

## URBANISM VS SUBURBIA: MAPPING LIFESTYLE-LED POPULATION AGGLOMERATION IN SHANGHAI USING TIME-SPACE

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Keywords: Housing location, lifestyle, time-space, trade-off, suburbanization, urbanization,

### Summary

The economic development of Shanghai took off at an intense and fast speed since the inception of Open Door policy in 1990; Shanghai people experienced a dramatic enlargement in perceived boundary of city area, as well as steadily increased population. Echoing the discourse by academician world wide, sustainable development emerges as a significant topic for urban sprawl that provokes attentions in the studies of Chinese cities.

This study starts from the aspect of residence agglomeration with a purpose to identify forces within home relocation mechanism. It is hypothesized that, different from the phenomenon of 'Suburbanization' in western cities, the currently observed massive outward-moving in Shanghai is arguably a temporary compromise to political and economic constraints rather than a response to an ideal life image. This paper describes a survey by questionnaire and interview, which is designed to focus on lifestyle-driven activity pattern, current and probable future choice of home location. Output of the survey suggests that the observed urban sprawl can be better understood as a regional process of urbanization, during which expanding of the CBD and superior residential zone push out the original inner-city residential lands to suburban area. As a result, a large amount of families with lower economic status are filtered out of city; however, driven by the regional attachment to city living, probability of moving back to city can be very high.

### 1 Introduction

Shanghai is witnessing a mode of its own en route to residential structure formulation. On the one hand, the apparent physical sprawl and speedy growth of urbanized population afford a current condition to shape a Concentric Zoning Model introduced by the Chicago School in the 20s, according to which valued residential land located in suburban; on the other hand, powerful globalization also observes a synchronous inner city blossom in Shanghai as what has been found in Europe and North America as gentrification - a wave of back to inner city by middle-class. With respect to phenomena observed in intra-urban migration, especially in western cities, the past decades witnessed *urbanization*, *suburbanization*, and recently, *gentrification*. Regarding the close inter-dependence of migration direction and social-culture context, it is doubtful whether these models based on western culture could also explain and predict tendency of living agglomerations in Chinese cities. Taking Shanghai as an example, it is plausible to exactly locate this city in second stage of suburbanization.

The literature on China's intra-urban migration, to some extent, puts more efforts on macro-level studying based on real estate data and regional census. Given the two kinds of approaches of revealed preference (actual choice) and stated preference (ideal choice), it is argued that whether it is proper simply depending on observed result to predict future trends. Regarding the special social-economic-cultural context in its transitional and developing stage in China, the deviation between the two kinds of preferences are argued to be too large to be neglected. The author argued that, urban sprawl observed in Shanghai is, however, a temporary compromise to political and economic constraints instead of a response to an ideal life image.

This study tries to identify the residential structure of Shanghai in its unique social-cultural context from micro-level with an emphasis on residents' preference and its influence on urban form. In this study, spatial activity patterns of new movers and their choices during intra-urban migration is investigated by a survey

with specific target population of young couples, who are suggested as the occupational group in housing consumers according to related statistic data. A survey was conducted in 2002-2003, with questionnaire and interview if possible, designed with both closed and open questions on activity pattern, current and possible future choice of home location. The authors employed the method known as Time Budget which combines time and space consumption to study residents' daily and weekly activity patterns, to test the matching of their preferred lifestyle and real housing location choice. Statistic methods were used to analyze life style and its significance in housing evaluation dynamics.

In this paper, related literature is discussed in section 2, followed by description of regional context in housing relocation. Case study is analyzed in section 3 and conclusion is made at the end.

## 2 Literature review

### 2.1 Residential structure in market economies: expectation through filtering mechanism

The residence structure has experienced a lengthy history (Bassett and Short, 1980; Bourne, 1981; Phe and Wakely, 2000). In a very concise way, previous studies could be classified into two groups: from supply side (constraints) and from the demanding side (expectations). While constraint studies are capable of predicting where individuals could stay on road to their goal, expectation studies help to identify where the goal located. home relocation is a process of *filter mechanism*, through which residents experience trade-off and then arrive at a equilibrium by comparing expectations and constraints (Bassett and Short, 1980). Individuals' choices at aggregate level form the sorting process of urban restructure, leading to a status order of residence.

