Shaping Lujiazui: The Formation and Building of the CBD in Pudong, Shanghai

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ABSTRACT Acknowledging the globalization of Chinese cities, this paper studies its influence on the formation of a newly-built Central Business District in China. Used as a case study, the Lujiazui Financial District of Shanghai Pudong is a commendable achievement in urban development during the past 19 years. This paper reviews the background to the planning of Lujiazui and comments on the international design competition that exhibited different planning approaches to the district. By reviewing the various plans and comparing them with the adopted project by the local institute, the authors reveal the reasons for the way Lujiazui was planned and built and discover a new type of Chinese city which was shaped by both global and market forces.

Introduction

Globalization has become an inescapable process in the urbanization of cities. The economic climate has never been linked so intensely between states and societies throughout the world (Marshall, 2003; McGrew & Lewis, 1992; Olds, 2001). Promoted by financial forces, the entire world has had a hand in the destiny of many cities, irrespective of location. In China, the past 20 years have witnessed rapid urbanization involving a great deal of new-build and the renovation of existing stock. Chinese cities used to be classified as ‘socialist’ as they were often the product of Soviet planning practices and aesthetic preferences (Kuan & Rowe, 2004; Rowe, 2005). After the ‘open-door policy’ and the introduction of market mechanisms, cities started to experience huge physical and less tangible transformations (Davis et al., 1995; Friedmann, 2005; Lu, 2006; Xue, 2006a, 2006b, 2010). Based on that understanding, this paper explores whether economic globalization together with the specific modification of the socialist cities will produce a new urban form for Chinese cities. The paper also examines to what extent it will shape the urbanization of the central area in the Lujiazui Financial District, in Shanghai Pudong (Figure 1).

Shanghai began to gain a reputation as an important metropolis in the world in the first decades of the 20th century. After the Communists took power in China
in 1949, Shanghai’s former ties with the west were cut and its international status diminished. Half of a century later, it began to recover and revive as a world city (GaWC, 2008). This took place in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, especially after the development of Pudong, on the east bank of the Huangpu River (Xue, 2006a, 2006b, 2009, 2010; Yeung & Sung, 1996).

With its historical global connections, Pudong was soon representative of China and played an essential role in international shipping, manufacturing and financial services. As planned during the development of Pudong, all these activities and particularly financial services, were concentrated in the Lujiazui district (Figure 2), the city core of Pudong. The trend toward globalization and the consequential recognition of international standards became an inevitable factor in the modernization of Chinese cities. After the economic boom, the focus shifted to the quality of the built environment and the effects of those new urban spaces on the daily lives of users, for whom the city is built (Gamble, 2002; Gang, 1996).
The Bund, with its magnificent neoclassical façades, has stood in Shanghai since the early 20th century. Today this image is replaced by clusters of skyscrapers in Lujiazui Pudong, which portray the proud achievements of contemporary urbanism in Shanghai. Lujiazui exhibits the typical progression of Chinese urbanization from an under-developed area full of docks, warehouses and vast rural lands, into a pivotal part of the modern metropolis. Shanghai is reshaping itself during the economic development in Pudong. The whole region has become a new type of Chinese city and by-passes the socialist model by embracing globalization and the influences from Western cities.

The development of Pudong originated in Lujiazui. In the late 1980s the general idea for a CBD in Lujiazui came into being. On 18 April 1990, the Premier of the State Council Li Peng announced the decision to develop Pudong, Lujiazui Financial District, thereby prioritizing the project for its task force teams. In 1992 an international urban design competition was held by the Preparatory
Committee of Pudong New District, which was assigned by the Shanghai Municipal Government (SMG). Several international architectural firms were invited to submit proposals for the design consultancy, including Richard Rogers from the UK, Dominique Perrault from France, Toyo Ito from Japan and Massimiliano Fuksas from Italy, jointly with the Shanghai Urban Planning and Design Institute (SUPDI).

Pudong’s development process and especially the early exploratory stages in the founding of the new area was particularly dependant on the visions created in the Lujiazui international urban design competition (Figure 3). The general visions stemming from the competition entries gave rise to thoughts on the development of Pudong’s physical form. These ideas were then linked to the prevailing economic and political climate, which together formed a viable environment for development. The impact of globalization and the subsequent positive reaction from China to the ideas adopted from Western cities, led to their inclusion in the Pudong development. The ideas were totally new to China and therefore unique when used in the physical planning process in Pudong.

