

SHAPING THE BUND: PUBLIC SPACES AND PLANNING PROCESS IN THE SHANGHAI INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT, 1843-1943

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ABSTRACT

The Shanghai Bund is the classic symbol of Chinese economic strength and vigor in the early twentieth century. It was one of the most attractive waterfront public open spaces in Asia, and constituted the heart of communal life for both foreign and Chinese communities. This paper investigates the history of the public space of the Shanghai Bund, in terms of its shaping, representing and using. It unveils the four major social parties which had involved in shaping the street gridiron, the public buildings, the public parks, and the waterfront promenade. First to be the British colonial authority that had occasionally compromised to the demands of the Chinese to secure the trade profit. Second is the Chinese authority that had struggled for it conceptual and instrumental control over the foreign settlement. Third is the small group of powerful people called the “Bund Lot Holders” that had demanded the exclusive rights over the Bund. Finally is the ordinary Foreign Land Renters, with the Municipal Council has their Trustee, who had sought to make the Bund into an orderly public spaces for recreation amenity. The paper concludes that the landscape of the Shanghai Bund should not simply be considered as a symbol of “Western modernity”. It also reflected the complicated processes of conflict and compromise among various social parties, in which each party must be seen as participants in the same historical trajectory.

INTRODUCTION

The Shanghai Bund, stretching along the waterfront of the Huangpu River, is the prime icon of Chinese economic strength and vigor in the early twentieth century. Initially, it was a British Settlement established in 1843 when Shanghai was first opened to foreign trade, which lied north of the old, walled city of Shanghai, started at Yan'an Road (formerly Yang-king-pang Creek) in the south and ended at Suzhou Creek in the north. By the 1940s the Shanghai Bund had come to house numerous banks and trading houses from the United Kingdom, France, the United States, Russia, Germany, Japan, the Netherlands and Belgium, as well as the consulates of Russia and Britain, the North China Herald Newspaper, the Shanghai Club and the Masonic Club. This Site of towering buildings, known as the “Museum of Global Architecture”, had become the subject of fiction and the backdrop to many a film, and was listed as a Modern Heritage Site at a UNESCO experts meeting in Chandigarh in 2003.

Although “The Bund” almost invariably refers to the Shanghai Bund in the present literature, the idea of building the “Bund”, or the waterfront area, into the foremost urban center was not begotten in Shanghai. Rather, it has roots deep in

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the practice of British colonial town planning (Home, 1997). The term “bund”, derived from the Hindi word “band” which means an embankment, levee or dam, began to be widely used to refer to the waterfront area in the British colonial port cities. Many of these bunds, as is the case in Bombay, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Yokohama, developed into the financial and commercial centers of their cities, upon which wide avenues, civic squares, government buildings, and headquarters of financial institutions were erected. However, The Shanghai Bund was distinguished from all the other “Bunds” by its most attractive public open space (Fig. 1). With the beautiful Crescent-shaped Bund Line, and the historical trees, margin lawns and public parks alongside it, it constituted the heart of communal life for both foreign (especially British) and Chinese communities.

Predictably, a great amount of literature and number of documents depicted the Shanghai Bund, highlighting its general history and its spatial features (Qian, 2005; Hibbard, 2007; Zhang, 2008). However, there had not been sufficient explanation as to its origin and formation as a modern public space. It is of particular interest to us just how the Bund, with a spacious waterfront area, had been set aside for public use in such a mercantile-dominated port city like Shanghai? And, more importantly, how was it identified and used as a “public” space amidst the colonial social-political predicament? In this paper, with these two major questions in mind, we unveil a much more complex and multi-layered history of the public space of the Shanghai Bund, in terms of its shaping, representing and using.

