

The Transformation of Haikou Urban Form and the Dual Ownership of Arcade-Shophouse

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Abstract: The aim of this study is to thoroughly examine the process of the development of Haikou City between 1858 and 1939, during which it became a prosperous city following the opening of its port such that it became modern with its distinctive arcade shophouse cityscape. The municipal construction in early 20th century in Haikou referred to the experience of the municipal road planning in the western cities. However, the implementation of its urban plan didn't rely on the financial operations as in the western cities, but the fundraising from the tenants of shophouse. The fundraising triggered a dual ownership dispute between the landowner and the tenant at the beginning of the 20th century, which greatly affected the development of urban form during this period.

Based on the first-hand historical archives of Haikou during the Republican period, this paper explores the dual ownership dispute emerged when Haikou transited from a traditional fort city to a modern one, which reflected the conflict and compromise between the tenants and landowners. This paper reveals that the dual ownership of stores was the key and also the hidden danger for the implementation of the urban plan in Haikou during this period, and it had an important influence on the urban form transformation in Haikou. Haikou formed a modern urban form during this turbulent period, which paved the way for its transformation from a traditional city to a modern city. This paper further explores the far-reaching effects of the modern municipal construction and public participation in urban form, clarifying the urgency and significance of the research.

1. Introduction

Arcade-shophouse has become a form of urban heritage in Haikou is related to its wide distribution across cities along with its artistic value together with its underlying history and culture. This paper is clarifying the nexus between this form of architecture and the socio-economic cultural process.

The geography and history of the city of Haikou culminates in it having both similarities and differences with arcade-shophouse in other coastal cities throughout southeast China. As a result of this, the city of Haikou can only be truly understood when reference is made to its

history and the changes imposed upon it by the various groups of people which came to its shores. This study offers an insight into the development of Haikou city from the perspective of a complex and intertwined landlord and Tenant and. This chapter also seeks to delineate landlords and tenants into categories and in doing so endeavors to explain their economic status and business network and, by extension, their respective roles in the development of the city from both a physical and social standpoint.

2. Methodology

This research amalgamates the disciplines of history, sociology, cultural anthropology, and ethnography and geography and typology. It studied the transformation of the city via its history and reconstructed the urban history relying upon historical archives such as urban maps, landscape paintings, literature and other archived documents such as government and municipal documents, and it was based on the methodology of literary research and document analysis. Furthermore, this research adopted the anthropology method with direct observation, surveys and oral interviews through intensive fieldwork which laid the foundation for it. Also, this research used the geographical methods of urban typology and morphology, for the purpose of analyzing urban form and the transformation of the arcade shop-house and city form. Thirdly, Aldo Rossi's concept of Urban Typology, Spiro Kostof's Urban Pattern and Michael R.G. Conzen's Urban Morphology will be used to analyze the urban transformation.

Primary Material obtained includes official records from the Haikou City Archives, Haikou Urban Construction Archives, Hainan Provincial Museum Collection, urban streets and buildings surveying and oral history. Materials including maps of various periods in Haikou City, Haikou Chamber of Commerce files, and the private data from descendants of returned overseas Chinese was also very instructive in formulating a reasoned conclusion to this study.

3. Analysis/Results

3.1. *Background*

Haikou was a military base called Suo designed to counter pirates and eight kilometres away from Haikou was the political and economic centre of Hainan called Qiongzhou Fu city (Figure1). After the Second Opium War concluded in 1858, the Qing central government were coerced into signing the Tianjin treaty which opened numerous ports along the Eastern and Southern coasts of China including Haikou. By virtue of this treaty, Haikou began its rise to prominence from a military outpost into a commercial hub. The geography and the form of the city will be discussed and the stage set for the following discussion pertaining to the rise of the Haikou Suo (Figure2) and simultaneous fall of Fu city. Simultaneously, further context is provided which sets the scene for the transformation of the form of Haikou city itself. As a consequence, this part will use both literature analysis along with maps, survey and overlaying research.

3.2. *Immigrants and oversea Chinese*

99% of the residents in Haikou were immigrants from Mainland China; the three biggest waves of migration are as follows. Firstly, during the Ming Dynasty in 1359, Qiongzhou Fu was estab-



Figure 1. Haikou Suo City and Qingshan Fu City diagram.