Evidently the main purpose of the competition was to absorb the latest Western ideas on urban form for the development of the CBD. These physical forms would then be integrated into the current economic principles and market-oriented land reforms applicable to the Lujiazui’s financial district. At the same time, the organizer hoped to attract global attention by holding an international competition involving many well-known architects and planners.

Lujiazui: Shaped by Economic Forces

The area known as Lujiazui is nearest to the traditional centre of Shanghai and located in Pudong (Figures 4–7). However, it was not a greenfield site as was sometimes envisaged in the proposals by a few foreign firms. In fact, the existing use played an essential role in the formation of the financial area during the period of planning and construction. With two sides confined by the Huangpu River, Lujiazui literally means ‘a mouth-shaped waterfront’. It was named after a local celebrity Lu Shen (1477–1544), whose family had been living there since the Ming...
Dynasty (1368–1644). Lujiazui Financial District generally encompasses a quasi-rectangular area surrounded by Pudong Road South and Taitong Road in the east, Dongchang Road in the south, and the Huangpu River in the northwest. Within an area of approximate 1.7 square kilometres, there was a population of 49,234 inhabitants in the early 1990s (Shanghai Lujiazui Group, 2001).

The harbour activities were developed before 1949 and there was some rural village development of a low rise but dense nature. This type of rural development can no longer be easily found on the periphery of Shanghai and has been replaced by large real estate developments or by the mega-projects in the central area, as is the case in Lujiazui. After the 1970s some residential blocks were constructed in response to the population explosion in Shanghai. Within the site of Lujiazui, all rural and harbour buildings were bulldozed completely in the early 1990s (Figure 8).
Figure 6. View of towers in Lujiazui from the Bund, 2008.

Figure 7. View of Lujiazui from the tallest tower, Global Financial Center, 2008.
According to interviews with Huang Fuxiang, the leader of the Lujiazui’s planning task force in the SUPDI (Chen, 2007), the studies on Shanghai’s CBD started in 1978 during meetings with businessmen abroad who were very interested in China’s economic development. In the 1980s, the built part in Pudong was concentrated on the riverfront area of Huangpu River and belonged to three separate administrative districts. With some industrial development with residential settlement scattered in the hinterland, the total land area was approximately 36 square kilometres.

Figure 8. Pudong in 1982. In the 1980s, the built part in Pudong was concentrated on the riverfront area of Huangpu River and belonged to three separate administrative districts. With some industrial development with residential settlement scattered in the hinterland, the total land area was approximately 36 square kilometres.

According to interviews with Huang Fuxiang, the leader of the Lujiazui’s planning task force in the SUPDI (Chen, 2007), the studies on Shanghai’s CBD started in 1978 during meetings with businessmen abroad who were very interested in China’s economic development. In the 1980s, the built part in Pudong was concentrated on the riverfront area of Huangpu River and belonged to three separate administrative districts. With some industrial development with residential settlement scattered in the hinterland, the total land area was approximately 36 square kilometres.
receptive to investment opportunities in the city. The concept of a CBD has been
applied to the re-urbanization of downtowns in many Western cities for the
revitalization of decaying central areas. During investigations particular attention
was given to successful examples such as New York and London. The significant
role played by the CBD in American cities convinced Huang Fuxiang and his
colleagues to include this new concept in their design plans for Pudong and
enable the city to perform a new role (Chen, 2007).

The planning for Shanghai Pudong never really started during the decade
1978–1988. Meanwhile, cities in southern China, led by Shenzhen, were
experiencing tremendous changes under the ‘open-door policy’. As a Special
Economic Region close to Hong Kong, a British colony until 1997, Shenzhen
succeeded in turning itself from a small fishing village to the most spectacular
metropolis in China. All this activity in the south stimulated Shanghai’s economic
revival. However, Shanghai had always generated large revenues for China and
the central government would not run the risk of experimenting with it, especially
as the experiment would have been carried out on a trial and error basis. It was not
until May 1987 that the SMG set up the Pudong Development Research
Consultant Group (PDRCG) to carry out the preparatory studies for the
development of Pudong.

On 1 May 1988 after one year’s preparatory work, an international conference
was organized by PDRCG to discuss the feasibility of the Pudong development.
The SMG succeeded in attracting the attention of many foreign institutions and
obtained assistance from them to generate a strategic plan for the construction of a
new town in Pudong. The international debate on the planning concepts played a
significant role in pushing through economic reform at central and local level. The
involvement of academics from different fields nationwide contributed to the
construction of a new theoretical political and economic framework justifying the
introduction of various reforms (Chen, 2007).

