

GATED ANONYMITY VERSUS UNGATED COMMUNITY

Overcoming social, functional and physical borders through strategic spatial planning in Baishizhou, China.

SASKIA VAN EIJK

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Overcoming social, functional and physical borders through urban configuration in Baishizhou.

MSc Thesis

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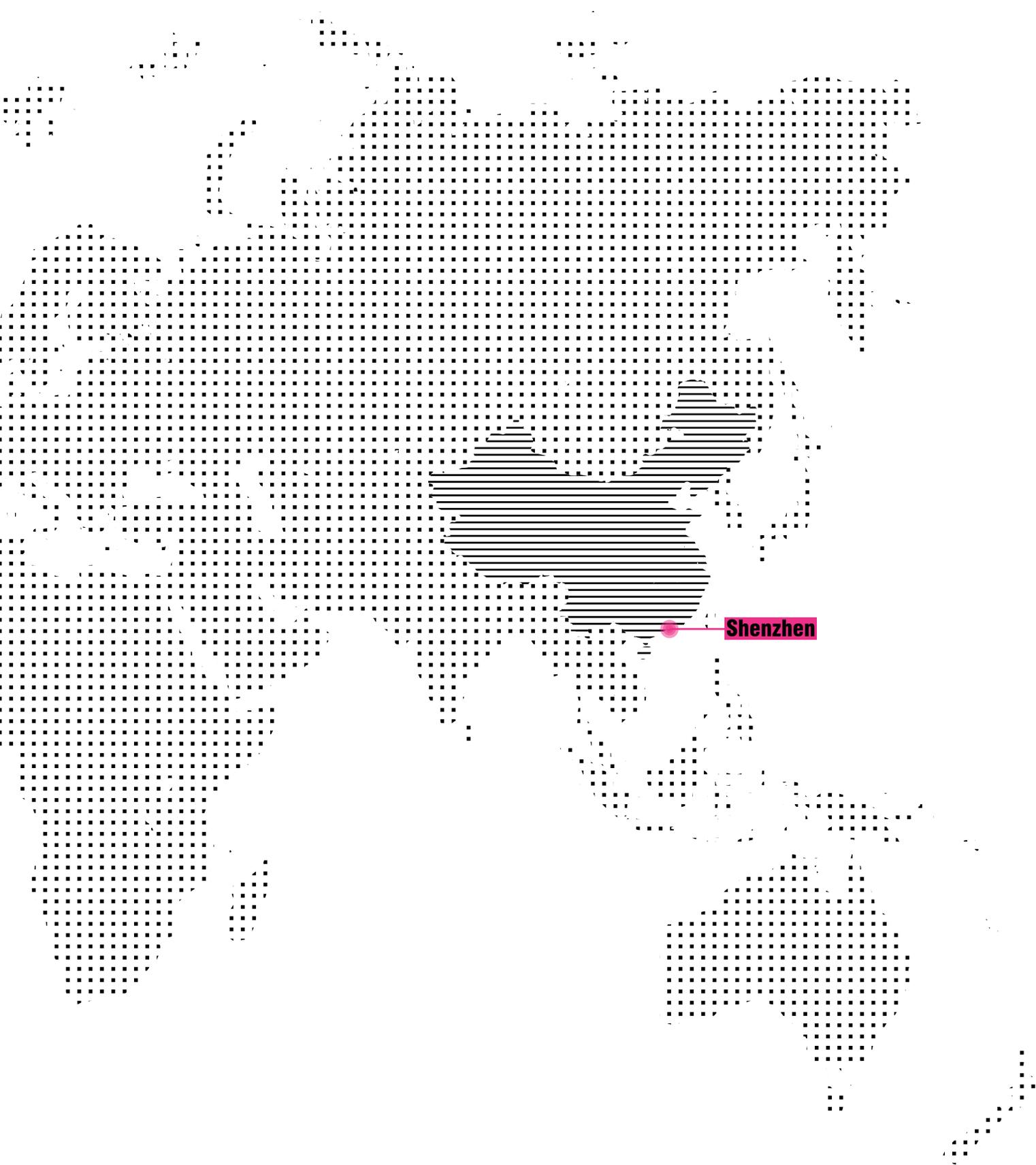
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LOCATION



Figure 1. China and Shenzhen in worldwide context.



Shenzhen



Indoor water parks in China are known for overcrowding, Daying county, Sichuan province, China (National Geographic, 2012)



1. INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

During the twentieth century, cities put economic expansion high on their agenda (Figure 1) at the cost of social well-being and the environment. The social effects of this economic expansion include placelessness, exclusion, insecurity, criminality and loss of cultural identity. Furthermore, environmental effects such as bad air quality, pollution and low density urban sprawl arose. The economy changed from a national/ country economy to city economies; a great leap in scale causing local higher densities, traffic congestions and deterioration of infrastructure and the built environments (van Nes, 2007).

In China, where economic reforms (Open Door Policy) were introduced in 1978, this change in economy had an enormous impact. Cities where SEZ's (Special Economic Zones) were introduced, such as Shanghai and Shenzhen, changed in scale due to allowance of foreign investment. The cities became wealthy and urbanized rapidly, changing their housing market drastically. The private owned land in these urban areas changed into state owned land, selling out the existing land owners. The housing became market oriented and large housing estates were implemented on a large scale by real estate companies and developers. This process changed to structure of cities and existing land from traditional small scale housing, such as hutongs to large private estates for the rich (Hao, 2012). This process dramatically affected the use of public space and street life in large Chinese cities (Figure 2 and 3). Streets became anonymous and public facilities were placed inside the walls of large housing complexes (Levitt, 2012). Due to the rise of anonymous streets and public spaces, insecurity and crime oriented urban structures arose.

Figure 1. Economic expansion in world regions in the past two centuries. Asia has only grown rapidly in the past 4 decades.

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Worldwide problems

Social segregation vs urban fragmentation
Gated communities, urbanisation, globalisation

Gated communities

In the mid to late twentieth century, a renewed urban form began to appear in cities; gated communities and enclaves. Many based on ancient and traditional forms, these new enclaves appeared primarily in the United States but were rapidly adopted by modern settlements in South America, South Africa and Asia. (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). Old neighbourhoods were closing their

streets, protecting their area and reducing traffic, transforming public space into private realms. This phenomenon challenged not only the spatial conditions of the city, but also impinged upon social and organisational aspects (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004). A rather complicating factor is that the historical context of these enclaves differs in each country. However, they are all linked to a global trend; safety and security of local citizens (Low, 2001). The aim of this paper is to obtain a better insight in these so called compounds and to identify the problems of these gated communities in relation to public space. Moreover, preliminary strategies on how to (re)integrate gated communities into urban fabrics in China are presented. Chinese gated communities arose more than 3000 years ago, as status symbol to separate emperor from citizens and urban from rural citizens (Jin, 1993). However, current gated communities in China are based on the American model (Le Coix and Webster, 2006). In the mid twentieth century wealthy citizens built enclaves to protect themselves against rapid industrialisation (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). Through literature review an introduction of different types of gated communities throughout the world is presented. Emphasis will be on new gated communities in China. Which impact does this new development have on urban configuration and social life in high-dense Chinese cities? This paper will focus on understanding China's new building strategies and the influence of gated communities on spatial fragmentation and social segregation in highly urbanized areas. Spatial interventions with the goal to integrate enclaves and to increase social cohesion will be addressed and will provide the necessary insight for a dedicated design project.

Chinese developments

Changes in urbanisation rated compared to Europe and other Western countries.