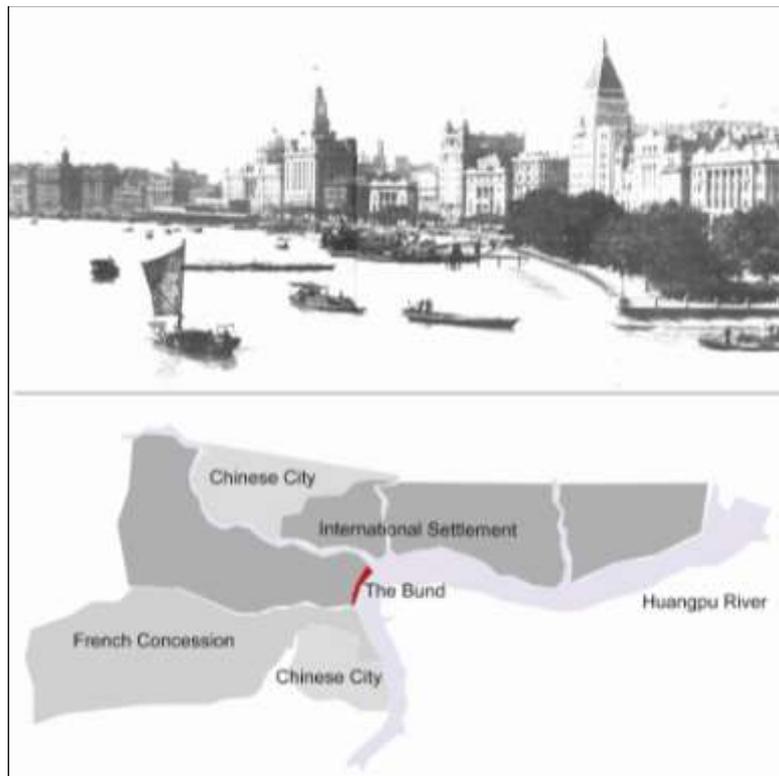


Figure 1 The Shanghai Bund in the early 1930s. Source: Qian, 2005.

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THE INITIAL PLAN FOR THE BUND

The Shanghai Bund, as a British community, was the direct product of the Treaty of Nanking signed between the Chinese and British governments in 1842. The Treaty opened Shanghai and another four coastal cities – Guangzhou, Fuzhou, Xiamen, Ningbo - to international trade, in order to “allow merchants and others of all nations to bring their families to reside there, and providing that the renting of ground for the building of houses must be deliberated upon and determined by the local Authorities in communication with the Consuls¹.”

In 1843, the first British Consul–Captain, George Balfour - later General Sir George Balfour – arrived at Shanghai, to take charge of the establishment and plan of the British Settlement. Although he himself was not a professional planner, he had served in the Eastern India Company for nearly 20 years, and was recognized as being a man with a high ability in terms of communication and negotiation (Lanning & Couling, 1921). After two years’ negotiation with the Shanghai Governor Mr. Kung Moo-yun, Captain Balfour promulgated the Land Regulations in 1845. This piecemeal legislation was in large part the detailed physical planning for the Settlement, upon which the 138 acres land along the Huangpu River was set apart as a site for the British Settlement, and an initial street gridiron was laid out.

The function of the Foreshore along the Huangpu River was the most heatedly negotiated issue between the British and the Chinese parties. As Mr. Kung Moo-yun pointed out that there was originally a Towing-path along the bank of Huangpu River, exactly upon the site of the British Settlement, and it was a necessary passage of delivering the grain produced in Southeast China to Beijing. He thus insisted that this Towing-path should be reserved both physically and functionally, and its standard width must be 30 feet according to the requirement of the Chinese government. Captain Balfour sanctioned the requirement, and added two more functions to the Foreshore. One was the “public road for all respectable tradesmen to pass to and from”, and the other was the landing area for foreign ships, upon which the foreign merchants should be permitted to build public jetties². Consequently, the Foreshore was set apart as the only space for the use of both the Chinese and foreigners.