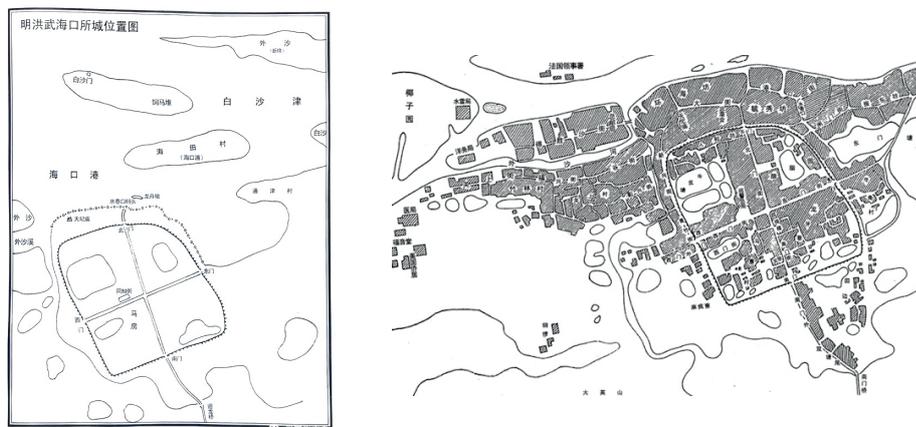


Figure 2. Haikou Suo city map in Ming Dynasty and Late Qing Dynasty

lished which was a pivotal juncture in the history of social and economic development of the region because many immigrants brought with them advanced culture and technology and this augmented the natural improvement in local commerce and trade. During the Qing Dynasty from 1644-1912, the central government strengthened its control over the region and constructed coastal defense facilities and in doing so fostered substantial political, economic and cultural progress. Thirdly, Hainan Island is also home to many overseas Chinese who ventured to Southeast Asia in the early half of the 20th century and returned to Hainan after experiencing success abroad in order to contribute to local development which commenced a period of hybrid culture.

After the Qing government signed the Tianjin Treaty in 1858, the doors were cast open wide for all and sundry to enter China. A significant amount of overseas immigrants ventured into Southeast Asia responding to the demand for labor in rubber plantations and tin mines. Additionally, travelling overseas also became a popular trend in the shearly part of the 20th century¹ (Figure3). Many individuals living in Hainan sought greener pastures abroad in order to make their fortune across Southeast Asia in countries such as neighboring Vietnam before making their way across the world to areas such as the California and Australia to make their fortunes in their respective gold rushes.

1. Tang lingling 唐玲玲(2014)”.Hainan Jiapu Yimin Renkou Shiliao yu Yanjiu” 海南家谱移民人口史料与研究(Historical Data and Research on Emigrant Population of Hainan). Intellectual Property Press.

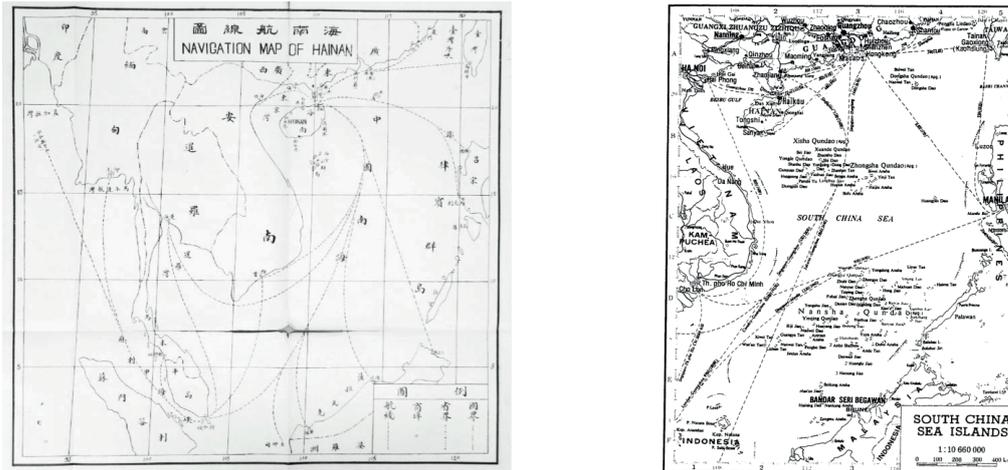


Figure 3. *The Geographical context of Hainan Island and Haikou city. (Navigation map of Hainan before 1949 and after, Atlas of the people's republic of China 1989).*