Due to the good relationship between China and France, the Paris-based
Institut d’Aménagement et d’Urbanisme de la Région ile de France
(IAURIF) provided
SMG with technical assistance in the planning and restructuring of the city and
developing a metropolitan planning strategy (Olds, 1997). This technical
assistance proved to have a profound influence on the following process of
developing Pudong, particularly in the positioning of the Lujiazui financial
central district.

It was in 1988 after several fruitful liaisons between SUPDI and IAURIF that
Pudong was selected as the favourite candidate for the development with the
front area, Lujiazui, designated as the pioneer for the application of reforms.
Combined with the traditional CBD on the Bund-Nanjing Road area, Lujiazui’s
vision was set up as the new CBD in Shanghai with a Gross Floor Areas (GFA) of
1 800 000–2 400 000 square metres. Although this preparatory work was essentially
sanctioned by central government, SMG still found itself facing many questions
which required urgent solutions. Questions included the area needed for
rehabilitation, the definition of mega-projects, the infrastructure investment in
different phases, the interaction between Pudong and Puxi (west bank of Huangpu
River), the city-image of the future CBD and the economic feasibility of the projects
under consideration. Limited in their knowledge of managing such a huge project,
the SMG decided to continue to collaborate with the IAURIF whose experience was
based on decades of dealing with the urbanization of Paris. In April 1991, during the
meeting with the Minister Luis Besson of ministère de l’Equipement, des Transports, du Logement, du Tourisme et de la Mer, the mayor of SMG Zhu Rongji announced an international competition for the urban design of the Lujiazui Financial District (Chen, 2007).

Formation of Lujiazui Financial District

In general, the foreign architectural firms selected and invited by the organizer shared several common characteristics. First, they were leading architects with outstanding abilities in developing architectural concepts and their projects were spread throughout the world, especially in Europe and Japan. Second, the projects of these firms were mainly restricted to architectural design and urban design on a respectively small scale, as was usual in developed countries. Notably, all the selected figures had a professional background in architecture rather than planning. (Usually projects on a scale similar to Lujiazui are only reserved for professional planning firms.) Third, all these firms had never undertaken projects in Shanghai, nor anywhere in China. The lack of knowledge of Shanghai in particular and China in general, limited them in their understanding of the actual site and its social context. As a result of this ‘handicap’ all the submitted proposals had a strong inclination to form an ideal city with little consideration for the status quo of Lujiazui. More reliance was expected of their understanding in general terms of the nature of a new city, its CBD and its image for the 21st century.

Urban design connects planning and architectural design and special care is given to the relationship between public spaces and the built blocks. Urban design was a new concept in Shanghai in the early 1990s and it probably entered China via this international competition. As a procedure for shaping cities, there is not a fixed or well-recognized definition for ‘urban design.’ Therefore, the ideas generated in the competition brought out the difference between the foreign and local institutes.

Richard Rogers & Partners’ proposal (Figures 9 and 10) was the favourite among the invited submissions; it was a result of collaboration between Richard Rogers & Partners, Ove Arup & Partners, the Bartlett School of Architecture in London and the Cambridge Institute of Architecture (Burdett, 1996). The basic concept was a perfect circular figure located in the centre of the Lujiazui’s site and from the circle’s centre six radial roads extended centrifugally which connected the new centre with the rest of Pudong. The building blocks followed the shape of the circulation form and the height of towers ascended from outside to the core. Rogers’ proposal adopted the classic principles for creating an ideal town plan in the West. Similar to many examples in Europe, this circular pattern with its radial development proved to be the most effective way of coping with the city’s expansion and could create convenient connections to the surrounding spaces. (This pattern appears again in the schemes for Lingang New City in Shanghai. Proposed by German architects GMP several years after the international competition, this new city is being faithfully realized according to GMP’s scheme.)

By using this centralized pattern in Lujiazui, Rogers’ plan had a strong intention to become a new city core for all of Shanghai rather than just a local centre for the Pudong district. Traditionally, the Bund area opposite Lujiazui, and loosely confined by People’s Square and Suzhou Creek, was regarded as the downtown of Shanghai. Downtown ended on the Bund with the famous
neoclassical façades fronting the Huangpu River. According to the new vision set for the competition, Lujiazui was supposed to be a new main CBD for Shanghai in the 21st century and the international communications centre for East Asia. Rogers’ plan responded to the vision with a clear expression of urban form. In fact, as a whole, the plan for the Lujiazui district eclipsed the Bund area as the primary CBD for Shanghai.

