a short time, the station buildings were designed carefully with a desire to demonstrate Germany's own sense of conquest. This first railway station had obviously changed the city in its physical pattern and economic structure. The station was built in the centre of a new commercial district to the west of the old city area. The Germans initially shipped products like matches, kerosene and thread to Qingdao. These cargoes were then carried to Jinan by train along the Jiao-Ji Railway, and either directly placed on the local market or transhipped from the station all over China. In the meantime, Chinese resources and luxury goods were accumulated at the station, waiting to be transported to Qingdao and shipped back to Germany. All these transport- and commercial activities took place around the station. The place around Jiao-Ji terminus soon became the most prosperous commercial and

Fig. 5- 2 First Jinan Railway Station for Jiao-Ji Railway (known as Jinan East Station at the time)

Source: (Liu, 2007)

trading centre of the region.

However, only seven years later, the Jiao-Ji terminus was overshadowed a new station nearby (Lin *et al.*, 2011). This was the Jinan Station of Jin-Pu Railway. While Jiao-Ji Railway was fully controlled by German's Shandong Railway Company, Jin-Pu Railway was operated by a Chinese railway company, although its construction was compelled to use foreign loans. Soon competition between the two railway companies was reflected not only in business but also in the construction of railway stations. While the plan for a Jin-Pu station in Jinan was still on the drawing board, it was determined that one of the major aims of the station was to surpass the Jiao-Ji terminus (Liu, 2007). German engineers were hired for the design and construction process. The station was begun in 1908 and completed in December 1911 (Zhang and Xue, 2006; Liu, 2007), and, once in operation, appeared to demonstrate superiority to its rival in all respects. Both stations were located in the centre of the commercial district to the northwest of the old city area. However, the site selection of the Jin-Pu station was more suitable to link the railway with the transport network of the city. It provided a more efficient environment for commodity distribution and population accumulation. This was confirmed when the two railway lines were combined in 1938 and the original Jin-Pu station was retained as the central station for both lines, whilst the Jiao-Ji terminus was

Fig. 5- 3 Jinan Station for Jin-Pu Railway, 1930s

Source: (Kolonko, 2013)

turned into an office building. In the present day, the site of the Jinan station for Jin-Pu Railway is still the location of the major Jinan railway station. In architectural appearance, Jin-Pu station was also more attractive than its neighbour at the time (see Fig. 5-3). The station was in a creative combination of Classical style and German Art Nouveau (*Jugendstil*). A high clock tower dominated the large area nearby. Technical achievements and the use of new materials, such as reinforced concrete, also helped Jin-Pu station surpass it rival.

Though Jin-Pu Railway was constructed and operated by a Chinese railway company, the station in Jinan was designed in German style. Records show that the name of the chief designer of the station building was probably Hermann Fischer (Guo, 2000; Zhang and Xue, 2006; Zou, 2006; Lin *et al.*, 2011). Many Chinese resources nowadays describe him as a famous German architect. However, in fact, he was a young engineer at the time, considering his age and personal experiences after leaving China (Kolonko, 2013). Nevertheless, his work in Jinan is generally recognised as an outstanding and unique example in Chinese architecture interpreting German Art Nouveau, also known as *Jugendstil* in art history (Zou, 2006). The station building was planned on a moderate scale but with a sophisticated composition. The main station building contained three parts: an east wing, a west wing, and a clock tower. These three parts were arranged in an asymmetrical form. The east wing provided the space of a booking lobby, a waiting hall, and some offices. The west part contained other functional rooms, some of which were later used as post office and parcel delivery centre. Starting from the wall of the central tower, the roof of the west wing extended in a plain line. The roof slope of the west part was gentle. A row of dormer windows was opened with soft curves on the roof. In the east-central part of the whole building there stood a soaring clock tower. It formed a vertical extended shape as a contrast to the horizontal extended east and west wings. The clock tower was 32 metres high with eight floors above ground and one floor basement. It provided a very prominent visual centre for the station and the nearby area. Functionally, it served to meet the practical requirements of a station, such as giving the correct time and marking the direction to the station for people in the distance. Aesthetically, the clock tower (see Fig. 5-4) displayed how foreign architectural forms were admired and adapted in China at the time. The whole tower was designed with similar proportions to a classic column, whilst its details represented features of modern art movement. The tower's top was surmounted with a green bronze dome in the shape of a helmet. Under this was a linear

cornice with graceful, wavy decorative lines circling around the tower. The lines also drew the upper half outlines of four big clocks embedded in the tower body, facing four directions. Under the four clocks there was a circle of small pillars in the imitation of the Doric order. In addition to decorating the tower, these pillars also lightened the weight of the tower as the use of a massive solid wall was avoided. The shape of the tower body above these small pillars was cylindrical. Below the pillars, the tower was an octagonal prism. Windows opened spirally onto the eight surfaces. The tower base was built in coarse stone. Compared to the light colour of the plastered upper parts, the dark stony base maintained the visual balance of the whole tower. In addition to this
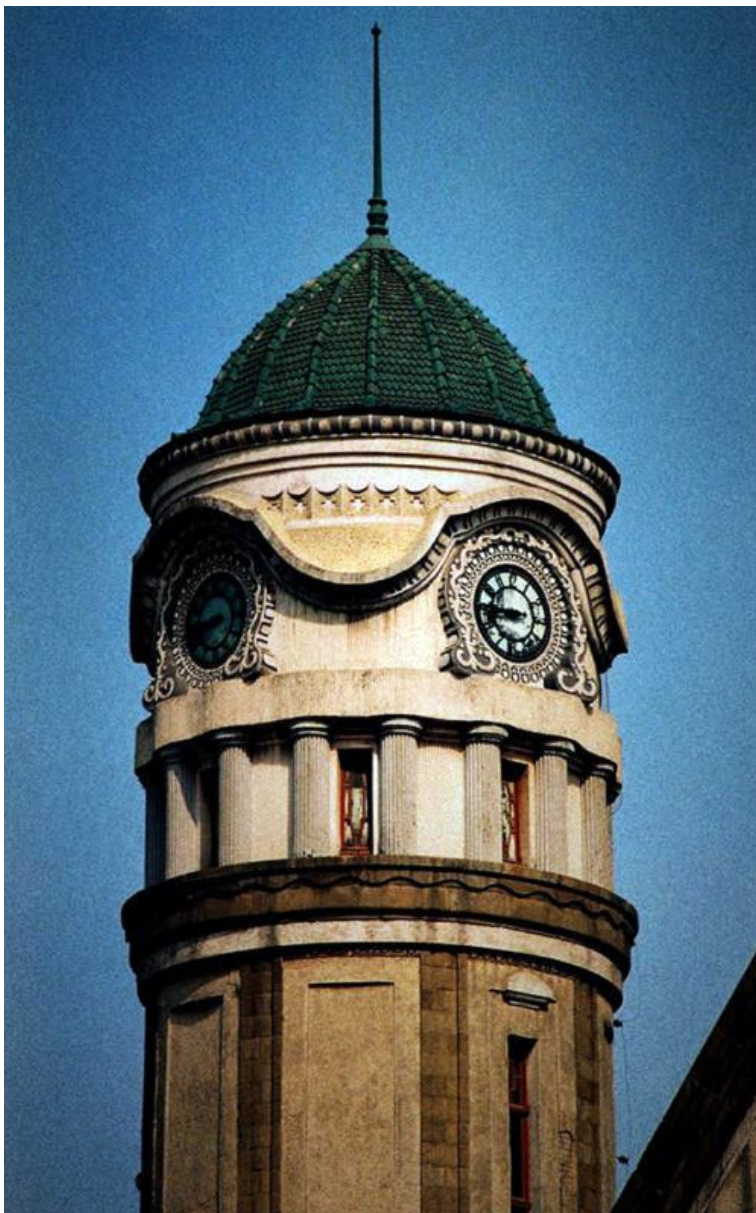
Fig. 5- 4 Clock tower, Jinan Station for Jin-Pu Railway

Source: (Zou, 2006)

eye-catching clock tower, the station building had another visual focus. Adjacent the tower to the east, the confident demonstration of a giant gable marked the main entrance to passengers. Three gates opened under the gable, through which countless people once walked through to enter the booking lobby and waiting rooms. Huge Romanesque arch windows opened on both north and the south gables of the lobby. The windows echoed the Doric-style pillars on the clock tower. The station was structured of brick masonry. The floors were built in wood. The outside walls were edged with dark mushroom-coloured stone to contrast with the light colour of the exquisite wall surfaces. On the whole, the building of Jinan Station of Jin-Pu Railway could be considered as a flexible application of *Jugendstil*. In details, expressions of Gothic and Baroque could also be observed. In addition, the building also contained modern features because of its function of a railway station, such as the footbridge leading to the platform behind the main station building. With all these attractive features, Jinan station of Jin-Pu Railway quickly became one of the most famous buildings in the city.

With the Jin-Pu Station attracting attention in all these aspects, the promoters of the nearby Jinan terminus of Jiao-Ji Railway refused to let their buildings be inferior. The German company believed that a grander station would help them to beat their business rival. As Shandong was at the time within the German sphere of influence, a

Fig. 5- 5 Jinan Station for Jiao-Ji Railway

Source: (Wikipedia, 2009)

fitting station building (see Fig. 5-5) was expected to celebrate this hegemony (Liu, 2007). In 1914, an elaborate new station building was founded. This new western terminus for Jiao-Ji Railway was completed and put into operation in the next year. The building was located about 200 metres to the southeast of the Jin-Pu Jinan station. The Jiao-Ji western terminus was also designed in an asymmetric pattern. The building could be horizontally divided into three main parts. The main entrance was located to the mid-east of the whole complex. The central part was bigger than the two wings to form the space for a waiting hall. Wide stone steps led up to the main entrance with three round arch gates, of which two side ones were afterwards blocked and transformed into windows. Above the gates, six stone pillars supported the attic and the pitched roof. The heads of the pillars were in Ionic style, although the bodies were not fluted. In the east wing were a restaurant and a VIP waiting room. The west wing accommodated hotel rooms and offices. A row of dormers with curved frames were outlined on the roof of the west wing. The roof was covered in red tiles. Below the roof, the major colour of the external wall was greyish yellow. Coarse mushroom slate was used in the building base. Generally, the new building of the west terminus of Jiao-Ji Railway is regarded to showing the influence of German Neoclassicism in China (Zhang and Xue, 2006).

The competition between these two early railway stations in Jinan continued in the 1910s and 1920s. Jinan terminus of Jiao-Ji Railway contributed more to the regional economy (Lin and Dong, 2010). However, Jinan station of Jin-Pu Railway was regarded as being superior in historical and social terms (Zhang and Liu, 2011). Therefore, when Jinan Railway Station is mentioned nowadays, it usually refers to the station of Jin-Pu Railway.

The Jiao-Ji Railway had been playing an important role in delivering troops and arms during wars against Japan (The Communist Youth League of China Executive Committee of Shandong, 1928; Yi, 1946). The Japanese first occupied Qingdao and the nearby areas in 1914. The city was returned to the Chinese government in 1922. In 1931, Japan launched a full war of conquest against China. The invaders immediately began to construct new railways on the occupied land. Meanwhile, some existing railways and railway facilities were destroyed during battles. In December 1937, the Japanese military occupied Jinan. In 1938, Qingdao fell again. Soon Japan took the place of Germany and fully controlled Shandong, including the Jiao-Ji Railway. To step up its aggression, the Japanese extended the Jiao-Ji line and connected it with the Jin-Pu Railway in Jinan. Also, in 1938, the former Jinan station of Jin-Pu Railway was

transformed as the station for both railway lines and its name officially confirmed as Jinan Railway Station. The former Jinan terminus of Jiao-Ji Railway had since then been used for offices of the Railway Bureau. During the Anti-Japanese War (1931-1945) and the subsequent civil war (1945-1949), Jinan and the two railways had been of great military importance. Fortunately, no severe damage happened to Jinan Railway Station, nor had any large-scale alterations taken place.

After 1949, the new Chinese government nationalised all railway lines in the mainland and put them under the supervision and management of the Ministry of Railways. Since then, railways and railway buildings in China have moved into a new era. All alterations or changes to Jinan Railway Station are linked closely with national railway policy and local urban planning. During the decades of urban development, Jinan Railway Station was the object of several planned extension and renovation projects before it was demolished in 1992. The decision to demolish seemed to be made overnight, the possibility to reconstruct the station having been under discussion for years. One of the earliest government programmes to consider the necessity of reconstructing the station were carried out by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) of Shandong Province in 1984. On 21 April, Shandong CPPCC received a proposal No. 51 'About Extending Jinan Railway Station' (Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, 1984a). It was drafted by Yu Shoumian, a physics professor in Shandong University. In the proposal, he pointed out that the station was in urgent need of extension or reconstruction. As there was not enough space in waiting room, the building's interior was overcrowded, and more passengers had to wait outside, suffering bad weather. The proposal soon received a reply, on 15 August (Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, 1984b). The reply indicated that Jinan Railway Bureau had applied to the State Ministry of Construction to rebuild the station and the Ministry of Railways was currently surveying for this project. But the project seemed to be put aside, as no further documentation shows more replies from either the State or Jinan Railway Bureau. It was not until May 1986 that reconstruction of Jinan Railway Station was again put forward, when another two proposals were submitted separately (Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, 1986a; Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, 1986b). Proposal No. 449 was drafted by Huang Shaoming, a member of Shandong Provincial Central Committee. Huang suggested that the pedestrian bridge in the station should be reconstructed for safety. Proposal No. 542 was drafted by another

Provincial Central Committee member Hua Boxun. Hua listed the existing problems of the station front square, such as over-crowdedness, lack of rest areas for passengers, and the chaos between private cars, taxis and buses. He suggested that the front square of the station should be enlarged and the square entrances for pedestrians should be distinguished from vehicle routes. In the letter of reply to these proposals, half a year later, the local government declared that due to the huge cost, there were no plans for the moment to consider these projects. Two years later, on 27 January, 1988, proposal No. 126 was submitted to CPPCC (Jinan Railway Bureau, 1988). Again, it was submitted by Hua Boxun. This time, Hua re-emphasised that the station could no longer meet the requirements of modern transport. He suggested that if the station could not be reconstructed, a new one should be built up to the east for cargo transport, leaving passenger transport to the old station. On 26 April, he received the reply from Jian Railway Bureau on behalf of the CPPCC committee. The committee explained that a similar reconstruction scheme had been submitted to the Ministry of Railways and was awaiting approval. The committee did not give a further explanation about this submitted scheme. There is no record which can show the exact time when the local authority and the railway bureau made their final decision to demolish the old station and to build a new one at the same site. But one day in late June 1992, a short news item was published on *Qilu Evening News*, saying that local residents were rushing to the old railway station to take photos there when it was announced that it was due to be demolished (Guo, 2000). On 2 July, 1992, Jinan Railway Station was demolished by directional blasting (Chao, 2013). In a thunderous sound of explosion, Jinan Old Railway Station disappeared 'silently' (Jiang, 2000).

Two years later after the demolition of the old station, on 8 June 1995, a new and modern-style station (see Fig. 5-6) was completed and put into use (Qi, 1995). Before the implementation plan was finally approved in March 1992, the design of the new Jinan Railway Station had been revised several times (Qi, 1995). At the time it was one of biggest modern railway stations in China. The gross floor area was 69,895 square metres (Liu and Zhou, 1996). The four platforms could serve 90 trains a day for departure and arrival. The appearance of the station building may look out of fashion now. However, throughout the first half of 1990s, the new station was widely regarded as being in the most modernist style (Qi, 1995). On completion, its attractive appearance, multiple functionality and high efficiency was widely praised among the authorities and building practitioners.

The new station consisted of a front square, a main station building, a high-rise hotel building, and other subsidiary structures. The new front square was 240 metres from east to west and 110 metres from south to north. Pedestrians and vehicles were organised in different routes on the front square. An underground passage led the arriving passengers quickly from the back of the station to the front square. The main station building was set along the north edge of the square. To make sure that the passengers would only need to walk the shortest way from the entrance to the platform, the entrance, station hall, escalators, stairs, central corridor and the waiting rooms were arranged along the central axis of the building from the south to north. The waiting rooms were raised above the tracks. There were 24 counters for ticket booking and 8 counters for ticket exchange in the ticket hall in the west part of the building. In the great entrance hall, sunlight came down through the roof of tempered glass. The roof was supported by 12 brown stone pillars each with a diameter of 1.2 metres. On the north wall there was a giant fresco 8 metres high and 20 metres wide. This fresco demonstrated the most famous cultural and geographical icons of Shandong Province, including Tai Mountain, the Yellow River and Confucius. Two more frescoes were embedded on the east and west wall depicting peony and lotus – the rare flowers of the region. In the middle of the station hall, four escalators guided passengers to a wide and long corridor on the upper floor, on two sides of which the waiting rooms were lined. The overall space of the waiting rooms and the corridor elevated above platforms and

Fig. 5- 6 Jinan Railway Station, 2012

Source: author's collection

tracks was 180 metres in length and 90 metres in width. The waiting rooms had 8,000 seats and could hold 11,000 people. The outbound hall of about 700 square metres was connected to the arrival platforms by underground passages. To the east of the main station building was a high-rise block with complex functions. It provided integrated services such as accommodation, a restaurant, entertainment, a travel agency and administrative offices. The block was 96.4 metres high with 16 storeys above ground.

With all these so-called modern designs, the new Jinan Railway Station was expected to become the gateway of Jinan and the window of the province. It was also anticipated that the new station could play an active role in promoting the urban modernisation of Jinan and the region. At the time, modernisation was the main theme of Jinan's urban development strategy. When the station was finished, it did meet the above expectations for a while and it received high praise from the professions of architecture and building construction (Qi, 1995; Liu and Zhou, 1996). However, it was soon realised that the new station could not solve all the problems of Jinan's comprehensive urban development, while its 'modernist' appearance quickly went out of fashion. After the old station was demolished, the urban construction of Jinan entered a new stage. In 1996, a new master plan of Jinan was drawn up based on the 1980 master plan. In the plan, modernisation was still confirmed as being the central target. Four new urban districts were to set up in the east and west, in order to control the disordered expansion of the main city area. In 2004, the urbanisation of Greater Jinan area had reached 57%, and was expected to reach 75% by 2020 in this trend. This rapid urbanisation has brought about many problems. The continuous urban expansion to east and west has caused longer daily commutes. The rapid growth of population has required more investment in infrastructure. Over-consumption of energy and environmental pollution has nullified the city's sustainable development. Worse still, the old city and its buildings were under greater threat of comprehensive reconstruction than before.

From the second half of the 1990s, the dissemination of new urban planning strategies and modern conservation theories began to drive people to rethink the demolition and reconstruction project. More and more professionals began to argue for the value of old Jinan Railway Station from historical, architectural and cultural aspects among others (Zhang *et al.*, 1995; Lin *et al.*, 2011). By the twenty-first century, the public began to participate in this discussion. It has often been questioned if the demolition of the old station had been a serious mistake and caused a great loss to the

city's historic fabric and cultural contents (Xu, 2009; Fang, 2010; Xin, 2011). Among these critical arguments about the demolition, advocacy for rebuilding the station appeared. In 2008, a cast iron dial plate from the original clock tower was recovered from a warehouse of the local railway bureau. It aroused more interest in the old station. The first intention to rebuild the old station was seen in the draft proposals of the National People's Congress (NPC) and CPPCC in 2010 (Guo, 2012). In 2012, a formal proposal titled 'On accelerating the rebuilding of the railway station north square and original clock tower' was submitted by a group of eleven professional people in architecture, planning and other relative areas, which was led by Liu Jingtao, a representative of People's Congress and chairman of the Committee of Urban and Rural Construction of Tianqiao District. The relevant local authorities replied with great interest to the proposal, and in August, it was revealed that the old station would be reconstructed. The government's willingness to rebuild the station and recreate its built environment was also reflected in the revised local planning regulations, in which the building height-limit near the old station site was much lowered. The aspiration to rebuild the old station reached a climax in 2013. A development and investment group even announced that the reconstruction of the station's north square would start in August, 2013, following which would begin the reconstruction project of the old station including its iconic clock tower (Chao, 2013; Wang, 2014). However, when the initial enthusiasm calmed down, objections to rebuilding the old station arose. The counter-view worried about the authenticity of the reconstructed station, especially when considering that the original building plan had not yet been found and the original site had changed so much (Guo, 2013). At the present time, there is no trace of any further solid steps for the reconstruction of the old station.

5.3   JINAN OLD RAILWAY STATION IN THE MODERNISATION OF CHINA

Although the reconstruction is still uncertain, the value of Jinan Old Railway Station is widely accepted (Zhang *et al.*, 1995; Zou, 2006) and has been particularly stressed in terms of its close relationship with China's modernisation history (Yang, 1997). This section will analyse how the meaning of the old station building in the modern history of China has been constructed in terms of railway history, modern architecture, urban planning and urban development, modern city lives, and cultural concepts.

5.3.1 Railways in the early stage of modernisation in China

The re-evaluation of Jinan Old Railway Station was initiated by those who studied modern railway history of China (Wang *et al.*, 1983; Yang, 1997). Much has been discussed about the Jin-Pu and Jiao-Ji railways' regional and nation-wide influence in the modernisation of economy, politics and social structure (Lin and Dong, 2010; Shao and Gu, 2010; Wang, 2010; Dong and Lin, 2011). Among these studies, the railway stations on these two lines are not only recognised as the key elements, enhancing their influence. These studies also introduce the idea of analysing and valuing modern railway buildings as integrated within the modernising progress of China.

The studies of the history of modern railways in China can also enrich historic context and construction details to support valuing the significance of Jinan Old Railway station in the modernisation of China. This was an extremely difficult progress against feudalism and colonization, during which railways played a significant role – both positive and negative (Yang, 1997). Most early railways in China were constructed by foreign powers, and were operated with a primary purpose of looting resources and dumping commodities (Wang, 2010). In the term of this view, railways became the obstacle of China's modernisation which could never be realised without an independent industrial and economic system. However, these early railways constructed by foreigners were at the same time a stimulus to the development of domestic industry. Under the policy supported during the 'Westernisation Movement', state-owned and private industry developed quickly in the last few decades of the nineteenth century. China soon became capable of producing railway facilities by itself. For example, in 1880, the first railway factory Xuge Zhuang Repair Workshop was opened under the administration of Kaiping Mining Bureau (Yang, 2008). These factories were able to produce all kinds of railway equipment from the simplest signal lamp to the steel beams of good quality for railway bridges. It was these early railway factories that established the foundation of China's modern industry (Yang, 2008).

In addition, railways accelerated the circulation of commodities and promoted the import-export economy. East-west railways made it easier to transport cargoes from coastal cities to inland China. North-south railways connected significant trade centres such as Tianjin, Jinan and Nanjing in the north and south. The advantage of railways was represented in its speediness and capacity to shift massive amounts of good and people. The amount transported through railways increased almost 1.5 times from 1916

to 1936. Before the construction of Jin-Pu Railway, it took about twenty-five days to travel from Tianjin to Pukou, by land or canal. After Jin-Pu Railway was put into operation, it only took two days (Li, 1996). In the meantime, this new commodity economy brought about through high-speed transport accelerated the collapse of the natural economy in China (Dong and Lin, 2011). Railways helped in redistributing the new regional economic centres and in reforming the function of the traditional cities (Li, 1996). Taking the advantage of commodity transport and transaction, areas along railways usually developed more quickly than the traditional cities. A lot of new towns arose as local economic centres and old cites which had only functioned as political centres transformed into industrial and commercial cities. For example, before the open of Jiao-Ji and Jin-Pu railways, Jinan was a traditional inland city for which the canal was its most important transport route with the outside world. After the east-to-west Jiao-Ji Railway connected Jinan with the coastal port city of Qingdao, commodities from abroad immediately began to be transported inland whilst resources were carried abroad. The construction of the north-to-south Jin-Pu Railway quickly upgraded Jinan into a gateway city between the north and the south of China. With two railways, the role of Jinan quickly transformed from an ancient political and cultural centre into an industrial and economic hub. The city form was also transformed from traditional regional capital to its modern pattern, and the architectural types and styles were greatly enriched during this process (Li, 2006; Jiang and Zhou, 2007; Wang and Dai, 2007).

The history of Jinan can be traced back to the Spring and Autumn period, about BC 400 (Wang and Dai, 2007). The old city area of Jinan was formed in the Yuan Dynasty, enclosed by a city wall originally made of rammed earth and then reconstructed of stone in 1371 (Wang and Dai, 2007). The old area clustering inside the wall represented the Chinese traditional urban form which was laid out in square functional districts and supported by the simple self-sufficient economic structure supported by local agricultural production. Old Jinan had its own characteristics, integrating natural landscape factors such as springs, hills and lakes into the plan. Having been the political and commercial centre of the region for a long time, the city became one of the biggest cities in central China during the Kangxi period (1661-1722) of the Qing Dynasty (Wang and Dai, 2007). This traditional urban pattern of single-

Fig. 5- 7 Mapping of Jinan, around 1909

Source: (Wang, 2009)
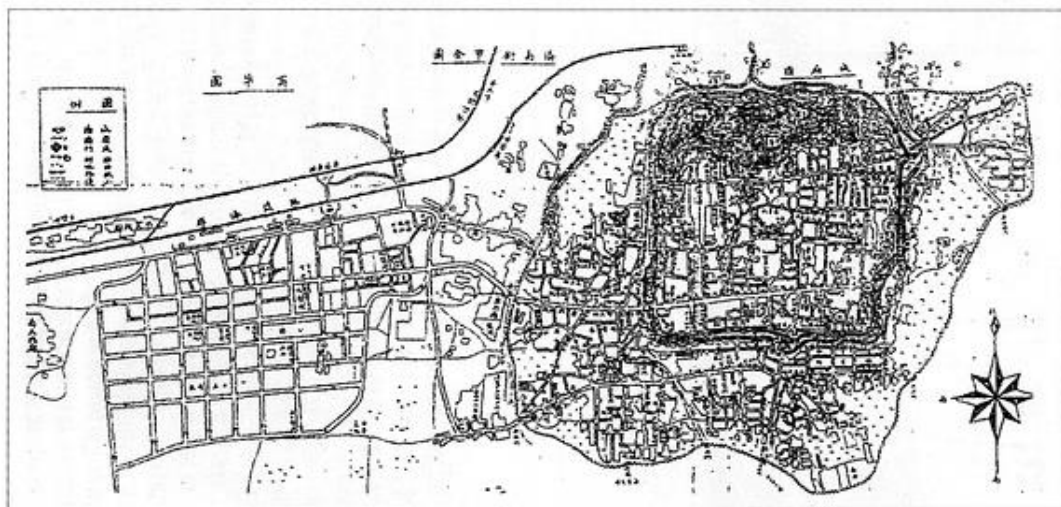
Fig. 5- 8 Mapping of Jinan, 1919

Source: (Zhang, 2005; Li, 2009; Wang, 2009; Liu, 2010a; Yang, 2012a)

centre and agricultural-based economy began to change after the First Opium War in 1840, when modern industry and modern education sprang up under the influence of the Westernisation Movement, although change was slow until the Jiao-Ji Railway was completed in 1904 and a commercial district was constructed to the west of the old city area in 1905.

In this period, Germany quickly extended its influence by means of the Jiao-Ji Railway, from the coastal area to the midland of Shandong Province of which Jinan was the capital. Under this aggressive pressure, the Qing Government constructed a new

Fig. 5- 9 Mapping of Jinan, around 1940

Source: (Wang, 2009)

area to the west of Jinan's old city as a commercial port (Wang, 2009). The plan of the new city area of Jinan was nothing like the traditional one. The road network was in a grid pattern, and buildings in the commercial area represented new features taken from all kinds of western styles (Jiang and Zhou, 2007). Under the stimulus of the railway economy, the scale of this area soon expanded to be as big as the old city (see Fig. 5-7). In 1911, Jin-Pu Railway was opened. As one of the biggest cities on this railway, Jinan became a trading hub between southern and northern China (Wang, 2009). When more and more industry, population and commercial activities assembled along railways and around railway stations, the centre of Jinan gradually moved from the old area to the new treaty districts (see Fig. 5-8). After the outbreak of the First World War, Japan replaced Germany in controlling Shandong. In 1938, Japan invaded and occupied Jinan, which became one of its significant strategic bases for invasion. A new commercial district was set up to the south of Jinan with area of nearly one square kilometre (Wang and Dai, 2007). In the next few years, the integral commercial area kept expanding into approximately four square kilometres (Wang, 2009). By this time, Jinan had determined its modern morphology of a double city centre – one is the old city centre to the east, and the other is in the commercial area to the west (see Fig. 5-9). From then on, little changed until the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

As mentioned above, railways not only changed the urban form of Jinan, but also brought about new architectural types and styles. Before the arrival of railways, traditional Chinese architecture was used in mainstream building construction. Only some church buildings were built in foreign style. However, after the first railway arrived at Jinan in 1904, new architecture appeared in Jinan's commercial area on a massive scale. After the Jin-Pu Railway was opened for business, the construction of new buildings in Jinan entered an active phrase. Generally speaking, the time range from 1904 to 1937 was the golden age for the development of modern architecture in Jinan, first embodied in railway buildings, for example, the stations of Jiao-Ji and Jin-Pu railways and the apartment house for staff of the Jiao-Ji Railway. In addition, under the influence of the Chinese Westernisation Movement, a number of arsenals and machinery factories were built in Jinan (Wang *et al.*, 2013).As the commercial area quickly developed, many commercial and cultural buildings, such as banks and theatres, appeared in the commercial area. Because Jinan was the political centre of the region, many consular buildings were constructed in different foreign styles during this colonial period. All these early modern buildings shared similar features although presenting

different appearances, for at least two reasons. First, the new functions of modern architecture required new architectural forms and structures. There were railway stations, industrial factories, banks, libraries, theatres, stadiums, university and monumental buildings, etc. All these buildings were new to China. On the one hand, Traditional Chinese architecture could not satisfy the needs of complex inner spaces as modern architecture, such as great halls in railway stations and workshops in factories. Also, it was much easier to adopt new architectural forms from where these types originated rather than to reform traditional architecture, especially when these new buildings were constructed by or to serve foreigners. Second, based on its semi-colonial history, a multi-cultural society had formed in Jinan. This was reflected in architecture, as represented as buildings in various styles, such as Gothic, Roman, Classical, Modern, German, English and Japanese which coexisted in the new city area. Many eclectic buildings integrated several foreign styles as well as those of Chinese traditional architecture. Among all this early modern architecture, Jinan Railway Station was generally considered as the most outstanding and monumental, especially because of its unique and characteristic appearance.

Compared with the collections of historical documents and early research about Jinan's railway history and early urban and architectural development, studies on Jinan Railway Station building started relatively late. But these early resources provide rich information about the history of the station, solidly underpinning the subsequent research. The first in-depth research on the architectural style of Jinan Railway Station was in Zou Denong's book of *Issues in Chinese Modern Architecture*, published in 2006. Gradually, more and more studies have been carried out, reviewing the station as a unique but characteristic building in the early stage of Chinese modern architectural history. For example, Zou (2006) has argued that Chinese modern architecture was initiated in the commercial port cities in the form of Art Nouveau. Before the nineteenth century, the influence of Western architecture in China was very limited. But from the beginning of the nineteenth century, buildings of different European styles emerged in commercial areas and concessions. In cities which were opened as commercial port like Jinan, industrial and railway buildings were the earliest new architectural types under the influence of foreign powers, and Art Nouveau was one of the earliest expressions of this. Therefore it could be said that the Art Nouveau style was the first step of Chinese architecture towards modernity, though the expression of Art Nouveau in China was usually an imitation in decoration (Zou, 2006). Art Nouveau in architecture, including

interior design, was first brought to specific cities of China such as Qingdao and Harbin by foreign architects. Through the construction of Jiao-Ji Railway and Jin-Pu Railway, the style was brought to Jinan by German architects. Many buildings at that time were designed under this influence, among which Jinan Railway Station was the most significant one. The station building shows several distinctive characteristics of German Art Nouveau (*Jugendstil*). Firstly, the style is applied in the free layout of buildings, square, and built landscape. The clock tower dominated the highest point of the station, while all parts of the station balanced each other in an asymmetric design. Secondly, details of the station used a lot of curving lines for decoration. Both on top of the clock tower and at the foot of the building, there were graceful decorative curves reminding people of *Jugendstil*. Third, the building materials such as masonry and colour assortment were similar to German architecture. However typical it was, Jinan Railway Station was also a unique building in architectural history, partly because there was only a short history of Art Nouveau in international architecture. In China, the influence of Art Nouveau was quickly replaced by other architectural styles such as International Style.

5.3.2   *Interaction with urban development in new times*

As discussed above, the railway station has played an important role in the formation of Jinan's modern urban form, particularly with regard to the influence of Jin-Pu and Jiao-Ji railways. But most benefits of the railways were seized by foreign countries or domestic warlords rather than going into urban development. In 1948, the Communist Party replaced the Kuomintang regime in Jinan. After 1949, urban development of most Chinese cities was brought back under the administration of the central and local authorities. From then on, the relationship between railways, railway stations and urban development in Jinan becomes more interactive. Since 1949, a series of master-plans and waves of mass urban construction have reshaped the urban pattern into the morphology of a long strip of one major city area, a combination of the old area and treaty area, together with two satellite towns (Wang and Dai, 2007). This new urban form was generally fixed by the late 1980s (Miao and Chen, 2009). The enormous urban development and mass construction led to the old station buildings being seen for the first time as an obstacle for further development, which led to the demolition of Jinan Old Railway Station in 1992.

Political wills to 'industrialisation' and 'modernisation' can be clearly observed throughout Jinan's urban development. In 1949, the Jinan Urban Planning Outline was drawn up by the new municipal governmental institutions (Wang and Dai, 2007). At that time, the overall inner city area of Jinan was approximately 23.2 square kilometres (Wang *et al.*, 2013). The population was about 510,000 (Wang *et al.*, 2013). According to the first master-plan, the city was to expand to the east along the road network of the two existing major city areas. Jin-Pu Railway was the northern boundary of this expansion. After a new residential zone for workers was constructed to the north of the Jin-Pu Railway, the city began to expand across the railway. From then on, Jin-Pu Railway ran inside the city. The industry of Jinan developed rapidly during the First-Five-Year Plan in 1953-57. As both major city areas were overcrowded, Jinan's Preliminary Urban Constructing Planning was published in 1956 to increase urban land for industrial use (Wang and Dai, 2007). According to this plan, the city was to keep expanding mainly towards east and west whilst the two railways would no longer be the physical boundaries of the city. Both Jin-Pu and Jiao-Ji railways became inner city lines. The Plan was to build Jinan as a manufacturing-based city. Under its guidelines, the former treaty area gradually declined because it lacked manufacturing industry. However, the commercial function of the old city area was enhanced (Wang *et al.*, 2013). By 1957, the overall city size increased to 37.18 square kilometres and the population to 650,000 (Wang, et al.). The quick development of industry called for stronger transport capacity. In 1958, Jinan Old Railway Station was put under large-scale reconstruction for the first time since it was built (Liu, 2007). A new two-storey waiting room was built to the west of the old station. Three platform bridges were added.

When the Great Leap Forward was initiated in 1958, a lot of large industrial projects were carried out (Wang and Dai, 2007; Wang, 2009; Wang *et al.*, 2013). A new industrial district was developed 17.5 kilometres away, in the eastern suburbs of Jinan. Afterwards, another two industrial districts were constructed to the north and southwest of the city. In 1959, a new Jinan Master Plan was formulated (Wang and Dai, 2007). According to this, the city would still keep expanding to the east and west, whilst the new industrial districts would be constructed unattached to the major city area. Because the guideline was extremely oriented to the purpose of industrialisation, Jinan's urban pattern expanded in disorder and went into an unbalanced situation of urban function and land use. In the next ten years, the average annual growth of urban construction

land was 2.59 square kilometres. It was 1.7 times the figure in the previous period of 1952-57 (Wang, 2009). Nevertheless, the massive construction of new industrial districts and interrelated facilities outside the major city areas coincidently played an positive role in preserving the form of the old city areas during the excessive expansion and construction (Wang and Dai, 2007). There was no record of any large changes to Jinan Railway Station in the 1950s. In 1965, when the Great Forward Leap finally ended, Jinan's urban development strategy returned to a stable and reasonable path. However, in the next year, the Great Cultural Revolution broke out. The urban development of Jinan fell into another disordered period.

The disorder was firstly represented by the mass construction of a series of dispersed, hidden and miniaturised industrial projects, the purpose of which was to avoid strikes in a possible war (Wang, 2009). In the meantime, construction of dwellings and public utilities was so neglected that housing had become deficient for a long time. The Cultural Revolution was also hostile to historic environments, cultural relics and old buildings that symbolised feudalism or capitalism. Old ideas, old cultures, old customs and old habits were recognised as the 'Four Olds'. All objects related to them were recognised as anti-revolutionary and were to be destroyed (Wang, 2009). However, while a lot of cultural relics and antiquities were destroyed all over the country, there is no record to imply that Jinan Railway Station was affected or damaged during the Cultural Revolution. On the contrary, a few projects had been carried on in Jinan Railway Station for functional improvement and interior refurbishment (Zhang, 2003). Some of these projects were political tasks. For example, in 1972, a new entrance was built to connect the platform with the front square. The project was to welcome the visit of Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, which was considered as one of the only friendly neighbouring countries (Liu, 2007). In the meantime, the city of Jinan was expanded on a small scale towards the southwest and northeast along the Jiao-Ji Railway.

In 1978, the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh CCP Central Committee was held. The conference confirmed that scientific and rational methods should be the guide for China's urban planning (Miao and Chen, 2009; Wang, 2009). After that, China went into a period of high-speed development. As a first step, Jinan City Council revised the 1959 Master Plan. The revised plan was completed in 1980 and was approved by the State Council in June 1983 (Wang and Dai, 2007). According to the 1983 Plan, the existing industrial district in the eastern suburb was to be retained and redeveloped. A

new industrial district would be constructed in the western suburb. The population increase of the inner city would be put under administrative control. The function of urban land would be updated and optimised. In the plan, much attention was put on housing, public facilities and infrastructure (Wang and Dai, 2007). By the late 1980s, the two old major city areas were connected and turned into one major area, and two satellite towns were built to the northeast and southwest. The statistical yearbook shows that in 1992, the overall area of the city and two towns covered 8,227 square kilometres with an inner-city population of about 2,370,000. This new urban pattern of one major city area and two satellite towns has remained stable till today (Wang, 2009).

The re-adjustment of land use during the high-speed urban development after 1978 influenced the Jinan Old Station the most. The former treaty area was renovated as the Central Business District of Jinan, downgrading its original function of being a transport hub and a commercial centre (Wang, 2009). The area gradually transformed into a combination of residential, commercial and administrative land. This downgrading indicated an ignorance of the cultural value of this historic area. Under these conditions, the old railway station came to be more and more regarded as out-of-date in style as well as a physical obstacle to new construction (Gao, 2008). When conflicts in traffic, habitation and infrastructure were further aggravated during the comprehensive urban construction of the late 1980s, the tragic fate of the station could be anticipated. In 1992, the main building of Jinan Old Railway Station was demolished.

Considering all alterations that have taken place in the station, including its final demolition and possible reconstruction, are the reflection of the changing strategies of the development of Jinan, Jinan Old Railway Station has usually been interpreted as a piece of reliable evidence for studying Jinan's urban development. But the station's meaning is not restricted to its history. From a pragmatic point of view, the local authorities and developers are anxious to find how the old station could be reused to serve the future development of the city. Therefore, their interpretations are usually developed around the possibility of reconstructing the station and the potential benefits of the reconstruction. It is argued that the reconstruction would be the correction of demolition and respect for historic culture (Meng *et al.*, 2013). It is expected that the reconstructed station could be conductive to cultural exchange between China and the west (Meng *et al.*, 2013) and build the cultural confidence of Jinan (Ma *et al.*, 2012). Being an indispensable landmark of the city physically and culturally, the

reconstruction could also be expected to attract tourists and production (Jia and Xu, 2012). Some have welcomed the reconstruction. However, more people, including those who had criticised the demolition of the old station, are worried about this idea. In their opinion, the cultural, social and historical meaning of the old station can never be restored, and to build a fake antiquity is not a sustainable way of urban development (Meng *et al.*, 2013).

5.3.3   *Railway stations in everyday city lives*

The interactions of the station with China's modernisation of industry, architecture, and urban construction are indeed strong and convincing, basing on ample historic evidence. But there are more ways to value Jinan Old Railway Station from individual points of view, particularly from remembered personal experiences (memoryofchina, 2006) and the changes of city image (jinan.gov.cn, 2012; Ma *et al.*, 2012), as more and more non-professional citizens have become involved and the concept of heritage has become increasingly popular in China in the last decade. The rapid development of the Internet in China also provides efficient ways for people to cherish the glories of the station in their memory and impressions. Other indirect interpretations of the station can be found in materials like biography, local chronicles, newspapers, governmental documents and even battle records. These materials are usually influenced by strong political or historic values. Shandong Archives collects many of these materials, including the records of the historical events that have taken place around Jinan Railway Station and the two railway lines. Some collections record the significant historical events and social movements before 1949, such as anti-colonial struggles against Germany and Japan, resistance movements of labourers against local warlords over unfair treatment, cases of CCP revolutionary work in railway areas and the significance of controlling the railways during war time (Shandong Provincial Committee of CCP, 1927; The Communist Youth League of China Executive Committee of Shandong, 1928; Revolutionary Labour Union of Jiao-Ji Railway, 1931; Shandong Provincial Committee of CCP, 1932; Staff Division of Bohai Military Region, 1945; Yi, 1946; CCP special branch on Jin-Pu Railway, 1947; Front-line Headquarters of Mid-South-Shandong Military Region, 1948; Xinhua News Agency East China Bureau, 1949; Du, 1959; Qingdao Municipal Committee of CCP and Jinan Railway Bureau, 1959). There are also collections that record railway traffic activities and railway management policy, covering the period from 1945 to 1949 (Jiao-Ji

Railway Bureau, 1948b; Jiao-Ji Railway Bureau, 1948a; Jin-Pu Railway Xu-Ji Office of Huadong Ministry of Finance, 1948), which can help to analyse the significance of Jinan Railway Station in the country before 1949. Basically, neither railway station nor railway is the main topic in these collections. Nevertheless, these documents can help to build knowledge of the social and historical background in the first half of the twentieth century. This was a turbulent historical period full of war, poverty and humiliation. Inevitably, the historic values embedded in these materials have a strong continuing influence on modern buildings being valued in China, including Jinan Old Railway Station.

In addition to the archived materials, the stories of Jinan Railway Station have also been told and spread in the city's everyday life. From 1949 to the early 1990s, at least two generations of Jinan's citizens experienced interactions with the station or formed impression of the station's image. As the public becomes increasingly aware of their capability of participation in discussing topics of urban heritage, they are usually willing to share attitudes from what they have experienced or heard. The interpretations of these non-experts are usually expressed through new media such as personal blogs and online forums (Xu, 2009; Fang, 2010; Feng Shu Yu Zhou, 2011). Considering the background of colonisation, some people saw it as shameful reminder the history of being invaded, though at the same time one of important cultural meaning. Others argued that people should pay more attention to its architectural value and its influence on local residents' urban experience. The latter group will usually blame the former group for being responsible of demolishing the station for reasons of ultra-nationalism (Fang, 2010). In general, interpretations of Jinan Old Railway Station upon everyday city life are usually superficial, one-sided or biased and even fabricated. Some controversial, biased or made-up stories will be reviewed in the following paragraphs. However, they are still worthy of being analysed as the value of collective memory is an integral part in heritage research, especially when the stories are repeated and believed in an increasingly broader scope.

On 25 March 1985, a letter about making a documentary about German railways in China, written by Dr Franz Stuck was sent to Shandong Television Station (Radio Broadcasting and Television Office of Shandong Province, 1985). In this letter, Dr Stuck suggested that the Bavarian Television Station was planning to make a special television documentary on German Railways in celebration of its 150th anniversary. In addition to railways in Germany, the programme wanted to record some railways built

by Germans in other countries. Jiao-Ji Railway was considered for inclusion. Railway buildings, particularly railway stations such as those in Jinan and Qingdao, were possibly to be the main contents of this programme. Therefore, they sought collaboration with Shandong Television Station on film production in Shandong. Furthermore, the programme also planned to interview older people who had personal experience of the time when the railways and railway stations were under construction and operation. It was hoped that through this collaboration, Germany could enhance its relationship with China, especially with Shandong Province. But in a copy of this letter to the provincial authorities, an original word of 'help' was highlighted by someone, probably the programme examiner from Shandong Television Station, and required to be replaced by other word or phrase. When Stuck described Jiao-Ji railway, he claimed that it was constructed with the 'help' of the Germans. As there no evidence showed that such a programme of collaboration was carried out, it is presumed that, if it was rejected by the Chinese at that time, one of the main reasons for this was that this statement did not fit historical facts – not least the understanding by local authorities that the railway and its buildings were constructed by force of German military power rather than from a good heart of help.

Zhang Yongbo, the former mayor of Jinan is the one most accused for making the decision of demolishing the station. It is widely believed that the mayor approved the demolition proposal because of his bias view of the station as a colonial symbol. In a blog article (Xu, 2009), the writer accused the mayor of saying '[The station] is a symbol of colonialism. It always reminds me of the time when Chinese people were oppressed. The green cap of the tower just looks like helmet of Hitler's army!' Another blogger that repeated this statement (Fang, 2010). The blog article added not only the mayor, but also other government officials should be criticised for 'murdering' the station. Now, it is hard to find out whether the mayor had really said these words or not, but hostility of this kind to heritage with a background of colonialism has been demonstrated repeatedly in other heritage projects in China, including the controversy of Yuanmingyuan's reconstruction which has been introduced in Chapter 1 (Qiao, 1999; Yu and Wang, 2011; Sun, 2012).

To represent their attitudes toward valuing Jinan Old Railway Station, the public have not only shared and circulated their individual experiences, such as posting old pictures of the station taken by those who have grown up and lived with it. Also, stories of celebrities and the station are very popular. Compared to the stories of everyday

people, stories of celebrities are spread more widely from mouth to mouth. One of the best-known stories is about the son of the railway station's architect (Erick, 2011). It is said that before the station was demolished, every year, the son would come to Jinan with some engineers to repair his father's work for free. When he was informed that the station was demolished, he was so angry that he swore he would never come to Jinan again. The validity of this story is extraordinary weak as the original blueprint has never been found. Besides, even if there was one, according to the political and administrative custom of China, it is not possible for a foreigner to come and restore an important building without any official records. Another story says that one day, when Yu Yang, a famous actor, came to visit Jinan, he appreciated the station so much that he kept talking about the building to his colleagues on the train there. But when the train arrived at Jinan, he couldn't recognise the place because the clock tower had disappeared. He was so sad that he sat on the station step without saying a word for a long time. This is another story which cannot be verified. Stories related to famous people are always more influential and credible than the ones related to common people. Through repeatedly telling such stories, that have no basis in reality, Jinan's Old Railway Station has been endowed with a new symbolic role to carry deeper 'truth', a truth that the old station has become part of local people's impression of the urban landscape through their own experiences.