Migration
New town developments

Shenzhen

Urban villages

Baishizhou

Where is it?
What is it?

problems, aim of the project, methodology

Motivation

Why am I so interested in this topic

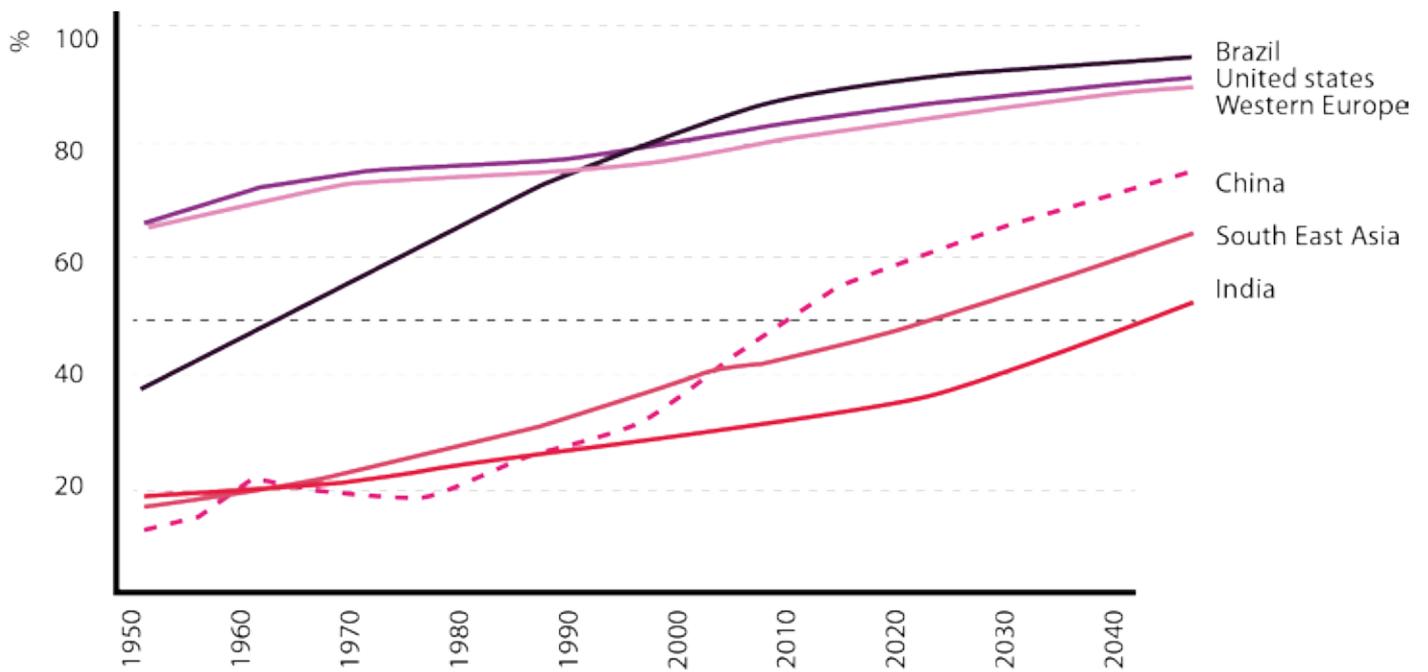


Figure 1. Economic expansion in world regions in the past two centuries. Asia has only grown rapidly in the pas 4 decades.

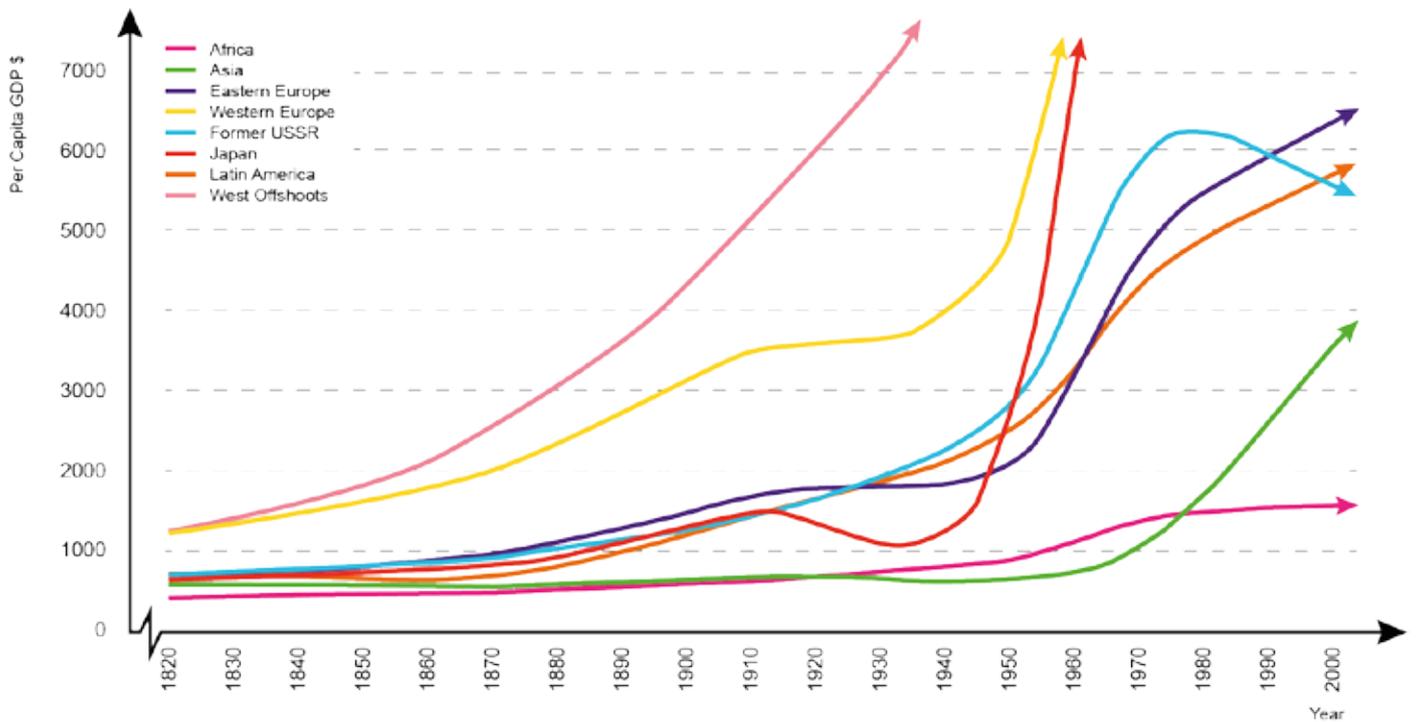


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SHENZHEN SCENARIOS

Outline

What can you expect in the thesis plan

My motivation for this project started when I researched the urbanization rates of Chinese cities and the increase of young and wealthy inhabitants of these cities. The lack of social housing is high on the agenda, because developers are not interested in these types of projects. During my site visit in Shenzhen I noticed that not only the housing was a main issue, but particularly the public space (as seen in the picture above). When the government decides to lease the land to a developer, this developer, and the government as well, does not care about existing environment, structures or inhabitants. Their main priority is getting as much profit as possible, so they put their focus on upper middle class and upper class. Therefore the focus lies on building large gated communities for the rich. However, one of the issues that arise is that streets are becoming empty. Moreover, inhabitants increase their car use to go from A to B (Levitt, 2012), changing the streetscape from a place of interaction to a place of desertion. The poor will eventually have to move out or create illegal settlements, which are already happening. But a city cannot function with only one particular social class. A city functions because of interaction between different social classes.

Due to this year's theme livability, we can wonder how cities can become livable when these processes are taken place. What will happen to the city when the traditional Chinese culture and values are wiped out and cities will only exist out of roads and walls? My interest is trying to find a solution for this ongoing problem and engaging the fact that security is one of the large issues in this process.

Figure 1. Traditional Chinese streetlife, where informal shops and other facilities dominate the street view. Where streetvendors hang around and products are sold in the public space.

Figure 1. The current trend in China: gated communities. These residential quarters are separated from the street by rigid walls. Therefore, streets become anonymous.



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HISTORY OF SHENZHEN

Private and fortified communities and enclaves are not new in the urban fabric. In history, walls were built to protect local citizens from invaders. In England for example, after Roman soldiers served, they would receive land and estates in tribal areas to stay and stabilize Roman in the countryside. They built walls to protect their families mainly from the local villagers who would turn against them. Moreover, in London for example, the city did not own a police corps until the eighteenth century, so citizens built walls to protect themselves from the 'evil' on the streets. Therefore, still many walled abbeys, manors and castles are seen in the English landscape (Blakely and Snyder, 1997).

However, in nineteenth century a renewed form of gating began to appear in Western countries. Wealthy citizens tried to protect themselves from the rapid industrialization in cities through private and urban governance. They closed of streets in old neighbourhoods to increase safety and to reduce traffic. This phenomenon challenged the spatial conditions of the city, transforming public space in private realms, but also pressured social and organisational aspects (Grant, 2008). In the mid and late twentieth century another form of enclave emerged in postmodern cities; retreats and exclusive residential areas. In the United States many of these gated communities have appeared since the ideology of suburbanisation.