3.3. Municipal construction and private investment

The motivations underpinning the construction of the arcade shop-houses in Haikou are three fold and are ultimately connected. It was intrinsically tied to the function of a competitive housing market because enormous remittances from Overseas Chinese resulted in an increase in consumption which augmented the development of urban commerce and shipping. Simultaneously, Overseas Chinese invested in real estate and business in Haikou because they considered it to be a vibrant hub which would provide them with a terrific return on their outlay and real estate speculation became quite popular in the early part of the 20th century as a result. Secondly, the government came to the sudden realization it needed to invest in infrastructure to facilitate the trade and commerce which resulted in the flourishing of Hainan yet lacked the requisite capital to do so. As a result, it relied upon private investment of landowners and Overseas Chinese to enhance the quality of infrastructure by contributing to projects such as road expansions. As a consequence, arcade shop-houses became a vital form of investment for property owners and compensation for road expansion whilst promoting the construction of the municipality. Thirdly, they were a representation of social status and resulted in improved quality of life and health outcomes at that particular point in time.

Secondly, attracting a large number of Overseas Chinese investors was crucial to facilitate commerce and real estate speculation which ultimately resulted in more landlords agreeing to the road expansion. Due to the numerous advantages of the arcade shop-house, the extensions of roads and streets alike could be implemented seamlessly.

However, in the process of city renewal such as expanding the road and building the arcade-shophouse along the streets, some landlords are reluctant to pay for the building, so the “Pudi” has become one of the main financing channels to promote the building.

As Ni Shenbao suggested the term “Pudi” reflected a certain degree of folk autonomous tradition. At the beginning of the 20th century, the cities with prosperous trades often had commercial traditions – “Pudi”, that is, the right of tenant’s permanent rent of property. The tenant had the right to renew the rent permanently, and the homeowner was not allowed to increase the rent at will. The shopper could transfer the shop to others and charge the fee. “Pudi” refers to all tangible or intangible assets such as furniture, cargo, font size, signboard, customer group, commercial credit and renting property of renting or dumping to others when the shop is closed for business

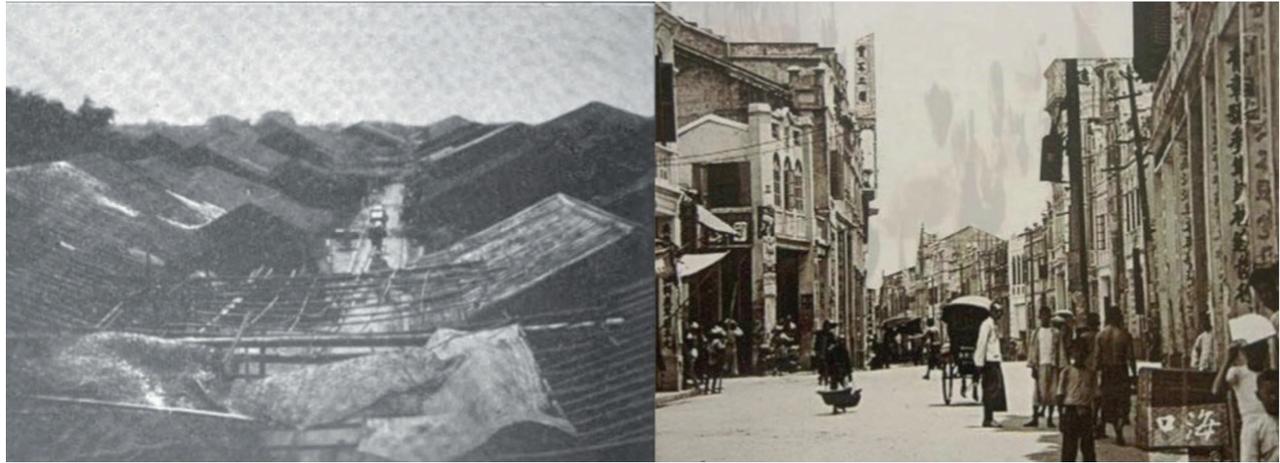


Figure 4. Photo of Bo'ai road before 1920 and Photo of Zhongshan road before 1949. Source from Hainan island photo album

or unable to take advantage of it. Fuhai Jin argued that the “Pudi” right was attached to the “Pudi”. If there is no “Pudi”, there is no right of “Pudi”. In all, the owner of “Pudi”, who pays the rent to the landlord, obtains a permanent lease.