By comparing the proposed plans for the Lujiazui CBD and the old CBD on the Bund, it could be seen that Rogers had tried to incorporate the scale and density of the old Shanghai which was erected by the British half a century previously. The building heights had changed dramatically due to the demand for increased floor areas. Nevertheless, the way that typical plots in Lujiazui were
divided into several parcels was very similar to those in the Bund area. Specific building development potential for each plot was controlled by guidelines inherent in the controlling plans. Models made by the architect recommended an ideal solution with options for each plot.

In addition to its consideration of buildings and streets, Rogers’ proposal also received praise for its recognition of urban public space. In the centre of Lujiazui, a circular area was left vacant for a city park and alongside the riverfront a strip was reserved for public use. The contrast between the dense blocks and urban voids appealed to the SMG and the idea was integrated in the final plan, which was made possible by demolishing blocks of vernacular housing. Interestingly, the same strategy for creating public space appeared in proposals by other foreign architects.

When compared with the Rogers’ scheme, however, the others (Figure 11–13) were preferred less and they have had little influence on the final plans. Although

**Figure 10.** Model of Rogers’ Scheme. *Source:* Rogers Stirk Harbour + Partners.
based on different understandings of the Lujiazui Financial District and therefore expressed with different layouts and architectural expressions, these schemes played a minor role in the process that followed. Generally speaking, all concepts started by introducing a relatively self-regulating order of urban forms with weaker connections between Lujiazui and the rest of Pudong. Second, the projects from Perrault and Fuksas failed to propose a legible structure for the subsequent urban development. In Perrault’s explanation (Perrault, 1996), the project focused
on the long term, the passing of time, the gradual production of urban landscape, while ‘letting time take its course’. This ambiguous approach was considered to be less convincing and acceptable by the clients SMG, who needed a fully considered proposal, or preferably a well-controlled master plan which the city could follow as soon as possible. Third, all concepts were developed to an urban scale by creating an entirely new city image for the Lujiazui area, ignoring the existing urban form.

In 1992 when the international design competition was held, there were several projects being undertaken for which construction had already begun during the 1980s. The television tower ‘Oriental Pearl’ (with a height of 489 metres) was being constructed and became a well-known landmark. There were also some projects previously approved by the government, which meant the possibilities for adjustment to blocks and roads were to some extent limited. Those approved plots with almost fixed buildings could provide a benchmark scale for subsequent urban design development. However, none of the proposals, including Rogers’, acknowledged their existence.
The scheme by Shanghai planners (Figures 14 and 15) was different from other proposals and it was ultimately selected as the winner. Led by SUPDI, the Chinese team had actually been working on the plan since 1984 while producing a revised version of the master plan for Shanghai. During the continuous modification process caused by the changing vision of Lujiazui, they had accumulated many ideas to produce a feasible scheme. With a less charismatic overall visual city form, their plan carefully integrated the existing buildings and city fabric into

Figure 13. Massimiliano Fuksas Schemes. “The point of departure [of this scheme] is the creation of a system of networks which will be superimposed in order to be able to anticipate any future uncertainty. At the heart of the new district, the ellipse of the inner city, symmetrical to the old town on the other bank of the Huangpu River, is surrounded by a boulevard. In this central area are the highest towers and a high concentration of offices, but also residential and commercial premises. On the outer edges of the inner city is a less densely populated district, marked out by a wide sweep of road edged with trees and gardens” (see Fuksas Massimiliano Recent Buildings and Projects, Zurich: Artemis). Source: Massimiliano Fuksas Architetto.

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new system. Instead of an urban public park in the centre, an avenue on a huge elevated deck passed across the site. This so-called Century Avenue connected to west Shanghai through a tunnel and was regarded as the new axis of the city. As an important piece of infrastructure built before the competition, the tunnel could not be relocated and would unavoidably become the main access to downtown.