Studies of supply side witness extensive investigations. The group emphasizes on conditioning factors acting as filtering criteria. For example, the ecological approach argues that population segregation is filtered by ethnics, social status; while the classic approach emphasizes on economic status. However, this group is criticized to ignore people's preference, especially after the emergence of gentrification. Although the theory of rent gap suggests an explanatory that the enlarged gap between actual and rent price works as an attractive factor for investment back to originally deserted inner city, it is admitted that motivational factors should not be excluded (Phe and Wakely, 2000).

Studies from demanding side put attention to motivational factors and their influence on preferences. It is generally accepted that the primary common assumption is that moving (or not moving) to a new dwelling is a "deliberate mean to reach some expected ends" through rational thinking (Brow and Moore, 1970; Mulder, 1996). In the literature, there are two ways to identify preference – stated preference (ideal) and revealed preference (actual choice). It is admitted that, though a process of trade-off, the variance between revealed and stated preference could be very large. With respect to "suburbanization" or "gentrification", both are derived from observation on middle and upper classes in that better-off classes are more capable to reach their goals given regional attachment under the regional value system. During the Chicago School period when filter theory is introduced, it is concluded that changes in urban residential patterns follows systematic directions and paths, shaped by the location of areas of residence of "the leaders of the society" (Bourne, 1981).

For individual, residential mobility is initiated rather than made by users because of constraints from economic, social, institutional, and political factors; for the whole population of certain region, establishment of high-to-low order is a representation of varying equilibrium points with systematic direction. In an aggregated level where regional group share a common value system in defining image of ideal life, the relocation process could be regarded as a race towards certain spatial settings corresponding to regional image, with stratified outputs because of diverse capability against all constraints. In this respect, preference which guides the regional migration direction is the key determinants of urban growth pattern.

### 2.2 Residential structure driven by regional attachment

Social-cultural consideration is explored from micro-level, usually with specific concern on motivations (Coolen, Boelhouwer, and Van, 2002). The preceding researches suggest that suburbia and gentrification is better regarded as a reaction to a historically specific set of circumstances and it actually involve an active reworking of the idea of how a city function. Formulation of motivation and its background are investigated. Land Status is introduced to explore local culture and social contexts and how they shape the spatial definition of ideal life (Phe and Wakely, 2000).

In the behavior approach, there establishes a value expectancy model of migration decision-making which takes users as autonomous agent rather than a member controlled by mechanism (Coolen, Boelhouwer, and Van, 2002); intra-urban migration is regarded as rational decision made by households as "autonomous agents". Large column of works are observed in this field based on the common opinion that, city is nothing more than a space for human life with its three basic functional land uses of living, working and leisure. Residents prefer living environment which most ideally fits their desirable activity patterns, and at the same

time, make some change to their lifestyles as compromise because of constraints; at the same time, dissatisfaction to his or her current home location would also be a trigger for next moving when possible (Brow and Moore, 1970; Bootsma, 1995). Normal activity patterns - where they visit and how often, how long they stay - are helpful in predicting their preferred lifestyles. It is argued that, activity pattern, being the output of certain culture context, appears both quantitative to be measurable and qualitative enough to reflect its matrix (Chapin, 1974; Michelson, 1977, 1987).

### **3 Residential structure in Shanghai:**

#### **3.1 Regional cultural system**

With regard to socio-cultural context, Shanghai is labeled with the so-called "Sea-Culture". What is sea-culture is still debated: supporters claim it to be capable of assimilating exterior cultures; the opposite view criticizes that the core spirit of Sea-Culture is nothing more than a western culture adoration. This could be detected from two hot lengthy debates between artists of "Sea-genre" and "Peking-genre" in 20s and 60s respectively (Yang, 1994). Given the fact that during the semi-colonial era, those intrusive cultures did represent advanced civilization, it was argued that sea-culture reflected a sensitive attachment to modern and advanced civilization.