South Africa, however, has a different history. Here gated communities have primarily emerged in the context of high crime rates. Many people see enclosed neighbourhoods and security villages as the only option for a safe living in cities (Landman, 2004).

Figure 1. High contrast between the kampong and the high rise residential buildings for the rich in central Jakarta, Indonesia.



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Figure 1. Edificio Roof, Jardim das bandeiras residential buildings next to the Paraisópolis favela, Sao Paulo, Brazil (Evans, 2011).

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Figure 1. In Mumbai, India, the development of wealthy privatized forts is rapidly increasing, creating a fringe between the shanty town.



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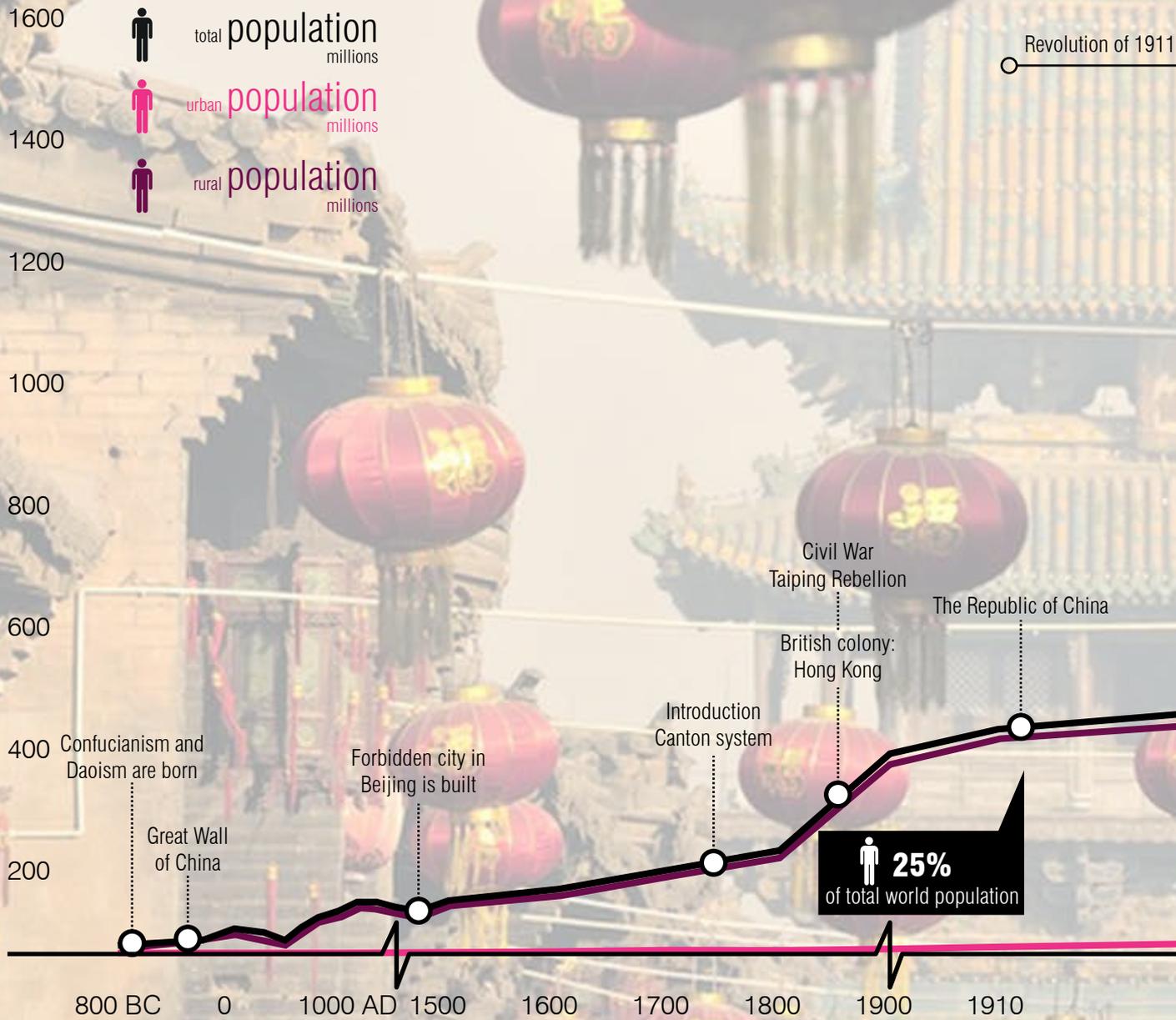


Forbidden City in Beijing built for the emperor in 1420 - 1420 (Highlanders images, 2010)

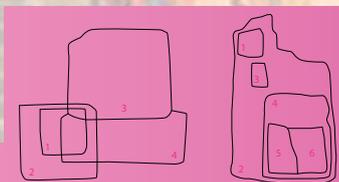


2. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS ON CITY DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW



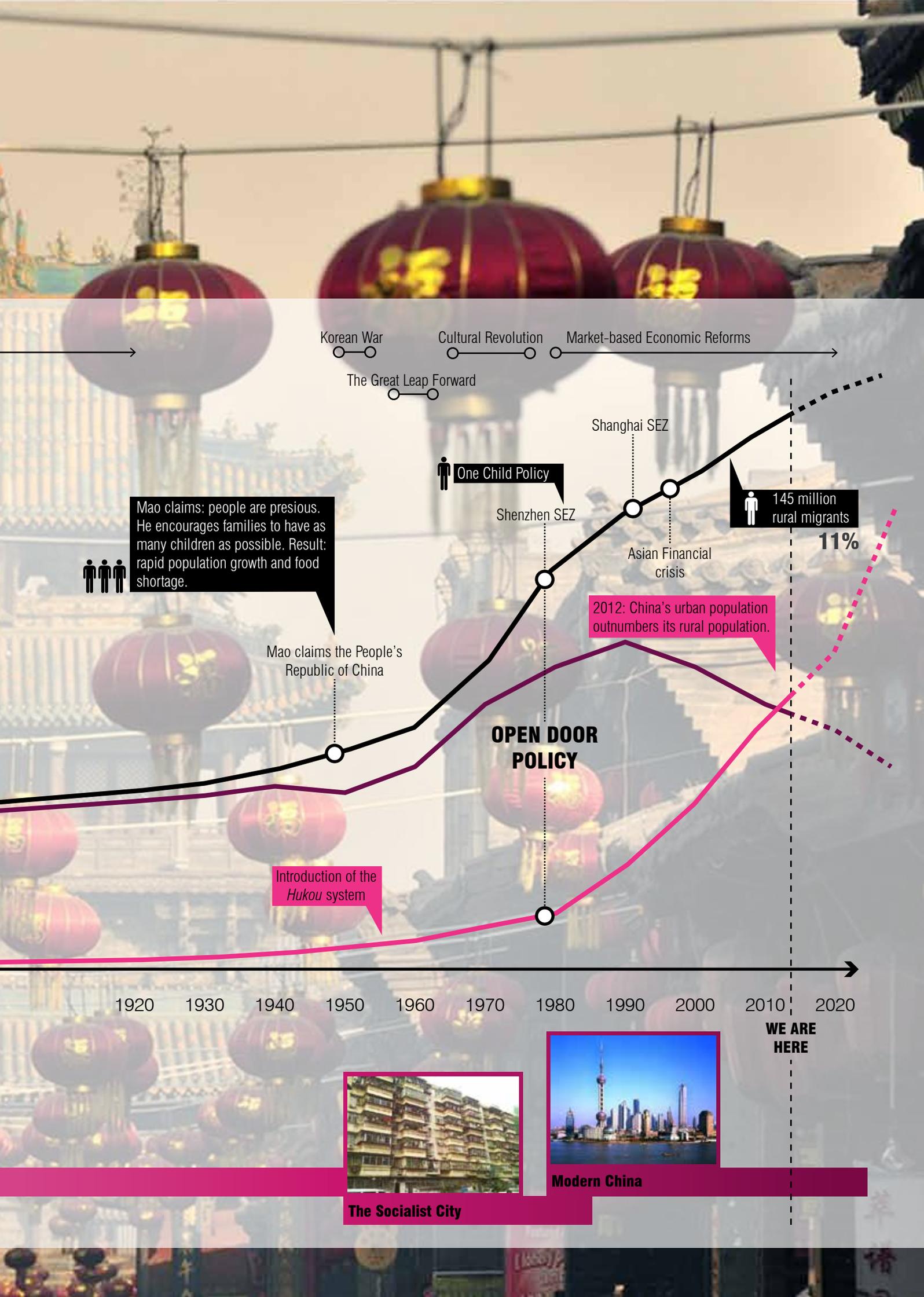
The Closed Walled City



The Open City



The Colonist City



Korean War Cultural Revolution Market-based Economic Reforms

The Great Leap Forward

Shanghai SEZ

One Child Policy

Shenzhen SEZ

Asian Financial crisis

145 million rural migrants

11%

2012: China's urban population outnumbers its rural population.