The initial street gridiron, which comprised of ten “public thoroughfares”, was also prescribed in the Land Regulation, coming from three major sources. The first led to the important government buildings decided upon beforehand. As Captain Balfour had selected the former Chinese Battery as the British Consulate site, and Mr. Kung Moo-yun had chosen the mid point of the Bund Line for the Chinese Custom House, the present Beijing Road was made “south of the Consulate site” and Hankou Road “north of the Custom House”. The second was on the existing canals and the Chinese government roads, like the present Jiujiang Road “upon the

¹ By-laws of Nanking Treaty, assigned in 1841 between the British and Chinese Governments, quoted in the Shanghai Land Regulations of 1845. Shanghai: North-China Herald, 19th and early 20th century.

² See Article III of the Shanghai Land Regulations of 1845. Shanghai: North-China Herald, 19th and early 20th century.

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Old Rope Walk”, Jiangxi Road “upon the small canal”, and Huqiu Road and Hong Kong Road, upon the “public road leading the military working sheds eastward to the Toupa Too Ferry”. Finally were the thoroughfares made at the boundary of the existing Chinese property boundaries, like the present Nanjing Road “south of the Four-Lot ground”, Fuzhou Road and Guangdong Road “southward of the Custom House, on the north side of the Kweishapang and of Allum’s Jetty”, and Henan Road “on the west of the former Ningpo Warehouse”. The standard width of these, with the exception of the Rope Walk, which was originally meant to be 30 feet, was to be 24 feet.

As for land use, Captain Balfour proposed to purchase or rent the entire Settlement Site, and allocated particular lots to the individual foreign merchants. However, this proposal was rejected by Mr. Kung Moo-yun, who intended to keep the Chinese authority in the Settlement. After a lengthy negotiation between the two parties, an agreement was finally reached. The rule was thenceforth followed and when Foreign Merchants desired to rent land for building purposes they were to settle their bids with the private Chinese Proprietors directly, and a Title Deed had to be issued by the Shanghai Governor. After the land transfer, the Foreign Merchants were to pay an Annual Fixed Rent to the Chinese government, and the latter, in turn, would protect their land tenure by prohibiting the original Chinese proprietors from taking back or cancelling the lease of the land (Chen, 1996).

This mode of land acquisition, called the “Perpetual Rent between people”, would indirectly lead to a triplicate political framework in the Shanghai British Settlement. On the one hand, it suggested the ultimate authority of the Chinese Government in the Settlement, distinguished from other concessions or colonies dominated by a single political power. On the other hand, it vested “perpetual” and exclusive land rights to the private “Foreign Land Renters” who were likely to seek dominance in the Settlement by establishing their own Municipal Government.

EARLY CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS AND PUBLIC FACILITIES

The initial plan for the Bund, as result of the negotiation between Captain Balfour and Mr. Kung Moo-yun, was merely a scheme on paper. Neither Captain Balfour nor his successor had ever committed the necessary actions to bring the plan into practice. The first few years of the Settlement saw the “public thoroughfares” drawn in the Land Regulations continuing to be muddy trails, with no proper construction, pavements or drainage, and some lower ground was even immersed in water as the tide flowed.

In the year of 1846, the “Foreign Land Renters”, who acquired the “perpetual land tenure” at Shanghai, discovered the necessity of constructing the roads and public buildings by themselves. They held a “Foreign Land Renters’ Meeting” at Richards’ Hotel, appointed three merchants among them to found a “Committee on Roads and Jetties”, and decided upon the duties as: 1) to finish the roads made in the Land Regulations within a reasonable time frame; 2) to make several jetties and bridges on the various creeks still not by then filled in; 3) to levy a tax for the construction, maintenance and repair of the roads, jetties and bridges.

