

the river and the core of Lujiazui, but it is also a substantial divider between the area's components. Five kilometres long, it serves local vehicular traffic and pedestrians below the ground and it has a new subway line that provides public transport. Whatever the quality is perceived to be, Lujiazui sets a precedent for China, both in process and product, as a symbol of modernity. In 1999, 70% of the office space in Pudong was estimated to be vacant because of the gross over-supply but by 2004 this figure had reputedly dropped to 15%.

The project is not simply market-driven but rather driven by the aspirations of a people as represented by their government officials. Its architecture has been called 'non-judgemental kitsch' in which diversity is exciting, everything is possible and everything is acceptable. It is a hybrid architecture

reflecting concepts of individualism, modernity and tradition. Lujiazui is evolving into a piece-by-piece design of separate buildings each striving to be a foreground building barely within the constraints imposed by the design guidelines.

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CASE STUDY

Battery Park City, New York, NY, USA: a 'new town in-town' (1962 to 2002, but continuing)

Whether or not one cares for the design of Battery Park City, it is arguably *the* exemplar of an all-of-a-piece urban precinct design in the United States. Chronologically, it predates Canary Wharf, Euralille and Lujiazui but it is very different. It was not seen as a new business district but as an adjunct to an existing one. Now almost completed (and repaired after the events of 11 September 2001 when it was much damaged; see page 379 for a 2004 view) Battery Park City's development history is lengthy. The undertaking was embroiled in political infighting (particularly between politicians and bureaucrats of

the State and the City of New York) and battered by the fluctuations in New York City's economy and the corresponding demand for property development. Political and civic leaders and architectural critics (particularly Ada Louise Huxtable of the *New York Times*) wielded considerable influence on the proposals for the scheme. What we see today on the site is a product of the 1979 master plan, but the process of planning for Battery Park City began in the early 1960s.

Like many other river ports throughout the world, the finger wharfs on the Hudson River became obsolete in the 1960s. In Lower