Mao claims the People's Republic of China

OPEN DOOR POLICY

Introduction of the Hukou system

1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970 1980 1990 2000 2010 2020

WE ARE HERE



The Socialist City



Modern China

Mao claims: people are precious. He encourages families to have as many children as possible. Result: rapid population growth and food shortage.



Historical overview

China has a long and extensive (urban) history, with towns dating back to the 2600 BC. The morphology of these cities was accompanied by social, economic but more importantly political change. This had major impact on how cities evolved. In the following chapter the development and history of the Chinese city will be described based on political, economic, social and spatial changes. Overall, it can be divided into 7 periods of time: *Traditional Chinese city* (5000 BC - 770 BC), the *Closed Walled city* (770 BC - AD 906), the *Open city* (AD 618 - 1840), the *Colonial city* (1840 - 1949), the *Socialist city* (1949 - 1985), the *Economic Reforms* (1978) and finally the current situation (2014).

Each phase projects distinctive characters and planning philosophy. In each phase the friction between urban and rural residents plays a significant role.

Traditional Chinese city (5000 BC - 770 BC)

The traditional Chinese city is originated from five principal morphological characteristics; walled enclosure, axially, North-South orientation, symmetrical layout and a closed courtyard. These characteristics are shown in *figure 1*.

The cities were founded primarily for political and military needs, serving as centers or symbols of authority. Plans for an official design system were established in the Zhou Dynasty (1028 – 770 BC) by the state and were applied throughout the country. The cities were constructed over a short period of time and were based on the strict rectangular plan instead of organic growth. The design plan consisted of rectangular city-plan surrounded by walls for protection and barrier between city and rural population. An additional inner wall was constructed to demonstrate the importance of the palace towards the urban residents. This official design system was regarded as an *ideal city* design and importance of the city was shown by the size, amount of residents, number of streets etc.

Figure 2 shows the ideal city design from the Western Zhou Dynasty. The *ideal city* was established from a grid system of 4500 m by 4500 m with nine streets running north-south and nine streets running east-west; the odd number to create a central axis running from North to South. The imperial palace (1) was placed in the center of the city, facing south. The ancestor's altar (2) was placed to the left and a ceremonial place (3) to the right of the palace. Markets (4) were located behind the imperial palace along the central axis. Within the city wall, residential houses and buildings (5) were built symmetrically (Jin, 1993).

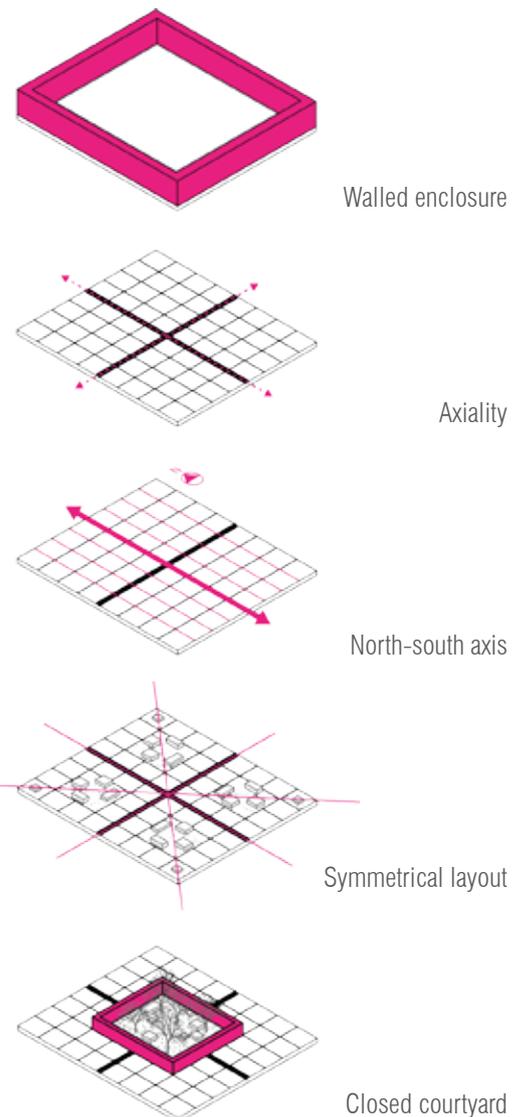


Figure 1. The traditional Chinese city is originated from five principal morphological characteristics.

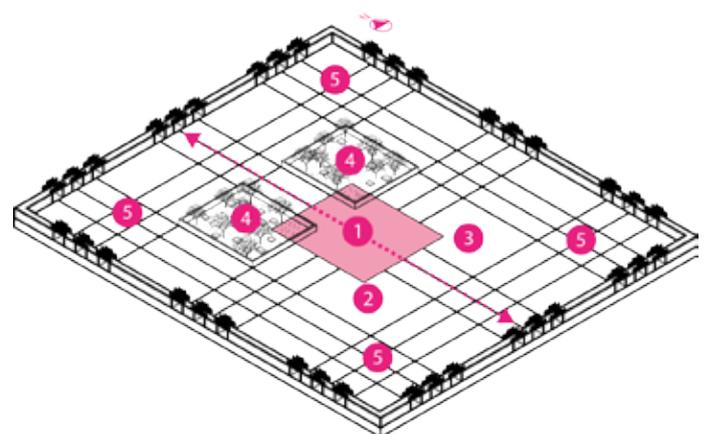


Figure 2. The ideal city model: the imperial palace as central authority located on the central north-south axis.

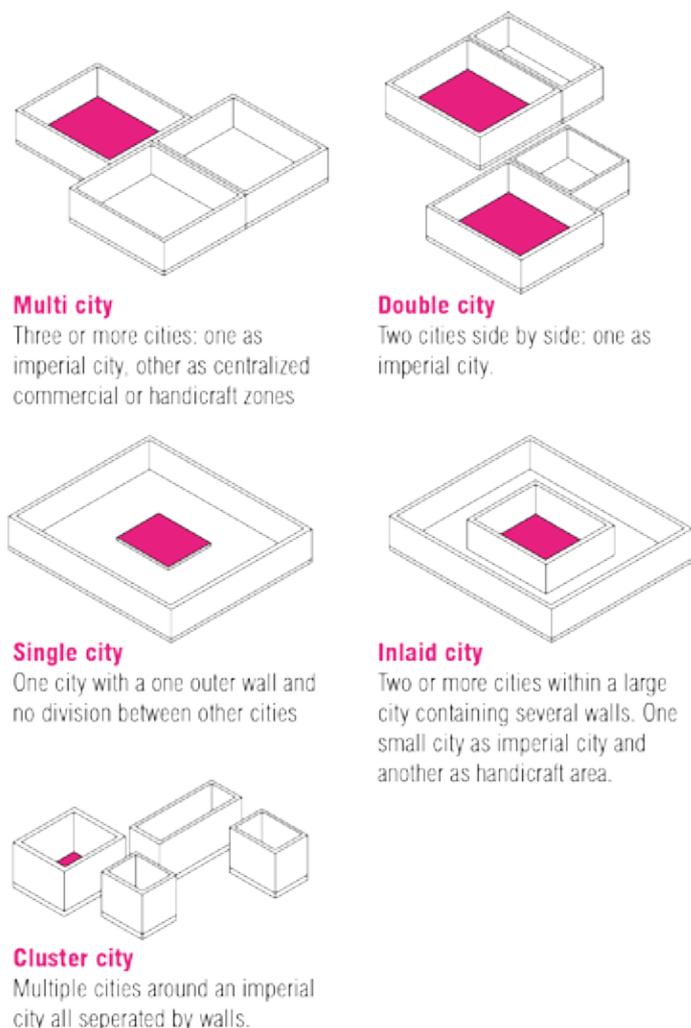


Figure 1. Combination of cities after expansion. Multiple (sub-urban) cities were combined to increase power and territory (Jin, 1993).