During the nine years of the operation, this Committee finished most of the works that had been prescribed in the Land Regulations. In 1848, it commenced a project designed to considerably raise the Towing-path on the Bund, to build it into a well paved public road. By 1851, it had raised a public fund of Tls. 13,300 to construct

the ten “public thoroughfares”. And in the years from 1852 to 1854, it spent nearly Tls. 20,000 on repairing, leveling, metalling, sanding and dressing the thoroughfares wholly or in part as necessary³. Meanwhile, the “Foreign Land Renters” also built some necessary public buildings or facilities. In 1846, a Messrs. Lindsay Co. spent Tls.2500 so as to rent a 14 mow piece of land at the heart of the Settlement in order to establish the “General Cemetery” for the Foreign Community, and they built around it “a well built wall, gateway, and a mortuary chapel”. In 1847, a Messrs. Bell Co. donated its own premises and erected the Holy Trinity Church upon it. In 1848, six Land Renters acquired a 80 mow piece of land in the west side of the Settlement to build a Racecourse, and in 1855 they sold it and rented a 170 mow ground even further westward for a much more spacious Recreation Ground (Hibbard, 2007).

With both the collective and the individual efforts of the “Foreign Land Renters”, most of the public thoroughfares and the necessary public facilities had been taken into shape by 1854. The various social functions were distributed according to the distance from the River. The Foreshore, closest to the foreign ship anchorage, had been built into a trade area, with a public thoroughfare and 8 public jetties alongside. The heart of the Settlement, with a proper distance from the muddy Foreshore, had become a foreign residential quarter, with the Church as the center for communal life. The west side of the Settlement, a bit further from the riverside trade area, had been set aside for public amusement. (Fig. 2).



³ Quoted in The Minutes of Shanghai Municipal Council, Volume I.

Figure 2. Roads and Public Facilities in the British Settlement, 1855.

THE CREATION OF THE PUBLIC GARDENS

The increasing enthusiasm of the “Foreign Land Renters” regarding the building of the Settlement into an exclusive European quarter was interfered with in 1853, when the Chinese City of Shanghai was captured by rebels during the early stages of the Taiping Rebellion. Around 20,000 Chinese refugees poured into the British Settlement, erected straw sheds, bamboo houses and wooden houses along the Yang-king-pang Creek and Suzhou Creek, and upon every piece of land unoccupied in the Settlement. The British Consul and the Chinese Governor both felt angry about this situation, and resolved that the Settlement should be strictly reserved as a foreign quarter and no Chinese should be permitted to live in it. The British Consul even set a fire along the Yang-King-Pang Creek, demolishing the 2,000 straw sheds built by the Chinese refugees.

However, the Foreign Land Renters, who had benefited from the profit derived from letting land to the Chinese refugees, did welcome these native people. To reject the racial segregation policy promulgated by the Chinese and British governments, they held a “General Meeting of Foreign Land Renters” in 1854, and pushed forward a new version of Land Regulations which allowed Chinese to reside in the Settlement. During the same Meeting, they also appointed a “Committee of Municipal Council”, composed of three to five upright persons, to deal with the much more complicated social conditions since the admission of the Chinese people. The Committee soon appointed a “Committee of Public work”, and employed several professional “Municipal Engineers” to take charge of the public works.

The plan of the Public Garden was the first large-scale public work proposed by the Municipal Council, against a context in which the character of the British Settlement was largely changed from being an exclusive foreign (especially British) quarter to a mixed community composed of a small group of foreign residents and a large majority of Chinese people. In 1864, Mr. Clark, the Municipal Engineer, submitted the plans for the Public Garden. According to this plan, a piece of artificially accumulated land was to be made on the “unsightly Consular mud-flats” fronting the British Consulate at the northern end of the Bund, so as to make it into a botanical garden for the amusement of the foreign community. More importantly, the newly created land would improve the initial C-shape line at the mouth of the Suzhou Creek into an L-shape, to prevent more accidents amongst ships in the area.

The plan was authorized and commenced in 1865. By 1868, the preliminary work had been done, and the Garden occupied an area of 30 mow (proximately 20,000m²) and was completed and made open to the Public. From 1869 to 1872, various works of improvement and adornment, following the “foreign taste and foreign design”, were undertaken, including the erecting of a Baroque Pavilion at the heart of the Garden, several flower beds with seeds ordered from England, and the Iron Lounging Seats delivered also from England. Some Iron Wicker Work was

erected at the entrance of the different gates for training Roses and Creepers, so as to convert the Public Garden into “a quiet English park”⁴. (Fig. 3).