The Pudi in Haikou was a commercial tradition and can be resold to other tenants. Which is called “Dingshou”. For example, when the auction of “Lianantang” (No. 200, Bo'ai Road) was auctioned, Wanxuantang shop bid Pudi and bid for 3,800 yuan. There were three existing records of the shop's purchase and sale. The first time was that the tenant Fuyu shop had increased the Pudi fee and sold it to Jinsheng Store after building the arcade-shophouse. The second time, “Jinsheng Store” added the furniture. For the third time, the traffic shop was heavily in debt and auctioned the Pudi to Wanxuantang Store. It can be seen that Pudi was a monopoly between tenants and merchants in the private sector, and had nothing to do with the landlord. This Pudi resale included not only the cost of remodeling the house, but also furniture and even non-material resources such as brands and customers.

Because of the existence of the power of Pudi, the businessman was in order to obtain the rights of Pudi (without rising rent and permanent renewal rights). Voluntary or forced to fund the demolition of the street building and the construction of the arcade-shophouse, the huge amount of funds increased the amount of Pudi rights. The number of Pudi rights-funded stores was one-third of the total number of stores. It contributed a lot in the expansion of the road and the construction of the arcade-shophouse street at that time.

The financing channel of Pudi rights not only made the municipal project go smoothly, but also made some tenant merchants more willing to invest in the construction of the arcade-shophouse. From their larger business interests, they had created a richer urban landscape. The vision of not increasing rents and unlimited renewals of rent had made some tenants willing to build larger arcade-shophouses with more beautiful facades.

4. The influence of Pudi right on the form of the arcade-shophouse

The exterior wall decoration of Haikou Zhongshan Road is rich and varied. In pursuit of luxury, the treatment along the street is divided into three sections: the lower section is the pillar of the building, the middle section is the second floor, and the upper section is the Pediment with

Chinese and Western style mix and match. The facade of the shop is not only a publicity front that shows the nature of the shop, but also a face showing the strength of the business, because it implies the taste and size of the shop.

4.1. Commercial space segmentation of the same facade

The shop facing the street in front of the Chaozhou Clubhouse (light gray) was rented to No.25 Yuyong Commercial Shop and No. 27 and 29. In 1925, due to the expansion of the road, the No.25 Yu Yongji shop covered two two-story arcades and spent 8620 yuan on the ocean. As the street-facing arcade had a street-facing terrace and a façade decoration, it cost more. Therefore, it was estimated that the cost of the arcade-shophouse is 5,000 yuan. The 27-year-old Wenchang's Liu Changsheng shop bought the former tenant's Pudi1380 yuan. In 1926, the tenant built the building. It costed 900 yuan, so Pudi had a total of 2,180 yuan.

As shown in the figure, although the shops No. 25, 27, and 29 belonged to the plot of the Chaozhou Guild Hall, and they were not built by the landlords, but by the tenants and merchants themselves, so the facades were different. Shops Nos. 25 and 29 occupied the shops facing the street, and Shop No. 27 only used one passage on the street to the second floor of the 29th store building. The entire plot was divided into three pieces according to the size of the rent. The second floor of the No. 27 shop frontage passage had become a part of the second floor of Shop No. 25, which was connected by the street balcony on the second floor of Shop No. 25. From this projection, it was very likely that the No. 25 shop Yu Yongji dominated the construction of the arcade-shophouse of the 25th store and the 27th store, and shared the cost of building. After discussing with the host of the landlord Chaozhou Guild Hall, the construction amount was written into the Pudi right of the store.

From the perspective of the façade analysis, the whole plot was not represented by the unified construction of the landlord, nor was it the simple division of the land ownership formed by the separation of the land, but the independent construction and cooperation of the shops based on the property rights. The entire plot therefore presents a complex facade form. Shop No. 25 and Shop No. 27 shared a facade with columns to divide the facade space, allowing the 25 and 27 to simultaneously gain more promotional benefits from the commercial facade.