5.4 JINAN OLD RAILWAY STATION AND MODERN CONSERVATION IN CHINA

Although some of these understandings of Jinan Old Railway Station by different groups are usually one-sided, subjective or not even factual, it still reflects the fact that among the public there has been increasing attention paid to urban modern heritage. At a practical level, historic buildings have changed from an obstacle to urban development to valuable heritage in the construction of a famous historic and cultural city. In the field of heritage studies, conclusions of research on Jinan, including definitions, classifications and a series of protection laws and regulations, are an important part of modern heritage research and management all over China.

As discussed in the history section, the historic environments and buildings in Jinan had been gone through serious damage during mass urban construction. The demolition of Jinan Old Railway Station could be the biggest event of this vandalism. In the meantime, the demolition was also the turning point of modern heritage conservation on an administrative level. In 1982 and 1987, two archaeological surveys

were carried out in Jinan. A list of historic buildings was labelled as immovable cultural relics (Li *et al.*, 2007; Sun, 2007). In 1988, the Group for Conserving the Cultural-historic City of Jinan was set up. In 1990, a Conservation Programme for Cultural-historic City of Jinan was submitted to the Minister of Construction. However, the programme was not approved until 1994. During this process of approval, Jinan Old Railway Station was torn down, in 1992. Considering that the demolition caused a great loss to the city, consciousness regarding the value of modern buildings in the city was gradually awakened. In subsequent urban development strategies and regulations, the conservation of modern buildings and environments became stronger factors to be considered. The 1996 Master Plan of Jinan adopted the idea that the subsequent urban construction should be built upon Jinan's historical urban patterns, including those formed in the period of early modern history. In 1998, Regulations on the Protection and Management of Cultural Relics in Jinan were approved by People's Congress of Jinan. This regulation was drawn up based on the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics. Later it became the basic law for architectural conservation of the region. By the end of 2003, there were approximately 400 cultural and historical sites listed under state or local protection. In 2006, the Jinan Master Plan for 2006-2020 was published (Li and Xu, 2012). White more and more new planning theories have been introduced and imported into China, such as New Urbanism, Smart Growth, and Compact City, Jinan's urban construction strategy has evolved to be more scientific and diverse. One of the most important features of contemporary urban planning in Jinan is to respect its history and nature. In the 2006-2020 Plan, it was advocated that all planning strategies should integrate the modern city with its natural, cultural and historic environment. Under the guidance and encouragement of urban policies, there have been a lot of redevelopment and regeneration projects in the old city area since 1996 (Wang, 2009).

In the early 1990s, when the station was under the threat of demolition, there were some discussions among academics about the value of the building, mainly focused on historical facts and data. In the 2000s, as international discussion about modern heritage has deepened, more studies on the old station building have been connecting it with urban heritage conservation not only within the city but also in a nation-wide context. For example, in an article 'Mourning for Jinan Old Railway Station' (Guo, 2000), the author extended his topic from criticising the demolition of Jinan Railway Station to questioning modernist theories of urban construction. The

author agreed that damage to old buildings had happened in many countries during urban modernisation and the construction of new buildings. However, he added that Chinese modern cities should not repeat this process. At the time, conservation had not been considered seriously on the practical level in most of China's cities, though the concept had become increasingly accepted as a social consensus. It was further argued that a sustainable modern city should consist of both advanced physical environments and rich cultural environments, of which the historical buildings are essential contents. In 2011, a project with an aim of repairing Wuyue Temple started. First constructed in the 14th century and rebuilt in 1923, the temple was the earliest sacrificial building in Jinan embodying the ethics of Confucianism. However, the project was finally implemented in terms of dismantling and reconstructing (Li, 2011). The loss of the original temple has led to a discussion of more appropriate ways to deal with other historic buildings, including Jinan Old Railway Station which saw a lot of calls for reconstruction.

To develop a practical framework for Jinan's historical and cultural heritage development, much attention has been paid to defining and classifying the historical and cultural heritage of Jinan. As early as in 1986, Jinan was listed as a nationally famous historic city. The old city area and commercial district are its key protection areas (Li *et al.*, 2007). As been discussed above, promoting Jinan's historical and cultural essence has been particularly emphasised in the latest city Master Plan. Its rich urban heritage is constituted by its geographical landscape, urban patterns, civil cultures, archaeological heritage, religions, historical figures, revolutionary history and colonised character (Jia and Xu, 2012). Jinan Old Railway Station, though it was destroyed years ago, is still considered as a tangible example displaying Jinan's colonised character, which is usually embodied by German buildings (Jia and Tian, 2007). The redefinition and classification of Jinan's urban heritage is developed with a strong purpose of heritage development. To achieve this target, colonial buildings such as the old station are expected to be re-interpreted. It is agreed that these colonial buildings were the result of imperialist invasion. However, in the current area of urban development, this sense of disgrace and pain is reduced. Instead, the characteristics of exotic styles and advanced techniques are handled in a more positive manner, as buildings had enriched Jinan's architectural cultures (Jia and Tian, 2007).

5.5   SUMMARY

The development of railways stands as an influential factor in the modernisation of China from the mid-nineteenth century. Jinan Railway Station is a good example of this influence. The construction, alteration and demolition of Jinan Old Railway Station all have interactive relationships with this modernising progress. In particular, the demolition of the station reflects the result of wrestling and balance between factors during urban development oriented by political targets of an advanced modern city. The demolition also stimulated the change from negative impressions of colonial buildings to the conservation of heritage in China. While urban development has gone into a new phase and subsumed urban culture far more under the increasingly influential heritage concept, great changes have occurred in understanding the meaning of the station. Getting rid of negative images of colonial history, Jinan Railway Station has been interpreted in terms of its typicality in China's modern architectural history, its profitable potential for the urban economy, its positive effect in constructing a unique urban identity and its research value for the heritage conservation of modern architecture in China. These new understandings have even led to a serious attempt to rebuild the station.

The interactive relationship between railway stations and processes of modernisation has been given special attention in the case studies of both Euston Station and Jinan Old Railway Station. To link this relationship to the study of heritage value in this research, the next chapter will critically generate how ideas of modernity have impacted the understanding of heritage value, taking the two case studies as examples as well as comparing the different expressions of modernity and heritage in the two countries.

Chapter 6   Modernity as heritage

By the 1970s, mainstream opinion regarded the relationship between modern conservation and modernity as simply contradictory (Hunter, 1996; Pawley, 1998). With the shift away from modern design in mainstream architectural culture and the increasing acceptance of buildings as history in their own right, and in the wake of changing conservation awareness, new understandings began to arise that modernity could comprise heritage, and should itself be conserved. Pendlebury (2009a) has summarised this complexity and interaction in four aspects. Firstly, he argues, conservation is effectively a product of modern age with origins in the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. Secondly, conservation shares a number of common principles with modern movements, such as the emphasis placed on authenticity. Thirdly, when more and more modern buildings get recognised as heritage, and become listed, concepts of conservation and modernity are increasingly required in practice to be integrated into one project. Finally, since the 1970s, though modernism began to decline, some modernist concepts and ideas about modernity, including authenticity and integrity, have been adopted to reconceptualise heritage conservation. These complex and interactive relationships are clearly demonstrated by the previous two case studies, with the ideas and values associated with Euston Station and Jinan Old Railway Station shown to be intrinsically linked with successive waves of modernisation in the two countries. With that in mind, this chapter considers studies of the relationship between conservation and modernity, recognising similarities and differences between the representations of this relationship in relation to different historical and cultural backgrounds in the stories of Euston Station and Jinan Old Railway station. Both buildings were the early attempts of modern 'pioneers' towards a new architecture, and their alteration and demolition were also the results of the pursuit of a yet higher level of modernisation. However, as modernity is understood in different ways, I argue that studies of modern heritage in the UK are more related to changing attitudes to history and modern means of production, whilst the conservation of modern heritage in China is usually understood in ways which benefit the contemporary modernisation progress.

6.1   COMPLEXITY AND INTERACTION BETWEEN MODERN CONSERVATION AND MODERNITY

The idea of modernity, rooted in eighteenth-century Europe during the Age of Enlightenment (Pendlebury, 2009a), was arguably a broad movement which connected

intellectual movements in philosophy, art, literature, and culture more broadly with massive shifts in industrial production, work and domestic life through a central thesis about novelty and a break in historical time between 'now' and 'then', including the ideas about a discontinuity with history, the uniqueness of the present and progress towards and idealised future (Kompridis, 2006). These new attitudes coincided with innovative achievements in antiquities and archaeology, which have been seen as the predecessors of conservation, and greatly contributed to the development of modern art history (Jokilehto, 1999). In the field of arts, including architecture, modernity became adapted in the form of progressive movements, such as the avant-garde, to seek a break with history and tradition. Progress became the essential characteristic of modernity, acknowledged by Walter Benjamin's famous account of the 'angel of history' described in reference to a piece of modern painting, as quoted in *Modern Architecture: A critical history* (Frampton, 1992):

> *A Klee painting named 'Angelus Novus' shows an angel looking as though he is about to move away from something he is fixedly contemplating. His eyes are staring, his mouth is open, his wings are spread. This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face is turned towards the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence and the angel can no longer close them. This storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. This storm is what we call progress.*

In outward appearance, the rupture with tradition implicitly contained in modernism is in obvious contradiction with conservation, while simultaneously becoming the stimulus for conservation theories and associated movements (Pendlebury, 2009a). It was a widespread chase for modernity which brought demand for change, that itself became the big pressure that conservation appears to seek to resist. Euston Arch became a 'cause célèbre' of conservation imagined as resistance to modernity and modernism, arguably the UK's best-known exemplar of demolition as the consequence of the modernisation of city centres in the early 1960s (Pendlebury, 2009a). However, conservation – as fundamentally connected with modernity – has ceased to be a backdrop a process of modern planning (Pendlebury, 2009a). Modernity, especially an idea about history, has in turn been reimagined in relation to ideas about the conflict and inter-communication between conservation and modernisation. Unique cultures and values embodied in modern heritage are often believed to be exclusive to

modern periods. This uniqueness, reflecting a particular culture or ideology, has become the basic evaluative criterion of modern conservation in terms such as national identity (Jokilehto, 1999). Identity, which is now one of the central ideas in world heritage (Graham and Howard, 2008), such as the concept of community identity through association with historic places, was developed out of modern ideas of historicity (Pendlebury, 2009a). The first clear ideas about national identity themselves emerged in the nineteenth century in Europe under the influence of the theories of modernity (Smith, 1981; Triandafyllidou, 1998). In this case, concepts of identity as mediated through heritage and conservation are themselves products of modern history.

In addition to national identity being a major criterion in the valuing of historical artefacts, conservation also adapted many thoughts and methods from modern movement which are also the production of modernity, such as the emphasis placed on authenticity, which is often explained as the honest expression of functions, and truth to structure and materials (Pendlebury, 2009a). Authenticity, for example, first advocated by John Ruskin in the nineteenth century, became a mainstream principle guiding the alteration and repair of historic buildings (Chatterjee, 2017). But the concept of authenticity has a longer and wider interpretation in philosophy and the modern movement. As mentioned above, one of the key propositions of the modern movement was to seek a break from tradition. The novelty of modernity was not rooted in simple changes generating new types of social or artistic behavioural norms by combining the old. It aimed instead to provide new modes of combination with enlarged possibilities (Kompridis, 2006). But in the meantime, the notion of authenticity still demands an individual or society stay faithful to some normative content when possibilities are expanding. In other words, the modern movement under the concept of modernity always had to answer the question of being involved with some 'fixed patrimony' (Kompridis, 2006) which afterwards fell into the field of heritage. In as deep and broad a process as directing the history of mankind towards modernity, notions of authenticity provided an anchor in the construction of social formations (Kompridis, 2006). Under the influence of modern philosophical theories such as those of Hegel and Marx, radical notions about authenticity and its value were explored in terms of individualism, secularism and self-exploration (Gracyk, 2014). Furthermore, modernity was regarded to have redefined the condition for authenticity (Adorno *et al.*, 2004; Gracyk, 2014). According to these philosophers, instead of having a simple meaning in the range of time, the notion of the modern became referred to an intellectual and social tendency

developed in response to industry, capitalism and urbanisation (Ayers, 2004). This concept of authenticity in the philosophical understanding of modernity lent legitimacy to twentieth-century art and architecture (Gracyk, 2014). Heritage conservation inherited some of these ideas of authenticity from modern philosophy and the modern movement, and made it a significant criterion in the practice of conservation (Silva and Chapagain, 2013). The word 'authenticity' first appeared in the preamble to the Venice Charter without a clear definition (ICOMOS, 1964). In 1977, when the World Heritage Committee included the 'test of authenticity' in its Operational Guidelines as a measure of the essential truth of values established in looking at cultural criteria, the word gained a measure of formal authority (Stovel, 1994). Represented at the Nara Conference, authenticity was defined as something sustainable, self-proven, deriving credit and authority from itself (Stovel, 2008). The concept of authenticity in heritage conservation covered the meaning of original, creative, unique and having a deep identity. It is also a relative concept based upon modern value judgements, when it comes to historical intervention and integrated contexts of heritage resources. In general, authenticity in conservation can be understood as a condition of the heritage resource. It can be defined in multiple dimensions including art, history and culture, in relation to the physical and socio-cultural context of the object or site (Jokilehto, 1994). As Jukka Jokilehto (1994) explained at the Nara Conference:

> *The existence of authenticity in a heritage resource and its context will be the basis for the measurement of relevant cultural values; on the other hand, the identification of parameters for the specification of pertinent authenticity will also depend on these values. Considering today's society, its character and the problems it faces in relation to its own identity and authenticity, it will be most important to take great care to maintain the authenticity of existing heritage resources from the past. They will form a reference for future memory, and will therefore need to be conserved with due respect for relevant issues. The dynamic conservation management of the built environment and the approach to authentic living traditions requires an appropriate process. Such traditions are becoming rare in the present-day world, and although they should themselves provide the required knowledge and skills for their continuation, they will also need support in general planning and management in order to make it feasible for them to keep their authentic creative capacity.*

Euston Station and Jinan Old Railway Station both illustrate vividly the dynamic of conservation ideas over time, and shifting ideas of authenticity, in relation to changing, 'living' traditions.

6.2 MODERNITY AS HERITAGE IN DIFFERENT UNDERSTANDINGS AND EXPRESSIONS

A historical perspective is often used in heritage conservation to value historic architecture, by demonstrating previous artistic achievement, in modern terms, as part of an apparent march of progress towards the present (Pendlebury, 2009a). Therefore, modernity can be recognised as a component of historical value when comparing buildings produced throughout this progress with contemporary architecture in aspects including aesthetics, technology, material and so on. In this sense, modern ideas should be combined with heritage conceptions in conservation, particularly in projects involving modern buildings. In the previous two case studies, the demolition and replacement of an old station with a modernised one was the result of the conflict between conservation and urban modernisation, between the modern ideas underpinning conservation philosophy and practical ideas about modernity as a process successively working towards the functional modernisation of infrastructure. However, in the movement to reconstruct Euston Arch and the serious proposal to rebuild Jinan Old Railway Station, each the product of renewed modernity, both stations have become valued for their historic style, method of construction, building materials and, in particular, a historic context standing for a significant modern stage of the nation's development. However, as modernity shaped in different historic and cultural backgrounds has different faces (Guillet, 2007), the modes and outcomes of understanding and valuing modernity in these two cases are quite different.

In most western countries, including the UK, the modern movement is generally regarded as a part of the past, at least in architectural history (Guillet, 2007). The value of modernity is often expressed as the uniqueness of modern buildings in their social, technical and artistic aspects compared to those of previous periods (Guillet, 2007). Although the buildings in Euston Station are not modernist in the usual sense, they were nevertheless products of early technological modernity and displayed the initial understanding of modernity at the time of their construction, as reflected in various aspects of society. In the Victorian Age, new classes arose and obtained political and economic power in society (Dixon and Muthesius, 1985). They required new types of building to display their status and to reflect what they imagined as the achievements of the age. Possibilities to reflect these ideas were provided by new manufacturing techniques and their resulting materials such as glass and iron, derived from the Industrial Revolution which by then was seventy years old or more (Dixon and Muthesius, 1985). But the transformation in culture and aesthetics were always slower

than the physical development of techniques and materials (Pevsner, 2005). The contradiction between modern manufacturing methods, using machines in particular, and relatively old ideas in relation to aesthetics, such as an emphasis on fine craft, provoked debate in art and architecture (Pevsner, 2005). Railway stations, as one of the earliest architectural types adapted to new techniques, materials, and aesthetics, became central in these debates.

In general, ideas of modernity in buildings like Euston Station have been expressed in changing attitudes to modern methods of production, material and styles. But in China, modernity is much vaguer, either as a concept or as a time range. Initially, an imported concept, modernity in China developed through a long-term process of 'Sinicisation' (Müller, 2014). In its architectural history, there was never a concrete period that fitted the western concept of modern times, during which the requirement of a new type of architecture was rooted inside society and set against its own history and tradition. Instead, the main conflict in the early modern buildings of China is seen as that between western architectural forms and traditional Chinese culture (Rowe and Kuan, 2004). Therefore, the modernisation of architecture in China is not understood as an evolving progress from old forms to modern ones, but repetitive swings between international style, eclecticism, revivalism, new nationalism and so on, though the central idea has always been to express traditional Chinese cultures through modernised western styles (Rowe and Kuan, 2004; Zou, 2006; Lai, 2007; Denison and Ren, 2008). In the larger scope of the whole society, compared to the modern concept in the West, which concentrates more on the ideology of history, modernity in China has also been understood equally as a general process of modernisation (Ma, 2003; Luo, 2004). Particularly, modernisation in China has for a considerable time referred to specific issues such as achieving a material standard of living (Ma, 2003). It was not until the late 1980s, with the deepening of domestic academic research and increased academic exchange with foreign countries, that studies of modernisation in China began to expand into broader areas such as history, humanities and social sciences (Ma, 2003). Based upon this theoretical work, practices around the conservation of modern architecture also arose in the same period (Zhang, 2006b). Furthermore, as modernisation has never been seen as a completed period in China (Ma, 2003), the term 'modernity' is still linked to the present, leading to a new concept of a 'global modernity' (Luo, 2004; Müller, 2014). It means that there are more possibilities for valuing modernity in heritage conservation beyond the mere historic value of its artefacts. Updating the

historic knowledge about modernity embodied in buildings such as Jinan Old Railway Station is encouraged with a purpose to build a new Chinese culture imagined as benefitting from a continuous process of modernisation. In this understanding, the conservation of modern architecture in China is seen as overcoming the dualism between western forms and Chinese 'essence' (Rowe and Kuan, 2004). In the meantime, the new concept of global modernity is believed to be dynamic for all humanity by combining all advanced cultures of the world (Chen, 2012a). This new explanation of modernity is expected to act as the new national spirit, guiding the nation to lead future development in the context of globalisation (Chen, 2012a).

Taking Jinan Old Railway Station as an example, from its demolition to early studies of its value, negative meanings had been embedded in its German appearance, since it related to China being invaded and colonised as a result of underdevelopment. As a result, the value of modernity embodied by the station was not accepted and did not stop its demolition. However, as China confirms its goal of constructing a new cultural modernisation (Luo, 2004), so modern history in China is reinterpreted as a necessary progress that stimulates change and leads to the ultimate independence of the nation. Based upon a changing understanding of modernity, the physical appearance and stories of the station together are intended to be interpreted as positive elements that enrich urban culture and benefit further urban development, or to be precise, achieve a new modernisation target.

6.3   SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed the complex and interactive relationship between heritage conservation and modernity. It has concluded that heritage as a modern concept is the product of the modern movement, and the outcomes of the modern movement are inherited in heritage in the forms of principles and conceptions of the qualities and values of modern times. Characteristics of modernity are embodied in different forms in the previous two case studies of Euston Station and Jinan Old Railway Station. The former is more linked to ideologies about history and attitudes to modern production. The latter is linked to contemporary modernisation in China, and new understandings of modernity in the context of globalisation.

Case Study II: National Identity as an Important Expression of Heritage Value

Chapter 7 Royal Festival Hall

Chapter 8 National Museum of China

Chapter 9 National identity and heritage

Chapter 7   Royal Festival Hall

7.1   INTRODUCTION

For a long time, particularly before and during the Second World War, modern architecture in the UK had been resisted as being somehow foreign and alien to British geography and culture (Blomfield, 1934; Whiteley, 1995). Its critics and detractors went far beyond the level of the stylistic and saw themselves as rooted deeply in the national way of life and its values, especially the social and political. The modern ideology was considered to destroy tradition, related to the political ideologies on the left which were perceived then by institutional and establishment figures as counter to British national identity. In terms of these views, few British modern buildings have been regarded as popular by the public. But the Royal Festival Hall is generally considered an important exception. As the most significant project for the Festival of Britain of 1951, an event intended to crystallise Britain's emergence from the Second World War and wartime privations, this concert hall was gracefully planned, designed and constructed. Its popularity signalled a new era after the war in which modern architecture was adopted widely in the UK and Britishness of modern architecture was seen to be defined (Saint *et al.*, 1992). Built in a single year at a cost of £1m – one-tenth of the cost of the whole Festival of Britain – the Hall quickly became a lasting monument on the South Bank of the River Thames. The success of the Royal Festival Hall was not only assessed in terms of its architectural design, which was recognised as offering an appropriate direction for post-war British Modernism (Summerson, 1956), but also identified with the idea of a democratic spirit buried deeply in the heart (Hanley, 2007a) and became understood as 'a tonic to the nation' (Banham and Hillier, 1976), pointing to and reconstituting a better future (Leventhal, 1995). Sixty years after the Festival, a £91 million refurbishment programme was implemented for the Hall. In addition to restoring the fabric – for example, removing certain Brutalist alterations carried out in the mid-1960s – the programme was intended to reconnect the Hall with its original democratising ethos. The bright, playful humanism of the original design, it was argued, was once again made to demonstrate the strength of the country in a new era. Furthermore, it was expected that the reopened Festival Hall could re-embody the hopes and dreams of the people who created the site, who spoke bravely about their future. However, considering the changing social and political background of an era of consumerism and neo-liberalism, the project was questioned, for example in its

preservation of original characteristics such as the democratic foyer (Hanley, 2007a). Concerns about the democratic experience inside the building have extended to the public spaces on South Bank where the Royal Festival Hall is located. Therefore, this chapter is concerned with various roles that the Royal Festival Hall has played, including as the legacy of a festival and as an active urban place. It firstly reviews the history of the building, presenting the influential factors in its construction and refurbishment projects. Next, the chapter moves to the architectural and cultural value of the building and its relationship with the people and city in the post-war era. Then significant attention is paid to the democratic spirit which is recognised as a significant national identity and is well demonstrated in the interior design and refurbishment project, and in the public spaces on South Bank.

7.2   A HISTORY OF THE ROYAL FESTIVAL HALL

7.2.1   *Festival of Britain, 1951*

The construction of the Royal Festival Hall (RFH) was closely connected with the development of post-war Britain. It is not only one of the most significant structures built for the national event of the 1951 Festival of Britain, but also the only permanent building retained after the Festival concluded on its primary the South Bank site in London. The post-war British Labour government had organised a series of national exhibitions throughout the country. The exhibitions had comprehensive ambitions, showing futuristic architecture, arts, science, technology and industrial design (Atkinson, 2012). The aim of this national event was to bring about a feeling of recovery from the trough caused by the Second World War and to stimulate the development of British industry and economy (Banham and Hillier, 1976). On the South Bank, modern public space, building design and new principles of urban planning were experimented with. Most buildings on the South Bank site adopted the modern style (Atkinson, 2012), rarely seen in the UK before the war (Cunningham, 1998). The design and construction of the RFH had an integral and interactive relationship with the site and with other buildings and structures on it. Nevertheless, the Hall remains as an independent building and a masterpiece of modern architecture in the post-war UK, even without regard to the Festival. Modernism and English democratic identities came together in this project, interpreted as representing a characteristic of British Modernism. The RFH quickly became the most popular modern public building in the

country, seeming to declare the success of Modernism in the post-war UK (Whyte, 2009).

The concept of the grand exhibition, behind proposals for the Festival of Britain, dates back as far as Renaissance and baroque Europe (Banham and Hillier, 1976), where tournaments and pageants, combined with visual symbols like fashionable buildings and rhetorical paintings, sought to express ideology and power. The Great Exhibition held in London in 1851 was a later example of one of these national events, expressed in its official full name, 'The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations'. Organised by members of the British royal family and related institutions, the Great Exhibition was an international event that took place in Hyde Park, from 1 May to 11 October 1851. It started a series of World's Fair exhibitions of culture and industry in the 19th century, and came to represent the whole Victorian Era as well as Britain's then leading role in the world. The most significant and well-known structure of the Great Exhibition was Paxton's Crystal Palace, inside which the mechanical wonders of the age were displayed. Over six million visitors had entered this building of glass and steel (Banham and Hillier, 1976). The Great Exhibition was a reflection of the highest point of the Victorian era, a splendid and exciting historic period of the UK, which has never been matched since (Banham and Hillier, 1976). The event of 1851 is usually regarded as the predecessor that inspired the idea of the 1951 Festival, although there are key differences in their central ideas. The earlier European festivals, as well as the 1851 Great Exhibition, often sang the praises of royal authority. But, in the late eighteenth century, propaganda for the monarchy began to transmute into propaganda for the country. New ideas of society, particularly of liberty, equality and fraternity as represented by the French Revolution, can be seen as the most direct ancestors of 1951. It is more in terms of these ideas, for some historians, that the genesis of the 1951 Festival has its deeper theoretical roots, which may again be traced back to Renaissance times (Banham and Hillier, 1976).

The initial idea of holding an event similar to the 1851 Great Exhibition was presented by the Royal Society of Arts in 1943 (Festival of Britain Office and Treasury Festival Headquarters, 1948-1952; Anderson, 2007). It was advocated that an international exhibition should be held to commemorate and celebrate the centenary of the 1851 Exhibition. Two years later, a clearer idea of the Festival was suggested by Gerald Barry in an open letter to the Government on 14 September 1945 (Casson *et al.*, 1951). The Department of Overseas Trade of the Labour Government appointed a

committee under Lord Ramsden to consider if this scheme could promote exports (Festival of Britain Office and Treasury Festival Headquarters, 1948-1952; Anderson, 2007). In December 1947, the government rejected most of the committee's recommendations after reading its report, considering that an international exhibition would cost too much for the county at a time when reconstruction was its highest priority (Anderson, 2007). However, it was decided instead to hold an exhibition on a national scale. This was ostensibly designated to mark the centenary of the Great Exhibition of 1851 and therefore it was decided that it would be held under the title 'Festival of Britain 1951' (Banham and Hillier, 1976). With its content of achievements in arts, architecture, science, technology and industrial design, the event was to illustrate the British contribution to civilisation, past, present and future (Festival of Britain Office and Treasury Festival Headquarters, 1948-1952; Casson *et al.*, 1951). In other words, the initial aims of the 1951 Festival of Britain were to promote the domestic economy and to construct a sense of national identity and pride in the public. Soon a General Advisory Council under the chairmanship of Lord Ismay was set up to help the government consider how the Festival should be carried out (Casson *et al.*, 1951). The Lord President of the Council and Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, Herbert Morrison, was given responsibility for the festival. He appointed a Great Exhibition Centenary Committee, which consisted of interested departments, to define the framework of the festival, to create a festival organisation and to liaise between this organisation and the government departments (Festival of Britain Office and Treasury Festival Headquarters, 1948-1952). This organisation consisted of an executive committee responsible to the Council of the Festival of Britain 1951. The Council was comprised of eminent public persons as well as people who represented the main political parties. At the same time, the Festival of Britain Office was formed as a new Government Department, and Gerald Barry appointed as its Director General (Casson *et al.*, 1951). In March, 1948, the Festival Headquarters was set up, using money from the state Treasury, as the nucleus of the Festival of Britain Office, assisted by an exhibition unit of the Central Office of Information (Festival of Britain Office and Treasury Festival Headquarters, 1948-1952). Many institutions were associated with the Office for the Festival, such as the Arts Council of Great Britain, the Council of Industrial Design, the British Film Institute and the National Book League (Cox *et al.*, 1951). In addition, more institutions were set up as the Festival's consultants, including a Council for Architecture and a Committee of Christian Churches (Anderson, 2007). The

Festival's centrepiece was the South Bank Exhibition. But selection of the site and construction there were full of difficulties.

The 1947 government announcement indicated that the 1951 Festival would be an exhibition held at a national scale (Banham and Hillier, 1976). Afterwards, a series of specialised institutions and groups were set up, incorporating concerned governmental departments, to carry out the organisation and construction of the Festival. By mid-summer, 1948, a draft programme had been prepared which promoted the South Bank Exhibition – known as the Combined Exhibition at the time – as the centrepiece of the Festival (Casson *et al.*, 1951). The Festival Presentation Panel under the chairmanship of Gerald Barry was responsible for devising the theme of this main exhibition as well as others in the Festival Programme. The design group subordinated to the panel was tasked with realising the visual elements after the theme was confirmed. Several sites had been suggested and examined, with none as yet approved. This was mainly because of the fragile economic conditions of the post-war UK, with were acute shortages of both labour and materials at the time (Casson *et al.*, 1951; Sandbrook, 2006). Other problems such as the scale and character of the exhibition also preoccupied the Festival Presentation Panel. It was not until the end of August 1948 that the Festival's general theme was settled, to focus on the British contribution to civilisation. In other words, the Festival should 'be portrayed as springing from the combination of two forces, the initiative of the people and the resources of their native land' (Casson *et al.*, 1951). This general theme was subdivided into several sections, with different scales and topics to allow the exhibition to tell a continuous story. In the meantime, with the general theme settled, the South Bank site became one of the certain choices for the main exhibition in London.

The site of South Bank had advantages as well as disadvantages for holding such a large-scale exhibition. The most prominent advantage was its location in central London. Though the area of the site was only 27 acres, a curving river frontage almost doubled the size in a visual sense (Casson *et al.*, 1951). But there were also disadvantages beyond its limited scale: for example, the site was cut into two parts by the railway to Charing Cross Station, bringing about difficulties in circulation. As there was only one tree on the former industrial site, landscaping had to start from nothing (Measor and New, 1951). Besides, at the time, half of the site was on lease to the Ministry of Works, who had decided to build an office block there. A new retaining wall was to be constructed along the full river frontage including South Bank. The

leases and rights of the tenants on the site would last to 1951. What is more, downstream of the railway bridge, the London County Council (LCC), the Festival's landlords, was already drawn up a plan to build a public concert hall, which was the later Royal Festival Hall (McKean, 2001). A series of meetings took place with the concerned authorities, such as the London County Council and the Railway Executive. To improve the situation on the South Bank site, many agreements were achieved, including that the Royal Festival Hall would be built among the Festival structures and would be run as part of the South Bank Exhibition during the Festival period.

When these negotiations were carrying on, the design group continued to work on the master plan for the South Bank Exhibition. The main task was to arrange circulation, accessibility and the pavilions which served as the exciting focuses to realise the Festival's theme. Four principles were formulated in the master plan (Casson *et al.*, 1951):

> *That the site should be linked, visually and physically, with Trafalgar Square and thus with the very heart of London.*
>
> *That the central and dominant structure should be a saucer dome which, so far as could be seen, had never previously been used in other exhibitions and was itself a visually exciting shape.*
>
> *That since the theme was divided into the land and its people, the railway bridge should act as a dividing agent;*
>
> *That since the site was so small any grand-manner layout was out of the question. Impressive vistas and monumental compositions could not be attained in an area whose extent could be wholly comprehended in a single glance.*

A list of commissioned architects was submitted on 1 February 1948, and by 1 March, each architect had received the brief for the project. By November 1948, the first layout plan of the South Bank was accomplished. In December 1948, the master plan (see Fig. 7-1) was presented for final approval to the Festival Office. Meanwhile, attention moved to how to translate the design into construction. While architects were nominated for architectural layout and detail, the Festival Office also looked for consulting engineers in the supervision of all construction works, including foundations and structural framework (Casson *et al.*, 1951). After a month of consultation and discussion with the concerned authorities, and waiting for approvals, in February 1949, the Festival Office finally settled the architectural design policy. Although some principles and suggestions for the policy were altered during the subsequent design processes, under the revised master plan the design group and individual architects were

given general freedom to develop their layout plans, building design, management and so forth, without having to concern themselves with problems of construction at the same time (Casson *et al.*, 1951). No modular systems or standardized types of buildings were demanded. Favour was given to visual excitement and lively demonstrations of structural techniques in all kinds of building materials. Each structure or site on the South Bank was assigned to a different architect, with the exception of two commissions that went to competition. In addition, under the event's theme of people and land, the Festival involved the concerted effort to engage a great many people in collaboration (Banham and Hillier, 1976). In particular, the Festival provided a real chance for a whole younger generation emerging from the war. The buildings and constructions they created were innovative in material, shape and structure.

7.2.2 *Planning and architectural design*

Though the Royal Festival Hall is mostly known as the lasting reminder of Festival of Britain, 1951 (The From Here To Modernity Team (The Open University), 2001), the plan to construct a concert hall had been decided before the decision to hold the Festival. In 1943, the County of London Plan, prepared by the London County Council, had stressed that the 'dreary industrial scene' of the South Bank should be
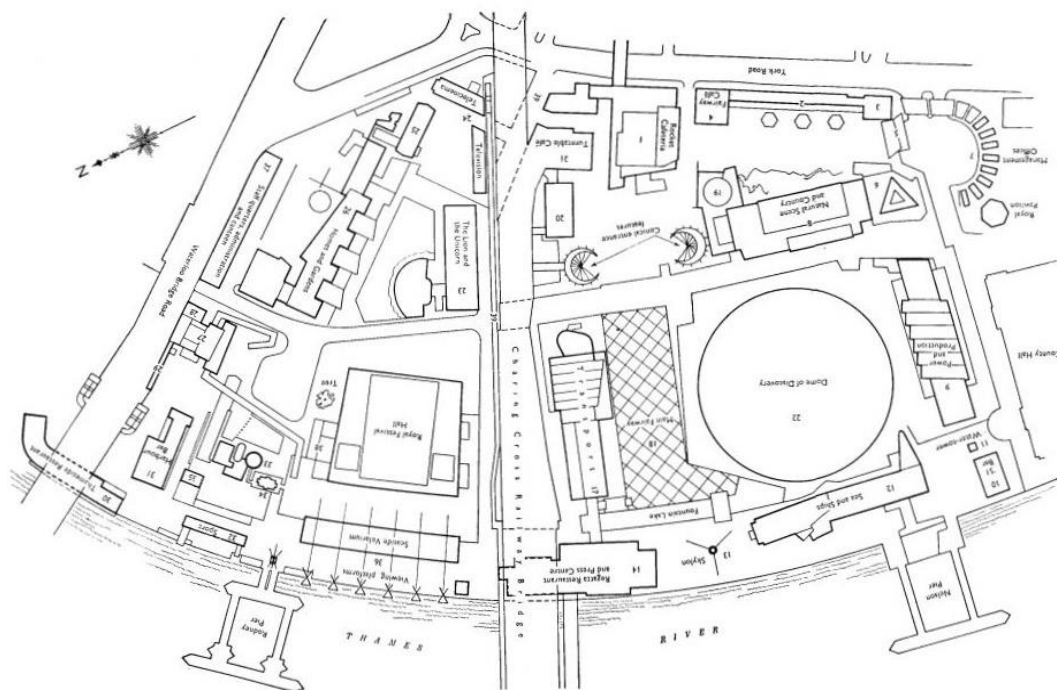
Fig. 7- 1 Master Plan of South Bank Exhibition (rotated to fit with fig. 7-2)

Source: (Casson *et al.*, 1951)
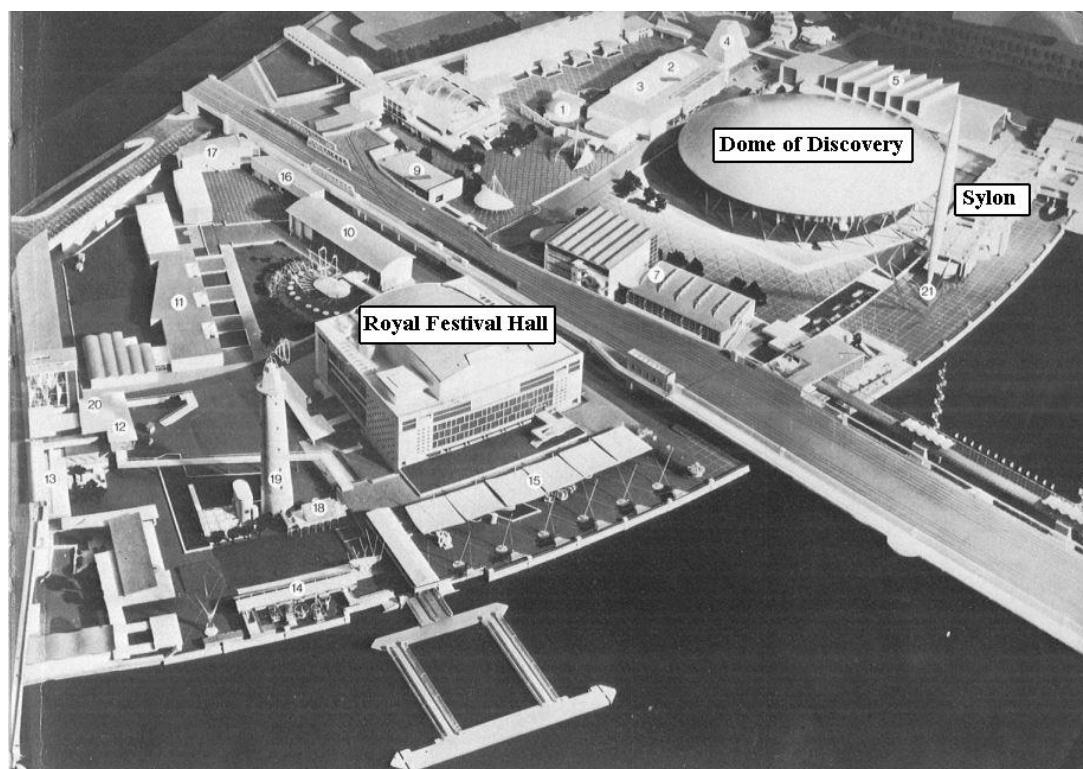
Fig. 7- 2 Site model of South Bank Exhibition

Source: (Banham and Hillier, 1976)

renovated (Measor and New, 1951). The site of South Bank lay between Waterloo Bridge and Hungerford (railway) Bridge on the south bank of the Thames and was encumbered by warehouses and factories. The 1943 plan was to improve the environment by constructing public spaces and a series of cultural buildings, including a large concert hall (Measor and New, 1951). The hall was expected to take the place of a former major concert hall – the Queen's Hall – which had been destroyed by an incendiary bomb in 1941, but the plan was postponed for years because of the economic difficulties of the country after the war (Dyment, 2012). It was not until 1948, when the Labour Government decided to hold the Festival of Britain, 1951, that the construction of a new concert hall was put forward again as a permanent building amidst the temporary pavilions of the Festival (Measor and New, 1951; McKean, 2001). In other words, the London County Council still intended build a concert hall even if there were to be no Festival, and give it a different name. But the difference was more than in the name. The Festival and the London County Council shared similarities in political aims and cultural conceptions (Measor and New, 1951) which led to an encouragement of cultural activities like music and visual arts, supported by the Arts Council. Innovations in architectural design were also provided with great opportunities in the Festival.

Taking the RFH as an example, it embraced the identities of 'a modern theatre, a large concert hall and the headquarters of various organizations' (Measor and New, 1951). After some negotiations in the summer of 1948, the concert hall project became a part of the preparations for the Festival and the building was later renamed from the Festival Hall to the Royal Festival Hall.

The first action to redevelop London's South Bank was taken in July, 1948, when it was decided that the Festival of Britain would occupy the site and the new concert hall be built as a part of the preparations for the Festival (Measor and New, 1951). Further decisions confirmed that the site of the hall would be extended to Waterloo Bridge, including a wide riverside area. In general, construction work on South Bank consisted of four main parts: the new River Wall, site works, the twenty-nine Exhibition Buildings, and the Royal Festival Hall. Work on a Thames river wall, also decided before the Festival programme was agreed, became integrated within it. In addition to the proposed new river wall, the work was increased with content related to the exhibition, such as extended structures along the river bank and public spaces behind the wall. The public spaces were directly incorporated with the site works. As had been decided by the Festival Panel, the Exhibition would proclaim the initiative of the British people and the rich resources of their native land. This main theme was naturally divided into two sub-themes comprising an upstream circuit –'the land' – and a downstream circuit – 'the people.' The two sub-themes were displayed principally through twenty-nine buildings and other outdoor displays, among which modern town planning ideas, modernist architectural theories and a preference for Englishness were demonstrated to the fullest extent (Banham and Hillier, 1976). The most characteristic structures at the South Bank Exhibition included the Dome of Discovery, the Skylon and Royal Festival Hall (see Fig. 7-2).

Having accepted the challenge to design and construct the Festival Hall in two-and-a-half years, the new LCC Chief Architect Robert Matthew immediately began his work building up a team for the project. Leslie Martin was invited to lead the design, with Peter Moro in charge of all detailed design. The LCC architect Edwin Williams undertook contract co-ordination. Within days of his appointment in October 1948, Martin provided the concept sketches (Fig. 7-3) from which the final design of the hall evolved. After considering the advantages and disadvantages of the site, Martin described his concept thus:

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One simple solution became clear, the two entrance levels at the side could be connected by a large foyer space which, with its associated restaurants, would occupy the site area. The Auditorium with his heavy enclosing structure could be placed centrally over this within the main volume of surrounding foyers and galleries. And however incompletely it was realised, it is this central idea that provides the building with one of its main architectural attributes: the great sense of space that is opened out within the building, the flowing circulation from the symmetrically placed staircases and galleries which give access to all parts of the auditorium; the changing spatial volumes and views that are presented from these different levels and within and enclosed by all this, the protected mass of the auditorium itself. That was the architectural conception as it was first envisaged and which we attempted to retain. (McKean, 2001)

Martin's novel idea can be observed from his description above - elsewhere called an 'egg in the box' (McKean, 2001), a floating, solid auditorium surrounded by
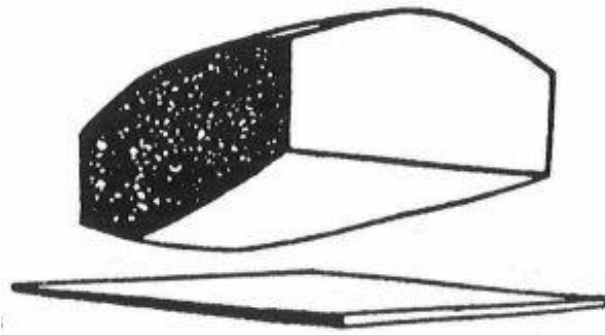
Fig. 7- 3 Martin's sketches of the relationship of foyers and auditorium

Source: (McKean, 2001)
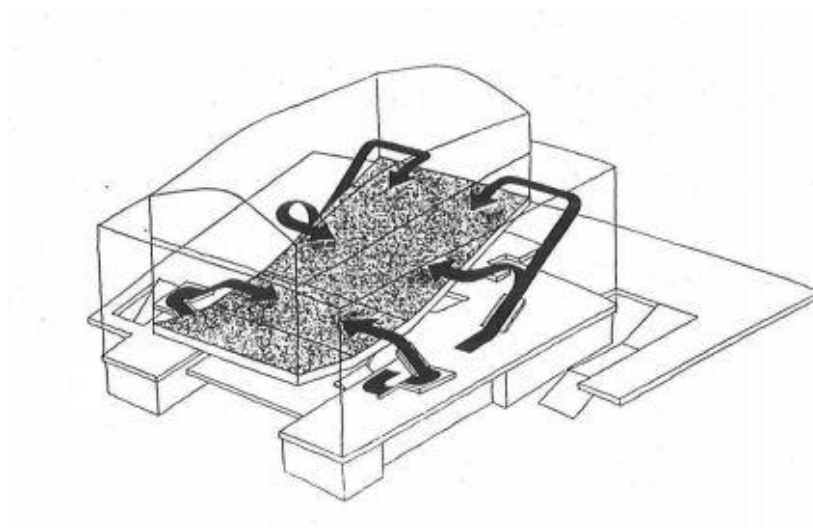
Fig. 7- 4 The auditorium slope and access system, Royal Festival Hall
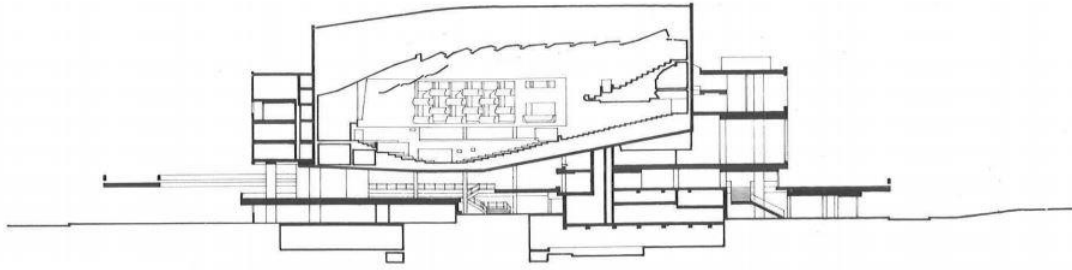
Source: (McKean, 2001)

Fig. 7- 5 Longitudinal section, Royal Festival Hall

Source: (McKean, 2001)

an envelope of space and a light, enclosing, screen (see Fig. 7-4). This three-dimensional idea showed made compact and multiple utilisation of the space. The foyer was used to screen external sound from the auditorium as well as serving as an entrance hall. By raising the auditorium, the restaurant and foyer could be at a new ground level which would slope down towards the river (see Fig. 7-5). This concept also provided an exciting visual experience inside the building. The central auditorium dominated the internal space from all points. Views would be led across the foyer to the panorama of the river. Martin's concept was fully clarified and enriched by the skills of Peter Moro, who took control of all detailed design development. Eight of Moro's most talented students worked with him. Sharing the same architectural language helped to avoid wasting time in communication. These architects operated within the context of the London County Council's Architects' Department under Robert Matthew which, it has been claimed, became the largest architect's offices in the world in the early 1950s. Their design process was described as a process of concert: Matthew as the alert, imperturbable conductor; Martin as the creative composer; and Moro as the orchestral leader giving an extended series of cadenzas (McKean, 2001).