Grown up in the sea-culture, Shanghainese is another term with complex meanings. Corresponding to their multi-culture background of Shanghai, characteristics of Shanghainese appear a close connection to western culture in value establishment. According to literature studying social and cultural context of Shanghai and Shanghainese, modern and modernism, which represent advanced information on fashion, cultural and physical development, etc., has always been the main criterion employed by Shanghainese in distinguishing themselves from others. By naming all other population "rural people" versus to "city people", Shanghainese show a strong attachment to the city, modern, and advanced civilization {Lee, 1999 #166; Wang, 2002 #167; Lee, 2002 #168; Yu, 2002 #169; Yang, 1994 #140}. This paper suggests that urban-oriented lifestyle, that is, attachment to modernism or social cultural amenities, could portray typical regional lifestyle of Shanghai populous.

#### **3.2 Mode of intra-urban migration**

The year 1990 witnessed the real city-wide urbanization process with accelerated speedy urban development, socially and most significantly, physically. Pressed by the booming economic engines of the Pearl River Delta which is developed almost a decade earlier, Shanghai metropolitan government is put into a head-on struggle of competition for financial investments. The term "transitional era" reveals that Shanghai is experiencing transformation in many perspectives. In economic terms, Shanghai government emphasizes the shift from central-control system to a market-driven system; correspondingly, the original free public housing system is transferred to commodity housing gradually. The eager to instant and dramatic economic developing, plus with fierce competition between different regions, stimulate economic-centered policies from many perspectives, namely, by means of economic and planning policy reform in terms of land use conversion. As a result, mainly two kinds of migration are observed since 80s (Wu, 2004).

One kind is spontaneous migration through which households look for a new housing with an expectation to improve living quality. Households in this group experience the whole procedure in market, from desire to move, seeking and collecting information, making comparisons and decision.

The other kind is forced migration which is caused by replacement of original settlement by infrastructure, commercial, business projects or new real estates. Echoing to these privilege-granting policies, developers from local and oversea, both plan for profit maximizing from ripping real estate market. All of these stimulate an accelerated replacement of residential land-use to commercial use in the inner city which, inevitably, causes a mass housing relocation. In this case, original residents in the dense inner city area have to move in a limited time. It is to be pointed out that, most people in this group were usually service workers/retail sales workers, and workers in elementary occupations employed by enterprises in the adjacent traditional CBD. They have to accept compensation either in terms of housing constructed in rural areas where land prices were quite low, or in terms of money which is far less than enough for them to buy housing in city.

As mentioned above, judging relocation direction by the whole population is argued to be plausible because of the large volume of forced migrants whose moving directions are influenced by government policy in the unique context in Shanghai's developing stage (Wu, 2004). This study selected samples from the first group - spontaneous migrants to shorten the variance between revealed and stated preference.

#### **3.3 A chronological review**

Starting from the old Chinese City (Shanghai County), the city experiences constant spreading, with fastest expanding observed in two periods. The first one happened in the semi-feudal semi-colonial era, along with

spreading of foreign concession areas, as well as booming of domestic industry districts in the north where factories and dwellings of their workers gathered. First, during the economic booming era in 20-40s, the speedy population increase made real estate one of the most profitable industries, which was mostly developed by foreigners in these concessions, mainly in the French Concession. During that period, while commercial and business projects were mostly constructed in the British Concession, neighbouring French concession took shape of a large residential district, together with living-related land use like park, entertainment, etc. The city spatial pattern of Shanghai took shape under market-driven forces. Along with the linear westwards expanding of commercial core from origin, status pole of residential land moved together where new designed buildings located and more and more recreational, cultural facilities planned.

The year 1949 started property confiscation and reallocation as state-owned treasury. In Shanghai, pre-existing housing were first assigned by the metropolitan government to each enterprise by sector and then assigned to their employees. Therefore, in a very concise term, population were redistributed around several key clusters of enterprises by industry sector: employees in administrative and cultural sectors in west concession, sales people at the both sides of linear commercial center (middle and east concession), and blue collar workers at north part around factories. The following 30 years witnessed few constructions when Shanghai suffered depression from the central government(Wu, 2004). The limited construction of residential projects which were extension of blue collar worker districts northwards did not change the already formed contrast with valued location in west-south and devalued in north and east( Editorial Board of Shanghai Housing, 1993).