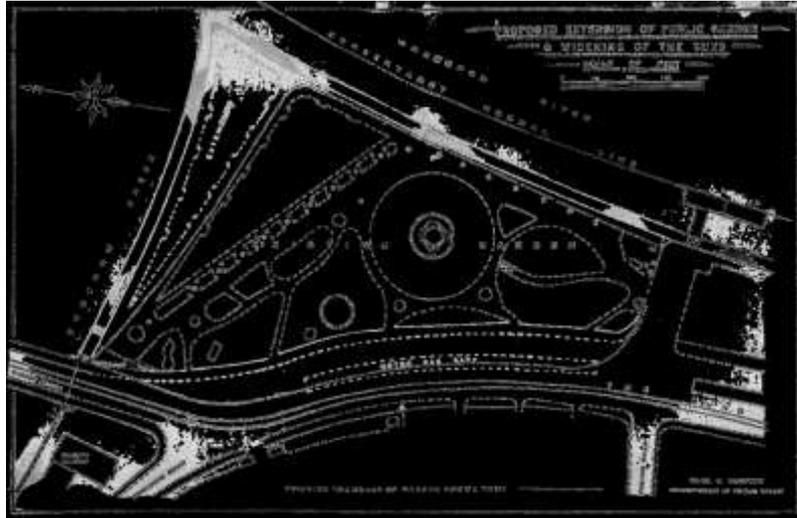


Figure 3 Plan of the Public Garden, Source: Hibbard, 2007.

⁴ See the “Report of the Public Works Committee” for the years from 1868 to 1872, Annual Report of Shanghai Municipal Council, printed and published by Kelly & Walsh, 1868-1872.

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Figure 4: The Public Garden (left) and the Chinese Garden (right) in the early twentieth century. Source: Hibbard, 2007.

However, the definition of “Public” which was used largely excluded the large proportion of the Chinese. The Municipal Council made it clear in 1871 that “the garden was to be invested with the atmosphere of a quiet English park”, and the gates of the Public Garden were opened discriminately; only those “respectable and well-dressed Chinese” were permitted in. Even so, there were incessant complaints from foreigners over the numbers of Chinese in the Garden, and the Foreign Community insisted on keeping the garden beyond the bounds of all the Chinese people. Thus, in 1890, the Municipal Council resolved to set up a separate Chinese Garden. The Garden occupied a land of 6 mow (proximately 4000 m²) to the north of the Public Garden along the Suzhou Creek, which was open to all without prejudice. But in practice, few of the well-dressed Chinese elite, and few foreigners, ventured past the gates of the Chinese Garden where members of the lower classes of Chinese society would congregate in great numbers (Fig. 4).

DISPUTES OVER FUNCTION AND LAND TENURE OF THE FORESHORE

The function of the Foreshore as a public thoroughfare, although clearly asserted in the Land Regulations of 1845, was not easy to maintain throughout its history. As early as the 1850s, the Bund Lot Holders had erected quite a few private warehouses around the jetties, occupied the public thoroughfares, and severely

blocked the Towing-path. Following the strong protestations of the Shanghai Governor, the Municipal Council built several boat pontoons along the Huangpu River, to fulfill the function of loading and discharging, while keep the Towing-path unblocked. These pontoons, spreading into the river by about 100 feet, aided the slow flowing of the water, and produced a large amount of mud flats on the riverbed. As there had been no direct clause in the Land Regulations which prescribed the tenure of the reclaimed land, the several "Bund Lot Holders" desired to have an exclusive right over it.

Around the 1860s, with the rise of the Steam Boat as the major mode of transportation in global trade, the Municipal Council began to consider plans to improve the Bund and make it into a proper Wharfage for steam boats. In the year of 1865, one of the Bund Lot Holders, H. HOGG & Co., submitted a New Bund Plan to the Municipal Council. By this plan, H. HOGG & Co. would donate money and take charge of the whole project, including a 100-foot-wide esplanade, the new Quayage and Wharfage for steam boats, and a suitable Landing-place for the public. As for compensation, the Company demanded an exclusive right over the land excess of the 100-foot-wide esplanade. All the Bund Lot Holders, according to the plan, were to be granted the same rights to enclose the excess land into their premises⁵.