To make Martin's idea come fruition, the design team began to collaborate with engineers to integrate design with function and technical standards such as sound control. Experienced acousticians like Hope Bagenal and young architectural scientists from the Building Research Station were brought into the design group. Though they rejected some of the architects' spatial ideas on engineering grounds, these experts made a great contribution to acoustic design and ensured that the RFH would serve as an outstanding instrument for musical performance (McKean, 2001). Engineers began to work on the proposals of the building structure for the RFH in November 1948, as soon as they received the first architectural sketch ideas. In the building process, designs

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of the Hall were revised several times because of budgetary issues and changing ideas between the client and contractor. In October 1949, the superstructure initially emerged. The main foyer was shuttered for concreting by the end of November. By February 1950, the concrete construction had reached the sloping auditorium floor. Steam boilers were used in the early 1950s to supply heat to newly concreted areas and protect against cold weather. The work of the roof started in April 1950, and the whole structure was completed by the end of 1950. On 14 February 1951, the first acoustic test was run. More interior works were carried on in the first five months of 1951. Finally, on 3 June 1951, the Royal Festival Hall was officially opened for its first concert by King George VI (see Fig. 7-6).

The Royal Festival Hall, built rapidly and amidst much difficulty in the supply of materials and labour post-war, became regarded as the first modern building in Britain designed within the orbit of modern architectural ideas, and probably one of the greatest buildings of a 'spiritual renaissance' in the UK (Summerson, 1956).

Fig. 7- 6 Royal Festival Hall, 1951

Source: (Banham and Hillier, 1976)

7.2.3 Refurbishment and renovation

After the Festival of Britain came to an end in October 1951, most temporary constructions on the South Bank site were removed. The RFH has underwent several alterations (McKean, 2001) and its temporary asbestos-cement southern facade was removed and replaced by 1953. In November 1953, the LCC published Leslie Martin's proposals for the site where the RFH is located. These proposals were based on a ground of modernist utility. In 1956, Martin's revised extension to the RFH developed the theme of accommodating varied and potentially separate activities with the spatial promenade around the untouched auditorium. But his plan didn't happen. The RFH remained isolated and inadequate, particularly in terms of comfort for performers, until a new LCC plan was eventually developed in the 60s. As part of this project, the Royal Festival Hall was enlarged in 1963-64. But sadly, some of the most inventive ideas of Martin's plans, such as the high linear gallery, were lost after the extension. Most importantly, the comprehensibility of the building was completely changed. The
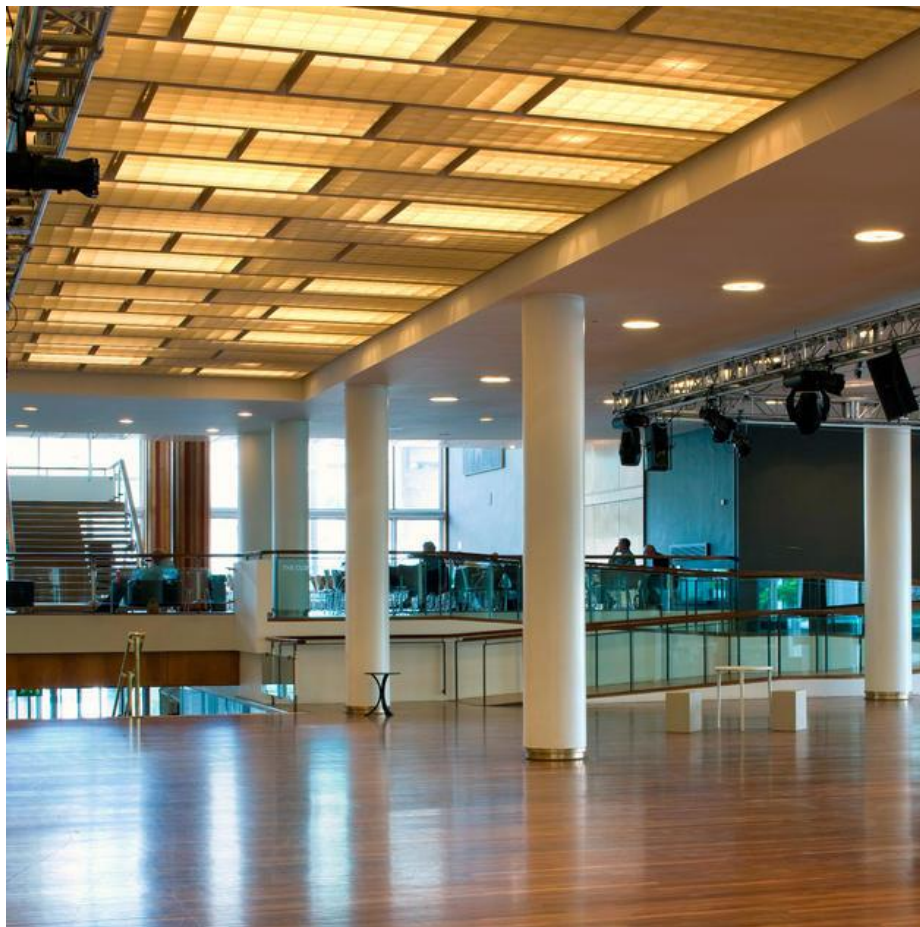
Fig. 7- 7 Ballroom, Royal Festival Hall

Source: (Southbank Centre, 2000)

potentially public face to the street at the south-east was blocked by this becoming private. Furthermore, as vehicles were brought right around the building to the new front to the river at the north-west, the internal movement pattern was totally reversed. For the next twenty-five years, the original main entrance to the east was residual space, the ballroom (see Fig. 7-7) floor was cut off, the foyer seemed rather back to front and the progression of the old main stairs to the tight foyer could barely be approached (see Fig. 7-8, 7-9).

Fig. 7- 8 The foyer spaces after the refurbishment

Source: (McKean, 2001)

From the mid-1970s to mid-1980s, an open foyer policy enlivened the building by increasing points of sale of food, drink and merchandise, making use of the RFH for union meetings and rallies, and scheduling intensive exhibitions events in the ballroom and foyers. These activities encouraged a view of the Festival Hall as Greater London's 'town hall' but meanwhile, cluttered up the building and largely destroyed the dignified flowing space of the original building (McKean, 2001).
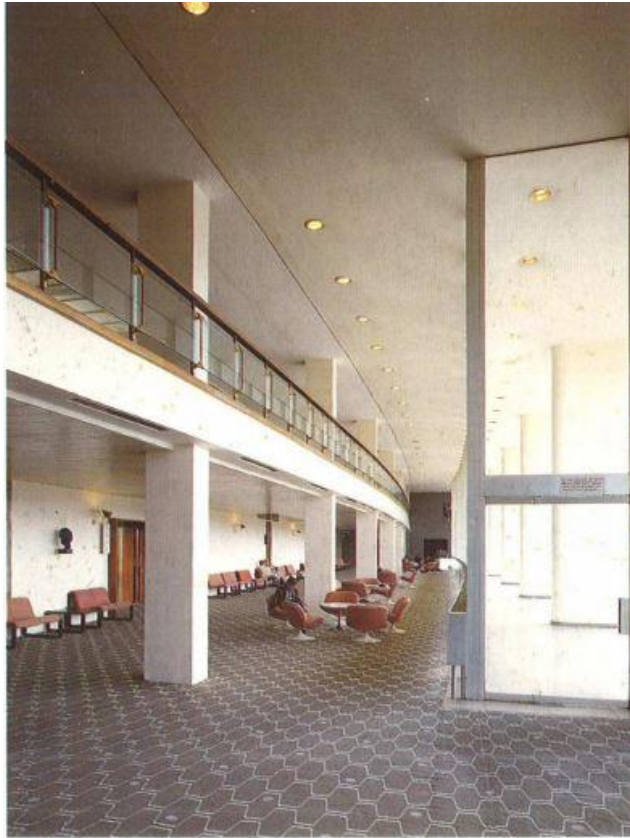
Fig. 7- 9 The foyer spaces after the refurbishment

Source: (McKean, 2001)

In the 1980s, the Royal Festival Hall was listed as 'Grade I' for its special interest to architectural history. As the next century approached, the building and site of the Royal Festival Hall was in urgent need of maintaining and refining. In 2009, the RFH was closed for a restoration and refurbishment project. This project was under the direction of the architects Allies and Morrison, and Jude Kelly, artistic director of the rebranded 'Southbank Centre'. As the original RFH was designed with progress and democracy as the theme at its heart, the primary goal of this restoration and refurbishment programme was to reconnect the RFH with humanism and a democratising ethos. This programme cost at least £91m (Hanley, 2007a). It restored most of the Hall's original external features, removing the brutalist extensions carried out in the mid-1960s and lovingly returned the RFH to its old glory. The renewed RFH was expected to embody the hopes and dreams of the people who created the site, and to speak bravely about the future (Hanley, 2007a). The Royal Festival Hall was finally reopened in 2011 for the sixtieth anniversary of the 1951 Festival of Britain (see Fig. 7-10).

Fig. 7- 10 Refurbished Royal Festival Hall, 2011

Source: author's collection

7.3   FESTIVAL STYLE: A COMBINATION OF MODERNISM AND ENGLISHNESS

Questions about recognising modern buildings as heritage had existed for a long time, particularly in terms of the attitude of Modern Movement to history and tradition. Some have argued that the Modern Movement is anti-tradition (Blomfield, 1934), which is contrary to the essence of modern conservation. But the validity of repositioning the Modern Movement as part of English architectural heritage is much clearer nowadays, as the Modern Movement has long passed into history. Its first monuments were created more than a century ago. Many of its buildings are now showing signs of age. Therefore, it is unproblematic to conserve these modern buildings as historical documents, and outstanding works among them have recorded by international groups such as DOCOMOMO. Considering historic value as one of the significant criteria in heritage conservation, few would disagree that a modern building that is rare or at risk should be recognised as heritage, particularly if the building that had played a role as the milestone in architectural history. The Royal Festival Hall is a building of this kind. From the time it was completed and when it was reopened, the RFH has always been the favourite modernist building in Britain (Whiteley, 1995; Sharr and Thornton, 2013). Together with many other constructions of the 1951 Festival, the RFH brought the Modern Movement to belong in British architectural history, not only in terms of historical style, but also in the sense of offering liberal space and freedom (Saint *et al.*,

1992). Embodied in modern buildings such as RFH, the spirit of the 1951 Festival became a 'beacon' and 'tonic' to the whole country as it recovered from post-war difficulties affecting all social aspects (Banham and Hillier, 1976; Turner, 2011). The public showed great interest in the Hall, identifying themselves as witnesses of the Festival as a most significant event for the nation. After the Festival was over, the RFH, as the only retained permanent building, was persistently inspiring and uniting for the nation. Afterwards, the Festival spirit was inherited in more and more buildings. In this sense, the RFH announced the triumph of Modernism in England as an architectural mainstream (Saint *et al.*, 1992; Glendinning, 2003b). In other words, it stands for the self-consciousness of English Modernism.

This process of recognising modern buildings as well as the Modern Movement as part of English architectural history and British heritage is not an easy one. To reposition Modernism in relation to British national heritage, it became important to demonstrate that the Modern Movement significantly and positively contributed to the construction of present day British identity (Whiteley, 1995). For example, when post-war reconstruction was accused of causing a lot of problems in the 1960s including the mass demolition of old buildings in historic cities, modern architecture in Britain gained an extremely bad image (Aldous, 1975). Therefore, there was no way to consider the Modern Movement and modern buildings as part of the heritage of the nation at that time. Nowadays, as distinctions between history and heritage blur, and when modern architecture becomes more located in a distant and unthreatening past, the Modern Movement can be understood more balanced as British national heritage.

Indeed, there is something more paradoxical than the confusion caused by distinctive notions between history and heritage. The debate on conserving modern architecture is deeply rooted in the theoretical principles of the Modern Movement. Critics and detractors of modern architecture date back in their arguments to the first stirrings of the movement in Britain in the late 1920s. The movement was considered then to have not merely a lack of sympathy on the level of the traditional architectural styles, but also a lack of concern about traditional ways of life and social and political values (Blomfield, 1934). The Modern Movement was perceived as something far deeper than a stylistic invasion; it was argued to be a social and political force against English characteristics. The danger of Modernism was even linked to military forces such as German Fascism and ideological revolutions such as Karl Marx's Communism (Adam, 1990). All these led to the attitude that Modernism was the betrayal of national

identity. Attacks on Modernism from traditionalists still exist today. For example, the Prince of Wales has accused Modernism of obliterating the British national heritage of fine architecture which reached its peak in the eighteenth century (Charles Prince of Wales, 1989). Fears of traditionalists such as Sir Reginald Blomfield are of course too extreme. But the Modern Movement's initial principles of rejecting tradition do have a strong impact on views of the public towards modern buildings. Therefore to reassess Modernism as a part of English architectural heritage is to restore the identity of Englishness that the Modern Movement belongs as part of the British history as well as the history of Europe (Whiteley, 1995). In other words, if Modernism makes people critically question their history, it is the better to understand themselves and their present. In the 1990s, understandings of historic buildings including modern buildings were advanced through a series of surveying and recording activities led by English Heritage and the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England. For example, Andrew Saint (1992) argues that post-war changes brought about by the Modern Movement 'belong to our history, and we need to come to terms with them'. Furthermore, in Saint's views, English modern architecture is quite different from the Continental Modern Movement which is represented by 'arrogant city-planning, mistaken housing policies and a false utopianism'. To build a closer relationship between modern architecture and Englishness, he tries to redefine Modernism as:

> *the urge for architecture to free itself from the old historical styles; to take the function that buildings are to perform as the first cue to their planning and appearance; to design buildings from the interior outwards; and to offer a sense of liberal space and freedom, inside and out, in lieu of trivial architectural detail.*(Saint *et al.*, 1992)

He then identifies English Modernism in three strands: the Modernism of method, the Modernism of style, and the Modernism of good manners, of which the last is claimed to be 'the most typical British modernism' (Saint *et al.*, 1992). For Saint, the Modernism of good manner is in particular epitomised by the buildings of the Festival of Britain. To some extent, Saint's idea of English modern architecture is as extreme as Blomfield's. By differentiating English Modernism from the 'harsher styles, materials and methods of the Modern Movement', it is possible to relate this international movement to national identity. The English version of Modernist architecture known in the first decade after the war was also identified as the 'The New Humanism', a rejection of European Modernism's values, ethics and aesthetic, espousing the most debased English habits of compromise and sentimentality (Banham, 1968).

When talking about the national character of England, Nikolaus Pevsner argued that conservatism is not a permanent but a recurrent quality in the English character (Pevsner, 1976). Only the concerns with human life represented in English modern architecture can be considered as nationally characteristic, he argued. A hundred years before the Festival of Britain, England was the unchallenged pioneer of innovation in technology, industry and commerce. In the late nineteenth century, pioneering architect-designers such as Morris and Webb also contributed to Western architecture. Only from 1900 did the creation of truly new architecture not take place in England, until the Festival of Britain in 1951, when the innovative spirit of the nation was again fully demonstrated as 'The New Humanism'. Owing much to these Modernist reinterpretations of Englishness and of English architectural history, the success of the Modernists in the 1940s and 1950s is well known (Whyte, 2009). This approach reached to its peak with the Festival of Britain in 1951 (see Fig. 7-11), which was also

Fig. 7- 11 Entrance to the Land of Britain at the Festival of Britain 1951

Source: RIBA Library Photographs Collection (Whyte, 2009)

known as the 'Festival of England' for its strong sense of Englishness (Whyte, 2009).

Sir John Summerson (1956) argued that there were other British Modernist tendencies more ambitious and more intellectual in spirit than the New Humanist tendency. In his opinion, defining the Englishness of English modern architecture was unnecessary, because Modernism triumphed in England with its own identity. For Summerson, the Festival of Britain was a nostalgic echo from the thirties rather than a confession of faith in its time and circumstances. It showed that the influence of countries such as Sweden was extinct, and that English architecture had formed its own character of a new radical spirit. The spirit had been claimed as initiating a new era entitled 'New Brutalism', in which English Modernism was to combine 'an insistence on classical proportion and something of the purism of Mies van de Rohe with an acceptance of building materials and equipment in the raw' (Summerson, 1956; Summerson, 1959). Though much dissent exists around the question of what Englishness actually is, it has been well accepted that post-war English modern architecture was the product of a self-conscious English identity and a significant contributor to the evolution of international modern architecture after the war (Richards, 1948). After the Festival, buildings such as Hertfordshire School programme and the Park Hill housing estate in Sheffield are seen as having combined with modern design approaches to produce an English architecture of international status (Whiteley, 1995). More writings in the 1960s and early 1970s confirmed that this was a new and supposedly correct direction in British Architecture (Webb, 1960; Jackson, 1965; Landau, 1968).

Therefore, the Royal Festival Hall, as the only permanent building of the 1951 Festival, remains an instructive object for history and heritage researchers to engage with, to trace this architectural tradition of English Modernism through the post-war period.

7.4 'A TONIC TO THE NATION': TO CONSTRUCT A POST-WAR NATIONAL IDENTITY

Since the Great Exhibition of 1851, secular festivals organised by governments had set out to present the ideas and goals of renewed societies, within a basic framework of romantic nationalism. Throughout the whole South Bank Exhibition, only a model of the Crystal Palace, erected at the last minute, commemorated the 1851 exhibition. As Roy Strong (1976) pointed out, the true perspective of the 1951 Festival was of previous state festivals of the Edwardian and Georgian periods in England. In particular, the

British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in 1924 was the Festival of Britain's immediate predecessor. Just like the 1951 festival, this 1924 exhibition was organised after a great world war, intended to stimulate trade, strengthen bonds between 'mother country' and sister states, foster closer contact and enable all who bore allegiance to Britain to know each other. British lions, the symbol of the 1924 exhibition, indicated the importance of the Empire in the world. In short, the 1924 exhibition was a socio-political event set up for war survivors and new generation, representing the myth of Empire as a way of life and the future. A generation later, after the Second World War, the organisers of the 1951 Festival attempted to reconstitute a future based a new secular mythology of the country – a myth of its people and land.

This conception and theme of the Festival was based on the particular economic and social background of post-war Britain. Britain after the Second World War was a land of shortages of a variety of kinds, of which the most serious was that of foreign currency, because this affected many other commodities. The drain of foreign currency had the undesirable side effect of raising the cost of imports. In addition to shortages of imported materials, there were domestic shortages such as coal, steel and skilled labour. This aftermath seemed characterised by austerity, rationing and never-ending queues. It demanded a visible new world, a hope for social salvation. The unstable economy still caused a lot of uncertainties in the early stage of the Festival, such as deciding on the exhibition site. However, these uncertainties also helped to define the theme of the festival. It was decided that the British contribution to civilisation could be portrayed as springing from the combination of two forces: the initiative of the people and the resources of their native land (Casson *et al.*, 1951).

Though crises after the war provided ammunition for the opponents of the Festival, and also directly interfered with the construction on the South Bank, the Festival was a great success with the public. It transformed the way people saw their war-ravaged nation and brought hope of a better world to come. It made the whole country an exhibition ground. Everything was on show, from homes to farms and factories, and the land itself. These exhibitions and events all over the country gave people a good time while presenting the nation as a model democracy as Britain entered the Cold War. In particular, the Festival gave people an intimate experience of contemporary design and modern building; it encouraged them to associate modern architecture with a landscape under reconstruction and brought hope, from the spectacular centrepiece at London's South Bank to events held the length and breadth of

the four nations, to which hundreds of the country's greatest architects, artist and designers contributed. Ultimately, the Festival of Britain 1951 served to rekindle a downtrodden population's love for a disfigured landscape (Atkinson, 2012). Mary Banham (1976) asserted the significance of the festival as follows:

> *The significance of the Festival for us today is not so much that it made a particularly important stylistic statement in design but that it was a genuinely national popular public event of amazing proportions, unexpectedly successful and still remembered more than any other of this kind.*

> *The overall intention of the Festival of Britain was that, through its diversity, the people who visited its various manifestations should not only be entertained but also educated; people were in fact encouraged to come expecting to be educated. In addition, the Festival provided colour (after the drabness of the war), light (after the darkness of the blackout) and fun in the traditional fairground sense.*

Together with the Festival, which received high praise, the RFH, as the first public building built in Britain after the war, similarly received varied praise for its creative concepts, innovative materials and unbelievable construction speed. Through its £91m refurbishment programme, which restored most of the Hall's original external features and replaced the alterations of the 1960s, architects Allies and Morrison and artistic director Jude Kelly sought to rebrand the 'Southbank Centre' and strengthen the influence of this bright, playful humanistic hall (Hanley, 2007a). Their starting point came from the interpretation of the original building, which was considered to be designed with progress and democracy at its heart.

In order to reconnect the RFH with its original democratising ethos, the renewed Hall was, above all, to be considered truly accessible to all. The auditorium was suspended in the building, giving a sense that anyone could gain access to the hall at any time, although this concept of a fully accessible building was not fully realised. Allies and Morrison consolidated the earlier shift of the entrance to the north so that the Hall looks north to the Bankside. The new entrance opens to a public square and is framed by a branch of food chain Canteen. Inside the Hall, the café has been replaced with an expensive restaurant, and both the riverside and railway side spaces surrounding the Hall were opened up as outdoor food courts with new commercially lettable retail units. All these commercial places provide a nice South Bank view, only if one can afford it. The roof terraces were originally designed to give visitors one of the loveliest views in London. But, for a long time, they had been given over to extra office space. Now the roof terraces have been cleared and fitted with panoramic glass windows as a

corporate entertainment area for enjoying the marvellous view to the London Eye and across the river to Big Ben. In addition, the details that made the Hall one of the most popular buildings were repaired and restored as sustainably as possible (Hanley, 2007a), including the decorative carpets and timber and plywood wall finishes. All these improvements have attempted to eliminate visual or physical impediments to entering the building and to the feeling of being free to explore once people are inside.

7.5   EXPERIENTIAL AND EMOTIONAL VALUES OF THE INNER SPACE OF ROYAL FESTIVAL HALL AND THE PUBLIC SPACE ON LONDON SOUTHBANK

As been discussed in the previous section, the 1951 Festival played a stimulating role in the post-war UK, guiding people's consciousness towards a new democratic era. This historic event reflected and promoted changes in social culture and social stratification. As a new class – an extended middle class – arose, as provisions in social welfare and for cultural life increased. One of the major features of these increasing requirements in almost all aspects of social life was the experience of democracy, and the RFH was the most representative building to embody values of 'equal social worth' (Forty, 2001) or 'democratic spirits' (McKean, 2001; Hanley, 2007a). The building apparently offered an opportunity to experience these altered social relations and it has since been understood as a legacy of, an architectural description of, the post-war Labour government's 'welfare state' (Forty, 2001). This section analyses how the RFH provided British people with an experience of democracy in its interior and exterior spaces. Afterwards, an extended discussion moves to the democratic characteristics of public spaces on the whole London South Bank where the RFH is located.

7.5.1   Experience of democracy in the RFH

As 'a new sort of democratic cultural centre' (McKean, 2001), the Royal Festival Hall has been understood as offering all social classes the opportunity to experience a new social relation of democracy through its physical layout and management as a modern cultural centre. The architectural layout, including that of the foyer, entrance, auditorium and facilities, created a sense of freedom and equality by providing the experience of full accessibility and continuity. Unlike other previous great opera houses which seemed exclusive in serving the upper classes, the RFH demonstrated a welcoming ethos, encouraging those entering it to use it as a cultural centre in the daytime.

One of the most impressive interior spaces in RFH is its foyer. Nowadays, in large contemporary cultural buildings, main foyer spaces are usually freely accessible throughout the day, combined with various facilities arranged in open plan (Doxa, 2001). The main foyer in RFH is one of the earliest to show these democratic characteristics spatially and visually through free-plan layouts. Since the 1980s, the foyer has been open all day; and soon became a popular venue. Spatially, the foyer is a single, undivided volume. But, functionally, it contains bars, cafeterias, snack bars, stores and art exhibitions. Starting from the foyer, visitors are led to the auditorium above by stairs and landings. There is no requirement to enter the foyer, and there is no predetermined route when moving within the foyer. The democratic characteristics of the RFH foyer are highlighted in comparison with its predecessors, the European opera houses of the 19th century which displayed clear hierarchic separations in their layouts and circulation arrangement. In an old grand opera house, privileged people could be immediately distinguished from the lower class from the different entrances they used. The foyer was often more remarkable than the auditoria, as the space, particularly the magnificent staircase inside the foyer, was an important social meeting-place for the upper-classes. By contrast, when the RFH was completed in 1951, everyone entered through the same entrance. Everyone took the same stairs to the centre of the foyer; and everyone was allowed to wander about everywhere inside the interior. Though the building has been altered and refurbished several times since the Festival, it has neither permitted nor encouraged social exclusivity (Forty, 2001). Although it confused some of the circulation arrangement, the transformation of the entrance from south to north in the 1960s, maintained in the recent refurbishment, retained the virtues of accessibility. The new entrance to the RFH is at riverside level, through a row of humble doors. Through the doors is a vestibule with a low-ceiling and from the vestibule, a short flight of steps covered by a soffit leads the visitor up to the foyer. The volume of the foyer is not displayed until the visitor turns through a right angle at the top of the steps to the right. From this central point of the building, people freely flow to every direction of the upper, lower, and back spaces. In addition to the foyer and entrance, the architectural means to achieve an absence of hierarchies can also be observed in the auditorium layout. Every seat is calculated with the intention of providing equally good visual and acoustic enjoyment of the stage. There were defects and faults, such as terrible views from the royal box (Forty, 2001), but the central idea of providing a democratic experience cannot be denied.

This full accessibility and free plan in the foyer and other spaces of RFH introduced a modern morphology of public interior space to large-scale cultural buildings in post-war Britain. This transformation corresponds with the pace at which arts, including music, became more accessible to a wider public. In this case, RFH, as recently refurbished blurs the distinctions between the foyers of museums, libraries and concert halls. They are all integrated with urban settings such as retail, catering, information facilities and exhibition spaces to provide the average citizen with places to meet, rest, see, learn and potentially interact with others (Doxa, 2001). In the free spaces of modern cultural buildings, social-cultural experiences occur, not depending solely on the functions of facilities, but also shaped by the way visitors behave. Nikolaus Pevsner (1952a) described spaces with the characteristic of free openness as an important virtue with fewer contours and a stronger sense of continuity. The experience is similar to visiting a baroque church, where the spatial boundary is eliminated between the interior and exterior space (Frankl, 1968).

There is also a historical and social importance integral in the democratic experience provided by the RFH. This discussion recalls the previous section about the 1951 Festival as a 'tonic' to the post-war nation (Banham and Hillier, 1976). When the RFH was constructed in 1951, Britain was in the early days of a welfare state. There was a clear purpose in Britain for a consensus between capital and labour to be created 'by providing universal access to a range of social benefits and services, as well as by some redistribution of wealth and income' (Forty, 2001), although inequalities in wealth and income were not the real target to be eliminated. But a consensus of social equality was the potential aim that could be achieved, through constructing the belief that 'equality of status is more important than equality of income' (Marshall, 1950). Through historical events like 1951 Festival, the state aimed to satisfy and assure people of their 'equal social worth' through displaying future standards of living that would conceal actual social and economic differences (Marshall, 1950), and only a democratic ideology could fulfil this task (Forty, 2001). In this historical context, a building, especially a large-scale public building like the RFH, was expected to guide the consciousness of people to achieve and reinforce the values of social equality. Paid for by the state, its architectural space successfully provided individuals with the opportunity 'to enjoy the illusion of equal social worth' through interaction with others (Forty, 2001). Whether this difference from the past was real or not, the atmosphere

really changed. Entitled the 'people's palace', the RFH has offered all classes the opportunity to experience the democratic social relations promised by the welfare state.

The restoration of the RFH has tried to reconnect it with this democratising ethos. But considering the changes social values nowadays, it is an inevitable question whether this venue can still truly be accessible to everybody (Hanley, 2007a). Not everything was restored to its 1951 Festival state, and not every restoration fitted the original ethos. Originally visitors could approach and enter the Festival Hall from any angle, giving a sense that anyone could gain access to it at any time. The inside of the newly opened RFH shows a tendency to prioritise the wealthy (Hanley, 2007a). The old restaurant has been replaced by a high-standard one beyond the means of many people. Alongside the outdoor retail units, and rooftop corporate entertainment space, although the visitor can see straight through the ground level from one glass wall to the other, the commercialisation of all spaces becomes an invisible door preventing access for all into the building even though there are fewer visual or physical impediments (Hanley, 2007a).

7.5.2 Public spaces on London's South Bank

As discussed above, state sponsorship of large-scale cultural buildings became an important means of guiding democratic ideology within the public. Openness and publicness represent two important feelings when the public is experiencing the democratic. During the construction of these public buildings with equal social worth, new urban spaces were created where social-spatial practices were able to make new social relations. But the value of 'public space' did not receive much attention until the 1990s when some of these spaces were put under redevelopment projects such as the 1999 masterplan for the Southbank Centre and marketing strategies for the local area such as 'Better Bankside' of 2004 (Jones, 2014). Among these projects, the proposal to refurbish an area of the South Bank historically used by skateboarders was one that inspired the greatest attention. In 2013-2014, a campaign to protect this famous skate spot known as the Undercroft drew strongly on heritage arguments about the value of historic urban spaces (Madgin *et al.*, 2018). This subsection extended the democratic and other strongly emotional experiences from inside the RFH to the outdoor, public urban spaces on South Bank where the RFH is located. It concerned how modern urban space has been produced with features of publicness through social-space practices;

Fig. 7- 12 Elements of the built environment around South Bank being used as seats by passers-by

Photography: (Jones, 2013)

how to understand and experience urban open space as public; and the experiential and emotional value of historic public spaces in modern urban life.

Similar to the openness created by architectural methods in the foyer of RFH, in this subsection, public space became characterised by openness of the Southbank Centre in terms both of physical and mental identity. But every day interpretative uses played a more prominent role as the basis of producing traits of publicness on South Bank. The physical openness on Southbank is the first impression of the place, where flexible boundaries are implied by material insertions such as seating (see Fig. 7-12) and micro-segregation (Lynch, 1996; Jones, 2014). These architectural- and landscape means remind us of the insightful foyer in RFH in which the open space is comprised with 'a range of seating areas and a selection of retail and food outlets' (Jones, 2014). The physical built fabric demonstrating this trait of openness on South Bank premises a dimension to which experience could be anchored. Openness and publicness may be felt through all interactions carried out in the place, such as grouped playing, people-watching or mere co-presence. 'Play' is one of the most common and regenerated ethnographic engagements with public space (Jones, 2013). Alasdair Jones (2013) has analysed three types of practice of play – child's play; plays on meaning; and play as simulation – to understand the production of social space. On the Southbank,

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skateboarding is easily identified as one example of definitively playful practice engaged with public space (Woolley and Johns, 2001). Jones (Jones, 2013; Jones, 2014) has observed different playful skateboarding moves and read them as ludic qualities of city life. For example, a skateboarder is observed 'hurdling the benches of the Royal Festival Hall terrace' (Jones, 2014). Skateboarding and other interactive moves also twist and enrich the meaning of the given objects in a public space. For example, reused as a skateboard deck, handrails are turned from safety protection objects into things of risk (Borden, 2001). On South Bank, there is a famous skate spot known as the Undercroft which was first skated in 1973 (Madgin *et al.*, 2018). Furthermore, non-materialistic qualities are argued to be central to interactive play on South Bank (Jones, 2014). Play in public space could be understood as 'a cultural factor in life' (Huizinga, 1970). As democracy has become an illusion produced in the RFH, images such as differentness and secrecy can be manipulated when users of public space interact, particularly in extraordinary play represented by skateboarding on South Bank.

However, whether this feeling of distinctiveness is an illusion or not, it is undeniable that public space has provided a new individuality of existence that is mentally necessary in the modern city (Simmel, 1969; Watson, 2006). Constructing public space has rich implications in modern urban planning. First, it could activate public potentialities (Watson, 2006). Here, public space is actually a public realm with only social boundaries (Lofland, 1998). The public realm is a space where people can see and hear from a different position, with a variety of perspectives and aspects other than experiences common to their family life (Arendt, 2013). It is also a space of appearances where individuals perform great deeds and speak memorable words (Watson, 2006). Here, public sphere could be theatrical, performative and agonistic. The space could also be moral and politically democratic when ordinary citizens are engaged. One thing to be noted is that all these potentials of public space are only viable under conditions of modernity (Watson, 2006). In addition, public space provides a dimension to produce urban consciousness of personality when exchange takes place between people. In the complexity of modern urban life, public space becomes a site of co-mingling and encountering strangers, who are able to display their differences with direct and indirect interactions with each other (Young, 1990). Differentiating the identities of different groups are crucial to modern life as they construct self-knowledge and mutual understanding. In modern public space, new social relations are produced by intellectual or financial forms of exchange between people (Watson, 2006). These

relations may be pleasurable as well as stressful. Relations in public space may produce a vision of new world promising social progress for the masses united across all classes, as Haussmann's Paris renewal projects did (Benjamin, 1999). Relations of extreme impersonality and indifference can lead to psychic reactions such as road rage and verbal abuse (Watson, 2006). Among the rich types of relationships that occur in public space, democracy is argued as one of the most significant notions in the political realm (Richard, 2000; Richard, 2002). If the openness of public space is lost, the potential for sociality in the city is lost, and the intimacy of relations is also lost. As mentioned at the beginning of this subsection, public space is facing problems of decline because of recent redevelopment projects such as proposals to refurbish the South Bank. For example, the previously mentioned Undercroft, which has been used as a famous skate spot since the 1970s, came under threat from the planned redevelopment of the South Bank (Madgin *et al.*, 2018). In 2013, a complex of buildings was proposed to be built on the site and the existing skate spot was to be relocated to a purpose-built skate park 120 metres away. These relocation plans were rejected by a campaign group set up by skaters and other members from the Undercroft community. In 2013-2014, the campaigners made strong heritage arguments that the spot was authentic since it was constructed by consistent negotiation, performance and experience (Gregory, 2008). Their knowledge and familiarity became emotional investments to the spot which stopped them accepting relocation, even though they did not legally own the place (Madgin *et al.*, 2018). The ultimately successful campaign opens up a discussion of the experiential and emotional dimensions of valuing heritage, which has been dominated and continually reinforced by a narrow field of specialists in the past (Smith, 2006). These emotional and experiential attachments construct the campaigners' concept that the Undercroft is a modern-day heritage site. Through this campaign and subsequent research, skateboarding and different emotional activities in Undercroft have come to be seen as a language through which the users of a place are able to interpret it and to identify themselves (Madgin *et al.*, 2018).

Compared with these physical threats, psychoanalytic accounts play a more critical and complicated role in describing the decline of public space. Changing social morals such as feminist and gay liberation movements and multi-cultural user composition of different ethnic and racial backgrounds may intensify the complexity among interactive moves in public space (Watson, 2006). On the one hand, these changes again verify the potential of public space to construct necessary identities of

personal distinctiveness through interactions with others. On the other hand, the democratic freedom of the original users of public space is unsecured, as more and more practices of exclusion are brought in by new users. For example, feminists (Deutsche, 1996) have critiqued the strong boundaries of public space against private space, regarding privacy as an exclusive idea from masculinity. Nevertheless, the understanding of public space and the encounters enacted there are being progressed with these changes.

7.6 SUMMARY

A significant idea in the modern concept of heritage is that it can help to construct certain identities. Conversely, the constructed identity embodied in modern architecture can help it to be valued as heritage. From its initial construction to its recent restoration, the Royal Festival Hall has been closely connected to the British ethos. In the field of architectural history, the RFH demonstrates a self-consciousness English Modernism. Through its refurbishment, those ideas of democratic accessibility became altered and adapted by the increasing commercialisation of the building's spaces, and an apparent commodification of the surrounding public realm. By interacting with the RFH interiors and nearby public spaces, people have been able to identify themselves with the complicated ideas of national identity embodied and contested in architecture and public space in and around the building, also extending the interpretation of heritage there into its experiential and emotional dimensions.

Chapter 8   National Museum of China

8.1   INTRODUCTION

On 9 July 2012, a commemorative meeting was held in Beijing to celebrate the centenary of the founding of the National Museum of China (NMC). Approximately four months before, on 1 March, the new museum building was opened officially after a reconstruction and extension project. The close relationship between architecture and culture, particularly the national political culture, has been reflected throughout the history of the museum and its buildings. The reconstructed museum was designed and constructed on the basis of the old museum building, which had been widely known in China as one of 'Ten Great Buildings' constructed in the late 1959s in Beijing (Liu, 2010a; Yang, 2012a). After the reconstruction and the enlargement project, the NMC became the biggest museum in the world, with a gross floor area of 197,113 square metres. As a significant and influential national institution, the museum was first established in 1912, as an early modern museum in China. The museum has witnessed the modernisation of the nation through its one-hundred-years of history. Before 1949, the museum was in the old royal buildings which were in a poor condition for exhibitions. Wars and social movements caused a great loss to its collections and organisation. In the 1950s, the construction of new museum buildings was intended to represent the political and social superiority of communist China. In the twenty-first century, the reconstruction of the museum is now expected to symbolise soft-power – the new Chinese culture in which cultural capital is considered as highly significant in present national policy.

This chapter starts by introducing the cultural and social background of each period of the NMC, with a focus on the 1950s and the 2010s, when the current museum buildings were first constructed and then renovated. A discussion is then developed around the three major ways in which the museum has been most highly valued. The first way is evident in the political mission given to the museum in different periods. The second concerns the architectural achievements of the 1950s and 2010s buildings. The third addresses the value of the museum as an institution in the history of the modern museum in China. It then moves to one of the key factors that have determined the orientation of museum construction in all periods – the policy for cultural modernisation.

8.2   A ONE-HUNDRED-YEAR MUSEUM

The institution named the 'National Museum of China' was founded on 28 February 2003, under the administration of the Ministry of Culture. The museum building is located on the east side of Tiananmen Square in Beijing. The museum was formed out of two previous national museums – the Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution. The history museum could be traced back to the Preparatory Office of the National History Museum, which was set up in 1912. On 1 October 1949, the museum was renamed the Beijing National History Museum under the administration of the Ministry of Culture of the Central People's Government. The predecessor of the Museum of Revolution was the Preparatory Office of Central Revolution Museum, which was founded in 1950. In August 1958, the CCP Central Committee determined to build a national history museum and revolutionary museum and in August 1958, a building complex on the east side of Tiananmen Square was completed. In the next forty years, the museum buildings continuously underwent renovation and refurbishment projects as well as administrative changes. But the largest change took place in the 2000s. In February 2003, the State Council approved the consolidation of the two museums to establish the National Museum of China. The construction project started in March 2007 and was completed in December 2010. This new museum was officially opened in March 2011.

8.2.1   1911: Museum of Chinese History

As mentioned above, the National Museum of China was the outcome of combining the Museum of Chinese History and Museum of Chinese Revolution. Among these, the Museum of Chinese History had a much longer history which could be said to reflect the integral situation of development of the Chinese modern museum.

The modern museum of China was initiated in the middle of the 19th century, accompanied by the spread of western ideology and culture as well by the modernisation and social movements in China (Wang and Huang, 2012). One of the most influential social movements upon the Chinese museum was the Revolution of 1911, of which the direct outcome was the establishment of the Republic of China (Liang, 2005). The 1911 Revolution brought about huge changes in politics, economy and culture, which created a favourable environment for the development of modern museums. Unlike older museums, which were usually private and exclusive, modern museums received an enthusiastic response for their apparent openness and inclusiveness (Wang and Huang, 2012). In January, 1912, Cai Yuanpei was appointed
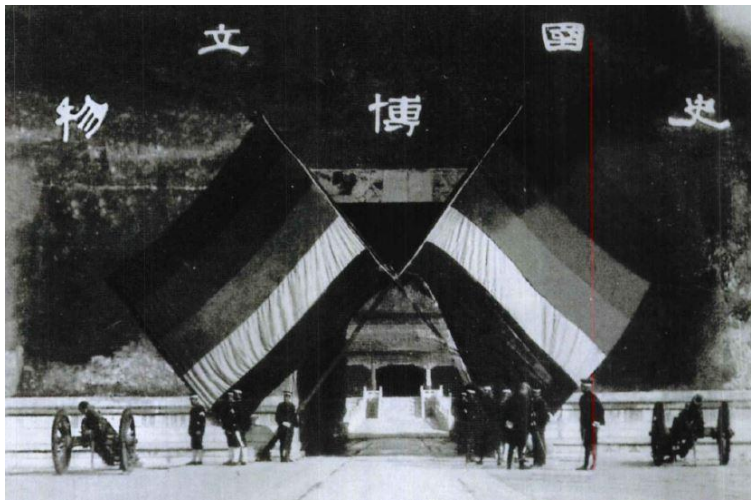
Fig. 8- 1 Establishment of the National Museum of China, 1912

Source: (Liang, 2005)
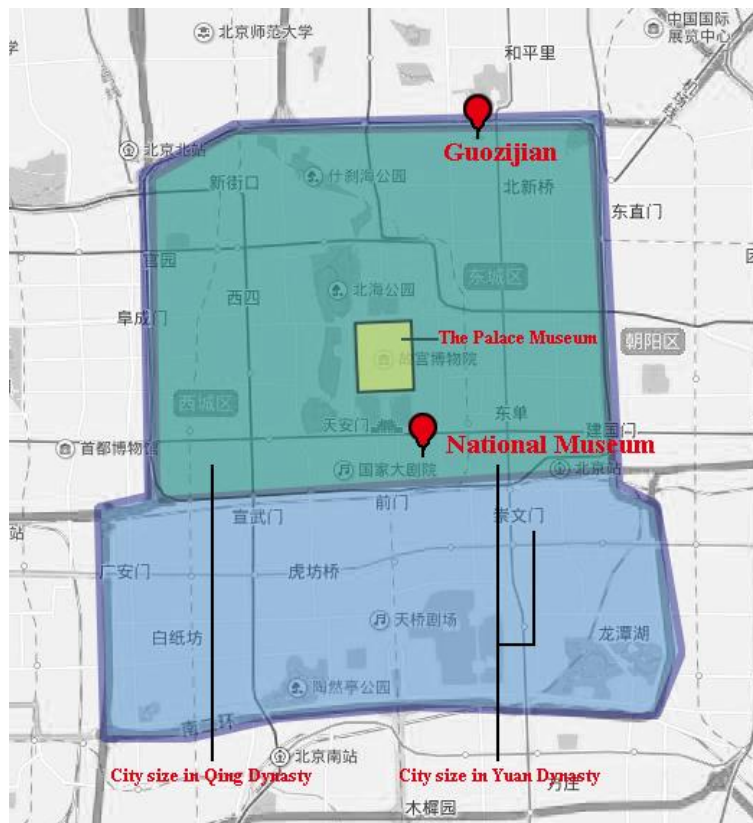
Fig. 8- 2 Location of Guozijian in Beijing

Redrawn based upon contemporary map

as Minister of Education of the Nanjing Provisional Government (Liang, 2005). In the next month, he published an article under the title of 'Dui xin jiao yu zhi yi jian (Opinions on New Education)'. In this article, he criticised the feudal education system of the late Qing Dynasty. He advocated new educational principles focusing on nationality, morality, world view and aesthetics, etc. Museums in particular became an

important instrument in leading the state-controlled process of social education, (Liang, 2005). The Ministry or Education further specified that the museum should be under the administration of the Department of Social Education. When the Republic of China was officially established on 1 January 1912, a national museum was to be founded. On 9 July 1912, the Ministry of Education set up the Preparatory Office of the National History Museum, with Hu Yujin as the office director (Liang, 2005; Han, 2011). The office was in the old building of Guozijian (see Fig. 8-1, 8-2), the highest academic institution of the Qing Dynasty. The office was then run as an early form of national history museum, with the sacrificial vessels of Guozijian becoming its earliest collection. In July 1918, the history museum was relocated to Duanmen and Wumen, both of which were the significant buildings marking the southern gate of the Forbidden City. The gate tower and wing buildings of Wumen were used for displays. Former waiting rooms were transformed into offices and storage rooms. Bulky collections were stored in Duanmen. In November 1920, the National History Museum was officially established (National Museum of China, 2012c), although the first public exhibition was not prepared until 10 October 1926 (Liang, 2005). This first exhibition displayed over 2,000 objects divided into ten specified themes including burial objects, arms and instruments of torture, Guozijian relics, gold and jade, and international souvenirs, etc. In 1927, the Ministry of Education formulated the History Museum Constitution, specifying that the main mission of the National History Museum was 'to collect historical relics and to improve public education'. The Minister of Education was nominated as the curator to take charge of management affairs. In 1927, the central government of the Republic of China settled its capital in Nanjing (Yan, 2006). In June 1928, Beijing was renamed as Beiping. Soon afterwards, the National History Museum was put under the administration of Daxueyuan, a governmental institute in charge of higher education. In the next year, Daxueyuan was restructured as the Ministry of Education (Liang, 2005). The history museum was one of its subordinate institutions. In August 1928, the museum was put under the administration of the Central Institute of Historical Languages, and renamed as Beiping History Museum of the Central Institute (Liang, 2005). In 1933, the Nanjing central government decided to build another national museum in its new capital. The Preparatory Office of National Central Museum was set up in Nanjing. Beiping History Museum was reformed as a subsidiary of the office. During the Anti-Japanese War, parts of the museum's major collections were transferred to Nanjing and kept in the Nanjing Central Museum. It was not until August

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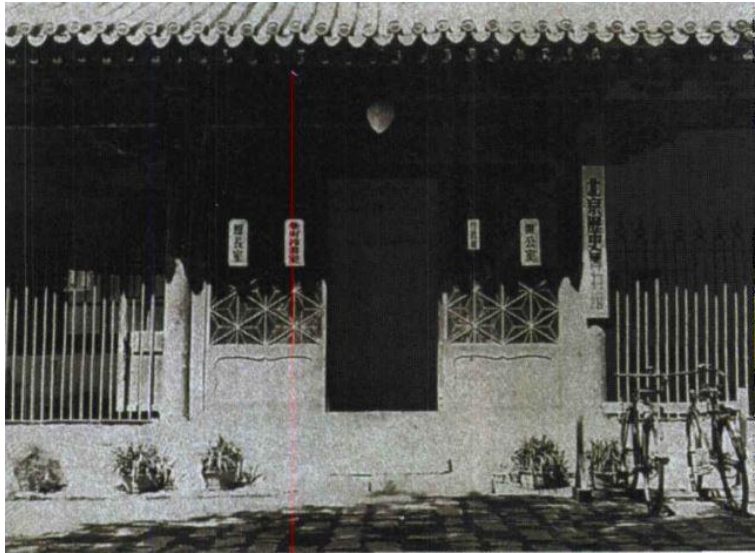
Fig. 8- 3 Beijing National History Museum 1949

Source: (Liang, 2005)

1945, when the war was over, that Beiping History Museum began to resume normal operations. In October 1949, Beiping regained its name Beijing after the CCP won its liberation war against the Nanjing Government. The museum was renamed as the Beijing National History Museum (see Fig. 8-3), under the Ministry of Culture of the Central People's Government. Upon this foundation, the government decided to build Museum of Chinese History. Afterwards, the museum stepped into a new era of development.