The Closed Walled city (770 BC - AD 906)

During the *Western Zhou Dynasty (1028 - 771 BC)* the Chinese sense of unique identity and cultural superiority grows. For the first time, China becomes known as *Zhong Guo (中国, Middle Kingdom)*, a name that is still used today by Chinese people (Carr, 2012).

In the following *Spring and Autumn period (722 - 481 BC)*, Zhou collapses and China breaks up into several smaller states due to political reforms and disorder. As a result the authority of the cities, dukes and prince, illegally expand their cities to increase territory and power. Multiple urban sub-urban cities are joined, creating cities covering 15 -20 km². In figure... these combined cities are shown; each city or sub city had its own wall, for the reasons stated before. Therefore the new expanded city existed of multiple inner walls and configuration. In addition, cities changed their focus from regular patterns to geographical patterns, such as relief and availability of natural resources.

As an result of the rapid expansion of the city, commercial activities, such as handicrafts and markets blossomed and expanded rapidly, taking over large parts of the city. Around the imperial palace and outer city, commercial zones arise at the expense of political and administrative zones. The first waterways are constructed around the city walls for extra protection.

The residential zones undertake a large transformation as well. The neighbourhoods are based around a courtyard and surrounded by windowless walls, to separate themselves from the rest of the city. It is also a way to minimize social interaction within the neighbourhood and increase the social control (Jin, 1993). In figure... several different types of neighbourhood courtyard houses are presented.

In the *Qin Dynasty (221 - 207 BC)*, commercial developments are growing steadily due to political stability and the expansion of the cities. He organized this state into 36 administrative divisions with sub divisions (this system is still seen today). Moreover, he eliminated regional differences and standardized money, weights, measurements and most importantly the written Chinese language. He introduced a social reform, where everyone in society was clearly defined (and ranked): every person was registered. This system was a basic system for the Hukou, which is seen in China nowadays. The cities keep the same urban building strategy. However, instead of the rigid symmetrical layouts of the city, the city is formed after the stars. The location of schools, markets, palaces and temples were determined astrologically, instead of the North-South axis (Jin, 1993). Qin invested in a network of roads, waterways and irrigation systems. He was responsible for the first version of the Great Wall of China, to protect them from nomads, and the Terracotta Army in Xi'an (Carr, 2012).

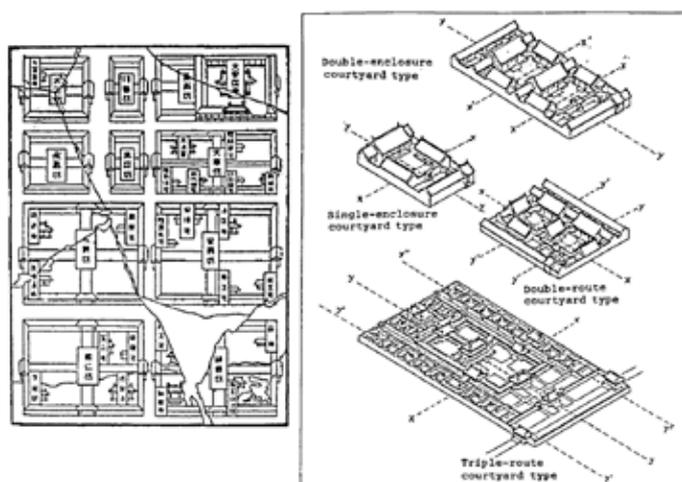


Figure 1. Neighbourhood units consisted of multiple houses around a courtyard surrounded by a windowless wall to decrease social interaction, but increasing social security (Skinner et al., 1977).

The Dynasty that followed, *The Han Dynasty (206 BC – 220 AD)* was one of China’s Golden Ages, where commercial activities, natural sciences and arts blossomed. The development of the Silk Road increases the economy of China, as merchants from different cultures can trade and travel from Asia to Rome and Persia (Carr, 2012). Towns flourished and where there only 900 towns during the Qin dynasty, there were now almost 1600 towns. These towns were the same as the larger cities, enclosed by a wall and sometimes water, symmetrical layout with a grid system with a palace in the middle of the town (Jin, 1993).

During the *Three Kingdoms Period (221- 264)*, the civil war breaks out, due to collapse of Han (Carr, 2012). The cities keep increasing and design of the city becomes a combination of the Zhou, Qin and Han dynasty, with expansion of the cities and recreating a strict North-South axis through the city (Skinner et al., 1977). And this became the most significant morphological features of the Chinese city. The simple grid system in the city is replaced with a complicated chess-board like network, shown in figure.... Urban growth is increasing, but remains in closed courtyard forms (Confusion Theory). In addition the neighbourhoods become standardized, with equal and regular size units. There is an increasing interaction with markets and markets expand rapidly along the central axis.

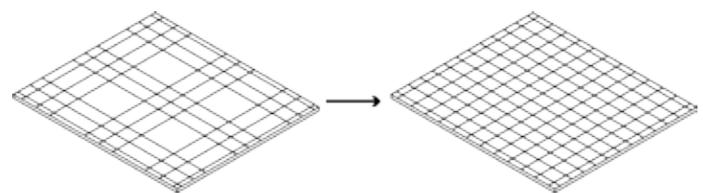
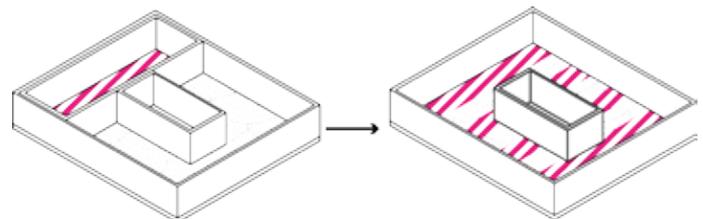


Figure 1. The city network structure changes from a grid of 9 by 9 streets to a more complicated Chess-Board structure.



Closed neighbourhood and market system: city exist out of three parts: administrative, residential, commercial - seperated by walls. Open market and neighbourhood system, where shops can be placed anywhere within the city.

Figure 1. Transition from a closed and seperated urban structure to an open system.

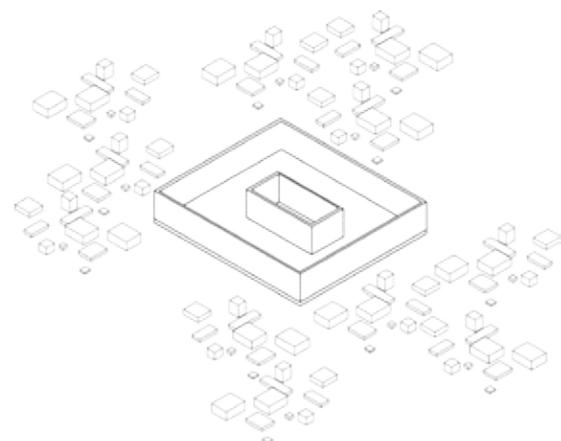


Figure 1. Commercial activities expand outside of the city walls.

The Open city (AD 618 - 1840)

Not many changes happen during the Sui -and Tang Dynasty. However, entering the *Song Dynasty (960 – 1275)* represents a strong economic and commercial growth. Cities expand rapidly due to increasing population. The city transitions from a closed neighbourhood and market system to an open system. The city does not longer divide markets and residential districts, but mixes them together. The homogeneous neighbourhoods fall apart and increase the social interaction. Instead of markets, individual shops are placed along the main streets to increase commercial activities. This is shown in figure..... The 11th century was prosperous for China, as an industrial revolution took place: raw materials, such as salt and iron were produces in mass quantities (Carr, 2012).