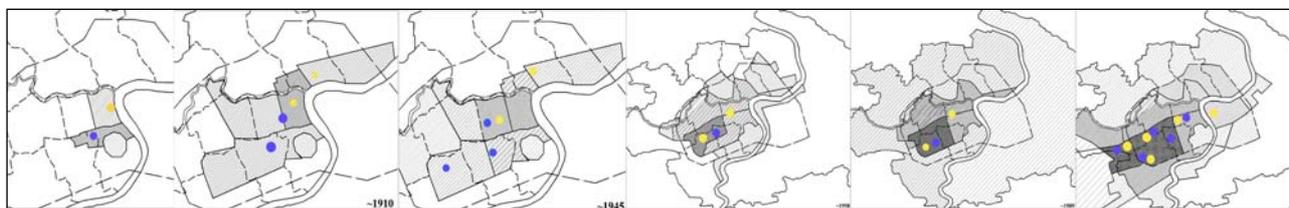


Figure 1: chronological review of residential structure with associated employment and recreation centers: darker area meant higher land status, blue point referred to recreation clusters and yellow points referred to employment clusters (from left to right: residential land status maps in the year 1866, 1910, 1945, 1958, 1989, 2000)

The second took place after the inception of Open Door policy was assigned to Shanghai. The statistic data showed a growing column of housing consumer. When, proportion of real individual market buyers increased to 50% and marked the transformation of nature of the housing system in 1994.

Since 80s, Shanghai begins to experience a boom of private housing in market. Unlike most developed regions where new real estates spread to city edge, the construction of private real estates in Shanghai soon shifts to inner city area where urban renaissance took place. Following urban core redevelopment where old linear business and commercial lands expand in width, valuable residential real estates appears in neighboring areas. Since then, luxury neighborhoods are observed first around the origin status pole in west-south part; and then stretch out to hinterland behind the old linear commercial streets. Replacement of aged housing originally covering the middle belt of Shanghai by new and high quality dwelling neighborhoods takes place together with replacement of working class by middle class. Features detected from current mass migration in Shanghai could be summarized as:

- Sectoral (westwards) extending to city fringe
- Poles remained in city center, adjacent to expanded CBD

The chronological study shows that, during colonial period, the residential structure follows the concentric zones mode where constant invasion of immigrants encourages construction of housing towards west margin area. When the traditional CBD regain the blossom by reconstruction and expanding after 80s, along with the westwards shifted CBD, status pole of settlements shift as well. Families follow to set down around with the rich living in inner zone. Economic status filters relative poorer consumers to outer zones. The old northeast part, where blue-collar worker neighborhoods were planned during central-controlled era, is even degraded because the increased distance from the CBD. The redevelopment enhances the already established order from southwest to northeast.

#### 4 Data and samples

Survey was conducted from June to August in 2003 with a total of 200 family heads randomly selected in office buildings in HqETDZ, LjzTFZ, along Nanjing West Rd., several clusters of office buildings in the multi-nuclei context of Shanghai. Sampling principles were established by consideration in perspectives of age, income status and active migration. Young couples aged from 25 to 35 were selected as target group in that

they were the main group in housing consumers in Shanghai from close statistical data. According to statistical data, the two main age groups of housing consumer were 25~35 and 45~55. Fresh families in the first category were selected in that they were probably future buyers and understanding of their living style would help to predicting future migration trends. The other one was the economic status with a focus on middle class. According to the criteria given by the government, samples were selected from those with an average monthly family income equaling 2,339 RMB (about 292 US\$) and above (Shanghai Tongji Ju (Shanghai Municipal Statistics Bureau), 2003). Moreover, samples were selected from those who have experienced moving in the past two years or are seeking a new housing for the following one year. The last criterion is very important to guarantee that selected couples are confronted by a housing market with the promise of an in-depth exploration (Brun and Fagnani, 1994).