8.2.2   1949: Museum of Chinese Revolution and Museum of Chinese History

The Museum of the Chinese Revolution was another predecessor of the present National Museum of China. Its development was closely linked to the national policy of the People's Republic of China (PRC). Just before Beiping was officially liberated from the control of the government of the Republic of China in the winter of 1948, a military control commission was set up, under which a committee was specially charged with taking over cultural and historical relics in the city (Xie, 1996). Wang Yeqiu was the Deputy Secretary of the Relic Department under this committee. In March, 1949, Wang Yeqiu drafted an announcement to collect revolutionary objects dating from the May Fourth Movement, which was defined as the turning point of Chinese revolutionary history from old to new democratic revolution (Xie, 1996). The announcement was then published in major newspapers in the name of Beiping History Museum (Xie, 1996). More announcements to collect revolutionary materials, also drafted by Wang, were

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published in February 1950 (Xie, 1996). In March 1950, the Preparatory Office of the National Museum of Chinese Revolution was set up in Tuancheng (Round City) in Beihai Park, with Wang Yeqiu as the office director. In the same year, the office was renamed as the Preparatory Office of the Central Museum of Chinese Revolution (Xie, 1996; He, 2012). This was the earliest direct form of the later Museum of Chinese Revolution. More announcements and orders to collect revolutionary objects were published subsequently in the name of this office. Later the office was moved to Baoyunlou (Hall of Embodied Treasures) in the Forbidden City. Based upon the material base collected through these administrative orders (Tian, 2012), the first revolutionary exhibition was held on 1 July 1951 for the 30th anniversary of the establishment of CCP (Xie, 1996). Most of the subsequent exhibitions were on the themes of the history of the CCP and its struggle with foreign powers and the government of the Republic of China.

8.2.3 1950s: 'Ten Great Buildings' and two museums

The combining of the Museum of Chinese History and Museum of Chinese Revolution took place in administrative as well as physical ways. The two museums began to share the same building complex in the late 1950s. In August 1958, a conference of the CCP Central Committee was held in Beidaihe (Shen, 2005). At this conference, it was proposed to build a new museum building. The following month, on 5 September, the Beijing Municipal Government noted the central government's decision to celebrate the decennial of the PRC (Yang, 2012a). It was decided to build a series of monumental constructions for this celebration (Liu, 2010a; Yang, 2012a). These ten projects included: the Great Hall of the People, Chinese Revolution Museum and History Museum, National Agriculture Exhibition Centre, Military Museum, the National Theatre, Science and Technology Museum, National Art Gallery, Diaoyutai State Guesthouse, Beijing Workers' Gymnasium, Beijing Railway Station, Cultural Palace of Nationalities and Prime Hotel (Yang, 2012a). This was the original version of the 'Ten Great Buildings'. However, in the subsequent implementation phase, difficulties in construction and time constraints led to changes to this list (Li, 2009; Yang, 2012a). Some of the projects were postponed, including the National Theatre, Science and Technology Museum, and National Art Gallery. Building of the Industry Museum was actually completed in 1954, too early to be a representative project for the 1959 decennial. The Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese

Revolution were planned to share the same building complex instead of being placed separately. After the 'Ten Great Buildings' list had been altered several times, it was generally considered to include: the Great Hall of the People, Museum of Chinese History and Museum of Chinese Revolution, Military Museum, Agricultural Exhibition Centre, Cultural Palace of Nationalities, Diaoyutai State Guesthouse, Beijing Worker's

Military Museum	Minzu Hotel
Beijing Railway Station	Diaoyutai State Guesthouse
Overseas Chinese Hotel	Agricultural Exhibition Centre
Cultural Palace of Nationalities	Beijing Worker's Gymnasium
Great Hall of the People	History and Revolution Museum

Fig. 8- 4 Buildings of the 'Great Ten' in Beijing in the 1950s

Source: (Yang, 2012a)

Gymnasium, Beijing Railway Station, Minzu Hotel, and Overseas Chinese Hotel (Liu, 2010a; Yang, 2012a). These ten architectural projects were designed and constructed within a year from September 1958 to September 1959 (see Fig. 8-4).

One of these ten buildings was for the national museum on the east side of Tiananmen Square. In October, 1958, the Leading Group for preparation of the museums of Chinese revolution and history was set up (Xie, 1996). On 15 January 1959, two separate preparatory offices were set up for the two museums (Xie, 1996). Generally, the preparatory offices were in charge of defining and division of displays. The museum building project was carried forward under nation-wide support. Zhang Kaiji was appointed as the leader of the design group (Shu *et al.*, 2006). One of the central ideas in the museum project, as in all other nine 'Ten Great Buildings', was national independence incorporating the people's power (Shu *et al.*, 2006). The museum building itself became a display of production capabilities across the country. For example, the coloured glaze was from Guangdong; the granite was from Shandong; the marble was from Hubei and the northeast provinces; the bronze doors and steel windows were from Shanghai (Museum Design Group of Beijing Planning Bureau Designing Institute, 1959). In design, seminars had been held in Beijing to compare proposals and construction practices. Participants in these seminars were from all provinces and cities, including architects and building experts, leaders of concerned institutions, students and workers. In one month, the design process for the old national museum building received rather short but comprehensive consideration. Construction of the old national museum building was begun in October 1958 (Wang, 2005). The

Fig. 8- 5 Building complex (right part: history museum; left part: revolution museum) 1959

Source: (Shen, 2005)

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building was completed only ten months, in August 1959 (Wang, 2005).

The building complex of the two museums (see Fig. 8-5) was on the east side of Tiananmen Square, facing to the People's Great Hall on the west side of the square. From the angle of planning, the museum building was to be on a similar scale and outline to the hall, to balance the square's environment. But during its design, the hall was enlarged to 171,800 m² in total floor area. North-south and east-west lengths of the building were extended to 336 metres and 206 metres (Wang, 2004; Liu, 2010a). Its height was 46 metres (Liu, 2010a). By contrast the museum was only planned to be about 65,000 m² in floor area (Li, 1984; Liu, 2010a). In order to achieve a visual balance between the Great Hall and the museum, rooms of the museum were arranged around two large courtyards to create a huge outline shape seen from outside of the building (see Fig. 8-6). The east-west length was extended to 149 metres and the south-north length was 313 metres (Museum Design Group of Beijing Planning Bureau Designing Institute, 1959). The height of the building was 26.5 metres, with the highest point being the decoration on the front elevation at 33 metres high (Liu, 2010a). The arrangement of rooms around courtyards was in consideration of visitor circulation. Also, courtyards could be used as supplementary space for outdoor exhibitions.

In the horizontal layout, the southern part of the building complex was for the Museum of Chinese History and the north part was for the Museum of Chinese

一 层 平 面   0   20m
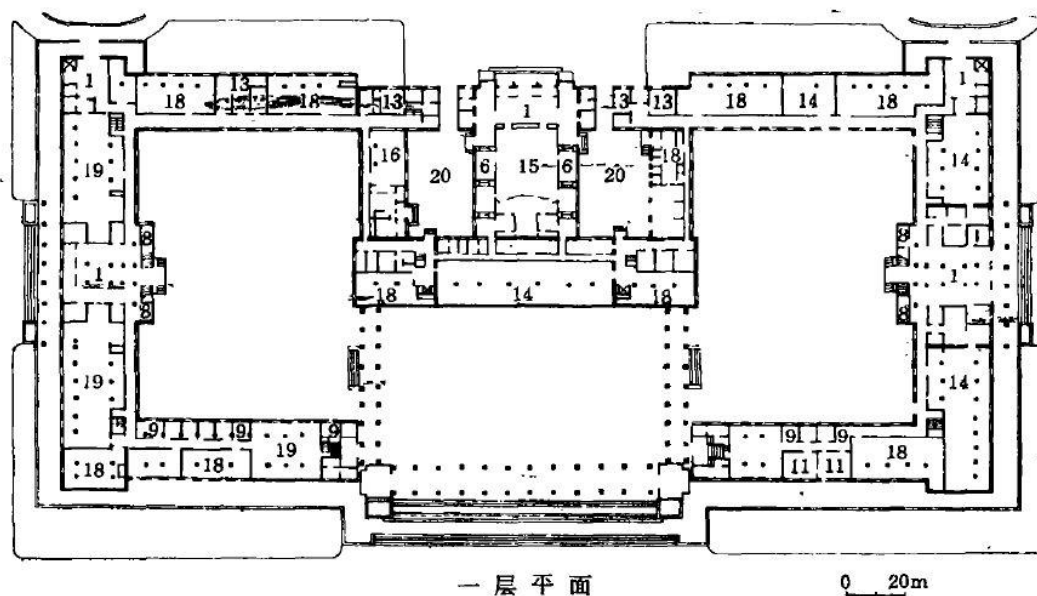
Fig. 8- 6 Ground floor, history and revolution museum, 1959

Source: (Li, 1984)

Revolution. Connecting the two museums, the foyer, auditorium, and other public and service spaces were in the middle. In the vertical arrangement, all exhibition halls were on the first and second floors. The main entrance hall was set on the first floor as a central transport hub of the complex. Starting from this 1,340 m² hall, visitors could turn to the left or right to visit either the Revolution or History museum. This great hall was not to be used as a temporary exhibition hall. Its only function was to impress its audience with grandiosity during certain ceremonies (Museum Design Group of Beijing Planning Bureau Designing Institute, 1959).The ground floor area was used for subsidiary rooms for storage, ventilation plant, transformers, and etc. The third floor contained special collections, offices, public reading rooms and research laboratories.

The best-known image of this museum complex was its west elevation. As the building was first and foremost expected to reflect the 1950s' social concepts of revolutionary optimism, it had to be magnificent and dignified, as well as delightful and spirited (Museum Design Group of Beijing Planning Bureau Designing Institute, 1959). To achieve this goal, the museum building absorbed forms and methods from both inside and outside the country. Wide outdoor stairs led the visitors coming up to the double colonnade, reminiscent of the classical colonnade in Greek temples. Comparing to the solid and massive facade of the Great Hall of the People on the other side of Tiananmen Square, on which round columns in neo-classical style guaranteed the entrance, the west facade of the museum was distinctively light, delicate and transparent. The visual space between the square columns varied as visitors stood in different positions. The colonnade of square columns also imitated metaphorically the Chinese stone archway. The top corners were decorated with a design of *Malus spectabilis* (Chinese flowering crab-apple), which was a traditional pattern in ancient Chinese buildings. The circulation of visitors in one sense was of the usual forms for a modern museum. In the meantime, the integral arrangement of the two museums reflected the traditional Chinese urban planning theory of 'Zuo Zu You She'. According to this theory, facing to the south, the temple for the ancestor should be located in the left part of the city and the temple for the current state should be locate to the right. In the case of the museum building, when people faced Tiananmen Square, the history museum in the south part of the building was on the left; and the revolution museum was on the right hand. In addition to combining architectural elements of the west and traditional China, the museum building also represented rich political ideas of the 1950s. For example, the red flags, stars and torches upon the colonnade all represented

its recently completed socialist revolution, the great leadership of CCP and the unity of the Chinese people.

On 2 October 1959, the 'Exhibition of General Chinese History' opened as a preview of the History Museum for public use of the 10th National Day (Wang, 2005; Han, 2011). In July 1961, the exhibition was officially opened to the public (Wang, 2005). The Revolution Museum were opened at the same time (Shen, 2005). From then, the whole building was officially opened to the public (see Fig. 8-7).

Fig. 8- 7 Visiting the two museums, 1961 (left: visitors queuing for the history museum; right: students in the revolution museum)

Source: (Wang, 2012)

8.2.4 *Museum reorganisation and building alterations*

Having moved into the same building, the Chinese Revolutionary Museum and Chinese History Museum soon merged into a single national museum, in September, 1969, as the National Museum of Chinese Revolution and History (He, 2012). But in early 1983, the museum was split into two again (He, 2012). It was not until 29 February 2003, that the National Museum of China was finally founded, under the administration of the Ministry of Culture (Pan, 2004). At the same time, a renovation and extension project was set up for the old museum building, under the decision of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council (Pan, 2004). The project aimed to build up the National Museum of China to an advanced international level. A feasibility research of this project had been conducted two years previously by the Beijing Institute of Architectural Design (BIAD), under the nomination of the Beijing Municipal Commission of Urban Planning (Shao *et al.*, 2004). The research considered the

possibility of developing extensions into the old building's two yards, including roofing all the yards' area to create interior space. A general agreement was achieved that the project should be carried out on condition that the original building's form and style were preserved, while the contrast between the old and extension parts would still be properly expressed (Shao *et al.*, 2004). In April 2003, the museum commissioned BIAD, the China Architecture Design & Research Group (CAG), the China Academy of Building Research (CABR) and Tsinghua University to develop a series of feasibility plans. There further reports again emphasised the relationship between the enlarged building and the Tiananmen Square environment (Shao *et al.*, 2004). On one hand, the renovation project should respect the existing building's height, silhouette and spatial layout around the square. On the other hand, new architectural elements should add to the stirring atmosphere of the place. Also, through enlarging the volume of the museum building to balance with the Great Hall, the symmetry of Tiananmen Square would be intensified. A panel of experts was set up to examine these plans. An agreement was reached by the panel that the original building style as well as the square layout should be preserved. The new image should be a combination and inheritance of Chinese tradition and modern cultures. The extension project should not be merely an enlargement of the floor area but a re-organisation of the space and its circulation (Shao *et al.*, 2004). On April 2004, BIAD, who designed the original building, was appointed by the National Museum to carry out research into increasing the height of the museum building. Their report pointed out that the most practical way was to add a ceiling or roof on top of the two courtyards to transform outdoor space into indoor space. This
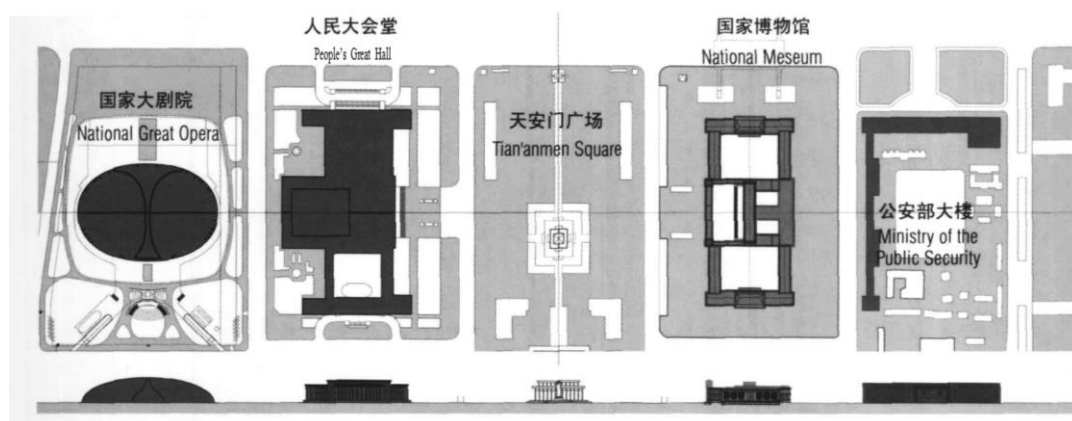
Fig. 8- 8 Spatial relationship around Tiananmen Square

Source: (Ni, 2006)

approach had been widely adopted in many other foreign renovation projects such as at the Louvre and the British Museum. The report was submitted to the Ministry of Construction and the National Development and Reform Committee (NDRC) then approved by the State Council.
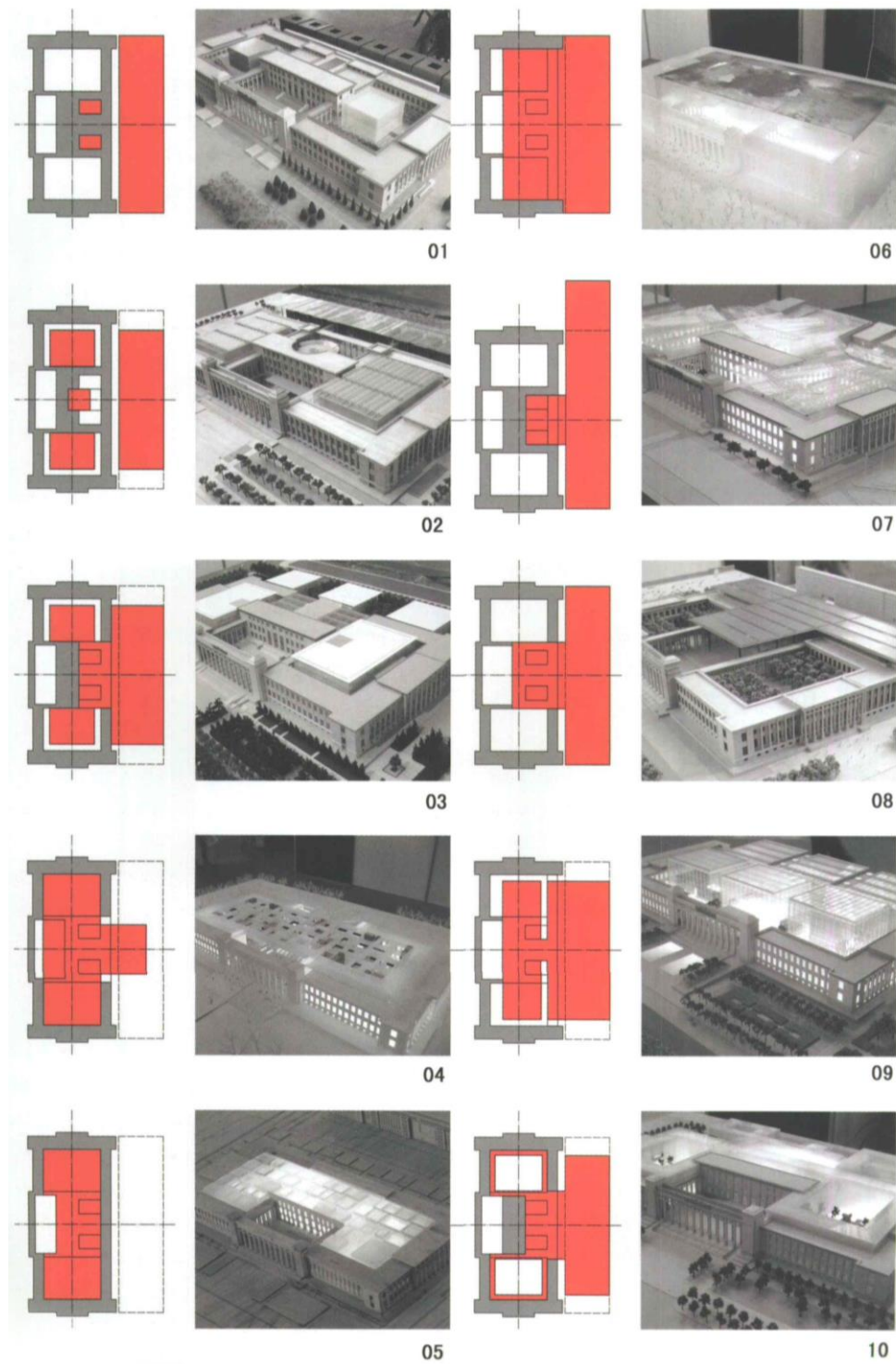
Fig. 8- 9 Ten proposed expansion solutions and models

Source: (Ni, 2006)

All the above feasibility studies and experimental schemes laid a substantive framework for the next step of developing an implementation plan. With this framework, National Museum began to call for renovation proposals by holding an international competition. This attracted participation from 55 architectural firms (Shao *et al.*, 2004). After a preliminary review, ten schemes were shortlisted, including those of famous design groups such as Foster & Partners, Herzog & de Meuron, Kohn Peddersen Fox (KPF), the Cox Group, RTKL, OMA, and von Gerkan, Marg and Partners (gmp). According to the feasibility study report of 2003, the reconstruction phase was to respect the height, shape and spatial organisation of the other buildings around the Tiananmen Square (see Fig. 8-8), but the interior space should be re-arranged. Under this requirement, the ten competitors produced their solutions through different approaches (see Fig. 8-9). The OMA scheme kept most of the old building untouched. The outdoor area of east extension was also kept in its original state, so that all ancient trees could be protected. Foster and Partners planned to use a huge, high-tech shed to meet functional requirements such as lighting and ventilation. Foster's design also concerned the balance between high technology and art and used typical features of the old building to recall people's memory. The scheme provided by Herzog & de Meuron followed their tradition of focusing on a building's skin. The building was treated as a work of art with a magnificent interior space. But the lack of expression of Chinese culture and a poor connection with the original building did not interest the proprietor. In gmp's scheme, the exhibition area was built above the old courtyards. After establishment, this would be the biggest exhibition hall in the world. It might have been this tremendous space that impressed the proprietor and the competition panel. In June, four proposals entered the next round of competition. On 15 August, 2004, it was confirmed that the first prize was won by gmp in association with CABR (Wang and Chen, 2010). A careful study of the gmp design regarded it as a development in deference to context (Elsea, 2006). It preserved the building's west façade, which faced Tiananmen Square. The bulk of the northern and southern wings, which possessed the typical Socialist Realism features of 1950s Chinese public buildings, were also retained (see Fig. 8-10). But the spaces in the two wings were to undergo elaborate refurbishment. The old entrance hall, the former core of the building behind the double colonnade, was replaced with a large public space crowned by a wide-span cantilevered roof, covered by brass plates (Schütz, 2011). As in traditional Chinese buildings, the boundary of the public hall was defined by stairs, ramps, and subsidiary rooms. The hall

played the role of a new circulation hub. From here, visitors could reach different exhibition spaces on different levels as well as the west and north museum entrances. The roof was to become a new iconic image of the museum complex (see Fig. 8-11, 8-12). It offered not only an all-weather shelter for the public but also made the museum hall an interior plaza (see Fig. 8-13), an extension of Tiananmen Square (Elsea, 2006). Under the wide-span hall roof, exhibition spaces were punctured by an intricate series of rectangular openings, which it was claimed evoked the hutong patterns of old Beijing (Elsea, 2006). The height of the eaves was raised to 34.5 m achieve balance with the nearby People's Great Hall (Urban Environment Design, 2005).

In October 2004, gmp and CABR were officially commissioned to undertake the project. The renovation and extension project then moved into its next stage of modification. The project was positioned in terms of a national cultural facility and iconic architectural programme. Also, its adjacency to Tiananmen Square endowed the building with enormous social influence. Therefore, after gmp and CABR were awarded the project, several major changes were made to the bid scheme (Wang and Chen, 2010). Based on the opinions given by experts of the China International Engineering Consulting Corporation (CIECC), on July 1st, 2006, three schemes were submitted to the Ministry of Culture and NDRC for further discussion. These three new comparable proposals (see Fig. 8-14) with the respective gross floor area of 290,000 m², 250,000 m², and 220,000 m² were displayed in an exhibition about the architectural design of the museum (National Museum of China, 2012a):
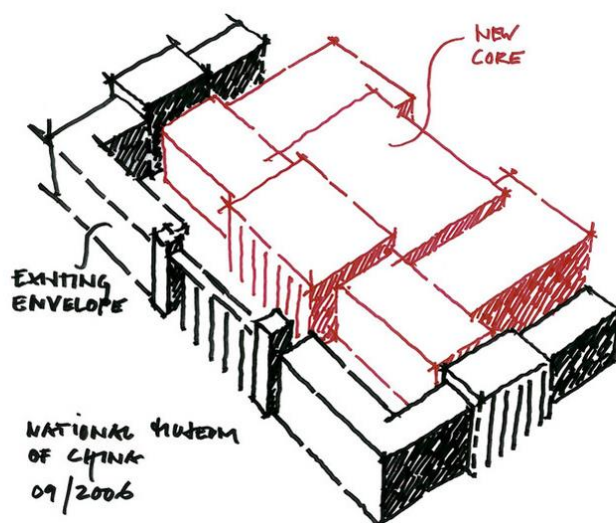
Fig. 8- 10 Design sketches, gmp

Source: gmp projects

Fig. 8- 11 Relationship of gmp's design with other buildings around Tiananmen Square

Redrawn upon gmp's projects

Fig. 8- 12 Raised roof in gmp's design

Source: author's collection

Scheme 1: Double-courtyard. Two courtyards were set up to the south and north of the central hall as an echo to the original building layout. The north side of the building is extended towards east to the same length as the north side of the Great Hall of the People, which is symmetrically on the other side of the Tiananmen Square. In the competition scheme, the area of the entrance hall is 24,000 m², while in scheme 1, it is reduced to only 8,005 m². This new central hall still stands in the middle of the east part of the building, as it was in the old building.

Scheme 2: Overlapping-Style. In the new entrance hall, wide 'overlapping-style' staircases stand to the north and the east of the entrance hall, leading in an orderly manner to the exhibition halls on each floor. The length of the building is also extended eastwards as in proposal 1. The area of the entrance hall in this proposal is 15,000 m².

Scheme 3: Quadruple-courtyard. There are each two courtyards in the south and north parts of the building to divide exhibition areas and activity spaces. All exhibition halls and other spaces are arranged around four courtyards. The building height was increased to 34.8 m, which is as tall as the nearby building of the Ministry of Public Security to the east. The central hall area was reduced to 9,000 m².

From 10 to 12 May 2006, these three schemes were examined and discussed in the panel authorised by CIECC and NDFC. Scheme 1, the 'Double-courtyard' was approved by most panellists. The panel reasserted that the west, south and north sides of the old building should be maintained and the new building extended eastwards. Afterwards, two optimised proposals were developed from the 'Double-Courtyard' scheme:

Fig. 8- 13 Hall of the main entrance (left) facing to Tiananmen Square

Source: author's collection

Refined scheme 1 was known as the 'New Double-courtyard Proposal'. The central method was to take apart and readjust all the components of the old building. It meant that the whole building would be dismantled and rebuilt according to the original
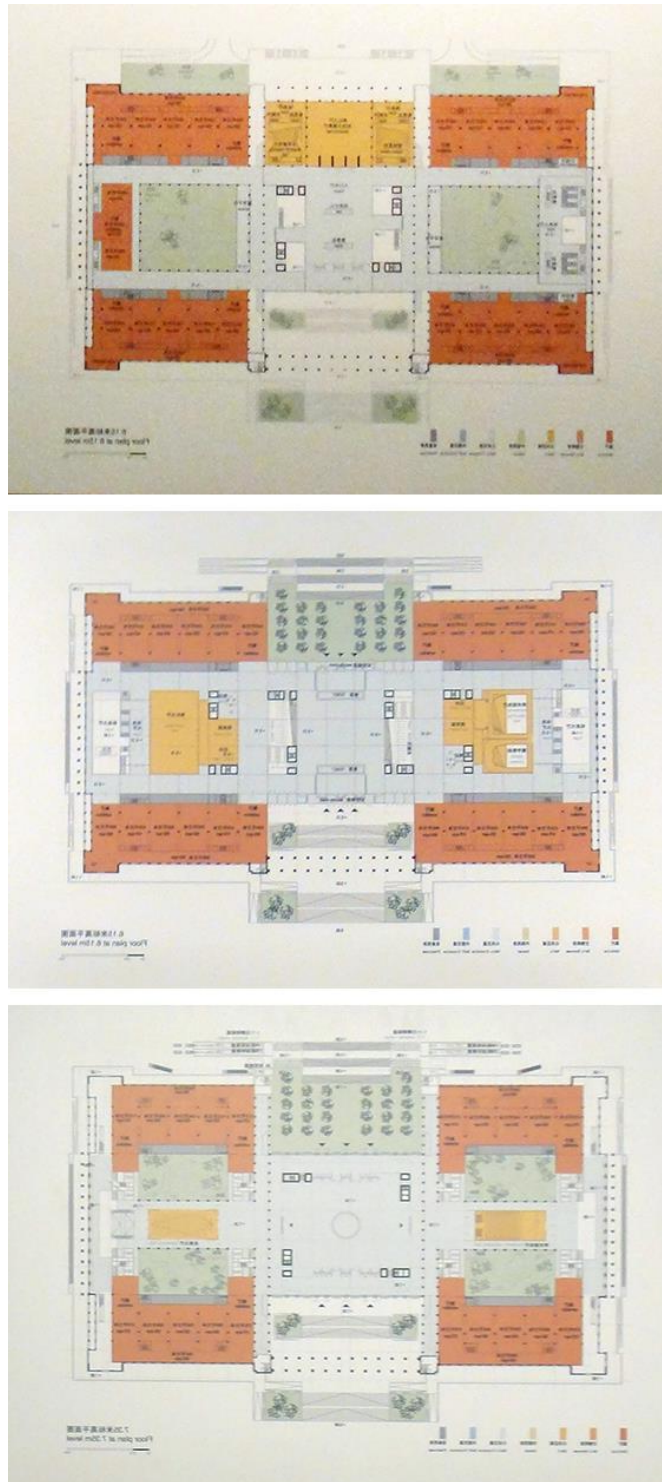
Fig. 8- 14 Ground floor plans of three comparable proposals (from top to bottom: Double-courtyard, Overlapping-style, Quadruple-courtyard)

Source: author's collection taken on *Exhibition: The road of rejuvenation* (National Museum of China, 2012a)

architectural style, so the functional use of the museum could be improved and enhanced fundamentally. Two courtyards would be placed to the south and north of the central hall as a reminder of the original layout of the old building. The new building was to be 31.2m high – slightly lower than in former 'Double-Courtyard Proposal'. It would share the same height as the two wings of the north side of the Great Hall of the People. The new museum building would be 177 metres long from west to east, which was as long as the north elevation of the Great Hall. All these changes balanced the Tiananmen Square space flanked by these two buildings.

Refined scheme 2 was known as 'Retaining Three Sides' Proposal'. It preserved and reinforced all three façades to the west, south and north. The eastern and middle parts of the old buildings were to be dismantled. The extension construction would use the spaces of these two parts and the original two outdoor yards. A certain distance would be kept between the new construction and the old building. A north-south axial gallery corridor would play the role of connecting the old to the new buildings. New outdoor courtyards used for resting and ventilation were added using the space between the new and old buildings.

In July 2006, CIECC organised another meeting, discussing and comparing the two optimised proposal. The one which maintained three sides of the building was chosen and following this the 'Retaining Three Sides' proposal was optimised to be the final implementation plan (see Fig. 8-15).

While gmp was modifying their schemes, the renovation project was started with the dismantling of parts of the old buildings. On 17 March 2007, a ground-breaking ceremony was performed to declare the official start of the Renovation and Extension Project of the National Museum of China. In July 2007, the panel assessed the above two schemes. The second scheme, which preserved three façades, received full affirmation from the panel. From this proposal, an implementation plan was developed. In the same month, the proposal plan and project budget were approved by NDRC. The refurbishment of old building's façade was completed in the end of July 2008, just before the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. On 1 March 2011, the completion ceremony for this renovation and extension project was held in the new public hall. On 1 March 2012, the opening ceremony was hold for the new National Museum of China.
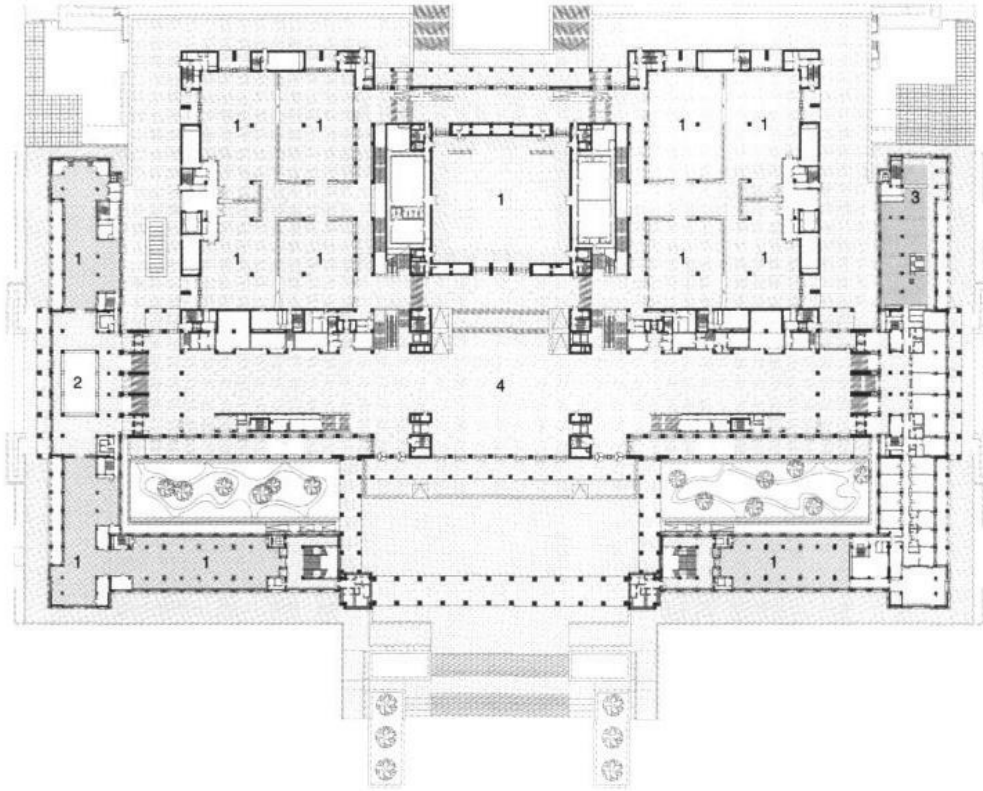
Fig. 8- 15 Ground floor of the 2006 proposal, developed from the 'Overlapping-style' proposal

Source: (Schütz, 2011)

The overall floor area of the new National Museum of China is 191,900 m², including 115,131 m² of new over-ground area and 35, 452 m² of old building area (Wang and Chen, 2010). This makes it the largest museum in the world. There was no basement in the old museum, whereas the new museum had five floors above ground and two floors underground. The northern, southern, and western colonnades of the old building were all preserved during the renovation project. From the west colonnade, which connected the northern and southern parts, newly constructed parts of the museum were to extend to the east. The 'floating' roof, decorated with brass plates, covered the giant central area and integrated the old and new buildings (Schütz, 2011). The major entrance was under the preserved original west double colonnades, through which visitors would reach the new entrance hall. The hall area was dramatically reduced to 8,840 m², compare to 240,000 m² in gmp's competition-winning work. Multiple functions were assembled in this hall, such as foyer, lounge, bookstore, café and souvenir shop. Another two entrances were set up in the north and east for different groups of people such as other visitors, museum staff and academics. From the north

entrance along the old north-south axis, a 260-metre-long gallery space worked as the major communication corridor connecting different part of the museum. In the middle of the corridor gallery was the major entrance hall. To the north and south of the west entrance were two symmetrical courtyards, which would be reminders of the original museum layout while providing natural light to the gallery corridor. The ground floor was mainly occupied by public spaces and multi-purpose rooms. Most exhibition halls were arranged on the first, second and fourth floor. There were 48 exhibition halls in total, with the area of approximately 60,000 m². In the first-floor basement, below the entrance hall, was a museum theatre which could be used for academic forums, concerts and multiple-purpose lectures. Other spaces in the first and second underground floors contained workplaces, storage rooms and parking areas.

On 9 July 2012, a commemorative conference for the centenary of the National Museum was hold in the museum's theatre.

8.3   ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

8.3.1   *The old museum building*

The architectural merits of the national museum building complex of the 1950s are actually general characteristics in most construction projects of the time, among which the 'Ten Great Buildings' are the most outstanding (Zou, 2002). It is said that Chinese architects in the fifties designed the best buildings in Chinese modern architectural history (Rowe and Kuan, 2004). These buildings are usually praised for their fast construction speed, considering the limited resources and technology in this special historical period (Li, 1984). From 1958 to 1959, the ten projects, many of which were large-scale public buildings, were completed in less than 12 months, with an overall floor area of about 673,000 square metres (Zhu, 2008). On 25 September 1959, an Editorial was published in the *People's Daily*, with high praise for these buildings as 'a great pioneering undertaking in China's architectural history'. After only nine months, the museum complex was completed at the end of July 1959. As design and construction progressed at astonishing speed, the exhibition design was also carried on with strong support and collaborations from various backgrounds. For example, in eight months of design, 412 professionals in CCP history and art and design had been on loan from their working units, including universities, institutes and museums across the country, to the preparation team for the building design and exhibition display of the revolution museum (Shen, 2005). The exhibition principles of the history museum were

devised in July 1959. The preview exhibition on general Chinese history in October covered the time range from the first ape man in China of half a million years ago to the late feudal society around 1840. The overall exhibition area of this preview was over 8,000 square metres with more than 9,000 items in the form of relics, models, illustrations, diagrams and so on (Shen, 2005).

The multiple architectural styles in the 'Ten Great Buildings' demonstrate a special historic period in China to find a suitable way of architectural development (see Fig. 8-4) (Zou, 2002; Li, 2009; Liu, 2010a). For example, Diaoyutai State Guesthouse placed modern multi-storey buildings within Chinese gardens. Beijing Railway Station explored the combination of national style and modern techniques. It was the first time in China that a hyperbolical prestressed concrete shell was adapted as the ceiling in the central hall and waiting hall of a station. In the meantime, the station clock towers chose the Chinese traditional form of the watchtower. The Military Museum of the Chinese People's Revolution reflected the influence of Soviet architecture. A great central tower was topped with a red star, showing a strong sense of communist/socialist revolution. The symbol of the red star was repeated continuously in its interior decoration. The characteristic of multiple architectural styles was an inevitable outcome of the time. On the one hand, all designs of this period were carried out through collective creation. This kind of collaboration was quite another thing to present teamwork. Individual influence was extremely limited. As a result, it is hard to find any individual being identified as the chief architect of a project. In the most important public projects in 1950s, architectural design was usually an activity carried out by lots of people rather than by particularly famous architects. The working pattern of collectivism was considered as important as the aim of the projects, which was to reconstruct national pride (Zhang, 2005; Zhao and Zhao, 2009). Though in some biographical works, Zhang Kaiji was described as the chief architect of the history and revolutionary museum building, the project was mostly described as a production of the collective for the nation (Zhao and Zhao, 2009). Even Zhang himself emphasised that he was only an individual among the numerous people who were assigned this important task (Yu, 2003). In other records, the original design of the museum came from a design competition in 1958. A proposal designed by some teachers and students from the School of Architecture, Tsinghua University won this competition. Then their design was optimised and developed by many more into the implemented scheme. On the other hand, building designs in the 1950s were greatly affected by the personal values of the project leader, who usually

had an important position in government. The creative approach to the 'Ten Great Buildings' was oriented by a comment made by Zhou Enlai, the State Prime Minister. Zhou said: 'All essence at all times and in all the world could be used in architectural design' (Zhu, 2008). Particularly, the comment stimulated the use of modern styles in the 1950s.

In 1956, *Architectural Journal*, the most influential academic journal about architectural design and theories in China, published an article titled 'We need modern architecture'. In the next year, the journal began to introduce the works of modern architects such as Ludwig Mies van de Rohe and Walter Gropius. Introducing foreign architects was rarely done in China in the fifties, considering the communist political environment of the time. The praise of modern architecture in architectural journals brought about severe controversies about the future of China's architecture at the time (Tan and Liu, 2006). The debate started from the aesthetical differentiation between modern and traditional, western and Chinese. Soon it turned to the ideology of national culture. Modern architecture, particularly the international style and structuralism, was accused of being non-socialist and closely linked to 'western capitalism' (Tan and Liu, 2006). To construct a socialist architectural form against this capitalism, some architects tried to introduce the aesthetics of traditional architecture in the form of new national style, leading to a renaissance of traditional styles and details in the 1950s. Meanwhile, there were others who insisted that modern architecture was the only way to solve the problems of building construction in an early socialist society. At the time, the whole country was extremely poor and lacking in all kinds of materials. The result of this austerity was that most buildings in China followed principles of functionalism, which is one of the essentials of modernism. Furthermore, under the support of some national figures such as Zhou Enlai, Chinese architects in the fifties were called to pay more attention to function, technology and economic efficiency, which distanced their designs from revivalism (Wang, 2004). Under the influence of political and architectural ideology, the 'Ten Great Buildings', the most outstanding buildings of the fifties, represented different styles, including eclecticism, internationalism, revivalism and new national style (see Fig. 8-4). Characteristics such as pragmatism and complicated feelings about the western and traditional styles in Chinese architecture emerged in this period and have been strengthened all the time (Tan and Liu, 2006).

Of course there were also some serious defects in the architectural design in the building complex of the History and Revolution Museum (He and Wen, 2012). For

example, to balance the museum building with Great Hall of the People on the opposite side of Tiananmen Square, the exhibition rooms were arranged around giant inner courtyards. It causes an extreme long walking route for the visitor. Also, in order to make sure that the two buildings' elevations along the main north street were similar, large windows were opened on the outer walls. This made it almost impossible to display collections with special lighting and environmental requirements. Nevertheless, the complex of the Chinese history and revolution museum, as an important component of 'Ten Great Buildings' of 1950s Beijing, were able to embody the productivity and social-artistic concepts of the time. This makes it a typical building of China's modern architecture, and an object of China's modern architectural heritage.

8.3.2 *The enlargement and redevelopment project*

Some characteristics of the old museum building were retained in the reconstruction and enlargement project, and the project also had its own architectural achievements. Firstly, the project made several breakthroughs in terms of technique and engineering. As introduced above in the history section, the early proposal made by gmp featured the biggest exhibition hall in the world. Although the hall was greatly reduced in the implementation plan, in the completed project the visual expression of the hall was still astonishing, giving visitors the sense of an interior plaza (Tang, 2011). A basement floor was added under the old building to accommodate the new mechanical and electrical equipment required by an advanced modern museum. The jointing project between the old building and new construction successfully worked out the problems of deformation and waterproofing in the building's foundations, floors and eaves (Du, 2012). Secondly, the new museum building was attuned harmoniously to the external look of the old building, while the old and new parts could still represent respective characteristics (He and Wen, 2012). The echeloned roof typologies of the buildings in Tiananmen Square and the Forbidden City were echoed in the new building, through differentiated in detail and material. In the same way, the colonnades and window style typical of the existing building were translated into a contemporary formal idiom. Furthermore, the new building respected traditional Chinese architecture in its details (Ni, 2006). Using the Chinese temple and palace as reference points, the slender columns that surround the new building were connected by cross beams in a form that imitated dougong, a traditional structural bracket system (Schütz, 2011). The brass roof was considered as a representation of the golden roofs in the Forbidden

Palace to the north of the museum (Elsea, 2006; Schütz, 2011). The hollowed-out copper entrance door reminded people about the Chinese window lattice on the one hand, and on the other referred to the decorative patterns on a valuable bronze relic collected in the museum (Schütz, 2011). Patterns from the museum collections could be observed in other components, like guardrails. The interior design of new museum building also considered the traditional Chinese building pattern - stone pedestal, wooden middle piece, and magnificent roof. In the entrance hall, the floor was made of domestic granite; the walls of the corridor gallery had a wood covering; and the pattern of caisson ceiling was applied in the entrance hall as well as the corridor gallery (Schütz, 2011).

The enlargement project is also a record of the development of contemporary architecture in China. The economic boost since the 1990s has enhanced the determination of Chinese people to seek wealth. Chinese architecture has also entered a new era of commercialisation and diversification (Lai, 2008). The dominant relationship of the state upon architecture has been quickly restructured into a more interactive mode where the state plays an administrative role to utilize architecture for the development of the nation. For example, new policies for the construction market and building regulations present both advantages and disadvantages to architecture in China. On the one hand, freer and more open architectural design enriches the contemporary architectural culture in China. On the other hand, architectural styles sometimes become overabundant with exceedingly bold architectural experiments carried out all over the country with limited control. Chinese architects have more opportunities to access modern architecture in the West, which is greatly referenced in their designs. Unfortunately, for a long time these have been superficially imitative. The expressionist architecture in the 1990s has been criticised as notoriously cultureless (Qin, 2004). Underlying this disorder in architecture was an undetermined direction of cultural development on the part of the government. It was not until the new millennium that people began to rethink Chinese culture and architecture. The NMC reconstruction and enlargement project has been the result of new understandings of this relationship. The role of the government in confirming new Chinese culture, and its reflections in architecture will be discussed in the next two subsections.

8.4 POLITICAL MISSIONS

On 8 July 2012, Hu Jintao, then President of the State, sent a congratulatory letter for the centennial of the NMC. In the letter, he instructed that the national museum should 'adhere to the path of socialist cultural development with Chinese characteristics. […] to work better as the window to show the Chinese culture, as the training base to cultivate national spirit, and as the demonstration pilot project of scientific development of cultural exhibition.'(Hu, 2012) Here the national museum was given an important mission in the enriching of socialist culture. In fact, the strong impact of political orientation has always been the leading cause of development and change of the museum, as well as in the other 'Ten Great Buildings'.

The construction of 'Ten Great Buildings' was the result of a particular political context of the late 1950s. In 1958, the 'Great Leap Forward' sprang up inside the country, during which time human resources were unrealistically transferred into industry (Liu, 2010a). In the same time, Sino-Soviet relations suddenly broke down. All Soviet experts, who had come to China in large numbers to support military and industrial development, were withdrawn by the Soviet Union (SU). The defeated Kuomintang powers, including other domestic counter-revolutionary forces, were still trying to overthrow the communist regime. Internationally, newly established China was under attack and disparagement. In such circumstances, the CCP Central Committee made a decision at an enlarged conference in August 1958, that a series of key construction projects should be completed before the 10th anniversary of National Day (Li, 2009). The successful construction of the 'Ten Great Buildings' and other large projects, at high speed and using only domestic manpower and techniques, was regarded as the most powerful riposte to all hostility from inside and outside the country. This intention to demonstrate the superiority of the social system and the uniqueness of Chinese culture has always been an obvious characteristic of the (re)organisation, (re)construction, management, and operation of the NMC.

The setup of the Revolutionary Museum of China, another predecessor of NMC (alongside the old National Museum rooted in the 1910s) is a direct result of political considerations of the background of the 1950s. Preparation of the revolutionary museum started with collecting items related to important communist members or communist movements (Xie, 1996). For example, the first collection included the gallows which killed Li Dazhao, one of the early founders of CCP. When the number of items in the collections increased, a proposal of an exhibition for the 30th anniversary of

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the Party was submitted to Ministry of Culture in 1951. The proposal was discussed and approved by leaders, experts and scholars from several departments of the CCP Central Committee, the Marxist-Leninist College and Ministry of Culture. On 1 July 1951, the exhibition opened on time as an internal learning activity of CCP.