The following *Yuan Dynasty (1276 – 1368)* and *Ming Dynasty (1368 – 1649)* mark a massive growth market centres and commercial towns and cities along the main routes and water, creating city-regional networks. Figure ... shows an diagram of this expansion and network. Commercial activity start to grow outside of the city walls and expansion of cities through suburbs arise. In the mid-15th century a large migration of former farmers towards cities arise. They are looking for jobs, which led to a further expansion of cities. Cities do not follow the rigid urban system, but rather expand along natural morphological land and economic networks (Jin, 1993). The best symbols for the Ming Dynasty is

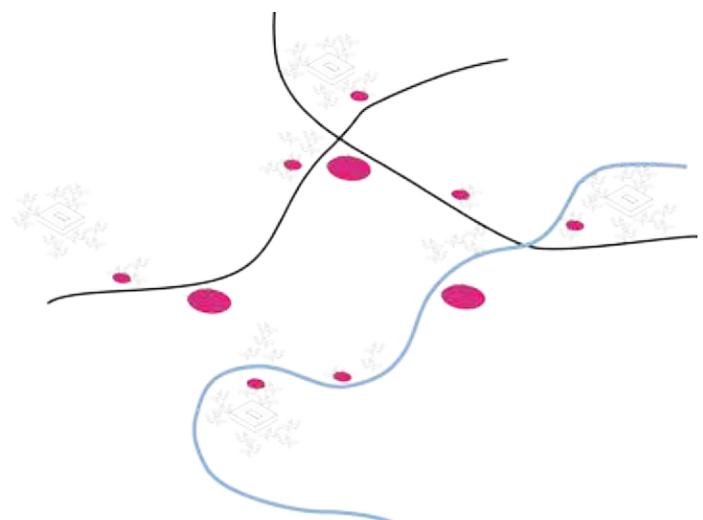


Figure 1. City-regional cities arise, with market and commercial towns along main routes and water networks all connecting eachother.

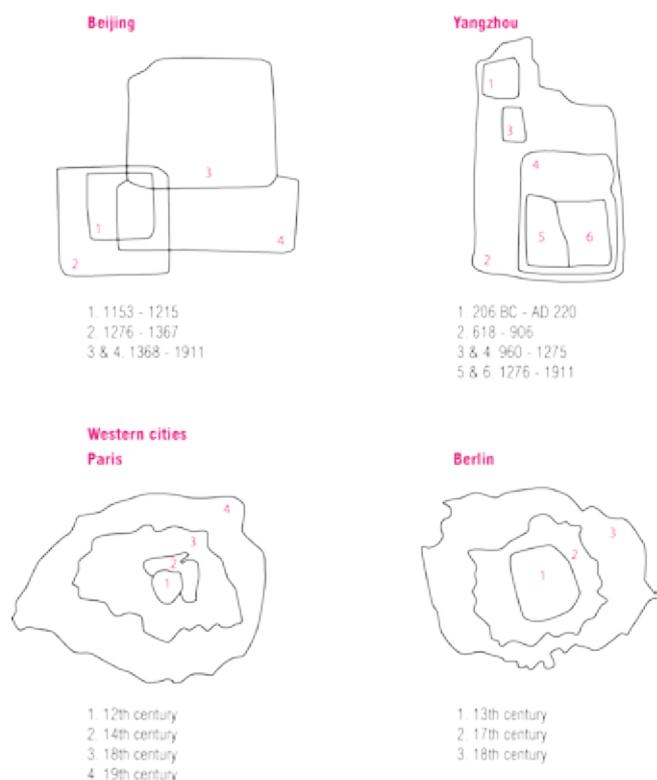


Figure 1. The difference of city expansion in Western cities and Chinese cities. Whereas Paris and Berlin expand through rings, Chinese cities are flocked together by multiple cities with outer walls, creating discontinuous networks (Jin, 1993).



Figure 1. The discontinuation of the city due to a large wall. City wall of Xi'an.

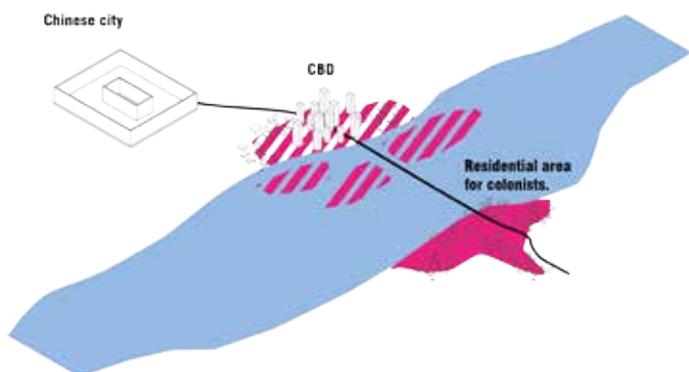


Figure 1. City-regional cities arise, with market and commercial towns along main routes and water networks all connecting each other.

the rebuilt and expansion of the Great Wall of China and the built of The Forbidden City, where emperors could distance themselves from reality. The Qing dynasty (1645 – 1911) continues along the same path.

There are four important outcomes of the evolution of the Chinese cities. Spatially they differ largely from European city expansion. Firstly, the cities lack a specific centre because of the continuous change of the location of the palace. Secondly, the original centre of the city lacked public space, because it used to function mainly as administrative or political area. Third, the ongoing expansion and combination of multiple cities into one created discontinuous cities, since multiple walls and barriers overlapped. Last, the traditional economic growth of china was based on agricultural activity and hardly any large production or manufacturing industry (Jin, 1993).

The Colonial city (1840 - 1949)

Slowly, China's power shifted towards the West. Because China was walled off from the rest of the world, it did not encounter the industrial revolution in the 18th and 19th century. China believed to be self-sufficient and did not want to be a part of the trading system with West, because Europe had nothing interesting to offer. However, it did eventually allow trading, but to certain extend (introduction of Canton system). The foreign colonists entered China and introduced a new type of rapid urban growth. The introduction of modern industrial technologies made it possible to invest in a large railway expansion and introduction of steamboats. The introduction of steamboats in 1840, led to a large emigration of hundreds of thousands Chinese searching for a better life (Carr, 2012).

The Westerns introduce another type of city: treaty ports. These cities were mainly situated along the coast or large waterways. Additionally, the cities were divided into three different zones: production, circulation and residential areas. Mainly the production (industries) was situated outside of the city centre and near railway stations. The separation of functions created a decentralized city with multiple centres. This is seen in figure.. where the city of Fuzhou is shown as a treaty port.

A new type of district was developed: CBD – central business district. This district consisted of a bazaar, trading company, shopping centre, banks and various business offices in the treaty port. Mostly consisting of multi-storey buildings, this was a large contrast with the traditional Chinese buildings, where usually houses consisted of one or two storeys with shop fronts. Also, a special zone for the Western colonists was built close to the CBD and treaty port. The city grid was transformed from the traditional grid pattern to a radial structure with the introduction of great public space, shown in figure.....

Large changes in the urban form appeared due to the growth of the railway system. It strongly encouraged the cities to expand in every single direction. The cities shifted from expansion along the water front, to expansion along the railroads and rail junctions. Many cities that were situated along the water, but disconnected from the railroads, significantly declined in population (Jin, 1993).

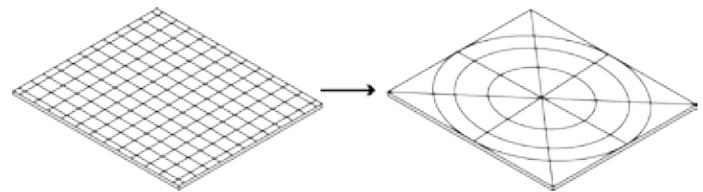


Figure 1. City-regional cities arise, with market and commercial towns along main routes and water networks all connecting each other.

In the next century, millions of Chinese would die after wars, floods droughts and illness. Western power is forced to find another port, since Shanghai has been hit by the Taipei Rebellion. In the 1920's Shanghai is the 5th largest city in the world, residing both locals and foreigners. It is then in 1921, that *Mao Zedong* calls for change and institutes the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). His slogan: **“Destroy the Old China”!** Mostly peasants, farmers and workers are taking Mao's side. After the fall of the empire, China's political landscape drastically changes and is dominated by the Nationalist Party (KMT) and the Chinese communist party (CCP). Another civil war breaks out and eventually Mao takes the upper hand as his party is seen as the party for the common man. His red army defeats the KMT and on October 1st, 1949 Mao Zedong's “People's Republic of China” is founded (Carr, 2012).