This Plan was rejected in the "General Meeting of the Foreign Land Renters", as some Land Renters believed that the steam boat would ruin the quiet atmosphere on the public thoroughfare along the Bund, as many of them liked to walk around it. However, it was strongly supported by the Committee of the Municipal Council, for whom H. HOGG & Co.'s arrangement of the project would save expenditure, prevent a conflict of interests, and contribute to the taxes. Mr. Hanbury, a highly respected gentleman in the Committee, further pointed out that Singapore and Hong Kong had already commenced the Wharfage renewal projects, and it was the time for Shanghai to catch up with them⁶. Thus in 1868, the Committee of the Municipal Council authorized the New Bund Plan, with the inner part of the reclaimed land attached to the private properties of the Bund Lot Holders, and the outside land used for Wharfage.

However, the grand opening of the Public Garden in 1869 unexpectedly put the entire Plan on hold, as the Shanghai Governor issued a conditional certificate for the Public Garden Site. According to the certificate, the reclaimed land, though filled in by the Municipal Council, should still belong to the authorities of China. The Chinese Government would have liked to have given the Public Garden Site to the foreign community as a "free gift", only on the condition that "no Foreign Merchant shall rent or let the land or construct buildings thereon with a view of profit. Immediately on the infringement of this condition, the land will be confiscated, this certificate cancelled, and such other legal steps taken as are necessary⁷."

The declaration invoked a strong rejection from the Foreign Community. Mr. E. Cunningham, the Chairman of the Municipal Council, who "felt bound in the

⁵ Letter from the H. Fogg & Co. to the Municipal Council in Dec. 15th, 1865, attached in the Annual Report of Shanghai Municipal for the year of 1866. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1866.

⁶ The Minutes of Shanghai Municipal Council, Volume II.

⁷ Conditional Certificate issued by Ying, Intendent of Su-Sung-Tai Circuit, attached in the Annual Report of Shanghai Municipal Council for 1870. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1871.

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general interests of the Public”, wrote a letter to the British Consul to enter into a protest against the claims made by the Shanghai Governor. In this letter, Mr. Cunningham asserted that:

The land renter has an unqualified right to the river frontage which he has bought. So well aware are that nearly all Title Deeds make the boundary on the river side extend to low water mark. ... It is because he has paid for it especially and generally even paid very high for it. He pays over and above the value of the land for the property in water frontage—a perfectly tangible and practical property, and one of which the Land Regulations have recognized the existence, inasmuch as provision has been made that he cannot be deprived of it without his consent.⁸

However, the British Consul opposed the assertion that the Bund Lot Holders should occupy the Foreshore “larger than dimensions actually set forth in the respective leases⁹”, since it infringed the regulations of the British Government after several negotiations, the two parties finally reached an agreement that the entire foreshore, including the artificially accumulated land, should be reserved for public use. If it ceased to be used as a public space, it should be given back to the British Consulate, or it could be resumed at pleasure upon refunding the outlay of money expended on it by the Foreign Community at Shanghai.

Thereafter, the Municipal Council began to enter into negotiations with the Bund Lot Holders for the surrender of the foreshore for the purpose of public use. Finally in 1872, a “Memorandum of Agreement made between the Council for the Foreign Settlement of Shanghai and the Bund Lot Holders” was assigned between the two parties, which stated that:

Neither the said Council and their successors nor the said Bund Lot Holders their executors, administrators and assigns shall at any time or times hereafter respectively during the continuance of this agreement erect and set up upon any portion of the Foreshore and Beach grounds so surrendered by them as aforesaid or upon any of the land hereafter reclaimed adjoining the said Foreshore and Beach grounds, any kind of messuage, buildings, wall or erection whatsoever¹⁰.