The re-organised national museum combining the Revolution and History museums was put under the administration of Ministry of Culture on 28 February 2003 (Pan, 2004). At the opening ceremony of the re-organised museum, Sun Jiazheng, then Minister of Culture, put forward four principles in his speech, which later became the general management guidelines of the NMC (He, 2012). The four principles are further summarised as the four essentials that the museum and collections should express: the status of a great country, China's long history and splendid civilisation, prosperous socialist modernisation, and the increasing cultural demand of the broad mass of the people (He, 2012). Upon these four principles, in 2006, four key aspects were further developed to refine the management guidelines covering museum talent, collections, business operations and academic research (Lü, 2012).

The new NMC was concerned with equal attention to history, art, and academic research, and future developments can be compared to the old management philosophy of the History and Revolutionary Museum that only displayed historical information. But fulfilling the political mission has always been the most important factor in both organisation and construction, as was reviewed in the history section. On 1 March 2012, a long-term exhibition named 'The Road of Rejuvenation' opened in the National Museum of China (National Museum of China). It reviewed the modern history of China since the Opium War of 1840, including the 1911 Revolution – the new-democratic revolution – up to the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics. The outline of the display was discussed and decided by political leaders, scholars and experts from Party organizations such as the Office of the Party's History, the Propaganda Department, the Documentation Office, and General Office of the CCP Central Committee (Lü, 2012). The exhibition displays how Chinese people had sought national rejuvenation, particularly under the leadership of CCP. It aimed to demonstrate the correctness of choosing CCP, socialism and Marxism, as well as the reform and opening-up policy. It was thus revealed that the NMC had been recognised by the Chinese government as a strong platform for the output of their political and ideological values (Dong, 2011).

8.5   MUSEUMS AND CHINESE CULTURAL IDENTITIES

8.5.1   *Modern public museums and cultural modernisation in China*

It is important to remember that, in the first instance, NMC is a typical modern public museum. As a necessary institution of art and culture in modern society, its practical significance is primarily decided by the functions of the general modern public museum, especially through different forms of educational activities. Considering the strong political factors in the organisation, management and construction of NMC, an educational function has played a particularly important role in cultural policy in China. In this sense, the development history of NMC and its reconstruction project well reflect how the cultural identities in China have been deliberately evolving over the past century.

Museums, as a changing concept, have a long history of development and display a wide variety according to their collections and functions (Alexander, 1979). As more and more museums transformed from showing private collections to providing public service in the 17th century, public museums quickly became the platform for the public to acknowledge and get involved with the construction of particular national or collective cultures. The deepened public knowledge about history and culture then brought about transformations in social concepts. Many modern social concepts such as democracy, legislation and human rights arose in the period. Seen from perspectives of sociology, cultural anthropology and psychology, changes in attitudes to history, values and lifestyle constitute the process of modernisation of all human societies (Luo, 2004). In the West, the history of modernisation is a relatively long process whereby humans extend control over natural and social environments (Black, 1976). In developing countries like China, modernisation is usually not a natural social evolution but a planned short period with clear targets (Luo, 2004). In the modern history of China, learning and adapting advanced technology and ideology from modernised countries has been considered as the most efficient approach. As with the contribution of railway factories to the industrial modernisation, public museums also played an important role in cultural modernisation in China.

In ancient China, most activities of collecting were carried out by individuals, usually nobles, out of a sentiment of respecting tradition. In the late 19th century, under the influence of the Westernisation Movement, the Qing Government began to send researchers to Europe to investigate advanced cultural technologies, which included public museums. Concepts of modern museums were brought back with understandings

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about their functions in managing national culture. The first exhibition space in a modern sense is generally acknowledged to be Nantong Museum, which was established in 1905 by Zhang Jian, a famous industrialist, entrepreneur, politician and educator (Tang, 2016). This first museum was intended to impart knowledge about nature, history, art and education through displaying all kinds of relics and specimens in a building with both Chinese and Western styles. The National History Museum, the predecessor of NMC, achieved various developments in the 1920s and 1930s. The museum in its modern form attracted great interest among the public (Wang, 2012). In the first month after the museum was re-opened with the name of the National History Museum, in October 1926, the average number of daily visitors reached 6404. New techniques like films and slide shows were introduced for exhibition and propaganda, although without special sections for publicity and social education, most of the work of introducing and explaining had to be done by staff and curators, and this special service was only provided to important visitors.

Before the establishment of the PRC, public museums in China had been growing very slowly in both museum numbers and educational function because of weak national power and social unrest (Chen, 2009). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that this function of cultivation and education has always been treated as the main orientation in the development and management of public museums in China until the present day. The role of the National Museum as a social educational institution had not been officially confirmed until 1951. In May 1951, the Department of Public Works was established, dedicated to publicity, external services and report organisation. The staff number of museum guide and customer service in the department increased from five in 1951 to thirteen in 1956 (Wang, 2012). From 1959 to 1966, after the new museum building was completed, the department kept expanding. Several branch sections were set up, responsible for special visiting groups such as workers, students of different stages and foreign guests (Wang, 2012). More groups of professional and volunteers were trained to guide the visitors. Particularly, Marxism was an important part of the training course, considering the political mission the museum had been given. In addition to explaining the exhibits, there were other forms of public education in NMC's work, such as keynote speeches, circulating exhibitions and other external services. For example, in 1951 a professor from the Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Science, was invited to give a keynote corporate speech to coincide with the exhibition of the excavation of Yin Xu, one of the ancient and major historical

capitals of China (Wang, 2012). In the National Museum, not only were the collections displayed and introduced with propaganda of glorious culture in a country with thousands years of history, but the building and built environment also became part of the collections, demonstrate its contemporary identity (Tang, 2016) in dramatic ways such as the red flags on top of the front door and the giant colonnade with Chinese flowering.

On the 17th CCP National Congress held in 2007, developing cultural undertakings and industry was announced to be one of the Party's primary tasks. A public cultural service system and people's cultural rights were particularly emphasised in the report of the congress (Dong, 2011). In the field of museums, on one hand, innovative ways needed to be explored to reinforce its function in public education. On the other hand, museum operation faced a challenge in transforming from a traditional public welfare institution to a new education-service organisation that could balance social and economic benefits (Dong, 2011). To reinforce the function of public education, museums such as the NMC were to focus first on strengthening team building for education, particularly in the aspect of professionalization (Li, 2012a). In addition, the museum would begin to rethink its relationship with society and the city. It was to be given more responsibility in leading urban culture, shaping values, creating harmonious life and continuing civilisation (Shan, 2011). In January 2008, a notification was jointly announced by the Propaganda Department, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Culture and State Administration of Cultural Heritage. It indicated three key points for museums' institutional reform and management innovation: to guarantee financial support for cultural and welfare institutions; to increase museum income through providing cultural value-added services; and to create a museum brand in service content and means (Dong, 2011). In January 2008, the department of social education and publicity of the NMC launched a project of 'Popularisation and Sharing of Chinese Civilization', to construct a new propaganda and service system (Dong, 2011). The project took the public as the main audience. It included a series of themed exhibition, intangible heritage displays, forums and lectures, interactive experiences, and creative activity. Modern science and technology such as multimedia and digital transmission was to be employed to present the rich cultural resources of the NMC to the public. The education function of the National Museum of China was not only to spread knowledge, but to satisfy the public's spiritual demands and to improve the cultural and ethical qualities of the whole nation.

8.5.2 *To build a new Chinese culture*

How to modernise tradition seems an eternal question in China's modern architectural history. Earlier, revival of traditional architecture characterised the cultural self-salvage activities of domestic architects. Political slogans during the Westernisation Movement of the late Qing Dynasty, such as 'Western practices based upon Chinese values', had also been proposed in the field of architecture. Many practitioners attempted to adopt this theory and tried to maintain traditional Chinese culture in western building forms. Their superficial understandings resulted in a prevalence of eclectic buildings, of which the old museum building was one of the most famous. In the early 20th century, the first generation of modern architects in China, like Liang Sicheng, had been thinking and exploring the combination and expression of Chinese ancient architecture and Western modern architecture. In the second half of the 20th century, under strong political influence, traditional Chinese architecture had been used as a cultural weapon against architectural cultures from countries with different ideologies. With a certain economic base being laid, and primarily a stronger cultural self-confidence established, new features emerged in understanding and adapting the tradition in contemporary architecture. On the one hand, a wider range of traditional architecture was engaged beyond official building types. For example, folk buildings, such as garden buildings that fit with literary aesthetics, are receiving more and more attention for concepts of spatial mobility similar to those of modern architecture (Lai, 2012). On the other hand, the idea of a renaissance of tradition is no longer solely Chinese. The open and inclusive cultural spirit is increasingly accepted in both government and civil society. It is acknowledged that the renascent Chinese culture should also be international. Not only should traditional culture represent China, but also excellent characteristics of contemporary China should be preserved and displayed to the world.

Of course, the process of accepting new Chinese culture in the field of architecture is not always plain sailing. Since the construction of the National Centre for the Performing Arts (commonly known as the Grand National Theatre) and the China Central Television (CCTV) Headquarters, international competition for national important buildings have been questioned in respect to whether they reflect Chinese culture (Xue, 2008). The Grand National Theatre was designed by French Architect Paul Andreu in 1999. The new building of CCTV Headquarters built in 2004 was the work of Rem Koolhaas' OMA. The projects aroused controversy because, even though

nationally important, they were assigned to foreign architects. Also, critiques concentrated on the relationship between these high-tech buildings and contemporary Chinese architectural culture. Similarly, in 2004, when it was decided that an international competition would be held for the reconstruction and expansion of the NMC, there were many strong objections. The objectors insisted that as one of the most significant public projects of the country, architectural design ought to be carried out by Chinese architects (Shao *et al.*, 2004). They argued at the introduction and evaluation meeting of NMC Reconstruction and Expansion that Chinese architects understood their culture – and the old building – better and had the ability to undertake this project. There was no need to hold an international competition. Indeed, before calling for an international competition, the project owners had asked many domestic architects and architectural researchers for consultation, feasibility research and conceptual design. A lot of useful suggestions were accepted and retained in the implemented proposals. Furthermore, considering the aim of the museum project, which particularly emphasised the cultural power of China in the world, it is understandable that why an international competition would meet fierce opposition, especially from domestic architects with high self-esteem.

But the authorities had different understandings of Chinese culture and longer-term plans for cultural construction. When most domestic architects and researchers only focussed on how to make the new museum building fit with the old one in structure, environment and architectural details, decision-makers cared more about the internationalisation of new Chinese culture. As discussed above in the sections on the museum's political mission and China's cultural modernisation, great changes have taken place in China's cultural policy in the last decade. Chinese culture in the new era should be constructed to match with the country's status as an international power. With the National Museum, as one of the most important cultural platforms to display this new culture to the world, all aspects – including building construction – should express a position of internationally inclusivity. Although the project owners never stated explicitly in their specification that they were looking for a proposal that would become a focus of the world's attention, their values concerning new Chinese culture is implied through their museum's construction plans. The new NMC is above all expected to strengthen the nation's cultural confidence. Lü Zhangshen, the Curator of the NMC, has said that the 'National Museum is the best place to demonstrate the nation's soft power. […] As one of the most advanced national museums in the world, the new national

museum shall help Chinese people retrieve their national dignity.' (Lü, 2012) This dignity is based on self-identity with the spirit of the time as well as with the traditional culture. In addition, comparing to the old revolution and history museum, which was generally a place for educating people, the new NMC is expected to promote cultural exchange between China and foreign countries. All these expectations have been transformed into the reconstruction and enlargement project. The most outstanding part of the new NMC is the giant entrance hall that draws the attention of visitors away from the collections (see Fig. 8-12). Here, an ideal cultural identity of China is declared with overwhelming visual impact, with historical truth being of relatively lesser importance (Tang, 2016). The old ethos embedded in the original building has been retained to promote existing virtues in national culture and social morality (Dong, 2011; Zheng, 2015). In the meantime, a new Chinese culture has been explored in the new NMC, via two major approaches. One is the renaissance of traditional cultures pre-dating modern times (Lai, 2012). The other is the absorption of the most advanced aspects of foreign cultures to maintain the progressiveness of China's national identity in the world (Shao *et al.*, 2004). The reconstruction of NMC has been implemented with a central intention of consolidating these particular ideas about national identity for Chinese people (Lü, 2012).

8.6   SUMMARY

A number of nationally important buildings had been constructed under strong political directives as symbols of national image in the specific political environment in the 1950s in China. As a nationally significant cultural building, the National Museum of China draws on traditional themes to curate national self-confidence and self-identification. But from original construction to recent reconstruction, the political mission of cultural buildings has changed greatly, reflecting changing cultural policies. In the 1950s, buildings like NMC were expected to prove that the new regime was capable of great constructions within the constraints of limited time and resources. Therefore, most of the 'Ten Great Buildings' were assemblages with of huge size, freighted with political symbolism, incorporating traditional details. Moving into the 21st century, new cultural policies in China show that the central government intended to build a new Chinese culture which would be more influential on the international stage. As a result, new cultural buildings have been encouraged to introduce foreign architectural styles whilst reinterpreting traditional architectural forms with different

understandings. This feature of openness to the diversity of global cultures is also reflected in the expansion and reconstruction programme of the NMC. Under strong political direction and thorough reconstruction approaches, the programme is hard to recognise as a conservation project. However, the changing understandings of Chinese identity and Chinese culture in this programme could still help with understanding the developing trend of heritage conservation in China, in which national identity is utilised as a cultural force for a progressive modernisation.

Chapter 9 National identity and heritage

As discussed in Chapter 6, modern historical consciousness and ideas of the nation state were significant contributors towards the widespread adoption of the phenomenon of modernity (Pendlebury, 2009a). Derived from modern concepts of historicity, historic places and buildings have become interpreted as the expression of a particular culture and a reflection of national identity in contemporary conservation (Jokilehto, 1999). In the two previous case studies, the notion of national identity has been demonstrated as a dominant factor in deciding the priorities employed in conservation projects. This chapter acknowledges the basic concepts and characteristics of identity and national identity in heritage. Then, the notion of national identity is linked with modern architectural conservation in both positive and negative ways. It addresses how the case studies explored here, which record changing expressions of national identities in the Royal Festival Hall and National Museum of China, emphasise certain political and cultural characteristics of national identity that have become valued as significant as modern heritage.

9.1 CONCEPTS OF IDENTITY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

As mentioned in the previous chapters about modernity and heritage, the awakening of self-awareness is one of the factors that mark the beginning of modern times. This consciousness has been explored by various philosophers since the Enlightenment such as Hume and Foucault, producing powerful ideas, including the idea of the self as central to identity (Ballantyne, 2005). Painters and poets since the eighteenth century have also helped narrate and depict ideas of identity, particularly national identity (Daniels, 1993). Generally, identity is a cultural and psychological notion about an individual or a collective sense of tradition and culture (Arnold and Ballantyne, 2004). Ideas of identity pertaining to cultural or social artefacts are determined by certain social relations and social practices which are embodying social relations (Jensen, 1987). At the same time, identity is dialectically related to physical entities such as historic places and buildings, which symbolize certain social structures, ideas about levels of civilization and so on (Arnold and Ballantyne, 2004). During acts of constructing a physical architectural artefact, for example, the spatial construction of a certain social relationship, identity is produced and reproduced in socio-cultural processes specific to time and place and from generation to generation (Avrami *et al.*, 2000; Wood, 2004).

Identity is performed in well-ingrained ways in many discourses, including heritage and conservation, and in multiple forms such as group identity, community identity and national identity, of which the latter is perhaps the 'most compelling identity myth in the modern world', as both global condition and explosive force (Smith, 1991). It is hard to pin down a fixed or stable definition of national identity or national heritage, as the concept of the nation has become problematic in recent decades, the notion often being linked with negative meanings of nationalism (Gruffudd, 1995). Some previous studies (Anderson, 1991; Smith, 1991) have argued that national identity consists of certain values which unify diverse individuals through the construction of a common cultural and historic imagination. Here, history is politicised as a source of cultural power (Gruffudd, 1995). In the field of conservation and heritage – inevitably – national identity also reflects and consolidates political ideas. A self-defined group or a nation decides what things are to be preserved and represented to others, allowing a particular understanding to come from a what the political Benedict Anderson calls an 'imagined community'(Gruffudd, 1995).

National identity can take many forms (Daniels, 1993). A. D. Smith (1991) discriminates between, on the one hand, a predominantly genealogical 'ethnic' national identity, a community of descent, and on the other, a predominantly territorial 'civic' national identity, a community, usually a State, of common institutions. But, as he emphasises, any one national identity is always consciously characterised by both historical and geographical heritage. In this notion, the nation is an 'imagined community' rather than a geographic concept (Daniels, 1993; Gruffudd, 1995). But in the meantime, national identity is co-ordinated and defined by visible forms such as landscapes, paintings and works of literature which tell stories of time and space (Daniels, 1993). Exclusivity is often decisive in the process of conceiving national identities (Avrami *et al.*, 2000), as most representative histories and geographies come about through the rejection of others. But, once marginal to the dominant national culture, various interpretations can still be produced from singular but open histories and geographies (Daniels, 1993).

9.2 NATIONAL IDENTITY: SIGNIFICANCE AND CONTROVERSY IN HERITAGE AND CONSERVATION

Generally, identity unifies people's minds and actions through self-acknowledgment but also through controlling emotions and impulses (Ballantyne, 2005). It defines what are expected human behaviours in relation to a place (Wood,

2004). This process is often carried out unconsciously as identity forms a habit, allowing comparable situation to be judged repetitively (Ballantyne, 2005). A sense of identity and connection with others constructs social value, which is a significant approach in assessing cultural heritage (Avrami *et al.*, 2000; Torre, 2002). In this case, a united national identity could help to form a 'steady state', as people would tend to act to preserve rather than destabilise an equilibrium (Ballantyne, 2005). When sea-changes take place in political forms and social structures, rapid re-conception of national identity becomes the driving force of new political and economic alignments (Daniels, 1993).

The concept of identity has influenced individuals, groups and the whole state in modern times in psychological and physical ways, in both of which buildings are significant in representing the ideas of a crowd (Ballantyne, 2005). Elias Canetti (1973) has stated how buildings play a role in forming the identity of the crowd:

> *They are meant to be there for a long time, for a kind of eternity, and should never decrease but remain always as they are. They do not make their way into people's bellies, nor are they always lived in. In their oldest form, each separate stone stands for the man who has contributed it to the heap. Later the size and weight of the individual stone increases and each can only be mastered by a number of men working together. Such monuments may represent different things, but each contains the concentrated effort of innumerable difficult journeys. Sometimes it is a mystery how they were erected at all, and the less they can be explained, and the more distant the origin of the stone, the greater the imagined number of their builders and stronger the impression they make on later generations. They represent the rhythmic exertion of many men, of which nothing remains but indestructible monuments.* (Canetti, 1973)

National identity can sometimes work ironically, especially when considering its political nature. It means that knowledge pertaining to national identity in heritage and conservation is usually selective, encoded, invented and recycled as tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). In practice, as a result, the heritage industry is criticized for drawing 'a screen between ourselves and our true past' which worsens situations of cultural decline (Hewison, 1987). This split between the real and imagined past often leaves national identity challenged by cultural authenticity when interpreting heritage subjects. Indeed, overemphasis of the power of the past in national identity loses the basic sense that heritage speaks to the present, and is of the present (Gruffudd, 1995). Nevertheless, considering that all national pasts are essentially fantasises, and that there is a growing willingness to see the past as constructed as ideological (Gruffudd, 1995), national identity provides an efficient way to read the ideas of national pasts (Wright

and Krauze, 1985) through the practice of heritage and conservation. Thought positively, the weaving together discourses of identity, politics and culture could enable past and present to enrich each other in formations of national identity. As Patrick Wright (1985) states: historical narratives reveal contemporary anxieties, and contemporary desires are fulfilled in the preservation of the past: 'The national past is above all a modern past and […] it is defined not just in relation to the general disappointment of earlier historical expectation, but also and more pointedly around the leading tensions of the contemporary political situation'.

9.3   (RE)CONSTRUCTING NATIONAL IDENTITIES IN RFH AND NMC

Modern buildings, as often key elements in the modern urban form of cities, and as talismans of the recent past, are frequently powerful components in the construction of national identity (Daniels, 1993). Their preservation can, therefore, assume wider symbolic significance (Gruffudd, 1995). Though often assumed to comprise the conservation of buildings which embody notions of national identity that speak across history, heritage is revealed as a potent political aim (Gruffudd, 1995). In other words, to achieve certain political objectives, mythologies of national identity are often deployed as a cultural force in practical projects of heritage such as architectural conservation, through interpreting, reproducing or creating a collective sense of the nation's past and tradition. This temporal and political nature determines that national identity varies between different periods and political backgrounds, as a means of rethinking the relationships among past, present and future (Avrami *et al.*, 2000).

The Royal Festival Hall was firstly constructed out of a crisis of national identity. During the Second World War, Britain's political power had manifested in its particular form of democratic government (Hewison, 1995). But post-war difficulties and problems, both internal and external, in economic, military, political and social life had left British people no longer able to celebrate their national characteristics of endurance and mutual co-operation. In this context, the Festival of Britain was proposed by the government as an attempt both to reassert the British sense of national identity and to modernise it. This national event has been imagined as a symbol of a re-emboldened Britain's emergence from wartime privations (Sharr and Thornton, 2013). The Royal Festival Hall, as the centrepiece of the Festival, was designed, out of what was imagined as a unified modern vision (Sharr and Thornton, 2013), to stimulate the nation's intellect and imagination (Hewison, 1995). The sense of cultural unity,

particularly of a democratic country recovering its confidence, reflected by the Festival Hall, was demonstrated by the contemporaneous Welfare State through a series social benefit policies such as National Health Service (Sharr and Thornton, 2013). In the 1950s, conservative social values were to some extent restored, though with a progressive consensus demanding liberalisation and reform (Hewison, 1995). But this post-war consensus began to break down when Britain's economy declined in the 1970s and 1980s, with the notion of consensus being seen as an obstacle to the progress of new governmental policies. Furthermore, by the 1990s the breakdown of consensus had left the nation with a weakened sense of its own identity, which could be observed in increasingly prominent questions about the psychological authority of the monarch, the emblem that identifies Britain in the world. To solve the widespread dissatisfaction and anxiety caused by this uncertain sense of national identity, the past, and particularly the late 1940s and early 1950s, has been recalled to offer refuge and reassurance, being a symbol of endurance amid extreme difficulties (Hewison, 1995). In other words, for political purposes, the past is consciously used as a repository of values and a way of reaffirming national identity (Pendlebury, 2009a). Therefore it is easy to understand why the restoration of RFH has been closely connected with its original, democratising ethos; as Jude Kelly, artistic director of the rebranded Southbank Centre, said, 'when the Festival Hall reopens, we want it to embody the hopes and dreams of the people who created the site.' (Hanley, 2007a). This is why the commodification of the building, and its surrounding spaces, through the insertion of numerous retail units, and the privatisation of corporate spaces within, has been interpreted as a challenge to the building's initial social democratic ethos, albeit one which provides an element of financial security for the building to prosper. The complexities of the refurbished RFH – both preserving its values and complicating them – can be understood as a reflection of a more complex national idea, or set of competitive national ideas, in Britain.

Britain is not the only country that has been going through crises and changes in national identity. It is actually a global problem of adjustment to a rapidly changing world (Jacques, 1994; Rees-Mogg, 1994). Considering its political expression as a dominant ideology (Merriman, 1991), national identity has long played a strong role in legitimising existing dominant regimes, perhaps most clearly observed in the former communist regimes in the Soviet bloc (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). Though China never openly joined in the communist union led by the Soviet Union, when the Communist Party had just come into power in the 1950s it was in urgent need of a

legislative demonstration of its political and social system (Li, 2009). A series of large-scale public constructions such as Beijing's 'Great Ten Buildings', including the original building of National Museum of China, reflected the tastes and ideas of the time as well as ensuring the maintenance of the newly established social system. A strong sense of socialism and realism was presented as the general image of NMC (under the influence of the SU), although museum space and circulation were arranged in a typical modernist way. In addition, details and decorations were borrowed from traditional Chinese architecture. This integrated and inclusive result was established by the political environment and cultural policies of the time. The new communist regime was still unstable in the 'fifties under the external threat of capitalism as well as internal feudal influences (Liao, 2010). It was understandable to turn to a stronger political and cultural power, in this case, the SU, when seeking political and cultural security. But the Chinese Communist Party in the meantime was keeping an open mind towards advanced qualities from all nations while seeking an independent political culture for China (Chen, 2012b). Mao Zedong (1956) stated in his Party report *On the Ten Major Relations*: 'Our policy is to learn from the strong points of all nations and all countries, learn all that is genuinely good in the political, economic, scientific and technological fields and in literature and art.' Encouraged by this political slogan of learning from other countries, architects with a background of western architectural education were able to take creative approaches to design in the 'fifties (Zhu, 2008). It was expected that constructing grand buildings with comprehensive political and cultural information with limited time and resources could help rebuild the national confidence at a time of being economic poverty and cultural blankness (Schneider, 2012). Ironically, while Britain encountered identity crises during economic decline, China has also been badly in need of reconstructing national identity during the period of rapid economic development since the 1990s. On the one hand, under new economic policies implemented in the late 1970s, previous social morality advocating hard work was badly damaged by money-oriented values (Zheng, 2015). On the other hand, political crises in the socialist camp that broke out in the late 1980s and early 1990s also ripped across China (Zheng, 2015). Besides, the weakening of conceptions of history as international progress that attended the shift from modernism to postmodernism also deconstructed China's ethnic and national self-image, as it did in many other countries (Chen, 1999). To rebuild political trust among the whole of society, since the 17th CCP National Congress, the Party has adjusted its economic and cultural polices to crack

down on economic crimes and above all, to promote virtue in culture and social morality (Dong, 2011; Zheng, 2015). To achieve this political objective, a new Chinese culture has been explored from two major approaches. One is the renaissance of traditional cultures pre-dating modern times (Lai, 2012). The other is to absorb the most advanced aspects of foreign cultures to maintain the progressiveness of national identity in the world (Shao *et al.*, 2004). The reconstruction of NMC has been implemented with a central intention to consolidate these particular ideas about national identity for Chinese people (Lü, 2012).

9.4 SUMMARY

The case studies presented here demonstrate how ideas of national identity embedded in RFH and NMC have emerged through acts of construction, demolition, conservation and reconstruction. They illustrate how national identity has been a significant ideological component of ideas about modern progress in different global contexts, and how it has played a role in politics and the curation of culture. In relation to different political aims, and in the context of different historical backgrounds, these national identities have been interpreted through decisions about what to conserve and what to replace in architectural fabric, according to different meanings which reflect dominant social values about the past, present, and future of certain national ideas.

Case Study III: Use of Heritage Value in Social Housing Policy

Chapter 10 Byker

Chapter 11 Ju'er Hutong

Chapter 12 Social policy and heritage conservation

Chapter 10 Byker

10.1 INTRODUCTION

The Byker Estate is an internationally famous housing project for its achievements in community participation, ecological design, and community maintenance. Until the early 1960s, Byker was a Victorian working-class area in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK, that was made-up of densely built terraces of so-called Tyneside Flats with limited facilities, known throughout the local region for its tight social structure (Abrams, 2003). Along with the massive redevelopment scheme within the city of Newcastle in the 1960s (Pendlebury *et al.*, 2005), the housing in Byker was planned to be replaced by a modern redevelopment project. It was designed by Ralph Erskine, an influential architect in the 20th century, associated with the famous Team 10 group, whose work demonstrated strong concerns for human needs and environmental issues in housing design. The redeveloped Byker quickly became famous for its visionary features in architectural forms, building materials, colours and layout, which made the estate distinctively different from the Brutalist modern housing designs of the time. For example, the most distinctive component of the development is the so-called 'Byker Wall' (see Fig. 10-1), which can be seen from miles away. The design of the Byker redevelopment project has also praised for attaching great importance to building an environment and microclimate according to the needs of neighbourhood

Fig. 10- 1 Tom Collins House, forming the west end of Byker Wall

Source: author's collection

communities. Furthermore, strong emphasis was put on the retention of the community and the participation in the design of the residents (Ralph Erskine's Arkitektkontor and City of Newcastle upon Tyne Director of Housing, 1981). To realise this large project, the redevelopment had been carried out in a 'rolling' way from 1969 to 1983 (English Heritage *et al.*, 2005). All these merits and achievements of architecture, landscape, planning and community involvement had promoted the Byker Estate internationally as a success. However, about 25 years after the completion of the project, Byker was facing problems in both its physical environment and cultural context. The buildings and their environments became dilapidated because of lack of sufficient and continuous maintenance. The decline of traditional industry in the North East of England caused economic problems, including unemployment, for the residents of Byker. Moreover, more than half of the original families moved away over time because of the poor management of the estate; leaving Byker facing the crisis of a high vacancy rate and the loss of its traditional neighbourhood communities. As a result, the area became a victim to various kinds of social problems such as juvenile crime, drugs and vandalism (Abrams, 2003). The name of Byker became associated with a negative image locally. When the new millennium arrived, the city council began to consider demolishing some of the empty and derelict homes. The potential destruction of parts of Byker provoked a backlash from some of the residents, and professionals enthusiastic about the estate's design and its original ethos. A campaign to list the estate was developed in 2000 and a proposal recommended by English Heritage was soon applied to ensure that it could not be demolished (Pendlebury, 2016). In January 2007, the Byker Estate was granted Grade II* listed building status (Pendlebury, 2016). It is hoped that listing Byker will help to improve the physical environment of the estate as well as to support the community in encouraging positive social change. Being listed also means that Byker requires sustainable repair, development and conservation. A series of facelift projects and refurbishment programmes have been implemented in the estate as an integral part of the city's housing scheme, in which the intricate design of Byker helps it to establish a unique local identity whilst leading to difficulty in maintenance and replacement. When conservation institutions and groups analyse Byker for its significance under the traditional headings of architecture, landscape, history and culture (North East Civic Trust, 2005), more and more individuals have been involved in valuing Byker in personal ways. For example, the photographer Sirkka-Liisa Konttinen recorded the changes in Byker and nearby areas since the 1960s using photographs and films. She

treasures the cultural context of the old Byker, prior to redevelopment, and new Byker, from close observation and immersive empathy, by portraying Byker's changing communities which open-up the rich complex of contemporary urban lives (Konttinen, 1983; Konttinen, 2009). The changes also lead to questioning. Researchers of twentieth-century housing and urban planning are also involved in this discussion, by valuing Byker as embodying Erskine's architectural theories of human settlement as an ecological town (Vall, 2013) and reflecting the post-war housing policy in the UK (Pendlebury, 2016). In the meantime, residents of Byker, either from the old or new communities, have their own opinions on the meaning of the place where they live, based upon personal experience and self-identification. Some recognise both old Byker and new Byker as home, whilst others dislike the decayed new Byker (Kain, 2003).

This chapter will develop these attitudes about Byker's value from three main aspects – Erskine's architectural design, Byker's communities, and the social housing history of the post-war UK. The merit of the architectural design of Byker is particularly emphasised in its listing documents and conservation plan. Its particularity and uniqueness are the outstanding products of Erskine's architectural philosophy. Whilst there have been plentiful descriptions in the official listing documents about the value of Byker's unusual external appearance and its humanised environment, this chapter focuses more on Erskine's architectural theories, such as those he developed in relation to ideas about Arctic and ecological towns. In addition, Erskine's working methods in Byker have also been considered as a significant part in the valuing process. The architect and his office tried to involve residents into design process by opening an office in the centre of the estate. He encouraged his employees and even family members to live in Byker to have a better knowledge of the place and gain the trust of the local people. This working method was unique and particularly influential among the architects of his time. Therefore, to interpret Byker's architectural value, one inevitably needs to interpret Erskine's theories about housing and human settlement as well as his architectural philosophy. The second aspect discussed here relates to Byker's community culture. The history of Byker's communities is much longer than that of the new Byker Estate. The area has long been characterised as working-class neighbourhood with close interpersonal relationships. But, the physical changes combining with the social and economic changes led to the transformation of Byker's communities. The replacement of the original residents, as well as subsequent gentrification, brought about different identifications from inside of Byker. Similarly,

controversial discussions exist on how much of Byker's cultural context has been preserved from outside of Byker, such as the authorities, professionals, and other social workers and activists. It is believed that changes in the cultural context have also aggravated the physical decline of the estate. The third aspect of this chapter concerns post-war social housing in the UK as a new field of heritage study. The redevelopment programme of Byker was the product of a historical period when architectural innovation was encouraged to solve the requirement for the mass accommodation of the working class after the Second World War. Whilst listing Byker was mainly the result of considering its architectural aesthetics and typical pattern of working-class community life, its identification as heritage seems to be generating a new way to value Byker as a political legacy, realising the significance and uniqueness of post-war social housing polies in the UK. Further discussions are extended to viewing heritage conservation as an efficient approach in social policy. It has been pointed out that the decline of social housing rather than the modernist design is the basic reason for the physical and social problems in Byker. To value Byker in more diverse ways highlights potencies and challenges in Byker's future regeneration.

10.2   A BRIEF HISTORY OF BYKER

The history of Byker consists of several rises and falls through which it has experienced transformations in both physical form and cultural content. These changes and shifts connect closely with political and economic factors. Byker first emerged as an agricultural suburb depending economically on Newcastle (Johnson, 1975). Due to the two industrial revolutions from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century, Byker quickly transformed into an industrial area and became closely connected with the city of Newcastle in the areas of land and the political system. After the industrial expansion in the nineteenth century, Byker displayed a typical physical and cultural characteristic of a working-class community that we are familiar with today (English Heritage *et al.*, 2005). But, the regional economic and industrial decline in the twentieth century brought about serious physical and social problems. The modernisation-oriented local government decided to implement a redevelopment housing programme in the 1960s. The famous British architect Ralph Erskine was appointed for this task. From the late 1960s to the early 1980s, 12 stages of housing construction were carried out in Byker. The programme was then delayed and abandoned because of the changes in housing policy and the economic situation. The physical and social environment has been

declining since then due to lack of maintenance. The proposal to demolish some parts of Byker triggered the idea of listing Byker. In 2007, the whole of Erskine's Byker was listed as Grade II*. Subsequently, a conservation plan has been implemented. Research on Byker as listed heritage has developed into different aspects, including its architectural significance, cultural value and the legacy of social housing policy.

10.2.1 Byker before redevelopment

When it first appeared in written history in 1198, Byker was one of many small agricultural villages outside the walls of Newcastle (Johnson, 1975). At that time, the economy of these suburbs mostly relied upon the town's population for the sale and consumption of their products. The township of Byker arose from a part of the estate of the local nobility. It lay to the east of Newcastle and was separated from the town by the Ouseburn Valley. The early Byker comprised of several small settlements, where there were only a few separated clusters of buildings, including Byker Hill, Byker village and an area which was later known as Byker Bar (Johnson, 1975). The clusters of buildings were linked to each other and the town by a country road which is now Shields Road. To the south of this early Byker were most agricultural lands and the ecclesiastical lands (Byker Priority Area Team and St. Silas's Parachial Church Council, 1986). This form of suburban township lasted for centuries until the seventeenth century, when industry such as mining began to spread. The colliery and a subsequent shipbuilding industry had a thriving development in the area. When the mine was closed in the eighteenth century, a lot of new industrial projects such as mills and lead factories rushed into the waterside area of Byker (Burns, 1967), given the significance of hydropower in the first industrial revolution. In the eighteenth century, the riverbanks of Byker were swamped by a tremendous influx of industry. The largest shipbuilding dock on the Tyne at the time was established in Byker (Johnson, 1975). Because of the successful industry, the population of Byker grew rapidly. However, most wealth it produced was sent to Newcastle. Byker was still a poor area. The people in Byker were considered to be of low social class living in low-quality housing (Copper, 1968).

Industrialisation brought impressive physical growth to Byker in the nineteenth century. A great number of buildings were built in this period. Byker welcomed its real physical growth in the second half of the nineteenth century, reaching a peak around 1870 (Johnson, 1975). The built-up area in Byker, which was once only concentrated in Byker Bar and Byker Hill, extended from Shields Road southwards. Most of these

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constructions were housing for industrial workers. The design and planning of the housing that took place in Byker was largely indistinguishable from that being developed elsewhere in Newcastle. The new housing was in the form of terraces of red bricks, which is familiar in many old Byker photos. Under the contemporary dwelling regulations and acts, these buildings were constructed to meet modern standards but combined cheap construction, basic designs and small sizes. The built-up area kept extending throughout the early nineteenth century, and by then Byker was no longer isolated from other suburban areas and Newcastle (Johnson, 1975). For example, the Byker Bridge was established in 1878 over the Ouseburn Valley. The bridge and a subsequent city road built in 1882 allowed direct access to the industries in Byker from the centre of Newcastle. Other methods of transport, such as railways and shipping, also connected Byker with the wider world. The industry encouraged artisans from Newcastle to move to live close to their work and the population of Byker increased. With an astonishing physical growth in building construction, the population in Byker grew from less than 7,000 to 48,709 within about 50 years from1851 (Johnson, 1975). Most of the population was working class, whose health and education requirements called for the construction of public buildings such as theatres, schools and hospitals. Other facilities such as washing and bathing also made significant progress in this period. By the time the twentieth century dawned, Byker had become a well-established working and living community (Johnson, 1975). However, growth in the industry and economy of Byker continued for only a few years in the twentieth century. The shipbuilding industry, which was one of the driving forces of local development, became one of the main areas of decline. The over-production in the previous period slowed down the pace of new shipbuilding. Besides, the local shipbuilding industries did not adapt well in time to the changes in materials and techniques. These situations resulted in mass unemployment. The industrial and economic decline led to the loss of the local community, which has suffered poverty ever since.

Fig. 10- 2 Byker area, 1970

Source: (Konttinen, 1983)

With its rise and decline, Byker gradually formed its typical physical fabric (see fig. 1-2) and cultural community. The economic depression in the early part of the twentieth century strengthened and united the people rather than destroying the community (Ralph Erskine's Arkitektkontor and City of Newcastle upon Tyne Director of Housing, 1981). The residents sought work in the adjoining areas and other towns without moving away. This was partly because of the convenient public transport system built in the previous boom years, and partly because of tenacity of the community. This formed community patterns of life in Byker familiar from any working-class areas.

10.2.2 Byker redevelopment

It was not until the 1960s, during the urban renewal of Newcastle, that local authorities began to work towards improving the quality of the sub-standard dwellings (Burns, 1967). The decision was partly driven by ideas of civic improvement and rising living standards, but it was also inspired by ideas about modernisation which were

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prevalent at the time. The post-war authorities in the UK had set up a series of building standards to support modern urban development (Towers, 1995). For example, the Health and Repair Act was drawn up, with which buildings in old Byker could not comply. Slum clearance and new housing construction, much of which was in Brutalist or other modernist styles, was carried out throughout the country. In the 1950s, the pace of urban renewal in Newcastle was slower than in other cities. It was not until the early 1960s that ambitious social planning objects emerged in Newcastle (Burns, 1967). A 20-year social plan for the city was created during the period 1961–1964, aiming to achieve a desirable social structure by creating a balanced population composition among the city's communities. This balance was regarded as being determined by housing need. Urban renewal, including housing and improvement of the environment, was accepted as an efficient way to achieve this object. Under these circumstances, the redevelopment of the Byker Estate was initiated and proposed to serve the urban renewal of Newcastle under the support of new housing policies (Ralph Erskine's Arkitektkontor and City of Newcastle upon Tyne Director of Housing, 1981).

The 1963 Development Plan Review, made with the support of Sir Wilfred Burns, the chief town planning officer in Newcastle, was the first major policy document formulated, under which the Byker redevelopment programme was designated for two stages of slum clearance and redevelopment (Johnson, 1975). In the first stage, from November 1962 to December 1967, all statutory slum dwellings in Byker were due to be cleared according to the document. Then, in the second stage from 1968 to 1981, the remainder of short-term revitalised property was to be cleared. By September 1966, the clearance of the northern section of Byker was almost completed. In the same year, guidelines for the redevelopment of Byker were formulated and quickly approved by the Town Planning Committee on 28 November 1966 (Johnson, 1975). Soon after that, the Planning Department of Newcastle City Council produced a booklet, *Byker Neighbourhood: Guidelines for Development*, which for the first time stated that all houses in Byker should be demolished and replaced (Ralph Erskine's Arkitektkontor and City of Newcastle upon Tyne Director of Housing, 1981). There were six main aspects to the guideline proposals, including primary road structure, pattern of residential development, density and housing mix, shopping facilities, existing buildings to be retained, and clearance and redevelopment programme (Johnson, 1975). This guideline indeed influenced the Byker Estate programme, especially its distinctive architectural form. But, in the first place, Burns' guideline

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embraced all relevant aspects of planning policy. What one also needs to be aware of at this point is that neither the guideline nor the subsequent consulting work showed much concern about the existing local communities in Byker, even though the booklet's title included the word 'neighbourhood' (Johnson, 1975). This is especially ironic considering that the community culture was a significant aspect of Byker's cultural value in all the documents when the estate was listed five decades later.

The 1966 guideline provided a broad framework for the renewal of Byker. However, a detailed design solution was required, especially for the architectural design of the housing. It was a major decision for the city council to select Ralph Erskine as the architect for the redevelopment of Byker. The intention to commission Erskine came out in 1968 (English Heritage *et al.*, 2005). At least three main reasons for this selection have been suggested (Newcastle City Council, 2001). The first reason was the requirement for an innovative design. Erskine, who had done a lot of distinctive environmental and residential work, particularly in Sweden, was just the person for the new Conservative council seeking an imaginative solution to Byker. The second reason was the awareness of the strong community voice of Byker. Though the 1966 guidelines did not pay much attention to the communities' opinions, the council realised later that the implementation required someone who could work with local people under the influence of the architect, bearing in mind that Erskine had strongly demonstrated his concern for residents in his previous works and theories (Ralph Erskine's Arkitektkontor and City of Newcastle upon Tyne Director of Housing, 1981). The third possible reason is that the redevelopment programme in Byker was recognised by the Conservative council to be a competition, in distinction to the previous Labour council who had appointed a famous architect for the design of a building in the city centre (albeit never been constructed) (English Heritage *et al.*, 2005). On 3 April 1969, Ralph Erskine was officially confirmed as architect for the redevelopment of Byker by the Council's Housing Committee. In July 1969, Erskine rented rooms for a project office in the centre of Byker, welcoming all residents to step in to see the architects' working processes. In February 1970, a Report on the Byker Redevelopment Area was handed in by Erskine as a plan of intent (English Heritage *et al.*, 2005). The report included eight plans covering housing density, mix, parking, access, play, landscaping, etc. It was suggested that the redevelopment should be carried out in a 'rolling programme' in approximately 12 building phases (Ralph Erskine's Arkitektkontor and City of Newcastle upon Tyne Director of Housing, 1981). About 250 families would be

rehoused at a time. The first phase of redevelopment was begun with a pilot scheme consisting of 46 dwellings in a courtyard arrangement in the southern part of Byker. The pilot scheme provided a valuable rehearsal for later phases and raised some interesting issues, such as how deeply the residents should be involved in the design process (English Heritage *et al.*, 2005).

Erskine's plan (see Fig. 10-3) was approved by the city council in 1970. For the next ten years, the redevelopment in Byker was carried out step-by-step, overseen by a Byker Officers' Group from the local authorities. The close working relationship between architects, local authorities, consultants and the residents was crucial to the smooth progress of the redevelopment (Ralph Erskine's Arkitektkontor and City of Newcastle upon Tyne Director of Housing, 1981). However, from the early 1980s, industrial decline and the reduction in social housing funding badly delayed the
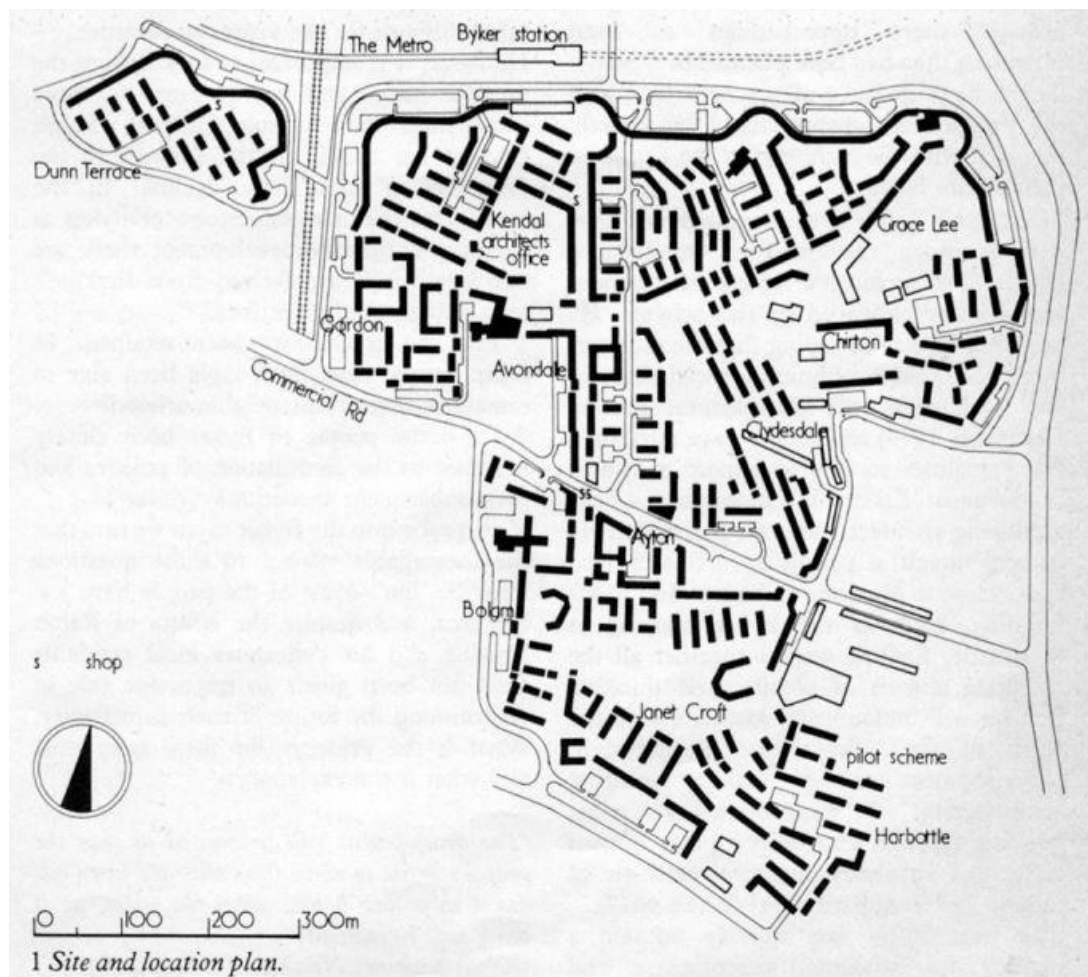
Fig. 10- 3 Byker Estate Site plan

Source: (Malpass, 1979)

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programme. When private developers replaced local authorities in playing the major role in housebuilding, following the 1979 general election in the UK, after the last 12 houses were completed, the delay finally led to the abandonment of the last two phases of redevelopment in 1983 – Clydesdale and Harbottle. All remaining unfinished buildings were demolished (English Heritage *et al.*, 2005).