Loosely described as a grid city, the urban forms of the Chinese scheme coincided with some ancient philosophies for creating new cities. Dominated by a symbolic axis within sets of homogeneous blocks, a new city was confined by some entrances or geographic borders. Almost all these principles can be found in the Lujiazui’s scheme by SUPDI. Here the super-blocks for the development pattern replaced the gated residential blocks in traditional Chinese cities. Through the subdivision of each block there would be four or six plots of land and all plots would have good access to public circulation routes. Furthermore, this super-block design could reduce the land area allocated to traffic, which effectively reduced the investment in the infrastructure funded by SMG. Of the five proposals, the plan by SUPDI had the coarsest resolution in its form and the public space was considered less due to the lack of efficient enclosure by buildings. However, this was improved by inserting a central public park after the plan was adopted.
Due to direct support from the central government, the building of the Lujiazui Financial District was far more rapid than had been expected (Figure 16). In the reform of land market policy in Pudong, the most obvious change was that the local government could reserve a large part of local taxation to meet the needs of mass relocation in Pudong. Early investment started with the infrastructure such as bridges, tunnels and the metro line that reconnected Pudong Lujiazui tightly to the circle of the Shanghai metropolis. In the first five years during the improvement to the road links, telecommunications facilities and energy systems, Lujiazui attracted a large number of overseas investors and rapidly took on a high-rise appearance. By 2000, there were 25 buildings in the core areas of Lujiazui around the central park zone. The total floor area of these buildings was 2.5 million square metres, which accounts for approximately 60% of the total floor area of the Lujiazui Financial District project, with an average plot ratio of 1:5.2 (Shanghai Lujiazui Group, 2001) (Figure 15).

Even though Lujiazui was constructed based on the scheme developed by the local planning institute, international influences shaped its urbanization in several ways. As defined by McGrew (1992), globalization is the multiplicity of linkages and interconnections between states and societies which make up the present world system. Globalization is a process by which events, decisions and activities in one part of the world can have significant consequences for individuals and...
Figure 16. The process of construction in Lujiazui Financial District during the 1990s. Source: Wang (2003).
As the most important CBD in the Shanghai metropolitan area, Lujiazui was linked tightly to world networks during its process of growth. The first influence was the decision to set up a mono-financial area, which excluded other functions to form a self-sufficient city. Within 1.7 square kilometres were scattered approximately 80 financial institutions, half of which received direct investment from overseas. A modern metropolis has a strong tendency to be organized with clear functional zoning for better efficiency and this was illustrated vividly in Lujiazui. Like the decaying downtowns in American cities in the 1960s, Lujiazui was soon criticized as a boring place where diverse human activity was not encouraged, largely because of the single and monotonous architectural functions and aesthetics.

Second, when simultaneously planning and constructing an area it is difficult to establish an overall identifiable structure within the urban form of Lujiazui. Some international companies such as IAURIF from France have instigated techniques that have played a useful role in controlling building projects with suitable height, density and volumetric requirements. During the planning of Lujiazui until the finalization of the scheme in 1993, construction never stopped and it was extremely difficult to realize some highly integrated concepts, such as the elevated circulation system for pedestrians. In the original scheme by SUPDL, there were detailed considerations for the three-dimensional connections integrated into an elevated urban deck (Figure 18). This concept was effectively inspired by La Défense in Paris and the pedestrian system in Central, Hong Kong.

![Figure 17](image). The finalized scheme with detailed control on block construction. Each plot was given a plot number, functions, land area and floor area ratio (which ranged from 5–10 in the case of high-rise). Most of these blocks were built up to 2011. Source: Planning Authority, Pudong.
However, the concept was not applied in Lujiazui because of apathy from both the government and building developers. Motor vehicle oriented traffic planning gave cars unchallengeable priority, which sacrificed comfort for pedestrians and cyclists.

Third, Century Avenue (Figure 19), an ‘import’ from the Europe, was constructed as the main axis of Lujiazui. Together with the adjacent towers it soon became the most iconic place in Lujiazui. Century Avenue took its plan directly from the famous *Avenue Champs-Élysées* in Paris, but it differed significantly in its dimensions and ways of enclosing street space. Originating from the brilliant administrator Baron Haussmann in the 19th century, the French avenues such as *Champs-Élysées* were formed for the sake of civic magnificence and the military security of Paris. However, when the idea of using this unique element was supported in Lujiazui, Century Avenue began its far from tranquil future. Through the tunnel under the Huangpu River, Century Avenue linked Lujiazui to Shanghai west. For a long period it is the only access to the Bund from Pudong. With a width of 100 metres, Century Avenue did not possess a uniform architectural façade flanking its two sides. In addition, the peculiar direction of the avenue in a grid of blocks unavoidably caused a lot of awkward road crossings. While Lujiazui is definitely designed for motor vehicles, the insertion of this ultra-wide avenue brought extra inconvenience to the pedestrians.