⁸ Letter from Mr. Edward Cunningham, Chairman of the Municipal Council, to Mr. C. A. Wngchester, the H. B. M. 's Consul on 23 June, 1868, attached in the Annual Report of Shanghai Municipal Council for 1870. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1871.

⁹ Letter from Mr. C. A. Wngchester, the H. B. M. 's Consul, to Mr. Edward Cunningham, Chairman of the Municipal Council on 24 June, 1868, attached in the Annual Report of Shanghai Municipal Council for 1870. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1871.

¹⁰ Memorandum of Agreement made between the Council for the Foreign Settlement of Shanghai North of the Yang-king-pang, hereinafter called the Council of the one part and hereinafter called the Bund Lot Holders of the other part, attached in the Annual Report of Shanghai Municipal Council for 1872. Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1873.

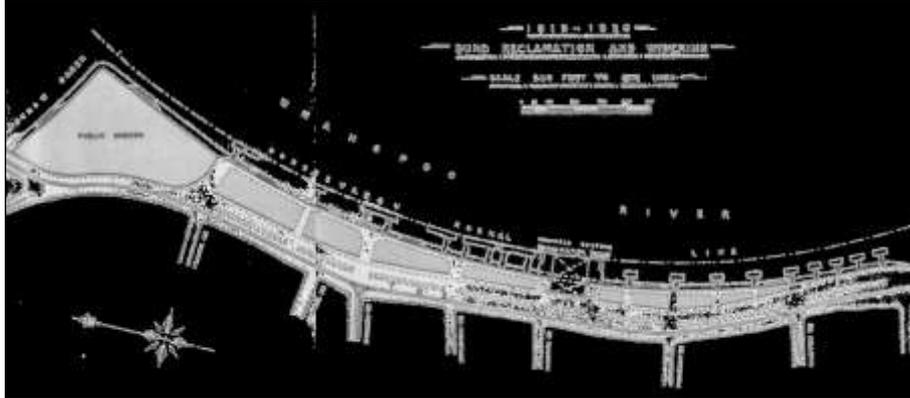


Figure 5: Plan of the Waterfront Promenade, 1919-1920, Source: *The Annual Report of the Shanghai Municipal Council*

The Memorandum eventually ended the long dispute over the function and tenure of the Foreshore. Afterwards, the Municipal Council undertook and executed a series of projects designed to improve the Bund from being an ugly muddy foreshore and make it into a fine waterfront promenade with lawns and gardens. In the early 1880s, the first concrete plans to create a protected riverbank with an attractive curvature, or Bund line, were finished. In May 1886 grass lawns extending from the Public Garden to the south of the Bund were opened to the public. In 1919, the Municipal Council set forth to widen the Bund to 120 feet. Most of the widening work, which involved a 55-foot carriageway for trams and fast traffic and another 30 feet-wide one for slow traffic as well as car parking ranks, and included the laying of new lawns, was completed by the end of 1920 (Fig. 5). During this period, the Bund gradually became the center of communal life for the Foreign Community. The town band played classics in its English-style Public Park, while the nearby Lyceum Theatre hosted Gilbert and Sullivan and home-grown British farces. A British court, prison, museum, library, church, and hotel were all established on the Bund. Meanwhile, several permanent monuments were also erected to memorize important figures and events for the foreign community. These monuments included the Statue of Sir. Harry Smith Parkes erected in 1890 in memory of the British Consul at Shanghai from 1864 to 1865, the Statue of Illtis erected in 1898 for the sunken German warship, the Statue of Sir. Robert Hart erected in 1913 in memory of the person who had been the Chief of Chinese Custom House for half a century, and finally the Monument of Victory with the Statue of Peace erected in 1924 on the border of the International Settlement and the French Concession, to celebrate the end of the First World War (Fig. 6).