10.2.3 Byker before and after listing

The redeveloped Byker stood the test of time for only about 20 years when a turning point was reached. It was generally regarded as a great success nationally and internationally when Byker was first constructed (Kain, 2003). When the architects and builders left, Byker experienced a very short time of grace from 1985 to 1990, during which the residents expressed much satisfaction, the neighbourhood was full of touring visitors and local housing officers were proud to show off Byker as a successful political achievement (Abrams, 2003). However, dissatisfaction and complaints about both building and neighbourhood environments quickly increased in the first half of the 1990s (Abrams, 2003). The lack of building maintenance and financial support caused living problems such as broken pipes and high heating bills. The administrative attempt to mix old and new residents broke down the original neighbourhood and generated some social tensions among neighbours. Some parts of the Byker Estate, especially the southern part, encountered problems of vacant houses, vandalism and anti-social behaviour. The deterioration in both building environment and neighbourhood communities finally led to the proposal to demolish Bolam Coyne, made by the local authority in the late 1990s (Pendlebury *et al.*, 2005). This area is located in lower Byker, with a distinctive housing and courtyard design, enclosed by a miniature version of the Byker Wall. There is an unusual mix of units in Bolam Coyne, including single-person flats, maisonettes and large family houses from a single storey to three storeys. Green public spaces were laid out between the spiral buildings and the private gardens of the surrounding houses. Despite its interesting form, Bolam Coyne was dilapidated for years (see Fig. 10-4) with litter, graffiti, closed window blinds and the lack of tended gardens expressing the discontent of the residents, also affecting nearby terraces (Abrams, 2003). By the end of the 1990s, Bolam Coyne was completely boarded up and abandoned. However, the proposal to demolish Bolam Coyne and some other adjacent terraces triggered controversy within the estate, the city and nationally (Pendlebury *et al.*, 2005). Subsequently, in 2000, supported by English Heritage, a campaign was

Fig. 10- 4 Dilapidated housing and environment, around 2001

Source: (Abrams, 2003)

developed to have Erskine's estate listed. Whilst the listing was still waiting official confirmation, a conservation plan was commissioned for the estate. The plan identified three key dimensions of Byker's significance as heritage including architectural fabric, cultural characteristics and the process of redevelopment (Pendlebury *et al.*, 2005). In 2004, a design competition was held for the conservation and redevelopment of two areas in south Byker. Eventually, in January 2007, the Department of Culture, Media and Sport confirmed the listing of Byker at Grade II* (Pendlebury, 2016). Only two social housing estates in the country had in this listing classification at the time (Newcastle City Council, 2001).

Being listed means that the estate required different, and more expensive, approaches to management, which brought about changes in governance and funding. Considering the architectural fabric and community infrastructure in Byker, the city council and the Homes and Communities Agency recommended the passing of ownership of the estate to a mutual Community Trust (Newcastle City Council, 2001; Pendlebury, 2016). Within the Trust, tenants would have more influence on the management of the estate. The Trust would be responsible for the investment in housing and building environment from improvement to repair and maintenance. In addition to

the physical regeneration of Byker, wider benefits were expected under the Trust by providing opportunities for local people and improving their cultural quality of life (Newcastle City Council, 2001). Valuing the history of Byker and its residents, it was promised that the Trust would work with the council and other stakeholders to run 'creative, educational and social activities that celebrate the history of the area' (Newcastle City Council, 2001). In July 2012, approved by the residents, the stock of Byker Estate was transferred from the city council to the Byker Community Trust (Pendlebury, 2016). Subsequently, investment in housing and the wider estate has proceeded apace. Long-abandoned areas such as Bolam Coyne are finding regeneration opportunities. Subsequent conservation approaches have been carried on for the benefit of both old and new residents in Byker.

10.3 THE ARCHITECTURE OF BYKER

With its distinctive features such as the Byker Wall, it is inevitable that Byker is often valued first for its architectural significance on a local, national and international scale (Kain, 2003). It is stated that Byker 'has high architectural significance as a thorough, holistically-designed composition in a confident and informed "romantic functionalist" style' (North East Civic Trust, 2003). The North East Civic Trust (NECT) further discussed Byker's architectural merits from the aspects of layout, form, scale, detailing, materials, holistic design approach and so forth (North East Civic Trust, 2003). Firstly and visually, Byker is uncommon both in its construction period and afterwards. Driven by the great demand for habitations after the war between 1945 and 1969, four million public housing units were constructed – almost 60% of all British housing (Glendinning and Muthesius, 1994). Despite this huge amount of construction, the richness and complexity is believed to be at the bottom edge of Britain's building history (Gutman, 1997). Around a fifth of public dwellings were located in buildings of six or more stories, whilst a 'dull and mechanical appearance of slabs and towers' was pervasive in the British Isles, tearing up the old residential fabric in cities and towns (Glendinning and Muthesius, 1994). Among all these new modern buildings, many of which were in a neo-Brutalist style, Byker is one of the most distinctive projects in planning and architectural design. Therefore, this section will discuss Byker's distinctiveness in terms of its architect's theories and practices for housing design against under the background of the history of postmodernist architecture in the UK, which it can be associated with.

Fig. 10- 5 Ralph Erskine's Ecological Arctic Town

Source: (Collymore, 1994)

10.3.1 Erskine's housing designs

The concepts of the garden city, functionalism, urban village, vernacular architecture and participatory planning can be seen as major ideas influences on Erskine's housing designs (Vall, 2013). These ideas particularly influenced, and were reflected in, his community architecture vision and practices in the 1970s. His background – born and studying architecture in the UK, then moving to Sweden – tapped mutual influences of planning and architecture across national boundaries. In particular, Erskine played an influential and pioneering role in the English community architecture movement. His practice in the redevelopment of Byker in Newcastle-upon-Tyne was probably the best example during this period. In Erskine's Byker redevelopment, ecological design and participatory democracy were two prominent ideas. The former generated Byker's unique architectural form, and the latter tested a possible way for social housing design to encourage the involvement of its prospective inhabitants.

Under the influence of Swedish modern architecture, Erskine generated his interest in humane and pragmatic architecture. As early as 1958, Erskine conceived his design for an ideal city in the cold north, called an 'Ecological Arctic Town' (see Fig. 10-5). By using a variety of climate-sensitive elements, his plan was to achieve a certain

comfort in both physical and psychological levels for living in extreme climates. These ideas and approaches are now well known to designers, but in Erskine's time were extraordinary. Erskine obtained his inspiration through studying earth-banked natural forms and the evolution of native shelters in the houses of Eskimos. To solve the physical challenges of building and surviving in these extreme context, he placed tall walls/buildings along the north edge of the community to protect it against strong winter winds; the top of the building usually had a south-facing slope to maximise solar exposure and minimise vulnerability to winter winds; buildings were clustered to reduce heat loss and to provide shelter to the streets; and bright strong colours and a palette of natural materials were used to raise the residents' spirits in winter (see Fig. 10-6). Erskine also believed that the psychological needs of the residents could be catered for through the physical design of a community. The proper physical design could influence the formation of social units and encourage social activities. Erskine sought his solutions from medieval towns (Collymore, 1994). He appreciated the variety and possibilities of street life, narrow alleys, trading and workshop spaces, and the general social interchange between all kinds of residents. By excluding most of the motor traffic, the sense of community could emerge in an environment of safety and quietness.

Fig. 10- 6 Colourful Byker, 2011

Source: author's collection

'Wall buildings' were created to imitate medieval gateways (see Fig. 10-7) with an aim of producing a calm and quiet atmosphere in the interior areas (see Fig. 10-8) in both physical and psychological ways. Another preference of Erskine, in relation to ideas about the medieval town, was his use of courtyard housing, which has existed widely in traditional British dwellings.

The idea of the wall building was translated to Byker, despite the climate being considerably less extreme. The Byker Wall remains the redevelopment's most prominent feature, justified as a barrier to protect housing from traffic noise, projected

Fig. 10- 7 Exterior view of Byker Wall, 2011

Source: author's collection

Fig. 10- 8 Interior view of Byker Wall

Source: author's collection

in relation to future urban motorway immediately to the north of the site (which was never built). In the meantime, visually, the Byker Wall expressed an image (see Fig. 10-9) to all that behind it there was a separate place – an inner-city village (Pendlebury *et al.*, 2005). Behind the Byker Wall, a new street layout with south-facing communal courtyards replaced the old gridiron terraced street pattern. These courtyards, separated by pedestrian and access routes, were expected to provide enough semi-private spaces for the inhabitants. Planting boxes, seats and tables were arranged to fill these spaces, to create places for sociability among neighbours and to create smaller community groups within the larger one. The houses and flats were all designed as low-rise buildings of various sizes and forms to meet the needs of different families. The atmosphere of the whole community was enlivened by the specific building materials and bright paint and brick colours. Dwellings were clad in timber, with metal roofs to distinguish the new Byker from the old brick terraces around the area and other contemporary housing developments elsewhere in the city.

The appeal of Swedish modern architecture from the 1930s to the 1960s also influenced Erskine's attitude to social interaction in planning. He advocated increasing participation, then called 'community architecture' in the UK, to meet the social and aesthetic needs of the inhabitants. He devoted himself to the democratic process in housing. Erskine was concerned with the wishes of the populace. In his view, architects should listen to the opinions of 'clients' who will use the building (Collymore, 1994). He endorsed participatory democracy also because he believed community architecture would enfranchise residents and contribute to social cohesion and sustainability in the urban environment (Vall, 2013). In his understanding, the intention to combine participatory planning with the design of social housing would encourage social mixing between classes and across generations.

To realise his concept of community architecture in Byker, Erskine came up with several ideas to realise his ideal of public participation:

> *... first, he opened an office in the midst of the redevelopment area, in shop front premises in full view of passers-by; second, he showed how by reducing the size of individual clearance areas it would be possible to provide more opportunities of local re-housing than had been planned previously; third, he proposed a pilot scheme in which the prospective tenants would be directly involved with the architects in the design of their future houses.* (Malpass, 1979)

Fig. 10- 9 Byker as an inner-city village

Source: (Byker Investment Task Force, 2010)

The outcomes of involving local residents in design and decision- making were later criticised as piecemeal, because Byker residents were characterised as ineffective political agents (Vall, 2013). But the Byker housing in Newcastle still reflected and enhanced architectural attitudes to participatory practices in the 1960s and 1970s. Before Byker, and generally in the British culture of public housing, tenant involvement was seen to be 'tolerated rather than welcomed'; and local government was 'hostile to housing associations that appeared to be "run by middle class and titled people" who were suspected of having Tory leanings' (Vall, 2013). After the Byker programme, however, this approach to participatory planning was celebrated as a pioneer moment in British community architecture.

10.3.2 An architectural landmark

Although clearly being distinct from 1960s' British buildings characterised by styles such as Brutalism, Erskine's Byker remains a prominent example in the history of British architecture of the period. It is a matter of dispute whether Byker can be characterised either as an example of architectural postmodernism (Groat, 1982; Hebbert, 2008; Rattenbury, 2011) or late modernism (Rowe, 1993; Hawkes, 1995). The planning and design of Byker share similarities in aspects such as welfare state and social planning with British national and regional politics in the post-war decades. But, the community architecture they advocate was not popularised until the 1980s, spearheaded in other projects deemed postmodern (Rattenbury, 2011). In addition, unlike many typical postmodern buildings that have either been regarded as strange 'scary monsters' or behemoths dressed-up with polite, well-behaved manners (Rattenbury, 2011), buildings and environments in Byker imitate familiar traditional neighbourhoods, with low-rise houses and enclosed yards, except for the Byker Wall.

There were two fundamental shifts in how modern housing was reconsidered in the 1920s and then the 1970s (Rowe, 1993). The first shift was in relation to modern attitudes about universality and constancy, and the second later shift was marked by an emergence of a new interest in place, locale and context as primary influences of housing designs. This second shift is considered to be well demonstrated in the case of Byker, which reveals a sharp contrast in social benefits and design principles to the preceding decade. The period of the 1970s was full of 'universal uncertainty and potential instability'. It removed the 'old rigidities of the second industrial revolution', using 'new technological developments' (Gutman, 1997). These decades also demonstrated new values of the time in historic terms, such as special cultural milieu, design innovation, social importance, and so on. Byker is one project that reflects well these historical events reconciling the tendency and potential of modern processes to achieve uniformity with a growing awareness of the virtues of diversity (Hawkes, 1995).

Buildings in Byker display significant variations in architectural treatment and details, with eclectic, witty, and humanistic touches, often associated with architectural postmodernism, alongside its approach to community architecture. Indeed, Byker Wall has since been described as a representative example of 'soft postmodernism' (Rattenbury, 2011). The whole history of postmodernism in the UK is stated to be a suppressed period (Jencks, 1991). It starts with Alison and Peter Smithson's adoption of

pop art and continued with 'Bowellism' represented by Richard Rogers and approached differently by James Stirling in the 1970s and 1980s. Postmodernism in its early stages was pitted against the 'inflexible, elitist, and dangerously authoritarian Modernism' (Rattenbury, 2011). This essential feature of being anti-high architecture, including Brutalism and high tech, coexists with the adoption of the elite canon in its subsequent development. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, postmodernism in the UK had been a language of architectural protest against terrifying wholesale and motorway-led redevelopments sweeping the country. In the local community architectural practice, postmodernism has been adopted with a low-key gesture, contextually negotiating with the 'high culture' of architects. Though supposedly ended in relation to large-scale commercial developments in the 1990s, postmodern buildings such as Byker as an architectural response to social issues have nevertheless inspired a new awareness of designing intelligent, humanistic, flexible and sustainable buildings and landscapes that most people would like.

10.4   'BYKER FOR BYKER PEOPLE'

Behind the distinctive architectural image of the Byker Wall and Erskine's observations on the sociology of human settlements, Byker and Erskine, in particular, have become symbols of a radical change. Since then, the retention and participation of the community have been considered as a priority in housing design and residential district planning (Malpass, 1979). However, when the programme is reviewed after years of construction, these two achievements have been questioned due to their limitations in practice and the following social problems that took place in Byker. There have been two general questions (Malpass, 1979). First, have the people of Byker been closely involved in the formulation of policies and their subsequent execution? Second, have the people been able to remain in their home neighbourhood? These two questions could be compressed into the reinterpretations of residential involvement in the design process and the cultural protection of the local community. This section starts by analysing how local residents have been involved in Byker, which is the representative work of community architecture and social planning as discussed in the previous section. Then, the discussion develops into the changes to Byker's working-class neighbourhood, which was considered as one of the most important cultural contexts to be preserved in Erskine's design. Byker's community culture has also been valued by other social workers and local authorities when concepts such as Cultural Built Heritage

(CBH) have prevailed in contemporary urban redevelopment. The good reflection of Erskine's understanding of modern housing has embedded the project with great value from the architectural aspect, as discussed in the previous section. However, considering the rich potential of public housing in the integrative society, the making and interpretation of modern housing cannot be disconnected from everyday requirements, politics, economics and, particularly, the people who live in the buildings (Gutman, 1997). During and after the redevelopment programme, all interpretations of Byker deliberately focused on its residents, community and neighbourhood. This orientation of 'Byker for Byker People' (North East Civic Trust, 2005) is often developed in two aspects. One is to analyse the residents' involvement in the design, planning and management processes (Malpass, 1979; Forsyth, 1988; Newcastle City Council, 2001; Abrams, 2003; Kain, 2003; Coaffee and Brocklebank, 2005; Paterson and Dunn, 2013; RIBA, 2013). The other interpretation angle places emphasis on the changes in Byker's community culture during all subsequent redevelopment and conservation programmes (Johnson, 1975; Malpass, 1979; Konttinen, 1983; Brownlee, 2001; Ashworth, 2006; Hanley, 2007b; Roe, 2007; Konttinen, 2009; Newsinger, 2009; Taylor, 2012).

10.4.1 Community participation

As mentioned in the previous section, one of the most outstanding contributions of Byker in the UK's architectural history is the community design for social housing. Participatory design is one of the practical methods of community design (Abrams, 2003). Under the theme of 'Byker for Byker People', the redevelopment of Byker regarded holding the neighbourhood together as a central intent during the physical transition into a new form (Abrams, 2003). To achieve this aim of community-based renewal, the architects believe that the residents should participate in the design through direct communication between the community design team and the residents (Ralph Erskine's Arkitektkontor and City of Newcastle upon Tyne Director of Housing, 1981). The architects set up an office in the middle of the old residential area. The residents were encouraged to come in to see how the place would be transformed and share opinions with the designers. Some of the staff also rented flats in Byker, including Erskine's daughter (Abrams, 2003). In this way, it was expected that architects could gain the trust of local people. In the meantime, living among the residents enabled the architects to observe Byker's community culture in the hope of preserving it. However, even though this progress had been made, the real power to decide what should be done,

and when, lay in the Civic Centre, rather than in the community (Malpass, 1979). The power that decided major issues remained within the corporation. The architects were too weak to deliver the communities' ideas to the Civic Centre in the final analysis. The constraining framework of the institutionalised, rule-bound system to produce council housing also led to the result that the architects and tenants were not free to make important decisions together. For example, building the Shields Road motorway and reducing residential density had been determined without the influence of any consultation with the residents, who obviously objected to the decision (Malpass, 1979). In addition, the Byker pilot scheme showed that, for local people, participation in the design was much less important than the issue of whether and when they were going to be rehoused in Byker. This failure to increase the power of local communities in the redevelopment programme through their participation is regarded as one of the most important lessons to be learned from Byker (Malpass, 1979). Though constrained in political aspects, community involvement has been carried forward to take a more active role in the creation and maintenance of housing projects in the UK. The 1969 Housing Act gave residents the right to employ their own consultants to help them prepare improvement programmes. In 1977, the government provided further opportunities for community groups to become actively involved and in development. In the early 1980s, a number of technical aid centres had been established to support local voluntary and community groups to be involved in the development schemes of their own environment.

Today, the participation of residents has been regarded nationally as a necessary vehicle to solve local housing and community problems (Paterson and Dunn, 2013). In Byker, the involvement of the residents has been continuously adapted in the subsequent conservation and regeneration programmes. When Byker was put forward as a candidate to be listed, the residents were also encouraged to be involved in the process. However, only an average number of 10% of questionnaire letters sent to the residents were returned, which showed an apathetic attitude towards the conservation issue (Kain, 2003). Nevertheless, the opinions that were returned via the questionnaire still succeeded in getting into the final documents, including some extreme views such as to completely demolish the old buildings (Newcastle City Council, 2001; Kain, 2003; North East Civic Trust, 2003). The Byker residents had also been involved in the Listing Steering Group (Kain, 2003). The group included representatives from English Heritage, Newcastle City council, NECT and a number of Byker residents. It was

believed by English Heritage that the Byker residents played a more active role in the group than other earlier conservation projects in Newcastle such as Grainger Market (Kain, 2003). However, this activity differed among people in different areas and of different backgrounds. Surveys showed that the residents living in the north part of Byker were more supportive and more involved in conservation consultations (Kain, 2003). In the last decade, various professionals and artists have moved into the Wall. These new residents of Byker are more supportive of and optimistic about the conservation results than the old residents, especially those who live in the dilapidated areas such as Bolam Coyne (Kain, 2003). Nevertheless, effective community engagement is believed to be the correct strategy within government and among architectural practitioners to benefit the tenants, providing localism design opportunities and successfully regenerating towns and cities (Newcastle City Council, 2001; Coaffee and Brocklebank, 2005; RIBA, 2013). In 2001, Newcastle City Council proposed to transfer the Byker Estate into a Community Trust (Newcastle City Council, 2001). Tenants would have more opportunities to be involved in the work of the Trust and have more influence on how the estate is managed from investment and maintenance to local employment. Since the early twenty-first century, a series of legislation, reports and design activities have been made with community involvement central to the effective delivery of urban regeneration programmes (Coaffee and Brocklebank, 2005). For example, in 2003, Sustainable Communities Plan was published, touching on general aspects of community involvement. In 2004, Practical Guidance was developed to look for particular strategies of community involvement such as project management, communication, partnership working and evaluation techniques. A Statement of Community Involvement (SCI) was announced in the same year, setting out standards to be attained by the local authority in relation to the levels of community involvement in the preparation and review of planning documents (Coaffee and Brocklebank, 2005). The SCI also reflected the previously produced Active Partner Report 2000, which clarified 12 clear benchmarks that should be met during community involvement. In general, in both the Byker redevelopment programme and its subsequent conservation and regeneration projects, the local authorities and practitioners have all realised that community involvement is central to ensure effective delivery of a sustainable community that could bring about economic and cultural regeneration in Byker and Newcastle.

10.4.2 Community retention

Behind the popular image of a successful example of community-based redevelopment, Erskine's Byker has often been questioned in relation to retaining the cultural identities of the area (Malpass, 1979). An under-reported truth is that most of the people left the area after the redevelopment. A survey shows that Byker's population dropped from 17,450 in 1960 to 4,400 in 1979 (Malpass, 1979). The losses were mainly attributed to technical difficulties, and they are repeated in many comprehensive

Fig. 10- 10 Byker community before redevelopment

Source: (Konttinen, 1983)

housing redevelopment programmes. But in Byker, external and internal factors made the situation even worse. The economic decline in the North East forced some old residents to move out of the area to seek employment and other opportunities. The mix of old and new residents in the redevelopment plan damaged original relationships and caused some tensions in the neighbourhood (Abrams, 2003). Nevertheless, this change in residential composition and neighbourhood communities also made Byker an interesting case to study heritage topics such as gentrification, identity and place.

The old characteristics of the working-class community have become

Fig. 10- 11 Byker community after the redevelopment

Source: (Konttinen, 2009)

aestheticised by certain people usually from outside Byker (Taylor, 2012). From 1970, Sirkka-Liisa Konttinen, a Finnish photographer, recorded people's everyday life lives there using her camera and audio recorder. Having documented changes in culture and environment (see Figs. 10-10, 10-11), Konttinen expressed her admiration of the tight-knit relationships within Byker and her worries about losing Byker as a 'place' (Konttinen, 1983; Konttinen, 2009). Years of neglect by property owners and the local authority, she argued, had turned the once vital neighbourhood into an increasingly miserable environment which lacked initiative and civic pride. Worse still, the redevelopment programme forced people still willing to be re-accommodated together out of their homes. In her opinion, what really challenged the architects, planners and local officials, what really mattered in Byker's values, was to keep the way of life, to maintain the families together. In 1983, a documentary film about Byker was made by the Amber Collective. It curated Konttinen's photographs and taped conversations with live-action documentary footage and dramatic re-enactments. This film also dealt with the loss of place – the community of Byker. Though this kind of visual documentary has been criticised as too 'simplistic', 'romantic', and 'over nostalgic' (Roe, 2007), it cannot be denied that representing Byker as a tightly knit, supportive working-class community provides a way of reading Byker as a 'place'. As Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) believes, when a space or location can provide security and stability, people endow it with value and form it into a place. In other words, place provides familiarity, a sense of being at home to the people who value it. In the case of Byker, residents and interpreters like Konttinen were bound to this area where they lived. The dwellings provided physical shelter, and the community offered psychological shelter. The 'community' here is an abstract concept that can be understood as a social structure that produces social relations. Even after the physical environment changed following redevelopment and conservation projects, as long as the individuals and families have been retained, the community can be seen as culturally reproduced through continuing social relations. To what extent the community spirit of Byker still exists is beyond the scope of this thesis, but what seems important is the maintenance of its psychological existence over and above its physical existence, as listed as heritage.

10.5   A LEGACY OF POST-WAR SOCIAL HOUSING POLICY

Considering the post-war welfare state context of its construction, more meanings could be attributed in Byker in addition to its unique architectural

characteristics and the culture of working-class communities. The Byker redevelopment programme was initiated when modernist planning was at its peak during the 1960s and 1970s in the UK with the 1967 Civic Amenities Act, which introduced conservation areas to provide a measure of protection for historic townscape against the backdrop of widespread comprehensive redevelopment (Pendlebury, 2001). In Newcastle, councillors and urban planners collaborated to bring about an ideal social regeneration along modern lines (Burns, 1967).To achieve their goals, new planning legislation and housing regulations were passed, under which Byker was redeveloped. Therefore, the listing of Byker could be recognised as a positive evaluation of the planning and housing policies of the time. This new understanding of Byker reflects that the study of heritage value has been extended into a political dimension that has further brought about a wave of listing post-war social housing programmes (Pendlebury *et al.*, 2005).

10.5.1 *Post-war planning for social regeneration*

Town planning in the UK first appeared and evolved in the mid-nineteenth century in Victorian industrial cities (Gilg, 2005). Early planning Acts did not concern urban environments or urban patterns. Instead, they were directly linked to the terrible quality of industrial workers' living conditions, who for a long time had been threatened by pollution, disease and oppression by their bosses (Gilg, 2005). One of the first urban planning policies affecting local authorities was the Housing, Town Planning Act 1909. Under the laws and regulations, planning at that time gave the state and authorities more rights to intervene in housing programmes by private builders. During the First World War, progress on housing was made in the UK in the name of providing proper living environments for the soldiers who returned from France. Under the Housing, Town Planning Act 1919, council housing first emerged as an effective form to solve the accommodation problems of workers. The booming economy of the 1920s and popularisation of motor cars greatly changed the landscape of cities, towns and suburbs. Furthermore, when a new class, the middle class, was formed, greater demands were brought before the UK's planning system and planning theories. In these circumstances, the Town and Country Planning Act 1932 became the first Act to 'embrace all types of development land' (Gilg, 2005). However, because of the conditions of privately-owned land, the Act was still too weak to allow the state to promote good planning schemes. Under the influence of the economic depression of the 1930s and the achievements of a series of national construction projects in the US, planning in the UK began to introduce

more concepts of 'state intervention' (Gilg, 2005). Furthermore, more communications and exchanges of planning forms with the US, the Continent and socialist countries had taken place during the Second World War. After the war, an idea of the 'welfare state' was created and reflected in many aspects of the country, including the nationalised industries and public services such as the NHS. In the field of planning, the idea of the welfare state was embodied in the centralised planning of post-war Britain. A series of planning reports and legislation were made, proposing a massive change of British planning from a private enterprise system to a socialist system (Gilg, 2005). For example, the Town and Country Planning Act allowed compulsory purchase of land for planned development. The New Towns Act 1945 allowed the construction of new towns. Based on the Town and Country Planning Act 1947, local authorities became developers until the mid-1980s. After a series of revisions in the 1990s, planning in the UK changed into guidelines for development control (Gilg, 2005).

Under the support of post-war planning theories and Acts, a number of various ambitious redevelopment plans were drawn up in the UK. Only some of them were realised (Larkham, 1997). Nevertheless, under the support of new planning systems and concepts, the 1960s witnessed 'exciting' planning and the redevelopment of Newcastle (Lambert, 1986). From 1960 to 1968, politically provided opportunities for change had met with a worthy professional response in Newcastle (Lambert, 1986). The first Development Plan was approved by Newcastle City Council in 1951 (Burns, 1967). But, the review of this plan was not announced until 1963. This 1963 Development Plan drew special attention to the structure of the city, including the road network, residential groups, and social and cultural buildings. Under the plan, Newcastle was designed to convey modernity in progressive planning, coexisting with the raising of conservation consciousness (Pendlebury, 2001). The development was guided by Sir Wilfred Burns, the Chief Planning Officer from 1960 to 1968, under the support of T. D. Smith, who was elected as the leader of the city council in 1959 (Pendlebury, 2001). Burns not only extracted what he believed were the best ideas from existing urban planning nationally, but also embraced the new concept of urban motorways and traffic buildings such as indoor shopping malls and pedestrian streets. In addition, Burns had an understanding of social planning, seeking the happiness of people instead of simple city design (Lambert, 1986). As a result, he paid special attention to the housing plan in the 1960s' redevelopment, adopting the idea of a 'social plan' in his housing plan strategies (Burns, 1967). Burns pointed out that the main problem of Newcastle's housing was in dealing

with houses that were socially worn out, if not physically useless. Further, he determined that any housing programme for Newcastle redevelopment had to: adapt highly efficient industrialised construction; promote collaboration between officers, developers and residents; and satisfy the greatest possible number of accommodation requirements (Burns, 1967). Therefore, the housing programme in Newcastle usually occurred in the form of clearance of older houses, combined with a massive improvement programme. Burns particularly valued urban community in his redevelopment plans. He pointed out that most contemporary social problems were rooted in 'the changes in primary relationships through the kinship group, the weakening of the extended family, the development of special interest groups, and the increasing classlessness of the suburb' (Burns, 1967). In Burns' planning strategies, the family and neighbourhood were regarded as of primary importance to achieve social stability and individual satisfaction. To achieve these aims, the architects and planners had to ensure their designs could satisfy the family of the time and could fit the changed environment of the future. In the meantime, residents should be brought in to the design stage. The responsible council departments and officers should play a coordinating role between families, agencies and architects. All these ways of working towards a social plan were expected to be implemented alongside the physical redevelopment of Newcastle. As discussed in the previous sections, in a similar spirit, Erskine, when appointed to the Byker redevelopment, also believed that people must be allowed to make their own decisions by their values and demands without excessive interference of the expert (Udy, 1994). Unlike the extreme, idealistic 'Anarchist Planners' of the time who had been romantically searching for 'authentic participation' in the UK (Udy, 1994), Erskine's community architecture project in Byker was implemented in what could be considered to be an acceptably balanced way between the design progress of architects and opinions expressed by residents, with the support of successful political legacies such as Burns' planning concepts.

10.5.2 Valuing post-war social housing

To a certain degree, the history of post-war Byker is a microcosm of the public housing of post-war UK. After the Second World War, the UK was faced with enormous problems because of the urgent demand for housing, and the responsibility for planning and social housing returned to the political agenda, in particular in connection with the local authorities (Vall, 2013). At that time, clearing poor Victorian

slums and constructing new public housing on a large scale with 'modern' amenities became seen as the primary solution. The local authorities, planners, architects and residents united in the aspiration to build dwellings as quickly as possible. To address the urgent social need, new housing patterns were created. In the early post-war period, high-rise buildings, point and slab blocks – also known as tower blocks – were adopted on modernist lines in a scientific approach to house people. They were constructed by local councils almost in every urban area from the mid-1950s (Glendinning and Muthesius, 1994). Yet, these high-rise blocks created as many problems as they solved. Their reputation as undesirable low-cost housing, and increasing social problems such as the crime rate and vandalism augmented their unpopularity. A gas explosion in 1968 at Ronan Point, a high-rise block in east London, is believed to have been the turning point (Pendlebury *et al.*, 2005). The explosion caused a partial collapse of the building and five people lost their lives. After that, the tower block housing style was almost abandoned overnight. Then, medium-rise flats and maisonettes replaced the high-rise block buildings and became the normal housing pattern. However, problems such as the high rate of vacancies, lack of maintenance and ineffectual public service kept downgrading the popularity of social housing provided by the authorities. Besides, local authorities were also losing interest in building and managing social housing because of the absence of political ambition and the insufficiency of regulatory structure (Pendlebury *et al.*, 2005). Also, a negative image began to be associated with council housing projects through the 1970s. Many famous modernist housing schemes were faced with conditions of mismanagement, decay and many deep-rooted social problems soon after construction.

Finally, the government abandoned its housing provision policy in the late 1970s, when the Thatcher government brought about the end of local authorities as major housing providers (Pendlebury *et al.*, 2005). In the meantime, awareness arose of understanding and valuing post-war buildings, particularly the housing schemes. Conservation groups such as the Thirties Society (now the Twentieth Century Society) were founded in this period. These organisations re-evaluated twentieth-century architecture in the UK, which had been ignored or seen in a negative light for a long time. Their activities were followed by listing the key buildings for further protection. The subsequent conservation movement reframed and adjusted the legislation and categories to suit. These direct actions and movements were usually undertaken by early conservationists, frequently motivated by elite tastes and knowledge. They formed the

basic conservation concepts and the understanding of heritage among the authorities and more popularly. Therefore, with only a few exceptions, conservation studies and practices in the early stage were dominated by the values of the middleclass. The phrase 'cultural capital' is sometimes used to describe this phenomenon, concerning distinctive so-called educated tastes. In the field of the conservation of post-war housing projects, it is more likely to list the area lived in by the middle class rather than other sites where the working class lives. In Newcastle, where the majority of the residents remain working class, most of the listed conservation areas are in middle-class areas (Pendlebury *et al.*, 2005). Yet Byker, listed in 2007 as Grade II*, is a significant exception. Its working-class communities have been recognised as the most significant elements of the area from the time when it was first constructed to the time when it was finally listed, recognised by a series of conservation measures were taken to uplift Byker's living environment after it was listed, to maintain its characteristic neighbourhood community and to improve the area's relationship with the city.

Post-war housing policy emerged as one of the central planks of the post-war welfare state in the UK (Gilg, 2005). Under the policy, architectural innovation was achieved to improve the living conditions of the working class. This was also one of the main objects of the Byker Estate in the 1960s. However, in the 1970s, social housing declined under criticism from the fields of technology and politics. Technologically, many social housing programmes were deemed to be unsustainable because of the high cost of maintenance. Politically and socially, social housing was stigmatised with labels such as 'inhumane environments' and 'anti-social behaviour' (Abrams, 2003). It was also blamed for damaging traditional urban fabric and patterns. These attitudes extended into criticising modern architecture more broadly, to which the decay of urban environment and collapse of social relationships were imputed. However, beyond these critiques, one positive point is often neglected that, for a long time after the war, social housing had been providing a large amount of accommodation at an affordable price and reasonable quality for the common people. Rather than blaming the built material and technique, the physical decline of post-war social housing estates like Byker was more directly connected with the lack of investment due to the change in housing policy. Furthermore, social problems such as vandalism and drugs should not be imputed to the architecture alone in criticising modernist social housing. The problems have deep social and economic reasons, such as the changes and transitions in employment patterns, family structures, social wealth distribution and national cultures

more broadly. Under these circumstances, listing post-war housing contributes to clearing the name of social housing from stigmatisation, and to approve the contribution of social housing policy in a specific historic period.

Since the 1990s, post-war buildings, including social housing, have been put forward for listing with the support of English Heritage (now Historic England) and other conservation groups and individuals. Most of the social housing included has been listed for being the masterpieces of famous architects, including Byker, rather than being typical examples of post-war architecture. However, in subsequent conservation processes, Byker reveals its uniqueness in standing of the value of social housing policy. Often, listing brings about the enhancement of the reputation of unique buildings or places for their heritage. It usually attracts private developers into investment for regeneration, which involves high costs. On the one hand, additional new development could compensate for the reduction in housing provision by the government. On the other hand, however, it is inevitable that there would be radical physical change, as at the regenerated Park Hill in Sheffield, and changes in tenure patterns, as in Balfron Tower in London. These conservation programmes resulted in the loss of post-war heritage. By contrast, in the sense of valuing post-war social housing policy, listing Byker and its subsequent conservation are the continuation to a maximum extent of the original aims of its construction – to provide better living quality and neighbourhood environment to the residents.

10.6 SUMMARY

As a comprehensive redevelopment programme, Byker was the representation of the architect's ideas about human settlement. It was a milestone of British modern housing of community design, standing out distinctively from the other architectures of the time. As a historic place, Byker has a distinctive residential culture. The characteristics of its tight-knit working-class community have also influenced the subsequent conservation project in its emphasis on community participation and the retention of familiar fabric. What is more, at least for this research, Byker stands as a record of post-war British social housing policy, of great importance to the history of the UK. To study the value of Byker and its conservation helps us to understand how heritage and heritage conservation have been combined in urban planning and social cultural construction and become an important component of social policy.

Chapter 11 Ju'er Hutong

11.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the possibility of recognising the Ju'er Hutong housing programme as new urban heritage in Beijing. It explores how it has been valued by different institutions and groups of people, including the local government, practitioners, preservationists, tourists, residents and so on. By explaining how their attitudes to the project have been formed and how this project has influenced Beijing's urban renewal, the chapter identifies the multiple roles that Ju'er Hutong has been playing in the history of China's urban development, housing construction and heritage study. It is concluded that these multiple identities have constructed the meaning of Ju'er Hutong and influenced its potential to be listed as new heritage in the city.

The history of China's housing development and the political background of the regime endow the place of Ju'er Hutong with multiple identities. It was first known as a famous housing redevelopment project carried out in the late 1980s and early 1990s. However, its existence can be traced back to over 700 years ago, when it was one of the earliest residential areas in the central part of the old capital of China. After over 20 years since the redevelopment project there, external impacts such as the modernisation of the city and internal factors such as the gentrification of the local population have brought about new identities and differentiated the current Ju'er Hutong from both the ancient place and the housing redevelopment. Therefore, culturally speaking, the current Ju'er Hutong is a place with distinctive historical, cultural, political and social characteristics. However, considering that this research is mainly about the heritage of modern architecture, when Ju'er Hutong is talked about in this chapter, it normally refers to the housing redevelopment project of the 1980s and 1990s except where specified. The discussion about the value of Ju'er Hutong relates to its multiple identities formed in three key periods: an ancient residential area; an innovative housing project; and as a widely-discussed case study for urban redevelopment. The discussion then expands to the project's contribution and influence over urban conservation, housing design and heritage study. In addition to the value of Ju'er Hutong housing programme as heritage of modern architecture, the chapter also pays attention to the possibilities of preserving Ju'er Hutong in the face of rapid urban redevelopment and regeneration.

But, still, these multiple identities in different scales of time and space are not enough to verify Ju'er Hutong as a new part of Beijing's urban heritage. To answer the question whether Ju'er Hutong counts as heritage, it is important to analyse how it has been interpreted. Different interpretations imbed different identities and meanings in Ju'er Hutong. As people are the main actors of interpretation, the focus of this case study moves to the values and considerations of these actors. In particular, the chapter analyses the context in which the actors form their attitudes to Ju'er Hutong and how these attitudes and other factors influence the management of the place. For example, the local government, collaborating with a real estate developer, dominated the construction and decision-making processes. The local government has played a decisive role in urban governance and the legislation of urban redevelopment. It holds the main position in evaluating Ju'er Hutong and considers the economic factors most. As a result, the cultural and historic value of old Ju'er Hutong is often emphasised and utilised by the government as an efficient tool to boost the local economy. Other housing redevelopment projects in historical areas are often expected to be carried out in a symbolic preservation way to realise this aim. The real estate developers and other marketing agents are local government's most important collaborators during this process. In the meantime, practitioners, such as architects and planners, take a top-down view of the Ju'er Hutong project. They realise the significance of preserving a historical housing pattern and Beijing's traditional urban fabric, though their practices are carried out in ways that are usually based upon Western theories because of their educational background. Similarly, researchers of heritage and urban redevelopment are trying to interpret Ju'er Hutong through Western-based theories such as housing policy and practice (Wang and Murie, 1999; Zhang and Fang, 2003), urban governance (Wu and Zhang, 2008), urban renewal and preservation (Lü, 1997; Zeng, 1997), typology (Su and Quan, 2004; Sun, 2008), contextualism (Yan, 1996; Krajewska, 2009), residential mode (Lü and Hu, 2005), neighbourhood (Zhang and Fang, 2002), globalisation (Wu, 2004), etc. The inhabitants' attitudes to Ju'er Hutong also vary considerably according to their individual connections with the place. The old residents who have a long experience of living in the *hutong* area appreciate the tight-knit neighbourhood community they are used to. The younger residents have been used to ways of modern living. They show limited interest in architects' efforts to recreate a traditional living environment. New residents move into Ju'er Hutong with values from outside. The appearance of these new residents changes the composition of Ju'er Hutong physically

and culturally, as well as other people's ways of evaluating the place. In addition to these different groups, more people are becoming involved in the evaluation of Ju'er Hutong. These outsiders include tourists, photographers and anyone who is interested in the place it is located in and the culture it carries. These outsiders usually value Ju'er Hutong for providing an efficient way to acknowledge the *hutong* culture, which is alien to them. The acknowledgement they obtain through the interpretation process may be inaccurate or wrong from the point of view of the local people and the professionals. However, their activities of evaluating the place have become the essential part of the new identity of Ju'er Hutong. All these different or even controversial ways of interpreting Ju'er Hutong together construct the place with multiple identities.

11.2 Ju'er Hutong in the context of changing housing policy and urban renewal

Ju'er Hutong has gone through a history full of rises and falls according to Beijing's different housing policies and urban renewal strategies in different historic periods.

11.2.1 Old Ju'er Hutong before 1949

The name Ju'er Hutong is written as 菊儿胡同 in Chinese. The first character was written '局' when the place was first formed as an residential district during the Ming dynasty in the fourteenth century (Wang, 2003). The name changed several times in the next six hundred years. For example, during the Qing dynasty, the area was named Ju'er Hutong with the first character as '桔'. Later, this first character was changed into '菊', as used today (Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Center, 2011). In 1965, the Ju'er Hutong alley was named Jiaodaokou South Street (Liu, 2006). During the Cultural Revolution, the Ju'er Hutong alley was named Dayuejinlu Batiao, 大跃进路八条 in Chinese characters, which means the Eighth Road of the Great Leap Forward (Liu, 2006). This was its name until 1979, when another alley – Xiao Ju'er Hutong – was placed under the jurisdiction of the Ju'er Hutong area, so that Ju'er Hutong was again designated by its present name (Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Center, 2011).

Narrowly, the name of 'Ju'er Hutong' refers to a 438 metre long alley (Sun, 2008). It connects Jiaodaokou South Street to the east and Nanluogu Alley to the west. But in a wider common sense, accepted in this case study, Ju'er Hutong refers to a rectangular residential district, which is about 8.28 hectares, to the north of the alley with the same name (Sun, 2008). The form of the Ju'er Hutong area and the architectural styles in the area is closely related to the establishment of Beijing as a capital city of China (Li, 2005a). After being established in 1267, the Yuan Dynasty devoted itself to constructing Beijing – known as Dadu in its time – as its capital following a traditional mode for the ideal capital (see Fig. 11-1), of which the principles had been recorded in an old craftsmanship manuscript called *Kao Gong Ji*. The name means *Handbook of Diverse Crafts* (Wen, 1993). The book was believed to be written in as early as the Chun-Qiu period, about 770 BC–467 BC (Sit, 1996). The principles recorded in the handbook were not fully realised until the thirteenth century when Yuan constructed Dadu (Knapp, 1987; Wu, 1994). Since then, Beijing has formed its striking planning features – a rectangular street grid with a palace in the centre, surrounded by temples, markets and residential blocks (Tibet Heritage Fund, 2004). The patterns of courtyard housing in China, also known as *siheyuan*, were initially formed in this period. Furthermore, the composition and variation of this housing form became the basic elements of Beijing's urban fabric (Abramson, 2007). To be specific, the
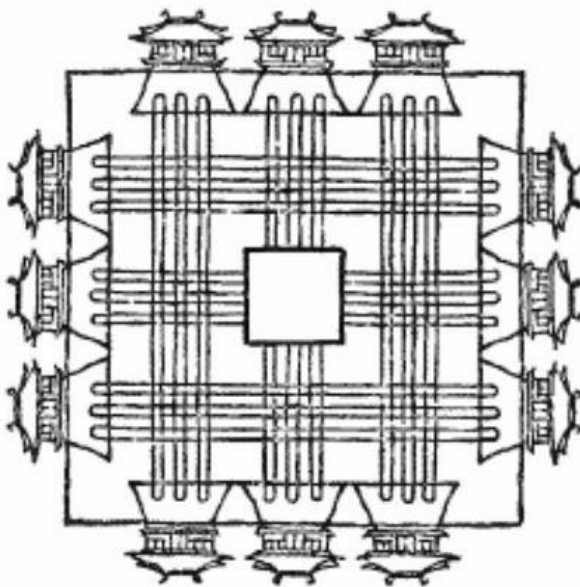
Fig. 11- 1 Ideal city planning in *Kao Gong Ji*

Source: (Wen, 1993)

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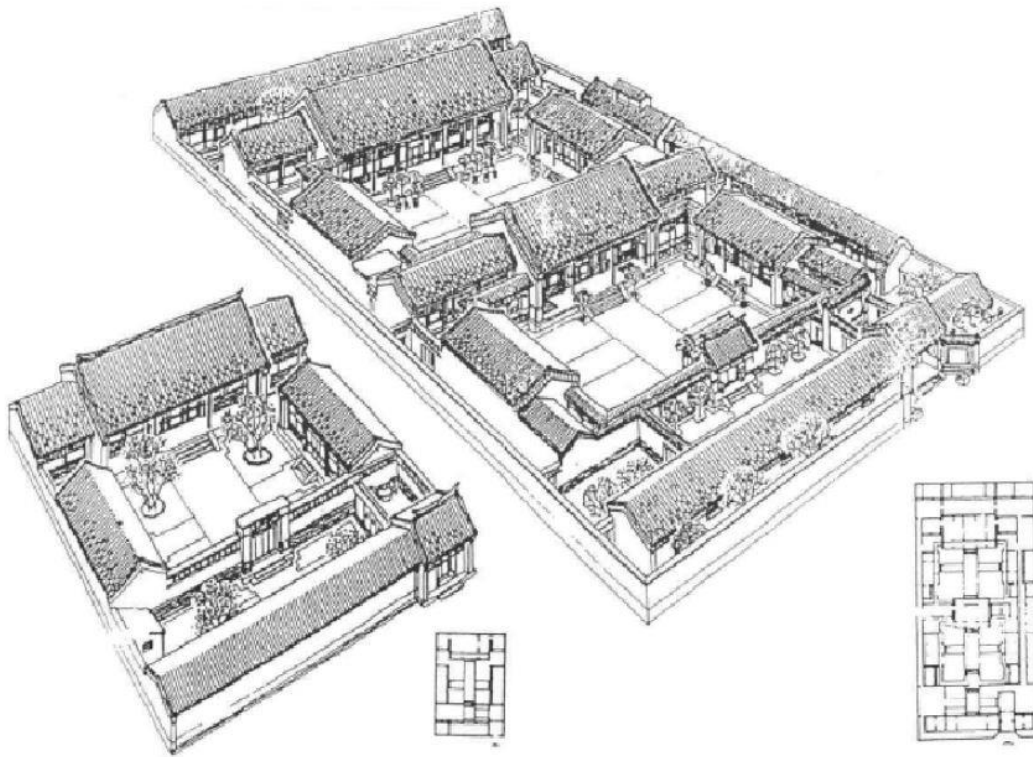
Fig. 11- 2 Typical Beijing *siheyuan*

Source: (Wu, 1994)

rectangular *siheyuan* and the fishbone *hutongs* between these houses are in keeping with the grid street system of the city. The central south–north axes of the *siheyuan* are parallel to the central axis of the city. These architectural and urban features in Yuan Dadu were generally retained and developed in the subsequent period of the Ming and Qing dynasties. For over six hundred years, the *siheyuan* had been the basic architectural form (see Fig. 11-2) at all levels in Beijing, including residential buildings, the royal palace and temples.