Despite the ideas sourced or adapted from competition submissions, Lujiazui’s final urban form was criticized on two levels. First, due to the lack of an identifiable structure, the entire CBD area cannot easily be perceived in Lujiazui. Second, in this mega-project, the public space is far from pleasant. In the area there are roads that accesses the development projects instead of streets where human activities can take place. According to Richard Marshall:

> If there were one element that the Shanghai authorities should have taken from the international schemes, it should have been a commitment to the creation of a public realm in Lujiazui. This unfortunately did not occur. (Marshall, 2003, p. 100)

Lujiazui, with the highest towers in China, has a strong image. However, the district still does not exude attractiveness or charm.
Conclusion

At the 14th Chinese Communist Party Congress in 1992, the central government formulated a strategy to:

- seize the opportunity to develop and open up Shanghai Pudong, to build Shanghai as the dragon head and become an international economic,
financial, and trading center, so as to drive the growth of the Yangtze River Delta and, in turn, accelerate the whole economy of the east China coast.

Under this strategy, Lujiazui Financial District was built as the first mega-project followed by the construction of other projects such as large container ports, airports, high-tech science parks and free trade zones. Led by the Lujiazui’s success in economic development, many CBDs in other cities were planned and constructed and most of them were located in the Yangtze River Delta. Inspired by the symbolic images of towers in Lujiazui, those CBDs inherited a Manhattan-style panorama. Although a socialist city, Lujiazui has received increasingly positive comments for its economic and political achievements, which are sometimes more redolent of cities located in capitalist regimes. However, its monumental built form, especially its urban design, are often criticized for lacking a human touch.

In 2007, another competition was held for the expansion of the Lujiazui Financial District. The site is close to the original one, covering a rectangular area of 0.85 square kilometres. Because of the massive cost for the relocation of the existing residences, this project will probably not start in the near future. However, the scheme from Italian architect Vittorio Gregotti (Figures 20–22), showed a strong intention to revise the urban form of Lujiazui. In Gregotti’s plan,
Lujiazui returns to a city controlled by straight grids with each block being well defined with buildings. Three north-south paths are enlarged to contain the public services and the towers are integrated into this network of public spaces. The future projects are co-ordinated by the uniformed scheme. In searching for a local identity for the expansion of the Lujiazui Financial District, the architect Gregotti holds that the urban design strategy should be on two levels. These two levels, including legible structure and comfortable public space, are vividly illustrated in the Master Plan, behind which the guidelines continue to control the balance between the built blocks and the urban voids.

Like any other Chinese city in a rapid process of urbanization, Pudong has never ceased growing and transforming itself. While the modern metropolis of Shanghai finds its birthplace on the Bund, Pudong finds its origins in Lujiazui. As the Bund took on its current form with a long evolution, Lujiazui will also evolve to meet new requirements. Gregotti’s scheme can be regarded as a possible foretaste of what might develop eventually in the Lujiazui Financial District. After all, the most direct way to read the urban form is to check how the city is shaped in the process of formation and building. In the 20-year evolution of Lujiazui, Pudong provides a lesson in development for other cities.

Figure 21. Gregotti Scheme for the expansion of Lujiazui Financial District in 2007. “The towers rising from the bases can therefore take on forms rich in architectural variations, yet respecting an urban structure that is well defined by the blocks and by their alignments of the road layouts”. Available at http://www.worldarchitecturenews.com/index.php?fuseaction=wanappln.projectview&upload_id=1465 (accessed June 2009). Source: Gregotti Associati International Spa.
Gregotti Scheme for the expansion of Lujiazui Financial District in 2007. “This philosophy of a ‘city of skyscrapers’ measured at ground level by human steps and proportions suitable for social life is entrusted to three large malls, or parallel avenues, over 70 metres wide, with the city mall (a sequence of plazas with facilities) at the centre and at the sides a water mall and a green mall, intersected on the front facing the river by a tree-lined avenue”. Available at http://www.worldarchitecturenews.com/index.php?fuseaction=wanappln.projectview&upload_id=1465 (accessed June 2009). Source: Gregotti Associati International Spa.
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