5. The facade conflict caused by the tenant building a mezzanine

This plot was also the industry of the Chaozhou Guild Hall. The entire plot was a 2-3 storey building that presents the texture of the bamboo house. The atrium divided the boundaries between commercial space and living space. As shown in the figure, light gray is commercial space, the entrance to the gate is on Zhongshan Road, and the living space is accessed from the gate of Daxing Road. Zhongshan Road No.31 is a Nanshun shop of Fu Zunwu, an ancestral home of Wenchang. It was a factory that produces rubber shoes and sold shoes. According to the test shop, the construction of the arcade-shophouse was in 1926, far before the establishment of the shop written in the "Zhongshan Laozi Shop" in 1930, so the shop should be established in 1926 or earlier than 1926. "Nanshun Shoes Factory" differed from other rubber workshops in that they imported a machine from abroad to produce more advanced rubber products, and therefore the rubber shoes they produced were well-known in Hainan Island.

No. 31 shop Nanshun shoe factory was under the original Pudi1400 yuan (Pudi registered on January 1, 1923), and in August 1926, due to the expansion of the road, the tenant build an ar-

cade-shophouse which cost 750 yuan. in order to increase the building area, although there are only two layers from the facade, tenant added a mezzanine in the middle, so the building became a total of three layers. This also needed to reach a unified height requirement for the arcade-shophouse facade. So two different heights on the same plan appear on this arcade-shophouse plan. The plan of the third floor was unified with the height of the arcade-shophouse entrance of the surrounding arcade-shophouse. At the intersection with the arcade-shophouse corridor, the height was lowered from the 5.15 meters by 4 steps to 4.5 meters.

This was because the government has extended the establishment of the arcade-shophouse to clearly define the uniformity of the height of the arcade. Therefore, although the No.31 Nanshun shops hoped to expand the area through the mezzanine, they must also maintain the uniformity of height of the arcade, as the elevation shows.

6. Different shops share the same facade

The entire plot was the industry of the Wenchang Club. The tenant before the No. 49 shop and the rich shops was the South China Pharmacy, next to the Rongan Pharmacy (later the Chongye Pharmacy) and the Oriental Pharmacy. Across the street from these pharmacies is Yongan. Therefore, Zhongshan Road was a pharmacy, forming a combined effect of the industry. From the space point of view, the ventilating and lighting of these pharmacies were better than the general store conditions. The depth of the house was not long and the atrium were used for ventilation and lighting. And why the South China pharmacy of the No. 49 shop had not renewed the lease, but the Xiefengsheng shop had obtained Renting rights? Because of the long time distance, this can only be speculated based on clues.

According to the record of the Pudi rights registration form, the premise of the company's acquisition of the store is that Pudi had a total of 3,000 yuan and a cost of 3,700 yuan for the construction of the arcade-shophouse. Zhongshan Road was the most prosperous commercial street at that time. The shops were tight, and it was very likely that the company had obtained the lease rights of the shop by investing in the construction of the arcade-shophouse. And looking at Lin's Wansheng commercial store Lin Deqing's Pudi rights also had the record of building an arcade-shophouse. Therefore, in 1926, the opportunity to expand the arcade-shophouse was extended. Many landlords and tenants were reluctant to invest in the arcade-shophouse. Some merchants believed that the rights of Pudi could protect their interests, that is, permanent renewal, so they built an arcade-shophouse. Therefore, it is considered that the permanent lease right of the shop is obtained.

As the picture shows. No. 51 shop Chongye Pharmacy was connected with the facade of No. 53 shop Oriental Pharmacy. The arcade-shophouse, which was built by two pharmacies, became the most magnificent arcade-shophouse facade on Zhongshan Road. Although the carvings on the pillars and the arcade-shophouse corridors were different, the whole pediment were integrated into the city, forming a unique combination of symmetrical European mountain flowers and Chinese reliefs.

7. Discussion/Conclusion

The financing channel of Pudi rights not only made the municipal project go smoothly, but also made some tenant merchants more willing to invest in the construction of arcade-shophouse

shops, and from their business perspective, they had created a richer urban landscape. Overseas Chinese had lived abroad for a long time, and had seen or lived in a foreign house. Therefore, when returning to the hometown, most of the overseas housing styles were used to emulate the object, making the arcade-shopohouse facade style Southeast Asian.

This paper attempted to cut into the relationship between urban form change and double ownership of shops, to explore how the order and structure of the city transitioned from traditional to modern, and how this change affected the spatial form of the city. The irony is that Pudi was a traditional civil system, but it had become the main reason for the construction of modern roads. Therefore, the urban space of Haikou reflects not only the pursuit of the government's modern city, but also the pursuit of merchants' value for shops.

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