The area of Ju'er Hutong has been one of the most important central areas in Beijing since the Yuan dynasty (Wang, 2003). Several temples and important royal mansions have existed here (Liu, 2006; Beijing Cultural Heritage Protection Center, 2011). Quite a few celebrities also built their houses in Ju'er Hutong. The rest of the buildings in Ju'er Hutong are in the common form of *siheyuan* housing, though the scale of each set varies. The physical condition of the buildings and built environments in Ju'er Hutong had been stable for hundreds of years before 1949, when the People's Republic of China was established. Following that, revolutions have taken place in all social areas including architecture and urban planning.

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11.2.2 Beijing's welfare housing, 1949-1978

After 1949, along with the sea change in the political system, urban planning strategy was transformed thoroughly as a response to the rapid development of the urban economy and the great expansion in population. In the field of social housing, five general periods of change from 1949 to 2000 have been identified, of which two are revolutionary changes (Wang and Murie, 1999; Kwong, 2001). The first one was embarked upon in 1956, when the new China was becoming socialist in all social aspects. Its mainstream housing mode was remoulded from private rental housing to public rental housing. Most houses and apartments were constructed and allocated by state-owned or collective units. Because of the austerity pushed in both the economy and politics in the first decade, most socialist welfare housing was built in limited spaces and with very basic amenities. In the meantime, the urban population was growing so fast that the volume of the newly constructed housing could not meet the need. Therefore, large-scale old houses, particularly the *siheyuan* houses in Beijing, many of which were once occupied by a single rich clan or family, were reconstructed into crowded, noisy courtyards to allow many low-income families to live together (Cantrell, 2011). To maximise the living space, these courtyards were usually filled up with irregular extensions and illegal constructions (see Fig. 11-3). Many of them were
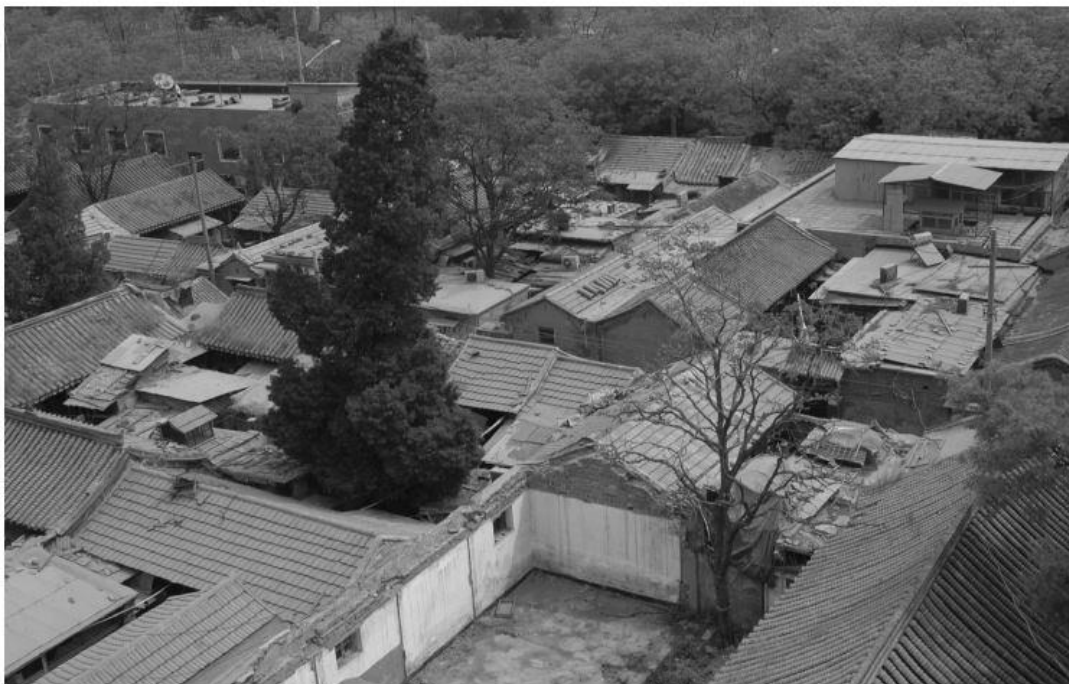
Fig. 11- 3 Informal constructions filling in traditional courtyards

Source: (Whitehead and Gu, 2007)

just shelters that could barely meet the basic needs of life. China's public housing developed slowly in the 1960s and 1970s, until another stage of revolution was embarked upon in the late 1970s and has kept advancing up till now. The reform of the economic model under the opening-up and reform policy initiated this transformation in public housing. The direct result of the transformation of economic policy is the sea change in the right of use of urban land and the administrative allocation of the housing market. The right of use of urban land is separated from the right of ownership. This allows the right of use to be sold or leased. In addition, multiple actors were introduced to diversify the sources of investment and encourage the commercialisation of new building construction. With the decentralisation of fiscal authority, local governments are inclined to consider land rights sales as their major revenue stream. The result is that land and housing are increasingly treated as commodities rather than welfare resources (Zhang and Fang, 2003). Under this new marketing and administrative mechanism, cities became the growth engine of the country. Real estate became the strongest driving force of urban growth during this second revolutionary period; the major ownership of China's housing switched from public rentals and collective ownership to mixed private family ownership. The huge demand of sufficient housing and the willingness to improve living amenities encouraged intensive housing construction for inner-city residents, who had been neglected for a long time during the period of the planned economy.

11.2.3 Commercial housing in the late 1970s and the 1980s

After the announcement of the opening-up and reform policy in 1978, intensive urban construction at a large scale was promoted as the main strategy in all Chinese big cities to upgrade them in their physical, social and economic dimensions. Construction and reconstruction works took place in all parts of Beijing, including the blighted areas and the declining historical districts such as Ju'er Hutong (Acharya, 2004). However, for a historical city like Beijing, large-scale construction significantly affected its characteristic urban features. In the late 1980s, modernising urban construction in Beijing seriously threatened the traditional urban fabric of its inner-city area, where *hutongs* and *siheyuan* houses are the most important elements. Many historic residential areas were displaced by housing estates of high-rise modern apartments. Fortunately, initiated by concerns about the benefit of tourism, local government's awareness of maintaining the traditional urban fabric and preserving historic buildings against wide-

ranging demolition of historic areas began to rise in the 1980s. This conflict between a 'hot' housing market and the rise of urban preservation in the inner city drove the local government to conduct a series of large-scale redevelopment projects under the aim of accelerating 'old and dilapidated housing renewal' and providing 'adequate housing for inner-city residents' (Fang, 2000). Among these projects in the 1980s and 1990s, the Old and Dilapidated Housing Renewal (ODHR) programme launched in 1990 was the one that brought the most significant change to Beijing (Fang and Zhang, 2003; Acharya, 2004; Zhang, 2008b). Before the ODHR programme was put into implementation officially, four pilot projects were carried out in advance to find suitable ways for the restoration of the dilapidated housing. These four pilot projects – one in each district within the old city of Beijing – were implemented in 1987 to test various approaches (Zhang and Fang, 2003). Ju'er Hutong was selected as the site for the pilot project in the East District, and Wu Liangyong, a professor of architecture and urban planning at Tsinghua University, was appointed the chief architect for the Ju'er Hutong project.

Long before this appointment, Wu Liangyong, together with the 'teaching and research group of urban planning of Tsinghua University', had been working on old Beijing's urban morphology and its *siheyuan* housing for years (Wu, 1994). In 1978, Wu and his team started a study on the integrated master plan of Beijing and research on the regional urban design of the Shichahai area, which is also a historic area in the old city (Wu, 1991a). In the following years, Wu has generally formed his basic restoration strategies and basic design concepts, especially through the study on the area planning of Shichahai. One of the strategies was later developed into a systematic theory of urban renewal as 'organic renewal'. One of the design ideas was named the 'quasi courtyard' housing design (Jin, 2000; Heikkila, 2001; Cheng, 2012). In the following years, further surveys were conducted in more old areas. In addition, experimental projects were carried out at a small scale to test and develop these theories and concepts. Along with the work undertaken, much attention was paid to the conservation of the old city fabric and the traditional courtyard housing type – *siheyuan* (Wu, 1991b). In 1986, the research group further moved its focus on to the reform and reuse of the old courtyard houses. In 1987, under the support of the Beijing Housing Reform Offices, Ju'er Hutong was chosen to be the site to conduct a housing survey and residents' participation studies (Wu, 1989b). The research of Wu and his team then turned into a new phase of practical implementation.

The project is widely known as the Ju'er Hutong New Courtyard Housing Programme, or the Ju'er Hutong experiment. The overall area is 8.28 hectares, with a floor area of 112,000 m² (Sun, 2008). It was planned to be carried out in four phases (see Fig. 11-4). With the support of the municipal housing market and financial policies, the collaboration of the developer and the cooperation of the residents, the first two phases achieved much success. However, the third phase encountered severe delays because of changes in various aspects. And the fourth phase was abandoned even before starting (Zhang and Fang, 2003; Sun, 2008).
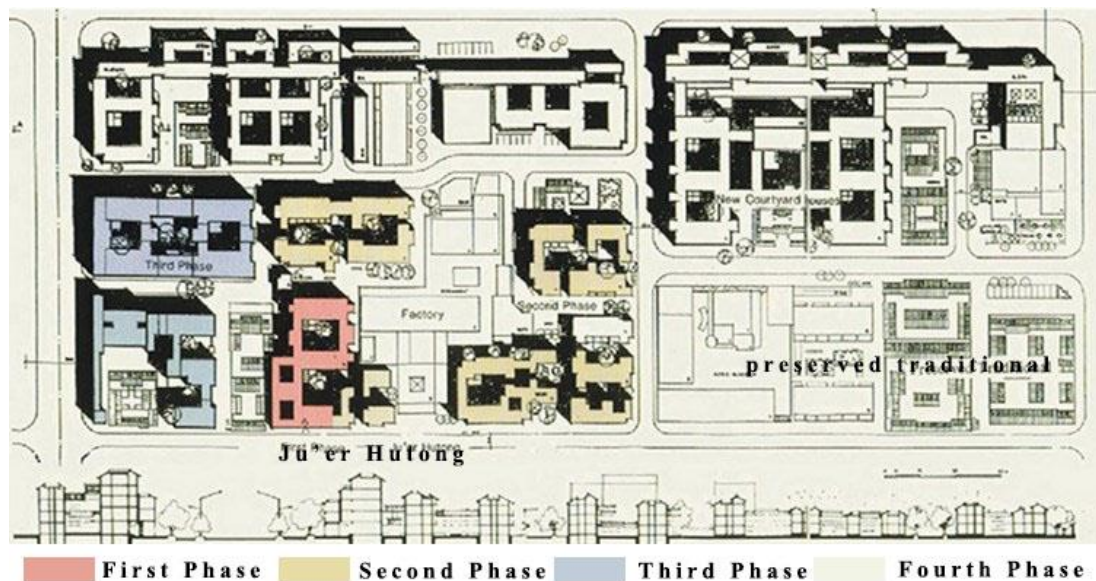
Fig. 11- 4 Site plan and section, Ju'er Hutong programme

Source: (Institute of Architectural and Urban Studies (Tsinghua University), 2013)

The first phase of the Ju'er Hutong programme was constructed from October 1989 to August 1990. After a thorough analysis of the existing buildings, seven old courtyard houses and 64 single-storey houses were evaluated as extremely poor quality and badly needed to be reconstructed. Other buildings in better condition were reinforced and repaired. There were originally 139 residents in 44 households in the first phase area. Forty-six living units in multiple types were produced. The new apartment buildings were designed to meet the standards of modern living, which the old *siheyuan* housing could not provide. Each unit had its own kitchen, an indoor toilet, an enlarged balcony and many other convenient facilities. In the meantime, the architectural design echoed the old courtyard houses in many aspects. For example, all the new buildings had a gently sloping roof, which was similar to the traditional houses. The traditional housing colours such as grey roof tiles and white walls were translated into the new

estate. Chinese architectural details, such as the festoon gate and window grille, were also used to decorate the new buildings. Furthermore, new inner yards were created as outdoor public lounges and communicating spaces, imitating the space perception in the yards of the *siheyuan*.

The first phase solved various urban problems and improved the living quality of the local area. Its primary success showed the certain potential of this housing reform approach. As a result, more phases were encouraged to be undertaken. After the blueprint of the first phase was finished, the design for the second phase immediately started in 1990. The construction work was implemented in 1991–1994. The scale of the second phase was much bigger than the first. Thirty-two old *siheyuan* houses with 469 residents in 195 households were involved (Sun, 2008). Following the same design principles of the first phase, the second phase further improved the housing pattern as the 'new courtyard', with more flexible arrangements and layout shapes of the inner yards. This second phase of large-scale redevelopment also included an improvement in social services and infrastructure. A community centre was built to provide service facilities, such as a community management committee, youth centre, old people's centre, clinic, etc. After completion, the second phase produced 204 new units to accommodate about 500 residents.

The first two phases had proved the practical viability and effectiveness of Wu's renewal theories and housing design concepts. Soon, the Ju'er Hutong programme began to receive positive assessment from both inside and outside the country. From 1990 to 1994, the Ju'er Hutong project was given six domestic honours and two international awards, including the 1992 World Habitat Award. However, regardless of the numerous honours and awards, when it was planned to scale up the redevelopment area in the third and fourth phases, changes in housing policy and housing market in China caused significant delays and the final abandonment of the Ju'er Hutong programme. The design of the third phase was initiated in 1992 and was planned to put into implementation in 1994. In addition to scaling up the redevelopment area, continuing the principles and approaches of the first two phases, the third phase concentrated on four expanded aspects. First, more types of new courtyard houses were developed (see Fig. 11-5). Second, the courtyard house form was introduced into other buildings such as hotels. Third, retail shops and other commercial facilities were arranged along the west end of the main lane. Fourth, the relatively intact courtyard houses were maintained and repaired as a promotion of the *hutong* landscape (see Fig.
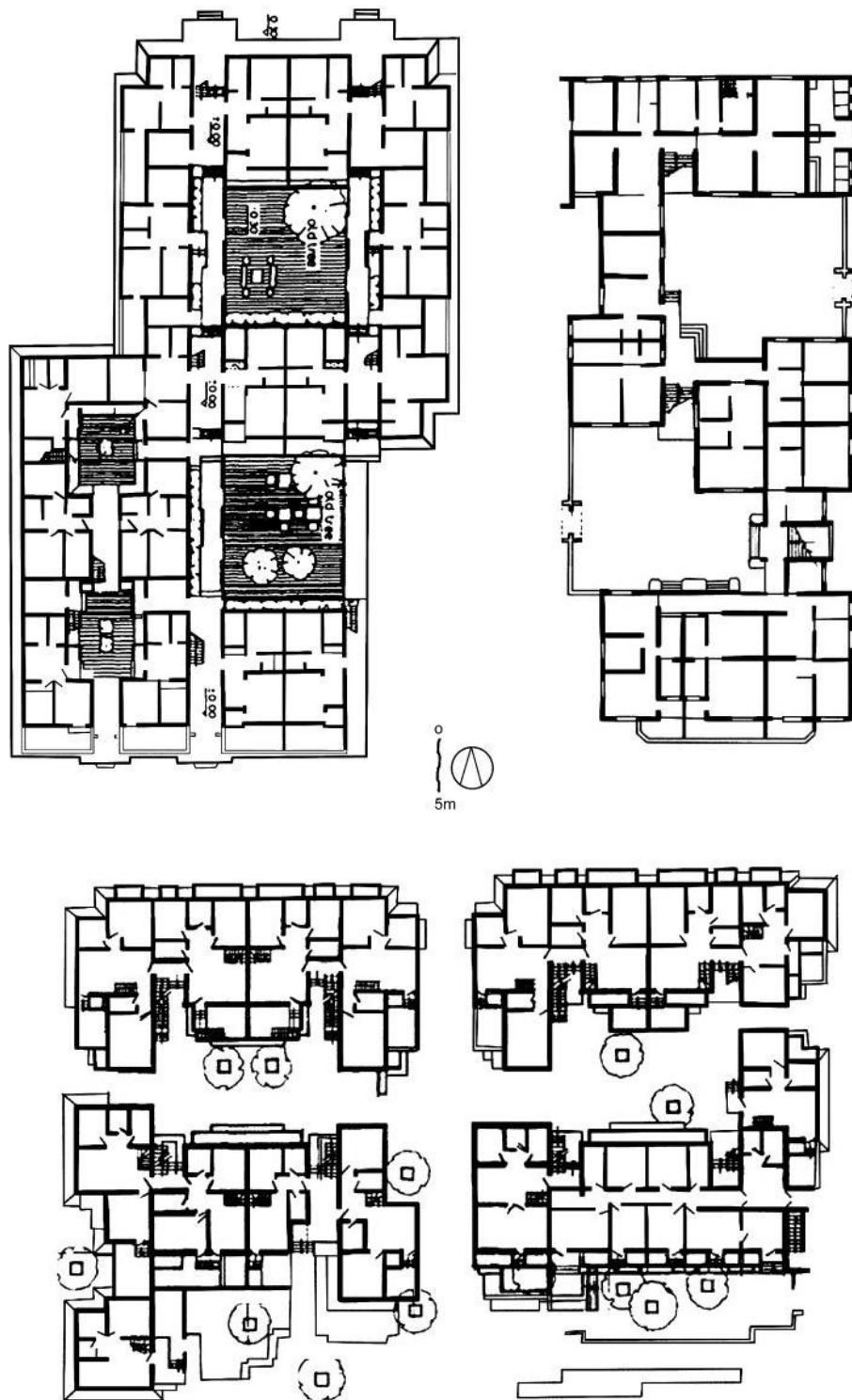
Fig. 11- 5 Multiple ground-floor plans of new courtyard housing in Ju'er Hutong

Source: (Chen, 2010)

11-6). It was planned that the first three phases would be connected to each other and would cover two-fifths of the entire Ju'er Hutong area. The design of the fourth phase started in 1993. It focused on the integrity of the whole district. A new road system was

Fig. 11- 6 New courtyard housing and urban landscape

Source: (Institute of Architectural and Urban Studies (Tsinghua University), 2013)

developed. New commercial, business and public facilities were added and made full use of, whilst the protection and reuse of the traditional courtyard houses and environments were considered. What is more, the fourth phase aimed to be coherent with the former phases as well as creating new characteristics. However, sea changes in urban land-use rights and housing market interrupted the continuity of these phases. The New Land Law announced in 1992 officially requalified the sale of land-use rights in Beijing. In 1994, the land-use designation for small-scale plots was changed to commercial use. As a result, the land and housing prices in the inner city skyrocketed. The developer of the Ju'er Hutong project was unable to carry on the redevelopment programme. Only a hotel in the third- phase plan was built. The construction of the fourth phase never started. Later on, although the local government took back the responsibility of redeveloping this area, any indication to continue with the third and fourth phases was never seen.

11.2.4 Urban renewal after 1990

As the capital city, Beijing is the political and cultural centre of China. This position has always been reflected in its urban planning strategy from its early establishment to modern times (Sit, 1996; Wu *et al.*, 1998). A unique and remarkable

urban pattern and architectural features were formed and maintained over 700 years from the thirteenth century (Heath and Tang, 2010; Cantrell, 2011). A rigid grid street system with straight north–south and east–west orientations that overlap a winding river network can still be observed in the old city range. The layout of the streets is also characterised by a central axis and different scales, regularity, horizontality and symmetry according to factors such as hierarchy and the functional character of the area (Broudehoux, 1994). These characteristics of the street layout are also reflected in the individual buildings. A few temples, towers and important royal buildings disrupted the horizontal skyline with their graceful, golden sloping roofs and high red walls, whilst most common houses were of low rise with grey, curving pitched roofs and light grey walls (Hu, 2004; Kolodny, 2006). These traditional features are still influencing

Fig. 11- 7 Hutong tourism

Source: author's collection

Beijing's urban planning strategy nowadays. In Beijing's master plan of 2004–2020, it is defined that the city should be constructed as the 'national capital, [an] international metropolis, [a] historic city, and a liveable city' (Li, 2005b, p. 103). The plan concerns the realistic meanings of the historical characteristics of the old city in particular (Fang, 2000). In an international context, the unique urban patterns and architectural features have brought Beijing many advantages in the cultural competition in globalisation (Chen, 2010). In the domestic context, the conservation of the old city is an effective way to solve Beijing's economic and social problems (Zhang, 2006a). Strategies such as promoting *hutong* tourism (see Fig. 11-7) are regarded as effective approaches to boost the city's economy (Gu and Ryan, 2008). The well-being of the urban residents in the areas can also be improved through the regeneration of the old buildings and environments. Furthermore, since the 1980s, communication and exchange with Western planning and urban renewal have been strengthened at both theory and practice levels (Abramson, 2007). Under these circumstances, concerns over the value of the old city have been raised within local government, developers, academics and the public. Quite a few combined projects of redevelopment and conservation, many of them in the old residential areas, have been conducted to transform the value of traditional housing culture into a realistic interest.

One of the most significant urban renewal attempts concerning Beijing's historic city area started in April 1990, when the municipal authorities launched the ODHR programme (Fang and Zhang, 2003; Abramson, 2007). The programme aims to upgrade the physical conditions of the central city, to accelerate old and dilapidated housing renewal, and to improve the living conditions of the urban residents (Lü, 1997; Fang, 2000). As mentioned before, the Ju'er Hutong housing redevelopment project launched in 1989 was one of the pilot projects of the ODHR. The initiation, design and implementation of Ju'er Hutong reflected the synthesis and compromise of various values between different institutions or groups of people in this old residential area. For local authorities and real estate developers, Ju'er Hutong is one of their early explorations of new housing resources and management approaches (Fang and Zhang, 2003). For the professionals and academics in architecture, planning and heritage conservation, Ju'er Hutong is a perfect opportunity to transform their theories into practice (Wu, 1989b; Wang, 1997). Moreover, the local residents was involved in the urban development and housing programme in China for the first time, though only through limited ways such as investment and survey (Wu, 1989b). From 1990 to 1994,

the experimental project was honoured numerous national and international awards (Wu, 1994). In 1992 alone, it took awards including the Creative Award of Architectural Society of China, the ARCASIA gold medal for Architectural Excellence and the World Habitat Award. Wu Liangyong, the chief architect of this project, received the National Scientific and Technological Awards in 2011 (*Tsinghua Newsletter*, 2012). Even now, the Ju'er Hutong project is still influencing urban renewal practice and research in China. A series of renewal programmes emphasising the traditional urban pattern and architectural features have been carried out since the Ju'er Hutong project. However, the tensions between preservation and development are recurring as in Ju'er Hutong (Abramson, 1997). New cultural, economic and social problems have also increased, especially during the wave of urban construction in the preparation for the 2008 Olympic Games (Zhang, 2008b). Many so-called preservation programmes ended up as large-scale demolitions of the original urban fabric under the impetus of modernisation and economic interests (Hu, 2004; Zhang, 2008b). To promote urban growth, the city manager looks for new and multiple ways to reuse urban land and the architectural structures in the old city area (Wu, 2002; Wu and Zhang, 2008). These new ways are usually oriented towards acute commercialisation interests, such as tourism, and have become the new challenge to the maintenance of the authentic features of the inner city (Zhang, 2008b). What is more, when physical building environments are changing drastically, the original residents begin to suffer the loss of their former social networks (Cantrell, 2011). In general, in the past three decades, the awareness of urban preservation has been raised throughout Chinese society. Quite a few of the urban renewal programmes have been experiments to seek a sustainable method of urban growth. Among these opportunities and tensions, the Ju'er Hutong housing redevelopment project is of great interest in the study of the combination of urban development and conservation in the form of urban renewal.

11.2.5 Ju'er Hutong in the development of heritage study

Therefore, the lenses of urban preservation and architectural conservation have become one of the most popular ways to analyse Ju'er Hutong in the subsequent studies, which led to the recognition of the programme as a new piece of urban heritage in Beijing. As the pilot project of a large-scale redevelopment programme in this historical area, Ju'er Hutong had the essential nature of heritage conservation from the very beginning. Many studies into the heritage identity of Ju'er Hutong focus on the

contribution of the project in preserving the integrity of the traditional urban fabric and the architectural ingredients within such as *siheyuan* houses (Shin, 2010). In most of these subsequent studies, Ju'er Hutong is generally recognised as a successful practical application of Wu Liangyong's theory of urban renewal (Acharya, 2004). A great many of the studies on Ju'er Hutong are actually studying Wu's idea of 'Organic Renewal'. Considering the old city as a whole, Wu argues that 'Organic Renewal' is a sustainable strategy for redeveloping historic cities (Fang, 2000). Wu, together with his research group and Tsinghua colleagues, has also devoted himself to developing the theory for years even after the abandonment of the project. In addition, Wu's architectural design of the 'quasi courtyard', later named 'new courtyard', has been labelled as the rebirth of the traditional housing type of *siheyuan* (Wu, 1994). Therefore, some subsequent research discusses the validity of recognising Ju'er Hutong as a conservation project by comparing the old and new *siheyuan* types. It is widely accepted that the new design adopted many features of the old *siheyuan* such as the spatial quality and proportion, the alley system, the arrangement of the inner yards, the building forms including sloping roofs, the construction materials, the colours and colour collocation (see Fig. 11-8), etc. (Sun, 2003, p. 77; Chen, 2010). Multiple theories of architecture, planning and heritage such as typology (Su and Quan, 2004; Sun, 2008), contextualism (Cheng, 2010) and neighbourhood (Jin, 2000) are widely applied in these studies.

While researchers interested in traditional architecture and urban planning commit themselves to proving the inheritance between the Ju'er Hutong project and Beijing *siheyuan*, others turn to emphasising the new design itself as a creative achievement of modern housing and living environments in China. The achievement itself can make Ju'er Hutong the modern heritage of the city. In their opinions, new courtyard houses in Ju'er Hutong can be evaluated as a new housing prototype, because it is distinctive from the traditional *siheyuan*. The distinctions have been specifically demonstrated in physical forms and cultural meanings of the courtyards (Hu, 2004) through comparisons such as heliodon experiments (Zhang, 2006a) and social activities (Sun, 2008). The ideas to recognise the modernity in Ju'er Hutong as heritage are reinforced by evaluating Wu Liangyong's modern architectural theories, including 'Integrated Architecture' and the 'Sciences of Human Settlement'. Many of his modern theories of architecture, planning and inhabitants were initiated and experimented upon throughout the Ju'er Hutong project. In return, a new modern identity was bestowed upon this area.

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Fig. 11- 8 Colour collocation of Ju'er Hutong

Source: author's collection

As heritage research is developing in China, planning and housing policies in specific historic periods are included as the new resource to support the idea of recognising Ju'er Hutong as urban heritage. The most significant changes in Ju'er Hutong took place from 1949 to the early 1990s. These changes made Ju'er Hutong one of the most appropriate cases to study China's urban policies (Leaf, 1995; Fang and Zhang, 2003). For example, in the published work of Zhang Yan and Fang Ke – the latter was supervised by Wu Liangyong at Tsinghua University – policies of housing redevelopment in the inner city of Beijing are analysed through the rise and fall of the Ju'er Hutong project (Fang and Zhang, 2003). Their research was further extended from the project itself to offering insight into China's transitional economy and politics. Zhang and Fang's work also indicates that the social and cultural transformation in modern China has become a new dimension of heritage research. After more and more

heritage concepts, such as contextualism (Yan, 1996), were imported into China in the new millennium, more studies have turned to the new social and cultural characteristics that were formed during China's rapid urban modernisation. Some follow-up surveys and investigations have been carried out in Ju'er Hutong to study the redeveloped *hutong* areas, particularly focusing on the residents' feelings in the changing building environments (Liang and Zong, 2005). Plenty of discussions and debates have also occurred, centring on the new *hutong* cultures as an integral part of modern urban lives in China (Tomba, 2005). In the meantime, traditional topics such as heritage tourism are also under further development (Gu and Ryan, 2008; Heath and Tang, 2010). In all these developing trends of heritage research in China, Ju'er Hutong has become a common case to illustrate development, which, in return, enriches the significance of the programme.

11.3   JU'ER HUTONG'S MODERN AND TRADITIONAL IDENTITIES

As has been generally introduced above, the significance of the Ju'er Hutong programme as heritage is embedded in its dual identity of the modern and the traditional. It is an initiative creation of modern architecture whilst inheriting traditional qualities and details. In addition, Ju'er Hutong effectively improves the development of heritage study and practice in China. Therefore, this section will look at Ju'er Hutong from three major aspects. The first is to explore how this modern dwelling programme has creatively inherited and developed the traditional Beijing dwelling form of *siheyuan*. The second is how the architect formed and embedded his theories of urban renewal and urban heritage conservation in this renovation project. The third is the architect's understandings of modern human settlements.

11.3.1 A modernisation and inheritance of tradition

Wu Liangyong, the chief architect of Ju'er Hutong, defined the project as a retrospective and revival of a traditional courtyard building system (Wu, 1994). Many subsequent studies also regard the project as an explicit and conscious effort to create a 'New Courtyard Prototype' that adopts the essence of the traditional *siheyuan* form whilst accommodating the modern family living pattern (Wang, 2013). The project expresses a considerable debt to traditional Chinese dwelling architecture. The quadrangle house form is not only typical in Beijing but is also one of the most representative types of Chinese ancient buildings. Based upon this architectural pattern, Beijing's urban cultural context is constructed among *hutong* buildings (Chen, 2004).

Even in modern times, *siheyuan* buildings are still providing spiritual support to the city including cultural identification and neighbourhood communication (Jin, 2000). Therefore, it is widely accepted that the *siheyuan* is an important architectural component of Beijing's urban heritage that should be preserved. However, the old urban pattern built upon *siheyuan* has been decaying for years during Beijing's urban modernisation, especially in the last few decades. The decline is not only caused by mass urban construction, but also a result of the incapability of the old *siheyuan* buildings to meet the needs of modern lives. The Ju'er Hutong project was born at the right moment to explore a new type of dwelling in the old city area. In other words, the 'New Courtyard Prototype' in Ju'er Hutong is a tremendous advance in inheriting and innovating the regional context of Beijing (Cheng, 2010).

Ju'er Hutong's inheritance of traditional courtyard buildings is built upon the intensive study on the history of Beijing's urban patterns and architectural systems. From 1978, Wu Liangyong and his colleagues were studying Beijing's courtyard dwellings and neighbourhood system years before the Ju'er Hutong project. Their studies explore the formation of the grid pattern in China's traditional urban planning, the evolution of the neighbourhood system and the transformation of courtyard buildings (Wu, 1994). It has been discovered that the grid shape of streets in most Chinese ancient cities is rooted in the division mode of cultivated land, which was usually divided in a chessboard pattern. This mode was implemented in other aspects of social systems, including household management, military administration and bureaucracy (Wu, 1994). It was also embodied in traditional Chinese town planning in forms such as streets in grid patterns, rectangular districts and the architectural layout that centred on courtyards (Wu, 1994). In other words, the traditional pattern of Chinese cities and courtyard dwellings is the result of taking the grid division of cultivated land as its prototype. After a long evolutionary history, Chinese urban patterns and architectural layouts in distinctive geographical, climate and cultural regions were developed to form different regional characteristics. The chessboard-like urban layout in Beijing was initially formed during the construction of the capital city of the Yuan dynasty in the second half of the thirteenth century (Heath and Tang, 2010). Most existing residential *hutong* and *siheyuan* can be traced back to the early Qing dynasty in the mid-seventeenth century (Wu, 1985). By then, from the grand royal palace to the smallest *hutong*, *siheyuan* were the most elementary unit to compose the city of Beijing. This method of building is very common in traditional Chinese complexes, which are

usually formed by adding, enlarging and overlaying multiple sizes of *siheyuan* buildings. The old Ju'er Hutong was also formed by many groupings of traditional single-storey *siheyuan* buildings that were arranged around one or more courtyards (Heath and Tang, 2010). In the past, courtyard buildings demonstrated many advantages in Beijing's city lives. Firstly, the *siheyuan* building adopts the methods of modelling that are advanced for guarantees of quality and construction efficiency. Sharing similar proportions and construction rules with other traditional Chinese buildings, mature construction methods could be implemented in any *siheyuan* building. Secondly, though the modelling method has strict principles, the layout of *siheyuan* is relatively flexible. The simplest layout and composition unit around a courtyard can be developed to meet all kinds of needs. A single *siheyuan* building can easily be enlarged for a bigger family or split for several families. It can also be transformed from dwelling to another functional use such as a temple or a government building. Thirdly, the pattern of courtyard buildings has good adaptability in changing geographical conditions and building materials. For example, the courtyards in Beijing *siheyuan* houses are usually broader than those in the houses of southern China, as people living in the north need more sunlight in winter. The form of the Beijing *siheyuan* is also a product as well as a reflection of its historical social systems, in which Confucian ethics and feudal hierarchy had dominated for over a thousand years. Therefore, in modern times, the spatial form of the old courtyard house could not fit with modern family structures and lifestyles. For example, the nuclear family has replaced the extended family to become the major family structure (Wu, 1997). More and more small families prefer independent and private apartments rather than sharing kitchens and even toilets with their neighbours. Furthermore, the popularity of household electrical appliances such as washing machines also requires different indoor spaces than before. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the old courtyard house concept has lost its significance in modern society. Just as the architect of Ju'er Hutong said, *siheyuan* is still a living architectural type that is worthy of being studied and renovated (Wu, 1994). It is expected that the Ju'er Hutong project can well resolve the conflicts between modern lifestyles and traditional architectural space, whilst preserving the *siheyuan* style as heritage. To be more specific, the inheritance and renovation of *siheyuan* in Ju'er Hutong can be observed in three aspects:

First, Ju'er Hutong has maintained the two most important ingredients of Beijing's traditional residential pattern – the *hutong* and the courtyard. They are also the

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basic elements that compose this ancient capital city. The redevelopment project in Ju'er Hutong retains the original layout of the streets. In particular, Ju'er Hutong is linked with the nearby areas via east–west lanes. In the meantime, in order to meet the needs of modern transport methods and speed, the old streets and lanes have been changed into distinct scales and functions. For example, some small lanes are exclusively for pedestrians. A couple of wider north–south *hutong* have been added to enhance the internal communication of the district.

Second, Ju'er Hutong has improved and enriched outdoor space. Unlike the traditional *siheyuan*, which is comprised of single-storey buildings, department buildings in Ju'er Hutong usually have two or three storeys. More building layers not only effectively increased the plot ratio and enabled more original residents to return to Ju'er Hutong after the project was completed, but also emphasised courtyard boundaries whilst fulfilling the modern solar irradiance standard. The differences in layers between buildings form a number of semi-outdoor spaces, among which the flat roof can be used as a garden platform or attic. Being different from the traditional fully enclosed courtyards, these new courtyards are in the open or semi-open style and are linked with each other through lanes. As many ancient trees from the original site have been kept in these courtyards, the new courtyards can remind us of the location of the old courtyards though the surroundings have been changed. In addition, the multi-storey buildings along the main *hutong* further reduced the visual scale of the streets, which have to be broadened for motor vehicles. Through these measures, Ju'er Hutong has maintained and imitated the feelings and experiences of traditional *siheyuan* whilst meeting the requirement of modern lifestyles.

The third architectural achievement of the Ju'er Hutong project is its success in promoting new neighbourhood relationships. The *hutong* neighbourhood is an important cultural factor in the traditional *siheyuan* housing areas. But, a strong *hutong* neighbourhood is always realised by the sacrifice of individual privacy, which is increasingly serious in modern life. To ensure privacy in Ju'er Hutong, when public courtyards are maintained, each ground floor family is provided with an independent small yard. Families on the upper floors also have their own balconies. The top floor residents may use the rooftop of the lower storeys as their private outdoor platform. Visual interferences between these private outdoor spaces are particularly avoided in the design. In the meantime, the project increases the number and type of public spaces to promote neighbourhood communication. These public spaces are designed in different

scales and functions including the rest areas in the lanes, broad open courtyards, a seniors' club, a juniors' reading room and so on. In general, the Ju'er Hutong project is a positive attempt to create new private modern life as well as to carry forward friendships among the neighbourhood (Jin, 2000).

11.3.2 Organic renewal for urban conservation

As mentioned in the history section, the Ju'er Hutong project was undertaken to test Wu Liangyong's urban renewal theory named 'Organic Renewal'.

For a long time, urban renewal in China had been understood simply as a physical regeneration progress. Similarly, the conservation of old city areas was understood as the preservation of every old thing. Given these understandings, redevelopment and conservation became the two opposing sides of urban renewal. As early as the 1980s, Chinese architects and planners began to think how to inherit Beijing's urban fabric whilst exploring new ways to satisfy its modernisation objectives. The Ju'er Hutong housing project and the Xiao Hou Xiang housing renovation are the two early attempts (Fang, 2000). Particularly in Ju'er Hutong, urban renewal measurements under the theory of 'Organic Renewal' were implemented for the first time. With the results collected from the Ju'er Hutong project, the theory has been further developed and the renewal measures have been applied to other historic cities such as Suzhou and Jinan (Fang, 2000). The applications of the Ju'er Hutong experiences indicate that 'Organic Renewal' is not only feasible in Ju'er Hutong and Beijing's old city renewal, but also has extensive guiding significance (Zeng, 1997).

Wu explains his 'Organic Renewal' in relation to two aspects, namely 'physical environment renewal' and 'economic and social structure renewal' (Wu, 1994). He compares the city to a living organism, and its buildings are its component cells (Wu, 1989b). The general law of metabolism in this organism is the process that new buildings are constantly replacing the old ones. Due to the distinctiveness of the structures, materials and maintenance, the individual buildings fall into different qualities in each historical period. Instead of removing whole districts, the renewal of the old city area is more like a patching process. It should be carried out in a principled, planned and persistent way to replace the senescent decayed cells with healthy functional ones. The buildings and districts are evaluated and classified according to their existing situation. The most dilapidated buildings will be removed; those of acceptable quality or with cultural significance will be repaired. New buildings should

be constructed with a distinctive expression whilst keeping the correlation with the adjacent existing ones (Wu, 1994). Only in this patching approach can the city's integrated fabric be preserved, and an 'organic order' for the subsequent urban development can be established. The activation of the physical environment could effectively promote economic prosperity and urban civilisation. In return, the economic and cultural factors would meanwhile influence the physical form of the city. Overall, the ultimate goal of 'Organic Renewal' is to establish the 'organic order' to guarantee the sustainable development of the city. This theory of 'Organic Renewal' is believed to be an integrated approach to solve the conflicts between conservation and urban development in China (Zeng, 1997).

At a practical level in Ju'er Hutong, Wu and his colleagues started their work by analysing the geographic and urban features of Beijing, characterising its unique cityscape and texture. Then, the knowledge is applied to the Ju'er Hutong projects by illustrating the potential role of the traditional courtyard concept in modern times. Specifically, the application of 'Organic Renewal' in Ju'er Hutong has been embodied in three main aspects. The first aspect is to establish an assessment standard to decide the treatment of the existing buildings. The assessment system to decide whether a building is to be preserved, repaired or removed was first adopted in the Shichahai renovation project directed by Wu Liangyong in 1979–1980. The system was adopted again in the subsequent Ju'er Hutong project. The second aspect is to divide the whole project area into several divisions. The reconstruction and transformation should be carried on within these divisions, one after another, as different stages. The third aspect is to retain integrity inside and between all the divisions through building height control, uniform colours and coordination of architectural forms such as courtyards and sloping roofs.

11.3.3 Human settlement of universal value

Another theoretical contribution embodied in the Ju'er Hutong project is the idea of the 'Sciences of Human Settlements'. The concept was initially derived from C. A. Doxiadis' *Ekistics* and the modern town planning theories of Lewis Mumford, Ebenezer Howard and Patrick Geddes. (Wu, 2001). Wu and his colleagues integrated these concepts with the conditions of urban development and living environments in China. The definition of a human settlement was extended to an independent discipline that combines all human activity processes. It is pointed out that the major aim in

developing this discipline is to acknowledge the general rule of human settlement development, in order to build a better habitation environment (Fang, 2000). All human settlements are human centred and nature based, and the habitation environment is the intermediary agent of humans, nature and the interactions between them. Using Doxiadis' theories as references, this theory divides human settlements into five broad systems: natural, human, social, residential, and the relative supporting systems (Wu, 2001). The last two systems are the outcomes of human production and construction. Both of them can be regulated and controlled through urban planning and architectural programming (Wu, 2001). Based on the political condition of China, human settlement is further divided into five levels as follows: nationwide; regional; urban; township or community; and architectural (Wu, 2001). Since the late 1970s, when China launched its economic reforms and opening-up policy, one of the most outstanding performances in China's urban housing has been the mass construction of large-scale residential areas. There are four main features of these large residential districts. The first is the enormous capacity of population. Some ultra-large residential areas can accommodate tens of thousands of households (Sun, 2008). The second feature is the overwhelming partition of the city. Large-scale residential districts usually use the major urban roads as their boundaries. Sometimes, ultra-large ones even cut off the original roads. Enclosure is the third feature in China's urban living pattern. To guarantee a safer environment, large-scale residential districts usually isolate themselves from the rest of the city through building boundary walls or high fences. The fourth feature is the completeness of the internal functions. Most large-scale residential districts are equipped with independent and integral supporting facilities for community services from a nursery school to a clinic. With these supporting facilities, these large-scale residential districts operate as small cities within the city. The mass construction of these large-scale residential districts in China, especially those built in the 1990s, have caused a lot of problems. For example, residential districts stretching across major urban roads obstruct urban traffic. Enclosed boundaries cut off the residents from communicating with the outside urban areas. Too many self-contained residential districts result in construction of redundant service facilities in the city. Worse still, a lot of these large-scale residential districts are constructed at the cost of demolishing a large number of traditional dwellings and environments such as *siheyuan* and *hutong* in Beijing. The traditional urban pattern is destroyed, replaced by large-scale residential, commercial and office areas. As a result,

the original urban functional division is jumbled. Worse still, the traditional urban landscape is fading away (Wu, 2001).

To solve these urgent problems, ideas in the Sciences of Human Settlements argue that the construction of residential areas in China should focus on dealing with the relationships between 'human, architecture, city and nature' (Sun, 2008). The humanistic content is particularly emphasised. It is further addressed that human settlement research and practice should be carried out as a synthetic process of all human political, social, cultural and technical activities. The Ju'er Hutong project is the practical expression of this theory. It aims to convert the place into a sustainable and comfortable settlement. A harmonious and integral relationship is to be built between the development of the area and the development of the whole city, covering all aspects of ecology, economy, technology, society and culture. To achieve these targets, the programme combines urban planning, urban design and architectural design. It adopts the pattern of small-scale building clusters and small-scale streets to improve the residents' space perception. Lanes run through the site and a number of open courtyards are spread out to enhance the connection of the area with the nearby city districts. The low-rise apartment buildings are surrounded by private and semi-private spaces to meet the needs of different groups. To encourage neighbourhood communication and strengthen the sense of belonging, small businesses and various service and public facilities, such as a community centre are properly set out within the district. In general, the theories of scientific human settlements in Wu's Sciences of Human Settlements are carried out and put under examination in Ju'er Hutong. Considering the theoretical and practical value in human settlements, in 1993, Ju'er Hutong Courtyard Housing Project was declared the winner of the World Habitat Awards.

11.4 PARTICIPANTS EVALUATING JU'ER HUTONG FOR THE FUTURE

Although Ju'er Hutong has become highly valued for its distinctive architecture, planning and theories, the suspending and abandoning of the third and fourth phases show that the future of the programme as a real estate project has not been looked upon favourably. Nevertheless, it is still expected that Ju'er Hutong could play a positive role in Beijing's urban redevelopment, housing market and modern lives, in preserving the cultural features of the old capital. Driven by this common purpose, different groups of people have evaluated the current situation of Ju'er Hutong and then expressed their perspectives on the future of the place in different ways. In other words, the future of

Ju'er Hutong will be the result of the interwoven values of these groups, including the local government, market practitioners, scholars, outside visitors and the residents. The local government has played a decisive role in policymaking. But, the final decision is made considering the interests and aesthetics of all parties. For example, the professionals mentioned in the field of urban conservation regard the urban context as the most important factor in the next measures to be taken. The visitors from outside, such as architecture students, photographers, journalists and regular tourists, are more willing to enjoy the visual perception of the traditional architectural form of *siheyuan*. Even the residents of Ju'er Hutong have different opinions. The relocated residents often compare their contemporary living environment to the original *siheyuan*. The new residents sometimes complain the estate is not modern enough for contemporary city lives while enjoying the traditional elements in Ju'er Hutong, which are very different from other residential districts. This section discusses and compares these different values about the future of Ju'er Hutong.

11.4.1 Decision-makers: Local government and its coalitions

The local government holds a profound economic-based governance strategy in city planning as well as in the Ju'er Hutong project. In its early phases, the government embraced the Ju'er Hutong project as a successful effort to improve the housing conditions of inner-city residents. However, when a market mechanism was introduced to the planning system, the economic value of exchanging land and property quickly became the major source of revenue. In the meantime, economic decentralisation is promoted as a state governance strategy (Wu and Zhang, 2008). The local government quickly utilised their newly gained power over land development to reap economic and political gains (Zhang and Fang, 2003). As a result, the interest of the residents and preservation of values as advocated by the architects and heritage researchers were largely ignored. The focus of redevelopment projects like Ju'er Hutong quickly turned to a high exchange value and symbolic cultural value, which can directly or indirectly boost economic growth. As a result, under the collaboration of capital providers such as real estate developers, the local government has played a decisive role in a serious of inner-city redevelopment programmes, which are often criticised for merely consisting of symbolic preservation (Zhang, 2008b) in narrowly picturesque terms (Abramson, 2007).

The local government's economic-led development attitude to redeveloping historic areas has its roots in the features of city planning and governance in China. The central issue of the planning of the Chinese city might be the role of changing governance in its development. On the surface, city plans in China demonstrate complex and contradictory expressions due to differences in governance such as pro-growth, entrepreneurial and cultural-led preferences. In addition, local government shows its interests in a variety of areas such as economic development, political prospects, aesthetic preferences and the city's image in the world. Nevertheless, all of these interests serve the ultimate purpose of urban growth and economic development. The market-oriented mechanism, with the support of economic reform, enforces the trends of entrepreneurial urban governance. Culture, or more precisely, cultural products, become marketable commodities. They help to build up the image of the city and to diversify its economy. The production of the cultural urban landscape becomes a part of place-based competition strategies in city planning (Wu and Zhang, 2008). What is more, the conscious use of cultural elements becomes a new trend in urban planning and the redevelopment of large cities. Generally, culture-led redevelopment in China is about the use of culture as an instrument to create more development opportunities. Preservation and redevelopment projects under this strategy are concerned with new sources of employment, place-making, identity re-creation and other opportunities for development. In other words, culture-led planning in China is another form of the expression of entrepreneurial governance. Under the market mechanism, the function of urban planning as a resource allocation device has been diminished, but a new function of place promotion emerges (Wu and Zhang, 2008).