The survey was designed to measure living preference under regional social context and to map revealed choice based on study on selected population group. Questionnaire and interview were the main tools to obtain data. With regards to the theory of time-space, the authors designed questionnaire focusing on time patterns of spatial activities in the form of daily and weekly diary to identify lifestyle. With respect to housing location attributes, this bundle of indicators included cognitive proximities from home to category spaces, in another words, time-distance that suggested most close to users' cognition. Including time durations spent on various spaces, commuting time between two destinations, frequencies and sequences in visiting various spaces.

183 valid copies were collected. Demographically, this is a group with a relatively higher educational attainment level, and higher income in general. Among samples in this survey, by income level, there were 81 samples in group A (monthly income less than 6,229RMB – bottom line of mid-middle, about 779 US\$) and 101 samples (55%) in group B (monthly income more than 6,300RMB), 31% of them own more than 11,999 RMB (about 1500 US\$) monthly (upper middle to upper); in education and family composition terms, 66% of them had bachelor or higher degree; 77% of them had no children. Detailed analysis is reported below.

## **5 Superior housing location defined by time-space consumption in shanghai**

### **5.1 Regional living style: Time-Space allocation**

For the whole samples, a common attachment to city life in terms of where they visit, stay and appreciated is obvious.

With respect to details of time-spatial pattern of activities, emphasis was put on discretionary activities, which were grouped to be three main categories – career related, urban related and family related. Table 1 gave the time consumption by spatial category of samples. The comparison of time durations between weekday and weekend was used to reveal activity elasticity, which was calculated by the ratio of time durations spent on the same activity in weekdays and in weekends. It is generally accepted in the field of time-space that, the higher elasticity of certain activity is, the higher priority will be given to this activity when free time is available. According to this survey data, variable with the largest elasticity value was leisure-related with the value of 9.49; especially, shopping activity had the highest priority when sub-categories were compared. Comparing time consumption on three categories in weekdays, the samples spent a simple life between work and home with 6% of 7 discretionary hours work overtime and then stayed at home. In weekends, the table told another story: The mean value of time duration on recreation spaces was 4.3 hours, occupying 25.29% of 13 hours discretionary time.

Two kinds of attachment in terms of detailed time duration were detected. One was given to career-related time. For the sub-group with a higher value than mean time consumption on career, working overtime in weekday and weekend was a common mode, with extreme examples who lived in guestroom next to his or her office and back home for only 1 day each week. The typical life of this group was quite simple between work place and home, at the first place of which an average of 2.2 more hours after work were spent daily. It was observed that these samples cared much for where a person work, they believed that person working in typical CBD usually were members of large and famous enterprises where more opportunities existed to success.

The other outstanding category was recreation-related. For the sub-group with a high value than mean time consumption on recreation, a totally different picture was observed. It was this sub-group who went out in the morning and back till late night on Saturday or Sunday, visiting shops, cafés, restaurants, bars and theaters. Life was regarded as a process rather than a means to reach some goal. During interview to 24 families, 22 of them expressed a desire for an active life – going out and having fun. Usually, preferred visiting places pertained to cluster of shopping places. The linear expanded CBD covering Huaihai Road, Nanjing Road, and Xujiahui was the most popular choice. It is described that, this linear center has now become a complex of many kinds of leisure facilities, from retails, department stores, to restaurants, café, tea house and bar, to open space and park, karaoke, theater, and so on. Therefore, it was the best choice where they could stay

all day long, walking around with eye-shopping rather than purposely consumption. Besides that, it was also the most popular place to meet friends and take amenities.

It is understandable that freedom in time consumption is quite large than that in housing consumption. Given the time consumption pattern of the samples, no significant deviation was detected. From the perspective of in-city activity and out-of-city activity, the whole sample showed a homogeneous propensity in city living. Both work-oriented and recreation-oriented subgroups clearly specified that, the city center – agglomeration of business and recreation – is the most appreciated places. However, analysis on time distances from home to urban center implied the strength of income level.