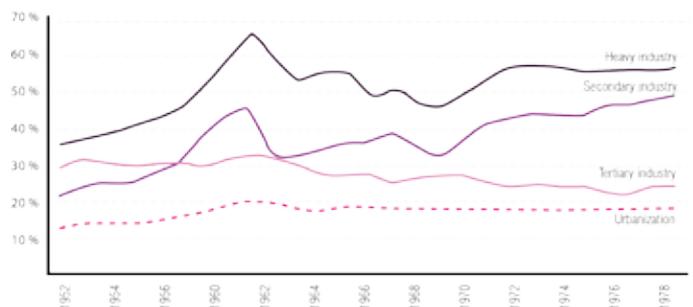


Figure 1. During the industrialisation process in the 1950's and 1960's, Mao's put the focus on heavy industry, without massive urbanisation.

The Socialist city (1949 - 1985)

With Mao in Power in 1949, the adaptation of the theory of Karl Marx is as official philosophy was a fact: the city is an evil place. The rapid industrialisation and urbanisation must slow down, since this process created a bad quality of life. The concentration and separation of economic, administrative and cultural activities is recognized as bad division between urban and rural life. However, Mao understood that industrialisation was of major importance for his republic; therefore he cited that highly productive society without urbanisation. He opted for a class-less and self-reliance society with spatial equality. He stood up for the working class and the destruction of social and economic differences between urban and countryside, with nationalisation of the land and housing market as a result (Jin, 1993).

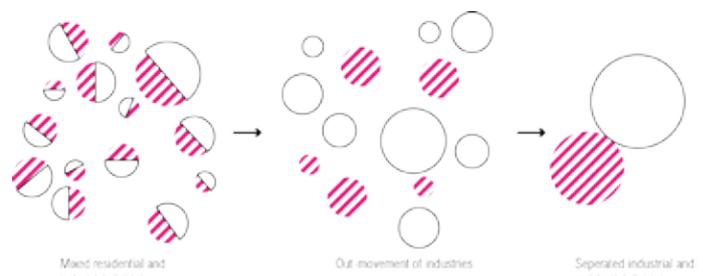


Figure 1. From city centres where residential and industry are mixed together to a complete separation of industry in housing. Industry moves outside the cities in so called satellite towns (Jin, 1993).

In the 1950's the shift from agriculture production to heavy industry took place. Industry was situated in key cities where existing industry was situated to minimize urbanisation. Residential units were built close by due to poor public transport and network. The residential units and factories were heavily influenced by Stalin's socialist Soviet and Eastern European style; concrete building blocks. Frustrated by the slow modernisation changes, Mao wants to take industrialisation to the next level introducing the Great Leap Forward in the late 1950's (Carr, 2012). This turned out to be a disaster for China: rapid unplanned and disorderly expansion of cities create industrial belts around the cities. People are not regarded as individuals, but as communes. Everything must be



Figure 1. Danwei housing in Shenzhen, China.

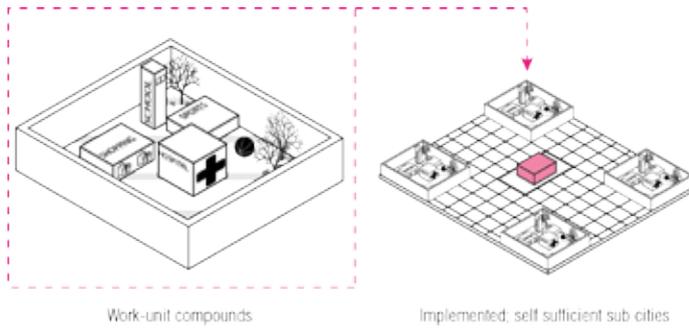


Figure 1. Work-unit compound; residential district enclosed by a wall with all the necessary facilities. Situated within the city, next to the industrial factories. Usually every factory had its own work-unit compound; these became sub-centres within the city.

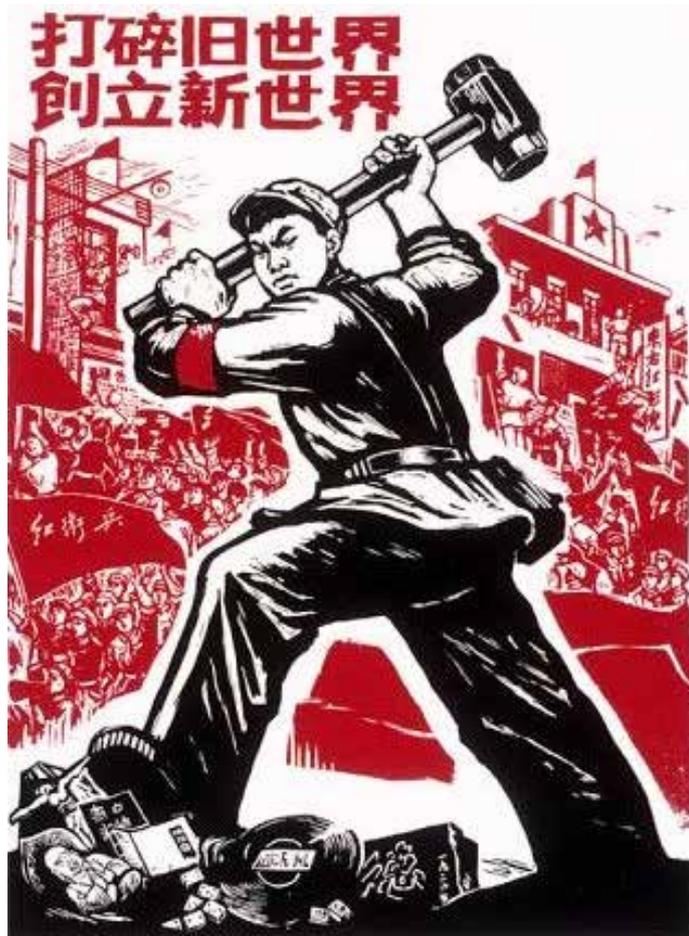


Figure 1. Chinese propaganda poster (1967) during the Cultural Revolution: "Destroy the old world; Forge the new world". The poster shows a red army guard of Mao, who demolishes historical Chinese artefacts.

shared and no luxury items are allowed. Small satellite towns appear around the large cities and industry slowly moves out towards the hinterlands. This movement is shown in figure... The Hukou is introduced to restrict people to move from the hinterlands towards the cities. Men should work in the factories, while women work on the agriculture land. The cities can therefore be self-sufficient. China does not know much from urban planning, therefore they looked towards the socialist cities; urban expansion consist of symmetrical layout of a grid pattern with a large symbolic square or centre. The introduction of work-units compound or Danwei housing is introduced: closed-courtyard units with standardized buildings. Each unit is enclosed by walls with all facilities needed for inhabitants: school, shops, supermarket, hospital, parks, restaurants and theatres close to the factories. But rather than adopting the Soviet model where residential areas are spatially separated from the workplace, China attempts to integrate these two facilities. These self-sufficient work-living therefore compounds became sub-centres within the city (Jin, 1993), which is shown it figure....

The Cultural Revolution in 1966 is a power play by Mao to regain power. He asked his red army and orders Chinese people to destroy the old China and make place for Modern China. Many people are killed and old traditional Chinese neighbourhoods, monuments and temples are completely destroyed. In 1971 China loses up from its isolation and opens up to the West with a historic visit from US President Nixon. A relationship between the US and China is established. 10 Years after the start of the Cultural Revolution, Mao dies in 1976 and the start of a new era approaches (Carr, 2012)

HUKOU SYSTEM PLAATJE

The Economics Reforms

Deng takes over the power and realized that poverty and lack of improvement are fatal. Therefore he introduces a new capitalistic Chinese economy. In 1978 he introduces the Four Modernisations Programme (agriculture, defence, science and industry) and introduces the Open Door Policy allowing foreign companies to invest in China. Coca Cola is one of the first admitted on the Chinese Market, seen in figure ... Along the East coast, a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) was introduced in multiple cities to boost economic growth (Mars and Hornsby, 2008) . An immense urbanisation took place and the one-child policy was introduced in 1980 to stabilize the population as it reached almost 900 million. In that same year the first SEZ in introduced apart from Hong Kong; Shenzhen. An area with only 300.000 inhabitants turns into a mega city (so called New Town) and grows to a population of 12 million in 2014 (INTI, 2012). Shenzhen turns out to be a great success and catalyzer for the rest of China. Therefore China opens almost two dozen SEZ along the coast, where Japanese and Western companies built immense factories and headquarters. In 1987 the first KFC opens its doors, shown in figure. ... and in 1991 MacDonaldd's arrives in China. In 1990 China's biggest SEZ launches in Pudong, Shanghai, where rapid urbanization takes place and population grows from 12 to 24 million in 30 years (Brook, 2013). At the start of the 21st century, China has become one of the largest global forces, with a booming economy. Its economy has been growing rapidly as it has cheap labour and capital with an average growth of 10% per year.