Usually, urban preservation and urban growth are two processes towards different orientations. But in China, because of this entrepreneurial governance and economic-led planning, the maintenance and repairing of historic sites, buildings and cultures is combined in the new construction projects during urban growth. Historic areas in many historic Chinese cities are ambitiously defined as having a preservation-worthy image by the local government. As a result, symbolic preservation or redevelopment programme are preferred to be conducted in picturesque terms. The ODHR programme, seemingly representing the local government's concerns for Beijing's historic centre during rapid urban transformation, is a top-down creation of Beijing's overall characteristics and structures. This situation is compared with Haussmann's embellishment of Paris (Abramson, 2007). In Paris, buildings and

monuments endowed with symbolic nationalistic, political and personal aesthetic values are selectively preserved, whilst others are to be demolished. Besides, only the façades of the selected constructions were preserved. Other items behind the elevations were largely untouched. Similarly, in Beijing, some *hutong* and *siheyuan* houses that are either in good physical condition, located near important sites and roads, or are lived in by celebrities are identified as worthy of preservation. Such buildings will be restored and transformed into new residential or tourist buildings. As a result, some urban preservation and redevelopment projects in China become symbolic actions in the name of protecting historic elements. This is one of the radical and frequently used approaches in many Chinese cities to achieve rapid urban growth in the era of globalisation. Local government and urban developers treat historic structures as exotic cultural elements to attract domestic and global consumerist elites (Zhang, 2008b). Instead of tearing down all old buildings, local government adopts a strategy of restoring and converting the preservation-worthy objects to stimulate tourism and consumption, and to push up the property values in the nearby areas. The preservation projects under this strategy are usually refined into luxury entertainment districts. Not only have these areas become the new cultural image of the city, but also, their 'successful' commercialisation demonstrates that urban preservation is acting as the economic instrument within the sophisticated urban management. The symbolic preservation programme promoted under the economic-chasing values of the local government is paradoxical. On the one hand, the 'authentic' urban fabric and historic buildings are wiped out under condensed urban construction. On the other hand, new city characteristics are created when the redevelopment project plays the role of cultural showcase in the tourist economy. Ju'er Hutong, especially its early stages, is one of the various symbolic preservation projects carried out by the local government to reconcile a variety of economic and political interests. It includes the designation of preservation-worthy districts, the restoration or imitation of historical styles, and the creation of cultural districts for potential future tourism.

This feature of entrepreneurial governance oriented by economic-led values has been demonstrated vividly in the rise and fall of Ju'er Hutong. Beijing's local government touted its first two phases as a successful model of housing renewal programme with an adequate use value (Zhang and Fang, 2003). However, when approaches like high-rise flats demonstrated more value in accumulating wealth, the third and fourth phases were suspended and eventually cancelled. It is crucial to admit

that the economic and political nature of China's urban planning and governance caused the rise and fall of the Ju'er Hutong project. Moreover, it is believed that China's urban governance nowadays still prioritises its economic growth (Wu and Zhang, 2008). Nevertheless, as China is still within its economic and political transition, a strong civic society has yet to emerge. It is also expected that new attitudes that value the cultural and social aspects of the traditional buildings and urban patterns would take priority in the inner-city development projects of the near future.

11.4.2 Outsiders: Professionals and tourists

Perhaps it is more proper to use the term 'distant observers' rather than 'outsiders' to describe this group. For professionals such as researchers of architecture and urban planning, architects, urban planners and students, Ju'er Hutong is the most convenient site at which they may inspect the knowledge they possess and exchange experiences. Visitors such as journalists and tourists enjoy the project's distinctive characteristics, which synthesise tradition with modernity. The attitudes of the professionals dominate in evaluating Ju'er Hutong systematically and integrally in this group. Tourists often borrow these professionals' statements to express their preferences about the place. Both the professionals and tourists take a bird's-eye view of Ju'er Hutong. Their involvement with the future of Ju'er Hutong is oriented by the modern values and evaluation approaches gained from outside the place, or even from outside China.

Since the first stage of the Ju'er Hutong project was completed in the early 1990s, professionals, including the architects of the programme, have been studying the experiences of Ju'er Hutong, and the mistakes the programme made. It is often alleged that Ju'er Hutong project brought about the popularity of displacing traditional residential areas with imitation buildings (Liang and Zong, 2005). Besides, Ju'er Hutong has also been criticised for causing an enormous loss in its social and cultural meanings as the composition of residents was totally changed after the project. Nevertheless, the Ju'er Hutong programme is generally recognised as a successful pilot project in renewing an old urban area under the new real estate market policy. There is a central aim in the interactive behaviours between the professionals and the site. It is to find a suitable model for a larger scale of urban renewal in the future. During this interactive process, a series of disciplines such as architecture, urban planning, economics and culture are expanded and deepened. The interactions between these

disciplines are improved. Furthermore, some modern research methods have been validated and popularised.

As has been discussed in the previous section, the interpretations of Ju'er Hutong in academia are usually carried out by appreciating its architectural achievements and the theories embedded in the project. In addition to the 'New Courtyard Prototype', 'Organic Renewal' and the 'Sciences of Human Settlements', the design and practice process of Ju'er Hutong also advocates architecture researchers to rethink the discipline of architecture and architectural education. It is pointed out that its discipline and education should be developed through a combination of study, practice and research. The practice process of the Ju'er Hutong project is often quoted to demonstrate this thought. A pre-study on Beijing's urban planning and its traditional residential types – *siheyuan* and *hutong* – was conducted before the programme. Traditional *hutong* culture and neighbourhood communities in *siheyuan* were also put under investigation as to the cultural background of the project. Afterwards, Beijing's urban context was articulated by creatively developing a 'quasi courtyard' house type, based on the prototype of the traditional *siheyuan* houses and meanwhile utilising modern design concepts (Yan, 1996; Jin, 2000). The practical achievements in Ju'er Hutong have been generalised and developed into innovative theories such as 'Organic Renewal' and the 'Sciences of Human Settlements' as discussed in the previous section. In addition, the thinking and design processes in Ju'er Hutong encouraged Wu Liangyong, the chief architect, to develop 'A General Theory of Architecture'. In 1989, when the first phase of Ju'er Hutong was launched, Wu (1989a) published a book, *Integrated Architecture: A General Theory of Architecture*. Wu based his statement on a holistic basis, both inside and outside China. He argues that it is time to connect all useful knowledge together to set out towards a widened and deepened discipline of architecture. The book concludes with a new theoretical framework to re-establish architecture in a comprehensive context, particularly in the context of China. In these circumstances, architects must maintain their ideals and beliefs whilst tackling practical problems in reality. This framework is expected to help architects and researchers to deal with the relationship between ideals and reality. It also tries to broaden the domain of architecture, by explaining buildings through geographical, cultural, economic and artistic views of space and time and other trans-disciplinary approaches. What is more, the book is a milestone of the expressions of Wu's ideas, a benchmark of contemporary

architecture in China and even a great contribution to the research on all components of the man-made environment around the world.

When researchers devote themselves to extending the theories related to the project, architectural practitioners place their hopes in using Ju'er Hutong as a reference for planning strategies and design tactics on close observation. For example, typological analysis has been used to help the selection and modify the traditional building forms in modern urban renovation (Su and Quan, 2004). Residential districts at a tiny scale, which are inspired by Ju'er Hutong, were pointed out to be significant in utilising small urban blocks (Zhang and Wang, 2011). The positive and negative outcomes of commercialising the departments in Ju'er Hutong, such as promoting capital returns and gentrification, also encourage the practitioners to think over the implementation methods of commercialisation in future redevelopment projects (Liang and Zong, 2005). It may be predicted that for a long time in the future, Ju'er Hutong will remain a case study for exploring ways forward for China's urban renewal and the modernisation and commercialisation of traditional houses.

11.4.3 Residents: The old and the new

Only a small proportion of the original residents were resettled in Ju'er Hutong after the project. The rest became the victims of the project's abandonment (Zhang and Fang, 2003). Both the government and the practitioners have claimed that the primary aim of the Ju'er Hutong project was to provide a better living environment for the residents. But, after the first phase of the programme, which is widely acknowledged as the most successful phase, less than 20% of the original residents returned to the place. In some areas, the number even dropped to zero (Zhang and Fang, 2002). However, it would be a mistake to come to the conclusion that the project failed in resettling the residents, as not all the original residents were willing to return to Ju'er Hutong, especially given the situation whereby the local government had treated the original residents as opponents rather than partners in the redevelopment plan (Fang, 2000). Nevertheless, the composition of the inhabitants of Ju'er Hutong changed greatly after the project. Most original residents were replaced by rich tenants who appreciated the traditional *siheyuan* buildings (Liang and Zong, 2005). Many of the few original residents who stayed in Ju'er Hutong also tended to expect that their rooms could be rented out at high prices (Liang and Zong, 2005). During the change of residential composition, the attitudes to the project's future varied.

The old residents have years of experience of living in *hutong*. They are used to the close neighbourhood relationships and tight-knit community. This familiarity is the most essential factor in giving them the sense of being at home (Ballantyne, 2002). The renovation project changed the enclosed courtyards shared by families to open courtyards. Though it was claimed that these new courtyards and other public spaces are arranged to encourage communication between families, the multi-storey apartment buildings designed for smaller family structures demonstrates that people's willingness to continue with the old *hutong* neighbourhood has seriously reduced. As a result, the cultural life of Ju'er Hutong will remain a part of the personal memories for the old residents, whether they decide to move back to Ju'er Hutong or move away to high-rise modern apartments.

When renovation was first implemented in Ju'er Hutong in the 1980s, a 'wholesale Westernisation' was, in the meantime, seeping across the country due to the overwhelming impact of the West in all aspects including capital, culture and knowledge (Wang and Zhang, 1997). Many young people quickly fell in love with Western and modern lives. In the first place, these young people did not have a long experience of living in traditional *hutong* and *siheyuan*. All they remember is the low quality of living environments in the 1970s and 1980s. For example, *hutong* in that period were short of room spaces. There were no indoor toilets in *siheyuan*. Hygiene conditions were also poor because of drainage problems. For the young people who only have a short experience of living in *hutong*, this old lifestyle not only threatens their health, but also excludes them from the modern part of the city. As modernisation is being driven forward in Beijing, young people have to spend more time in traffic and work and less time with their families. Furthermore, the scale of the family in China is shrinking. The large-scale extended family is being replaced by the nuclear family. The close relationship between families and family members is also declining. All these factors determine that, for the young residents, Ju'er Hutong could provide neither a convenient physical living environment nor colourful spiritual needs for their modern urban lives.

After the redevelopment project, a lot of new residents moved into the Ju'er Hutong area. There are more people planning to live in the area even today. These people share some similar values with the local government, scholars and tourists as mentioned before, seeing the place as an important content of Beijing's urban heritage. But their attitudes usually remain in enjoying the 'exotic' visual environment of *hutong*.

Their visual aesthetics are driven either by nostalgia or by adventurous emotion. As they have no experience or understanding of the *hutong* culture, they simply accept the buildings and environment created by modern architects as the same as the traditional *hutong* and *siheyuan*.

In general, the values of these different residents of Ju'er Hutong vary according to how much their lives are linked with the place. Most of their attitudes are developed in an unconscious way. Even for the old residents who seem to know the place best, the meaning of the old *hutong* culture was not deliberately evaluated until they were taken away from the place. The modernised and Westernised young people who have limited experience of *hutong* have found new ways of gathering socially and communicating that they prefer. The new residents also keep bringing the values of modern urban life into the place. Moreover, the new residents themselves have become a new component of the renovated Ju'er Hutong that is waiting to be observed and evaluated by the government and professionals as a part of the assessment of the project. Further, the changes of resident composition and their different opinions of the place lead to another question to the decision-makers and researchers about the future renovation project of traditional residential areas: do modern urban residents still need a traditional architectural form to maintain the traditional neighbourhood community values as an important part of urban heritage?

11.4.4 Who decides Ju'er Hutong's future?

Ju'er Hutong illustrates the situation of redeveloping the historic areas in many Chinese cities. In most redevelopment projects, local government's attitude is primarily guided by economic and cultural benefits. To achieve its instrumentalist goal, real estate developers are accepted as temporary associates to provide capital. Holding a bird's-eye view outside the historic area, practitioners and researchers integrate their understanding of the old place into new modern constructions and theories. But, all these participants' values and aims vary from time to time due to the multiple factors such as changes in urban growth, social structure and composition of the population. The conflicts caused by these changes are exaggerated when urban development encounters heritage conservation in the form of urban renewal. Therefore, the recognition of Ju'er Hutong as Beijing's new urban heritage and an active role in urban development still faces many uncertainties. The first question is: how long will the local government's interest in redeveloping this kind of historic area last? Hosting large international and domestic

events has gradually replaced real estate development to become the most important approach to the city's economic growth (Wu and Zhang, 2008). Local government, considering sustainability, is more and more inclined to pursue multiple approaches to urban development. The redevelopment project of historic areas encounters challenges and chances under these circumstances. If redeveloping historic areas can show strong potential in upgrading urbanscape, boosting economic growth and guaranteeing social stability, approaches experimented with in Ju'er Hutong can still gain opportunities to be improved and popularised. When the authorities consider Ju'er Hutong as heritage in terms of the future development of the whole city, the architects, planners and heritage researchers play an active role in influencing the attitudes of the decision-makers. They are trying to expand the meanings of Ju'er Hutong from the mere image of tradition-inherited modern architecture and a tourist attraction to a necessary component in the composition of space and time of the city. Unlike the case of Byker, residents in Ju'er Hutong are treated as extended study objects in evaluating the place, rather than active participants. But, the changes in the inhabitants of Ju'er Hutong are still closely linked to the change of the project's nature. Based on real experience, their personal understandings and feelings about Ju'er Hutong became one of the most important ways to evaluate any transformation measures in Ju'er Hutong made by the previous two groups of people. This is just as Wu Liangyong (2001) has argued in his lifetime research on human settlements and architecture – the ultimate goal of architecture is to create suitable human settlements to fulfil people's physical, cultural and social needs.

11.5   SUMMARY

In general, the Ju'er Hutong programme is recognised as offering an approach to solve the problems of urban renewal and housing provision in rapid urban development, just as described when it was awarded the winner of 1993 World Habitat Awards:

> *The Ju'er Hutong Courtyard Housing Project is pioneering a new approach to urban renewal in the heart of Beijing. Traditional courtyard housing is being restored and improved, avoiding the need for wholesale demolition of historic but dilapidated inner-city housing. Equally importantly the project seeks to bring about a new approach to the funding and planning of housing provision within historic cities.* (Building and Social Housing Foundation, 1993)

The story of Ju'er Hutong in the field of heritage conservation has just begun, with the new development of the place becoming considered as an integral part of changing urban planning strategies and cultural policies. Local authorities, taking

economic development as their foremost idea, have treated built cultural environments in Ju'er Hutong as cultural resources to provide employment, place-make and reconstruct cultural identity. But, when the awareness of, and preference for, sustainable development increases, the dominant decision-makers tend to be open to many opinions from professionals, visitors and residents. The future Ju'er Hutong will not only be a significant case when studying new architectural approaches to the inheritance of tradition and urban renewal, but also, the maintenance and development of the place may become an efficient method to advertise a local culture through direct contact. Furthermore, once Ju'er Hutong is considered as the heritage of the city when heritage conservation becomes an efficient social policy, a new *hutong* culture and a new identity look set to be formed in this historic place.

Chapter 12 Social policy and heritage conservation

Chapter 9 discussed the politics of heritage as represented in questions of national identity. This characteristic of political sensitivity is more obvious when observing specific social policies such as those of social planning and social housing. Social policy shares similar political values with contemporaneous heritage and heritage policy. In this case, on the one hand, specific social policies might be valued as part of heritage content in relation to its historical and political meanings. On the other hand, policies and laws for heritage and conservation become components of social policy applied in response to social need (Spicker, 2017). In practice, heritage has developed as an 'industry' in response to the cultural, economic, political and social consequences of supporting social and public policy outcomes (Gibson and Stevenson, 2004).

The chapter thus discusses the similarity of political values between social policy and heritage. Comparing the legal systems of heritage conservation of the UK and China, it is then indicated that heritage policy and law have become an integral part of social policy. Afterwards, taking Byker and Ju'er Hutong as examples, the chapter explores how changing housing policies have constructed the political meanings of development projects and keep influencing the conservation of two estates. Furthermore, it will compare how heritage policies and laws have, in turn, impacted local housing policies.

12.1 POLITICAL VALUES FOR HUMAN WELFARE

The term 'social policy' is associated with various definitions, concepts and labels. Broadly, it reflects government policies on welfare and social protection, the ways in which welfare is developed in a society, and the academic study of the subject (Spicker, 2017). Some people argue that social policy is a simple part of the self-regulatory mechanism built into a 'natural' social system toward balance and order (Titmuss, 1974). Others see it as a positive instrument of change, an unpredictable, incalculable part of the whole political process, although the outcome of the instruments of social policy is not always beneficial (Titmuss, 1974). The concept of social policy may sometimes be controversial. Gunnar Myrdal (1970), for example, criticised the dangers of shifting values and biases in social policy between different groups of people. Read in the broader scope of the field of sociology, social policy is determined by government as an intervention in the life of the community (Titmuss, 1974). As an applied subject, it deals with essential needs for healthcare, housing, education and so

on (Spicker, 2014). In an extremely narrow sense, social policy is the desire to ensure every member of the community obtains certain minimum standards and certain opportunities (Hagenbuch, 1958). Social policy can be seen to be beneficial, redistributive and concerned with economic as well as non-economic objectives that involve choices in the ordering of social change (Titmuss, 1974). Among these wide definitions and understandings of social policy, two major features may be highlighted concerning its tight-knit relationship with heritage. The first is the main body of government in all actions of social policy. The second is the particular concerns of social services and the welfare state. In this case, social policy in this research refers to the policies undertaken by the general will of government on behalf of the beneficiary. In particular, political values in welfare states in the field of heritage conservation become the main study objects in the two foregoing case studies.

Social policy and heritage conservation are both involved in the contestation of political values (Titmuss, 1974). For example, in the development plan of Byker in the 1960s, 'Byker for Byker People' was used as the slogan by the council to emphasise that it sought to treat local residents as a priority (North East Civic Trust, 2005). Another council document had the slogan of 'Your Byker Future' as its title, in relation to the transfer of the estate to a trust as a part of its conservation management (Newcastle City Council, 2001). Governments play a substantial interventionist role in the application of both social policies and heritage conservation (Titmuss, 1974). For example, in the redevelopment projects of Byker in the 1960s and Ju'er Hutong in the 1980s, the task was to provide a range of community facilities, a comfortable living environment and safeguards to the residents (Malpass, 1979; Fang, 2000; Vall, 2013). This purpose was also reconfirmed in the conservation plan and management principles of the Byker Estate (Abrams, 2003) and Beijing's urban renewal theories developed from the Ju'er Hutong project (Wu, 1989b). As the government, and governmental agencies, are frequently the primary agents concerned with these activities, social policy not only defines basic political values in heritage research and practice, but also confirms the political targets concerned with human welfare, and these processes became interlinked in the projects examined here. Ideas about social policy – from the past, as heritage in itself, particularly in Byker, and with respect to the present and future – became extended in association with heritage legislation and the adoption of integrated conservation policies (Pickard, 2000).

Pickard (2000) points out that heritage policies and laws should, in the first place, establish a clear definition of heritage and establish a 'selection criteria' to identify the objects to be protected and the protection scope. Appropriate supervision and authorisation of preservation and protection measures should then be provided in the form of legislation. To ensure a policy or law is widely accepted, he argues, the conservation philosophy involved should be rooted in influential thinking such as John Ruskin's and William Morris' writings in the Venice Charter (ICOMOS, 1964). Legal provisions, with their protective sanctions and coercive measures, are adopted to safeguard against damage to heritage, including unauthorised alterations and other criminal proceedings (Pickard, 2000). When interest in heritage grows within governments, conservation policies become increasingly integrated within other political systems such as land use, planning and building regulations (Delafons, 1997). For example, in the UK, the 1968 Town and Country Planning Act introduced comprehensive controls over the works to listed buildings for the first time (Pendlebury, 2009a). Usually, specialist institutions and agencies with different levels of authority are established to oversee legal and policy issues within these integrated policies. Financial resources and funding mechanisms, as well as education and training, are their instruments of effectiveness with measures for intervention and administration (Pickard, 2000).

Take the legislative history of British conservation, for example. It started as early as the Ancient Monument Act of 1882, and the system has developed substantially to encompass a significant part of various British town- and landscapes within an often strict legal framework (Pendlebury, 2000). Distinct categories of monuments, buildings and areas have been set up with conceptual differences, as expressed in the Malta and Granada Conventions (Pendlebury, 2000; Pickard, 2000). But, it has still been argued that the definition of heritage should be extended and made more complex by evolving sufficient philosophical underpinnings for conservation action (Pendlebury, 2000). Since the Civic Amenities Act of 1967, conservation activity has steadily converged with, and been integrated, into statutory planning processes. Tax concessions and the peculiar structure of Value Added Tax (VAT) have been adopted as financial assistance to enrich resources for system management. Administratively, relevant departments in central government are responsible for identifying heritage and planning conservation, whilst special agencies such as English Heritage (now Historic England) provide authoritative advice to government and place functions in casework, such as the

processes around listing buildings. But, practically, most conservation planning work in the UK is undertaken by local planning authorities (Pendlebury, 2000).

Compared with the well-established British conservation system, China is still in the process of developing laws and policies for the protection of architectural heritage, especially that which might be categorised as modern architecture (Zhang, 2008a). Nevertheless, through legislation, heritage has also become an increasingly important issue in China's social policy (Zhou and Zhang, 2010). Like other modern disciplines and social systems, the heritage research and conservation system in China were established by imitating Western models (Guo, 2011). For example, in 2000, *Guidelines for the Protection of Cultural Relics in China* were issued, which made reference to international regulations and principles, such as the Venice Charter (Li and Zhu, 2003). Ideas borrowed in the *Guidelines* not only include heritage definitions, the principles of valuing heritage and assessment criteria for conservation projects, but also the notion that heritage conservation should be integrated with modern life and urban construction (Li and Zhu, 2003). However, because of the huge differences in cultural, political and physical environments, excessive imitation and inadequate theories based upon domestic practice have led to the result that heritage policy and law in China pay more attention to the protected forms and the symbolic meaning of heritage rather than the humanistic values advocated by Alois Riegl for the promotion of the direct experience of heritage sites (Zhang, 2008a; Guo, 2011).

12.2   HOUSING POLICIES AND HERITAGE

The concept of policy in the notion of social policy is only meaningful when it is believed to affect change – for better or worse – in some form or another (Titmuss, 1974). As a way of distributing and accessing social resources, housing policy is an important form of practising social policy. Following Thomas Marshall's definition of social policy, its core consists of social insurance, public assistance, health and welfare service, and housing policy (Marshall, 1967). Housing policy not only varies in different countries and contexts, but also, within the same national territory, demonstrating changing political values over time. In Chapters 10 and 11, housing policies in the UK and China were reviewed, from estate development to (potential) conservation projects. Behind these differences and changes are the political values of local governments and their understandings of heritage.

The British welfare state was identified as an institutional model comprising three key elements: minimum standards, social protection and the provision of welfare service (Briggs, 1961). But, in practice, social welfare in the UK is very different. Coverage is extensive but benefits and services are delivered at a low level. Social protection is provided patchily and services are tightly rationed (Spicker, 2014). Furthermore, the framework of social policy in the UK has changed frequently, including its administrative structure and its policies, including in the realm of social housing. There were two major reforms in the administration of the welfare state in the UK (Spicker, 2014). The first phase was in the 1960s and 1970s, during which central government was reformed to allow the planning and control of public expenditure by the Treasury. The second phase was in the 1980s and 1990s, during which new public management was introduced to restructure the civil service and the administration of welfare. Here, government-led administration was broken-up into a series of agencies run with business-like management. Public services were encouraged to act more like economic markets. This trend of decentralisation and quasi-marketisation has still carried on in recent years (Spicker, 2014). Housing and urban policy are more sensitive to the economy and the market. Therefore, social housing, as one of the major practical policies for welfare, went through stages of change throughout similar periods from the 1970s to 1980s, during which several stages of the Byker redevelopment project were constructed (Johnson, 1975). The main role of council housing after the Second World War was the replacement of housing stock through mass clearance and mass building (Dunleavy, 1981). As introduced in Chapter 10, before the redevelopment project, Byker had been a physically dilapidated area with a low quality of life of the working class (Johnson, 1975; Konttinen, 1983). From the early 1960s to the early 1980s, all stages of the redevelopment project in Byker were understood as slum clearance, replaced by Erskine's design in a 'rolling programme' (Ralph Erskine's Arkitektkontor and City of Newcastle upon Tyne Director of Housing, 1981). But, after 1970, housing policy changed greatly (Spicker, 2014). The government stopped supporting council housing politically and financially. The role of council housing was reduced, whilst housing associations were encouraged to take charge of development (Cole and Fubey, 1994). These political and administrative changes finally led to the abandonment of the last two phases of the Byker redevelopment programme after 1983 (Pendlebury, 2009b). After Byker was listed, British housing and urban planning policies continued to influence the conservation and further development of the area. On the one hand,

Byker's conservation has been implemented corresponding to contemporary housing policy. For example, the estate stock was transferred to the Byker Community Trust in 2012 (Pendlebury, 2016). The investment in housing and the wider estate in Byker also proceeded quickly along with the renovation of nearby areas (Pendlebury, 2016). On the other hand, heritage designation and conservation have become a way to lever resources to address social problems and improve living conditions (Gilroy *et al.*, 2008). Being recognised as a problem estate, vandalism, home maintenance, empty housing and rubbish in Byker (Abrams, 2003) are identified in both its conservation plan and local urban planning (North East Civic Trust, 2003).

Welfare in China is still an idea being developed (Spicker, 2017), embodied as a mix of incomplete and inconsistent systems (Ringen and Ngok, 2013). Since the late 1970s, governments have given priority to economic development through strong state intervention in all social policies including housing. But, in practice, most policies are operated and administered very locally (Spicker, 2017). This feature of incompleteness and inconsistency could be observed clearly in the changing housing policies according to which Ju'er Hutong was developed. As has been discussed in Chapter 11, the estate was developed under the ODHR programme, which was strictly constrained in the inner city of Beijing (Zhang and Fang, 2003). Giving priority to economic development, when the housing market grew quickly in the early 1990s, the urban policy on land use right changed immediately and the last few construction stages of Ju'er Hutong were quietly abandoned (Sun, 2008). In the field of heritage and conservation, a series of outcomes from theoretical research, such as the idea of Urban Organic Renewal (Wu, 1989b), were developed from Ju'er Hutong experiences and Beijing's urban history, and they have been widely praised and accepted within the government and academia. In the meantime, on a national scale, the practice of protecting modern buildings has begun, paralleling rapid developments in the research into modern architectural history in China (Zhang, 2006b). However, Ju'er Hutong's future is still largely dependent upon the political values of local government and its perspectives on the housing market. As the government's attitude is uncertain (Zhang, 2006a), though strongly influenced by the development housing market and urban economy, Ju'er Hutong and its housing patterns could be treated as exotic cultural elements to attract the upper class, or be restored together with other *siheyuan* areas to stimulate tourism and consumption, or adopt newly developing ways to push up property values (Zhang, 2008b).

12.3 SUMMARY

There are different understandings of the welfare state in the UK and China because of the different political values guiding the social policy in the two countries. But, similarities exist in practice in the treatment of social policy and heritage conservation as complementing or supplementing each other, especially when considering that the two are subject to political targets in dealing with social problems such as housing. Moreover, it has been recognised that social policy has its own history, entwined with ideas of national and local identity, and that housing can be conserved as a record of historical attitudes to social policy. Indeed, where a housing estate is still occupied – like at Byker and Ju'er Hutong – there recognition as heritage, and conservation, can help leverage resources for the local community, in terms of the repair, alteration and conservation of physical fabric, but also more broadly. Such overlaps between social policy and heritage policy remain worthy of further study.

PART THREE DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Chapter 13 Conclusion: Valuing modern architectural heritage for the future

Chapter 13 Conclusion: Valuing modern architectural heritage for the future

Through examining three pairs of case studies that represent chronological episodes in the modern architectural history of the UK and China, this research has examined how the heritage of modern architecture has been valued. In particular, it has studied how modern buildings and their meanings have been created, disseminated, contested, revised and employed in different social, political, economic and cultural circumstances. Through processes of the interpretation and reinterpretation of the meaning of buildings, the construction of modern architecture as heritage has been reviewed. Different conservation approaches and heritage management methods employed have been illustrated, as reflecting the different and changing values according to which people read their history and understand themselves. By identifying the factors according to which these values are constructed and changed, the research calls for more diverse approaches in valuing and reconceptualising heritage, expecting that modern architecture will play an increasingly important role in heritage study and practice in the future.

The first part of this Conclusion recalls the key themes of the three pairs of case studies and their corresponding discussion chapters. It then generalises how the concept of heritage value can be recaptured in the field of modern architecture from a personal perspective, according to my understandings of the existing theories and practices. Afterwards, based upon the three main themes of the nature, expression and use of heritage value, the chapter is then extended to address the potentials and challenges of conservation of modern architecture under established and new understandings of heritage value. For example, when more approaches of understandings of history and tradition are processed, modernity, which has been the essential of heritage conservation from the very beginning, is increasingly challenged by new interpretations such as postmodernism. As a result, criteria built upon modern values to value heritage and assess conservation projects, including authenticity and identity, are also questioned in both theoretical research and conservation practice because of the contradictions inherited from modern values. Furthermore, as heritage conservation has been introduced and utilised as a strong measure to solve social problems for decades, it is argued that a reinterpretation of the positive or negative effects of practical conservation should be taken, such as the ideas of social inclusion/exclusion and gentrification. The

chapter closes by calling for more open and flexible ways of valuing the heritage of modern architecture as a response to these potentials and challenges. It is indicated that new understandings of modern architectural heritage and new systems of heritage legislation and management may replace the current ones in the not-so-distant future.

13.1 RECAPTURING THE CONCEPTS OF HERITAGE VALUE IN THREE PAIRS OF CASE STUDIES

As emphasised at the beginning of the thesis, this research is developed under a central acknowledgement that the concept of heritage is not an intrinsic idea but is socially constructed via multiple factors such as historic, political and cultural elements. In existing relative research and practice, to interpret the value of modern buildings is most important to guide the orientation of all theories and activities. In this context, this concluding chapter is not going to redefine the notion of heritage but will refine the understanding of heritage value in the field of conserving modern architecture through three pairs of case studies under the themes of the nature, expression and use of heritage value. The six case studies are arranged in chronological order as well as in a sequence from broad and abstract to specific and practical. As heritage studies in the UK have a longer history and influential theories upon which heritage studies in China are fundamentally developed (Zhu, 2007), in each pair of case studies, a British case study is developed ahead of a Chinese one, centring on the same key theme. Afterwards, the two cases are reintroduced and compared under an intensive discussion of this consistent theme.

In Case Study I, modernity is formulated as one fundamental characteristic of heritage, taking two early modern railway stations as examples. As discussed in Chapter 6, there is a complex relationship between modernity and modern conservation. Modernity is the very nature of the concept of heritage, not only because the latter idea was formatted in modern times, but also because many heritage and conservation theories and principles have been inherited and developed from modernism or modern ideas. This feature of modernity in heritage is more obvious in heritage events about modern buildings, such as Euston Station in Chapter 4 and Jinan Old Railway Station in Chapter 5. Being constructed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century – a period full of dynamic modernity's desire to transform, the two stations, in the first place, embody the processes of modernisation in the two countries. Particularly, the construction and alteration of Euston Station record the modernising changes in architectural aesthetics and in attitudes to machinery since the Industrial Revolution.

The modernisation of the social structure in the Victorian era and afterwards is also closely linked with the station's architectural forms. Similarly, stories of the construction of Jinan Old Railway Station represent well the first stage of modernisation in China, during which the conflicts between traditional Chinese culture and the Western architectural form were the most prominent phenomenon (Rowe and Kuan, 2004). The demolition of the two stations in the recent past is to be regarded as the turning point, reflecting that attitudes to valuing modernisation in the two countries have changed. In the meantime, the demolitions also stimulated the construction of contemporary conservation systems and the emphasis on valuing modern buildings in both countries. Indeed, different emphases and forms of expression coexist with the consistency of modernity in different social and historic backgrounds. In the UK, modernity is more intended to be interpreted as an aspect of valuing the historic importance of heritage, which is often explained from an ideological approach such as seeing history as progressive (Pendlebury, 2000). However, modernisation in China is regarded as an ongoing process (Müller, 2014). As a result, the modernity in modern conservation in China is often represented in practical understandings, such as the enrichment of urban culture in the reconstruction proposal of Jinan Old Railway Station. This conservation principle of the benefit-productive further leads to a new understanding of modernity in the context of globalisation, in which China is expected to play an influential role (Luo, 2004).

In Case Study II, national identity is extracted from valuing modern architectural heritage to create a collective culture in two national important buildings. Identity, as a major ideological production of modern times, forms the consciousness and awareness about oneself, tradition and culture, which are all important aspects in valuing heritage (Jokilehto, 1999). In the different categories of identity, national identity reflects the values of the group that play a decisive role in all social activities, including heritage conservation (Smith, 1991). Therefore, to study the meaning of national identity embodied in buildings would help us to understand why particular policies and treatments are applied in their conservation. Considering that state power is usually dominant in the conservation of nationally important buildings (Merriman, 1991; Daniels, 1993), as shown with the Royal Festival Hall (RFH) in Chapter 7 and the National Museum of China (NMC) in Chapter 8, the interpretations of national identity in these buildings are strongly influenced by political values and have frequently changed over time. In other words, through emphasising different national identities,

conservation projects are applied to achieve particular political targets that change over time. Both the RFH and NMC conservation projects were implemented at times of crises of national identity when great changes had taken place in the economic and political environments. To maintain their dominant role in cultural and social values, governmental powers are eager to rebuild the national identity by turning to the excellent qualities of the past and borrowing advanced contemporary ideas (Ballantyne, 2005). For example, democracy is regarded as one of the most important parts of the national spirit in modern Britain (Hewison, 1995). Therefore, full accessibility to the building and adjacent public spaces was introduced to guide the refurbished RFH, although the outcomes are controversial under the influence of commercialisation policies. As the largest and fastest-growing country economically, China is eager to establish its corresponding cultural power in the world (Zheng, 2015). Therefore, in the NMC reconstruction project, the most advantageous spatial forms and architectural techniques were adopted, whilst traditional patterns were only maintained to distinguish this new Chinese culture in the world (Shao *et al.*, 2004; Lü, 2012).

Case Study III moves on to the practical aspect of heritage conservation, focusing on the relationship between social policy and heritage. Chapter 12 briefly introduces ideas about social policy in different scopes, including definitions, criticism and practical approaches. It is concluded that social policy and heritage share similar political values to achieve certain targets, including human welfare (Titmuss, 1974). This similarity is not only decided by the political nature of heritage, which has been discussed in the previous two themes, but also, it is because governments are usually the major and dominant bodies in the formulation and implementation of specific social policies and conservation projects. Whilst social policy has constructed political values for heritage conservation, in turn, through being integrated within other policies such as urban planning and housing, heritage conservation policy and law have become an important method to realise certain political and social government targets. The well-established British heritage system is a good example to explain how heritage policy and law have been interpreted in social policy as a complementary way of achieving human welfare (Pickard, 2000). This awareness also marks the growing trend of heritage legislation in China. Housing policy, as one of the most common ways of distributing or accessing social resources, has been specifically emphasised for its role in development and conservation projects in Byker and Ju'er Hutong (Pendlebury, 2000; Zhou and Zhang, 2010). Both Chapters 10 and Chapter 11 point out that the

evolving housing policies could record the changes of governments' political values regarding social development in different historical periods. As a result, in the first place, these changing housing policies may be interpreted with historic and political meaning to enrich the value of the two estates as heritage. Meanwhile, under the strong influence of housing policies, conservation planning, which is ongoing in Byker and under appraisal in Ju'er Hutong, will be carried on inevitably within the integration of local housing development.

In general, it can be concluded that the changing attitudes to modernisation determine the significant role of modern buildings in reforming heritage concepts and modern conservation, although the modernity of heritage may be expressed differently in conservation systems under different social and political circumstances. Considering the decisive role of governmental powers in heritage conservation, national identity is inevitably utilised as an efficient way to explain the meaning of modern buildings to achieve certain cultural targets with strong political orientation. In addition to the functions and uses in cultural policies, conservation of modern buildings is also used to solve social problems through housing, community management and urban renewal.

13.2 RETURNING TO THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Now it is time to return to the three main research questions given in Chapter 1: 1) How did the changing attitudes toward modern buildings influence the development of heritage concepts and the legislation and practice of conservation? 2) How national identity is perceived as culturally influential in the conservation of nationally important buildings? 3) How are the concepts of heritage value integrated into modern social policy? By recapturing the ideas in three pairs of case studies and their related discussion chapters, these questions can be answered or have clarified hypotheses for further research.

Firstly, the assessment of modern buildings such as the railway station is often concentrated on what role the building had been played in the process of modernisation nationally or regionally. The role can be explained differently in different economic and political environments. The changing interpretations have not only affected people's actions in dealing with modern buildings, which could be protection, restoration, demolition or reconstruction. But also, the changing attitudes to modern buildings have promoted the concept extension of heritage as well as the establishment and refinement of heritage policy. The modern nature of heritage concept determines that in practical

conservation, valuing modern buildings' influence in modernisation should be paid more attention. In return, the conservation of modern architecture, especially the early railway buildings which represent the establishment of modern transportation, can become a significant point of entry to study heritage as an abstract cultural concept.

Secondly, the cultural identity established by the modern concept of history has increasingly become one of the important goals and criteria in the practice of conservation. By establishing a stable socio-cultural consensus, it is easier to understand the relationship between the material existence of architectural heritage, the overall social ideology, and the individual emotions and memories. Government-led heritage conservation is the most effective way to achieve this process. Guided by clear political and cultural objectives, the protection of modern architecture, especially the national monuments, not only reflects the interpretation of the past by the dominant social values at present but also represents the conception of reforming new national identities in the future.

Thirdly, heritage values have gradually expanded from concrete conservation projects to the formulation and implementation of social policies. This is primarily because the construction and governance of modern society have progressed in parallel with the emergence and development of heritage concept. Therefore, they share similar historical, cultural and political sensitivities. When the industrialisation of heritage has been increasing, conservation projects related to housing and other urban constructions have become effective means to achieve certain goals of social policies. It should be noted that, at the same time, these social policies have gradually integrated into the historical and political meanings of the related heritage sites.

13.3 CHALLENGES AND POTENTIALS IN THE CONSERVATION OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE

The concept of heritage has been widely extended since it first came into being since modern conservation movement. Its characteristics of pluralism and diversity allow potentials of innovation in conservation measures and heritage management. But bigger challenges coexist with increasing pluralistic definitions and interpretations of heritage. Practically, the contemporary conservation is still carried on under vague conservation values, principles and even legislation. It is represented that similar conservation projects, such as the three pairs of case studies in this research, could have quite different explanations for their reasons to protect heritage and their practical approaches, according to different contexts and expectations. At Euston Station, the

reconstruction movement particularly focuses on its landmark entrance, of which the demolition is recognised as a milestone of British heritage conservation reaching its modern era. In the Chinese case, the demolished Jinan Old Railway Station has been recalled from time to time as an old city image. Its reconstruction plan also aims to rebuild this image rather than to restore a certain part of the old building or building environment. Besides the different understandings of national identity in the two countries, the conservation programmes of the RFH and NMC also took completely different approaches. The former one retained most original interior spatial forms and restored many decoration details. The latter one only maintained the exterior shape and some iconic details of the old museum building; the interior spaces and circulations were completely re-formed. The Byker and Ju'er Hutong estates share some similarities, being modern residential areas to be conserved. From the local authorities' point of view, conservation in Newcastle is driven by a motif to change the negative image of the area in the city, whilst the potential benefit of tourism is a stronger influencing factor in Beijing. In general, as a cultural built concept, although the notion of heritage has established a lot of methods to value it, in practice, there are no universal values or general principles of heritage conservation. However, this does not mean that theoretical research has lost its significance of guiding practice. Studying the evolution of the understanding of heritage values and conservation values will open clearer perspectives for those who are in control of decision-making in our heritage systems to avoid instances such as shifting political imperatives.

One of the biggest challenges for heritage comes from its nature of modernity (Glendinning, 2003a). Although conservation is generally represented as an anti-modern phenomenon, it rose from the modern transformation, and has been assessed through many modern ideas from John Ruskin to Alois Riegl. This modern nature decides that heritage value is socially and culturally constructed, produces criteria for valuing heritage and appraises conservation and, what is more, constructs our contemporary heritage systems. As new understandings of the world have been brought about by postmodernism and other ideas, the concepts of history and cultural values and the methods of pursuing conservation goals are faced with radical change (Pendlebury, 2009a). Indeed, changes in heritage concepts have been taking place from the time of its earliest figures such as Ruskin and Morris to quick development in the post-war period and to a new upsurge in rapidly modernising countries, including China, in recent decades. However, modern heritage still mainly relies on ideas of selection and

classification, which are eventually expressed in state-defined and controlled lists, and on the principles of conservation, which are morally based but rationally applied by the elites (Pendlebury, 2009a). Based upon modern ideas, culturally built heritage is considered to have universal morality and benefit to mankind. As a result, architecture, which is the embodiment of the collective memory, is the material truth of the value of heritage (Cianci, 2001).

However, all these rational values and forms are facing conflict or even the threat of collapse, as the dark side of heritage's modern nature is increasingly realised (Glendinning, 2003a). For example, in the first half of the twentieth century Europe, Riegl's humanism was supplanted by nationalistic politicisation and polarisation of the monument idea, resulting in mass warfare and destruction under the name of 'mass national heritage'. In addition, the growth of postmodernism has also produced a flourishing different perspective of diversity and individualism on the value of retaining historic buildings. Whilst the modern concept of heritage still looks at authenticity, particularly authentic fabric, as one of the most important reasons and objects to retain historic documents, the postmodern concept is more concerned with the overall feel and appearance (Pendlebury, 2009a). As one of the consequences, in a consumer society, the approaches to creating a historic image replace the rigidities of repairing material fabrics in some conservation practices. Under the influence of this 'total' modernity – global capitalism – the reality of identity is dissolved into an element in marketplace competition (Glendinning, 2003a). Historic buildings, areas, and even entire cities are commercialised and commodified through an iconic, image-led approach. This preference for a historic image may be clearly seen in the reconstruction discussion document of Euston Arch (ATKINS, 2009), and the plausible narratives of Jinan Old Railway Station widespread in everyday life (Fang, 2010). Similarly, the influence of personal perspectives and values has been increasing to coexist with collective values on appreciating historic environments. Sometimes, this diversity of values may be intensified into conflict, such as when the public space around the RFH is facing problems of decline because of recent redevelopment projects. At the moment, heritage values and perspectives in China are still far less diversified due to its political systems, cultural background and short development history. This may be seen from the dominant will of the state in the reconstruction of its national museum. However, changes in cultural policy in recent years show trends of adopting multiple perspectives and approaches (Zheng, 2015), although certain control is still maintained. The nature

of society is also changing along with postmodern progress (Pendlebury, 2009a). As a result, social policy, which is usually built upon modern rationalities and certainties, is inevitably facing questions about its social function. And controversies about creating or maintaining certain social relationships through heritage conservation, such as in Byker and Ju'er Hutong, are increasing.

Therefore, heritage, once stood in creative or destructive tension with modernity, has now inevitably encountered with change and decay when the Enlightenment concept of history ends (Glendinning, 2003a). The role of old buildings and building environments as a material testimony to the continuity of the nation is increasingly replaced by a competitive marketing image. The ideas about the meaning of material substance are mainly about the special relationship of place and change, which is obviously reflected throughout six case studies in this research. Though there are reasons to hope for a radical reconstruction of the concept of heritage, it is far beyond this research. But it is realised there are increasing requirements of more comprehensive and flexible planning of the present listing system, conservation controls and heritage management, concerning the mass demands for conservation in a global context in the twentieth-first century.

13.4 CLOSING WORDS

Began with the central question of the value of heritage, the thesis aimed to discover how the meanings of modern buildings are constructed through examining six case studies with different social, political, economic and cultural background. Considering the relatively short history of heritage and conservation of modern architecture, its achievement in depth and expansion is indeed impressive. During the transformation from an artistic interest of eccentric elites to an integral part of social culture, heritage studies and conservation activities have become significant witnesses, records and even measures of the development of ideology, social form and political structure of mankind since its modern times. It is also because of this close link with modern history that heritage research and conservation activity always need to be carried out critically. For example, the deviation between the anticipated benefit and the outcome of heritage conservation should be correctly understood for the subsequent adjustment to heritage management. What is more, the understanding of the positive and negative influence of heritage, such as social inclusion and gentrification, still requires stronger support and evidence in both theory and practice. Although modern

architecture was brought into the scope of heritage conservation relatively recently, it has quickly become a productive and efficient heritage sector because of its rich resources and close combination with contemporary life. However, this also means that conservation of modern architecture is more susceptible to changes in heritage theories and political and economic environments, particularly when new understandings of the world, such as postmodernism, are brought into the socially and culturally built concept of heritage, and when conservation is increasingly considered as an essentially modernist practice. It is a great challenge to find a coherent route for heritage conservation from its modern past to the future. To do so, the existing conflicts between heritage theories and conservation practices should be accepted as a necessary part of negotiation and exploration. This process requires more open systems to engage more people other than professional elites. Therefore, instead of labelling the actions and attitudes in conservation with write or wrong, this research calls for more concerns to the logical and emotional connection between heritage agents and heritage, in other words, people and the material substance.

In the final, personal thanks must be raised to the experience of this research and the whole Ph.D. study. It changed my understanding of heritage from concrete items to a way of reading everything and every idea around us. When I first started studying in Newcastle, I set up my goal to explore more definitive and effective ways of architectural conservation. With a constant understanding of how heritage concepts have been emerged and developed, I increasingly felt that rather than finding out 'how to do', perhaps we should first clarify 'why we want to do'. Therefore, my research object gradually shifted from the detailed conservation techniques and heritage management to the interpretation of heritage value. It is hoped that the study of heritage value can be actively used to guide the direction of 'how to do' and become an important criterion for assessing the achievements of any conservation project. Heritage value and conservation will also be the main direction of my future work and research. I went through a lot of difficulties in this study, which was once suspended for health issues. However, the spirit of persistence and endurance, as well as the support from everyone around me kept me going. This precious experience will have a long-lasting influence on my life in the future.

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