Table 1: Mean time consumption on category spaces (unite for mean time duration: Hour)

		CAREER RELATED			RECREATION RELATED			FAMILY RELATED			
		Total	work	education	Total shopping	entertainment	sociality	total	home	Daily shopping	
W DAY	Mean	0.7	0.62	0.08	0.41	0.02	0.3	0.09	4.79	4.46	0.33
	%	6%	5%	1%	3.47%	0.17%	2.54%	0.76%	40.56%	37.76%	2.79%
W END	Mean	0.59	0.57	0.02	4.30	1.19	2.41	0.70	3.61	3.24	0.37
	%	3.47%	3.35%	0.12%	25.29%	7.00%	14.17%	4.12%	21.22%	19.05%	2.18%
Elasticity		-0.16	-0.08	-0.75	9.49	58.50	7.03	4.00	-0.25	-0.27	0.12

## 5.2 Commuting time: time wasted

The study on commuting time indicated a existed high-to-low order, with shorter distance enjoyed by higher income group and longer distance tolerated by the lower income group. The young group aged 25 to 35 showed a sensitive attachment to stay in city and especially in the CBD. Both career-oriented and recreation-oriented groups visited city core frequently and stayed there for a long time. However, it was also acknowledged that many constraints existed. For the rich who lived in neighborhoods close to urban center and owned auto mobile, commuting everyday was acceptable. For the poorer families to reach their preferred place, a quite long time on road by public transportation system was scarified.

There was a common complaint on the long commuting time. Survey revealed that, speed was regarded as the most important factor (67%) with regard to the reason in selecting appropriate transportation systems. For these relatively richer young couples, 75% of them selected subway (the fastest and more expensive) as their daily vehicle and 67% of them selected Taxi as an alternative choice; recorded travel time to workplace varied from 15 minutes to 100 minutes, of which the time ranges of more than 45 minutes accounted for 72%.

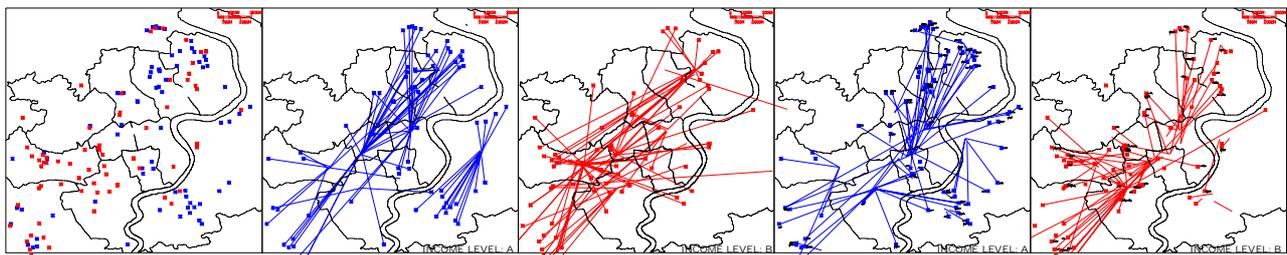


Figure 2: home locations of samples in the survey and commuting path to work places and recreation places. Red point referred to samples in income-group B, blue points referred samples in income-group A (left 1: home location of samples; middle 2: commuting from home to work places; right 2: commuting to recreation places)

Figure 2 mapped the commuting path from samples' home to work places and recreation places, with blue ones tracing samples in Income-group A (<6,290RMB) and red ones tracing samples in Income-group B (>6,300RMB). On the map of home location, there were more red points marked at the west side of CBD, while more blue points at north-east part. With respect to the commuting path to work, a more obvious link between work place and home was observed in lower-income group which formed several concentric circles around employment clusters; with respect to commuting to recreation, both lower and higher income

samples pointed at the same target – the CBD area. The comparison indicated that the relatively poorer group tend to seek job near home to avoid long wasted time, they did not mind lengthy commuting to recreation center; while the richer group started a life of separated work and home, the desire to recreation center is less weakened. What they preferred was a colorful city life, open to modern, rich culture, and a sociable life. While they tend to visit the same place in the traditional CBD on weekends, relative poorer groups living in north-east have to spent longer time on road by public transportation system. Many couples complained that, after the tiring working day, they would not go outside because they all live too far away.

