



Figure 7: The "Streets" in Yaoshu/long

SOURCE: Shanghai shehui kexueyuan, jingji yanjiusuo (The Institute of Economic Research, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences), *Shanghai penghuqu de bianqian* (Changes in the Squatter Areas of Shanghai) (Shanghai, 1962).

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 fire hydrant led to daily disputes and violence over access to the water.³⁵ As late as the 1960s, when all the major slums of the city had been remodeled under government programs, the polluted and noisome water of Suzhou Creek still served as the main source of water for the daily needs of some of the remaining slum dwellers—drinking, washing, and cleaning chamber pots, all were done at the same riverside.³⁶

FANGUALONG AND ZHAOJIABANG: SHANTYTOWNS CREATED BY WARS

The formation of squatter communities in Shanghai was most closely associated with population growth. In the decade after 1927, 1.2 million people were added to the population of Shanghai; most of this growth was accounted for by immigration from the countryside.³⁷ The population continued growing during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) and the Civil War (1946-1949) as refugees from virtually everywhere in the nation poured into Shanghai, a war time "safety zone." As a result, in the 1930s and 1940s, straw hut slums mushroomed and, at the same time, housing conditions there worsened.

In the immediate neighborhood of the Shanghai Railway Station there was a large shantytown known as Fangualong (literally, Melon Alley), which might be considered typical of the slums that were created as a result of wars. Fangualong covered some 70,000-odd square meters immediately south of the railway line between the North Station (Beizhan) and the East Station (Dongzhan). About twenty thousand people lived in this area in the late 1940s. The average population density was 3.5 square meters per capita.³⁸

The rise of Fangualong was directly related to the fate of Zhabei where the slum was located. The first three decades of this century saw the growth of Zhabei, a new and moderately prosperous district that was often cited as evidence of Chinese capability to create and govern a modern urban area in this largely foreigner-controlled city.³⁹ The on-going boom in Zhabei, however, was nipped in the bud by the two wars waged by the Japanese in 1932 and in 1937. On January 28, 1932, Japanese troops attacked Shanghai, starting a month-long battle that was generally known as the Song-Hu War (i.e., the Wusong and Shanghai War). Since the central part of Shanghai (i.e., the foreign settlement) was under the protection of the Western powers, the war was fought in the north and northeast suburbs of Shanghai which were under Chinese jurisdiction. Zhabei, as a newly developed area under the Chinese authorities, became the main target of the Japanese troops. For two weeks after the battle started, Japanese bombers attacked Zhabei almost daily. Thousands of bombs turned the prosperous area to ruins. It was estimated that 68 percent of the total loss suffered by Shanghai in this battle occurred in Zhabei.⁴⁰ In the whole of Zhabei,