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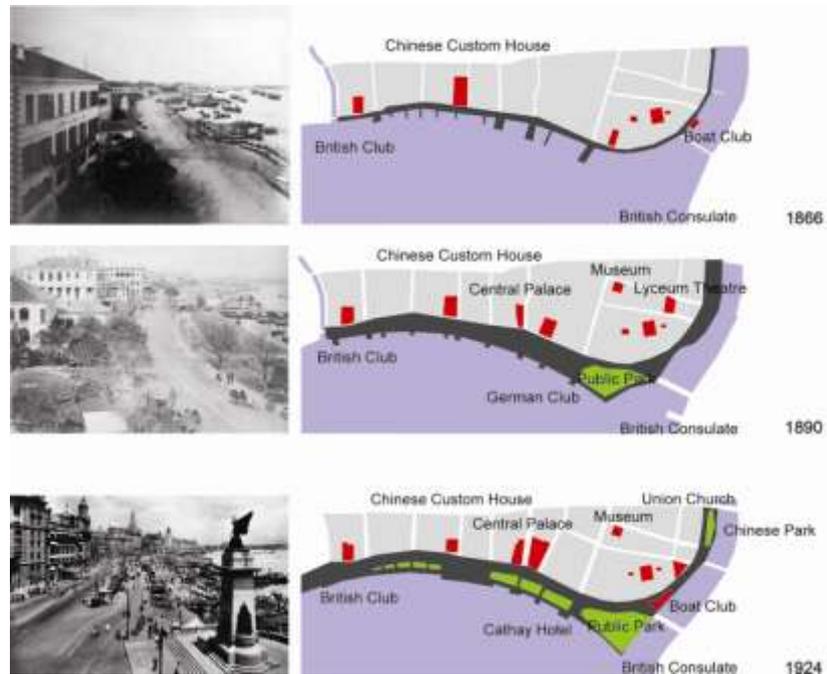


Figure 6: Formation of the Foreshore into a Waterfront Promenade. Source: Prepared by the author

CONCLUSION

The history of the public spaces on the Shanghai Bund, in terms of its shaping, representing and using, reveals the conflict and negotiation over the built environment in colonial Shanghai. As Yeoh states that “While most urban landscapes can be interrogated as terrains of quotidian conflict and negotiation, the colonial city in particular lends itself to such an interpretation because the dissonance in social values, the divergence in perceptions of the environment, and the asymmetries of power between the minority in authority and the vast majority who inhabit the city are possibly more in evidence in the colonial context than elsewhere” (Yeoh, 1996). However, it is over-simplistic to claim the power relation in the Shanghai International Settlement as the confrontation between the “colonizer” and the “colonized”. As a Settlement in which no single Power was figured out as the only political authority, the conflict and negotiation had been intersected through various ways among various social parties, with each one concerned with its self-interests.

First, conflict over the public spaces was intersected among the triplicate political authorities. On the one side, the Chinese Government was to struggle for its conceptual and instrumental control over the British Settlement, while the British Government occasionally compromised to secure the “trade profit instead of territory”. It was represented by the maintaining of the Towing-path in the initial

plan for the Bund, and the declaration of the land tenure on the Foreshore. On the other side, the Municipal Council, which was established by the “Foreign Land Renters” as their Trustee, confronted frequently with the Chinese and British Governments for the alternative defining and using of the public spaces, in order to create a sanitary and orderly city especially for the Foreign Community.

More importantly, the conflict and negotiation over the Public/Private use of the Bund were intersected within the group of the “Foreign Land Renters”, with the several powerful “Bund Lot Holders” on the one side, and the ordinary Land Renters on the other. This complex situation was apparently reflected in the polarized New Bund Plans prescribed by the Council in 1868 and 1880 respectively. The former version, following the Plan submitted by the “Bund Lot Holders”, authorized their priorities to make the Foreshore into Wharfage and private premises, while and the latter one, as a consequence of interference of the Chinese and British authorities, reserved the Foreshore for public recreation amenity. The landscape of the Shanghai Bund, thus, should not simply be considered as a symbol of “Western modernity”. It also reflected the complicated processes of conflict and compromise among various social parties, in which each party must be seen as “participants in the same historical trajectory” (Lefebvre, quoted in Yeoh, 1996).

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