### 5.3 Current and next choice

To explore residents' views and expectations on home location, another emphasis of this survey was put on the comparison between revealed (actual choice) and stated (ideal choice, statement of pure priority) preference.

Figure 2 revealed that, more families in Income-group-B were located in the west-south part of the city, while Income-group-B in north-east in this survey. For the direction of next moving, as high as 87% of the samples expressed an inward-moving expectation. More than 90% of those in inner city living were very satisfied with their choice. On the contrary, only one family head among 94 samples who currently lived in suburban said he was satisfied with his choice and was unwilling to move again (four choices from very satisfaction to not satisfaction at all). For the current suburban residents, a frequently response to why select this location was that "because housing in city area is too expensive to afford". It was proved that the already established order of residential status with the pole around the traditional Upper-corner (specific district in the city center) and declining to north-east still held significant meaning in many people's minds.

## 6 Discussion and conclusion:

**Temporary reaction to historical stage in city development** This paper raises doubts on the way to justify urban growth tendency simply using superficially observed massive migration pattern because of great variance in historical urban context between Chinese cities and developed regions. In fact, the exploration to regional image of ideal living style shaped by social-cultural context uncovers a sensitive and constant attachment to city life. The current outward-moving in Shanghai is argued to be a temporary reaction to its historical developing phase in economic terms coupled with transition phase in political terms:

- Outwards as trade-off by governments to improve land value through replacement of land use,
- Outwards as compromise by groups who could not afford city housing so far,
- Outwards as pushed-out by the enlargement of the CBD and high class settlements

The city of Shanghai is experiencing a stage which experiences an imbalanced development with some parts closely synchronized with that in advanced regions and others lags far behind. The economic-directed guidelines encourage massive replacement of low-productive land uses to high-productive ones; more specifically, original inner city neighborhoods by infrastructure, commercial, business projects. This leads to a large amount of migrants with moving direction fixed to rural areas because they were not capable for commodity housing. As a result, the direction of a mass forced migration is strongly determined by government, investor, and in root by economic-driven policy. Further migration could be expected by this group once any conditioning factors change.

**Regional attachment to city living** This study also argues that an understanding of regional preference of ideal living style which locates the status pole is a prerequisite for urban growth prediction. Close links between superior settlements and CBD is supported by the historical review on shift of residential status poles and survey on living pattern by time-space consumption. Shanghainese show a sensitive attachment to city: they spend quite a long time in city center where they work and enjoy entertainment, they appreciate quick and convenient access to the CBD. Along the urban renaissance where traditional CBD extends towards the southwest, the pole of high-status settlement follows as well. Original rural area adjacent to the CBD developed quickly into a new, modern city with many kinds of land use involved rather than a separately built residential district.

**Concentric zone filtered by economic status** Driven by urbanism orientation, desirable residential areas are closely associated with the CBD. Along the westward-extending of the CBD, superior neighborhoods follow as well. Choices of individual are influenced by their economic status from the perspective of how close they can live to the status pole. It is because that the location of the CBD shifts westwards, old north-east part was overlapped by newly constructed western parts with respect to different distance to the CBD physically. Therefore, the urban structure map in Shanghai is suggested to be concentric zones around the CBD with the rich at inner zone and the poor at outer zones.

In conclusion, it is doubtful to label the residential structure in Shanghai with either urbanization, suburbanization, or gentrification – which are used to describe middle class's home relocation pattern in western regions. In Shanghai, the advantaged group lived in the western part of city – west side of the CBD - in the socialist period when social welfare was distributed by occupation and industry sector, and now live in

the expanded high class districts – around the CBD – when property is purchased by capital. It is to say that those who have priority in social welfare distribution never leave the city at all. However, those who experience outward-moving now and expect opportunity to move back to city are disadvantaged group – blue collar working class in the socialist period and low-income class now in the preliminary market-driven period. The preference study reveals that, the attachment to urbanism is constant and might keep on.

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