Figure 2. Coca Cola enters Chinese market in 1978 (Coca Cola Company, 2013).



Figure 2. KFC became the first Western Foodcompany to open its doors, Beijing 1987 (The Guardian, 2013).

Growing inequality

Now

Newspaper articles
Type of buildings

migrants, cars
Old town versus New Town; problems
Safety and security, anonymity

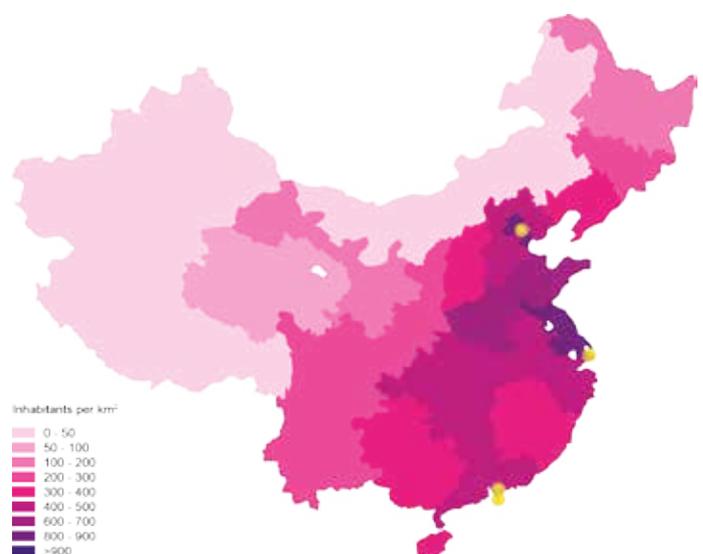


Figure 2. Urbanisation rates in China per district. The areas where SEZ were introduced the past decades have been rapidly urbanised and are situated on the coast.

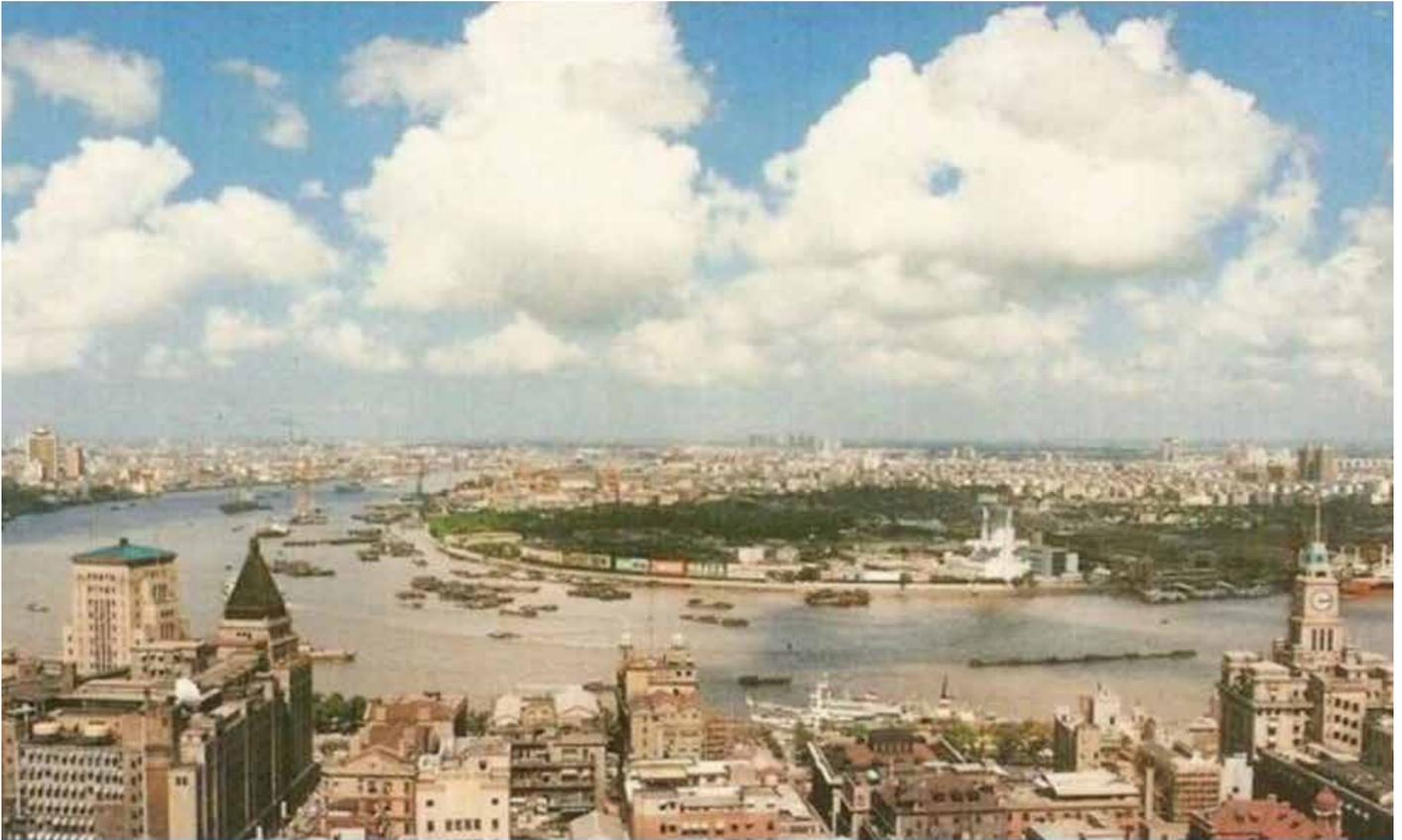


Figure 2. Pudong, Shanghai in 1980. It exist out of multiple villages and housing from the colonial era, with some high rise at the Bund.



Figure 2. Pudong area in China in 2010. An immense transformation of high-rise skyscrapers and wealthy companies and residents.

Housing types

Generally there are 3 types of housing:

- traditional courtyard houses, dating back from 1949. Hutongs, usually one storey high houses with shopfronts around a courtyard. Usually 500 - 800 households live in a neighbourhood unit, where houses are situated along one main street and multiple alleys. The closed-yard neighbourhoods usually have a regular plan with small public square located in the centre. A variety of local household facilities. Residential buildings tend to be symmetrical with shophouses.

FOTO & PLATTEGROND

- Medium-rise buildings with a mix of industrial and residential accommodation. Slabs of 3 to 6 storey buildings, constructed around 1950's - 1960's. Danwei housing - work unit compounds. Mostly built by industrial enterprises for their employees. Close to work to minimize journey to work. They had their own facilities all within a wall with private or semi private courtyard. The streets were much wider with views towards to courtyard and balconies.

FOTO

- Buildings after 1978; large, high-rise housing estates, usually completely privatized with 7 - 20 or more storeys. Also known as the Comprehensive Residential Community. Some residential compounds are completely self organized and house sometimes 30.000 to 50.000 people. Usually have all the facilities inside and grouped together.

FOTO

eindigen met gated communities zal verder worden beschreven in volgende sectie.

Traditionally the chinese commercial centres were divided into four principal categories: regional, community, neighbourhood, scattered corner shops.

Figure 2. GINI-index is a number which expresses the inequality of trends and developments, measured from 0 to 1. The higher the number, the more unequal the country is developed. China is reasonably high on this list. With a rating of 0,48, China lists number 29 of the worlds most unequal countries.

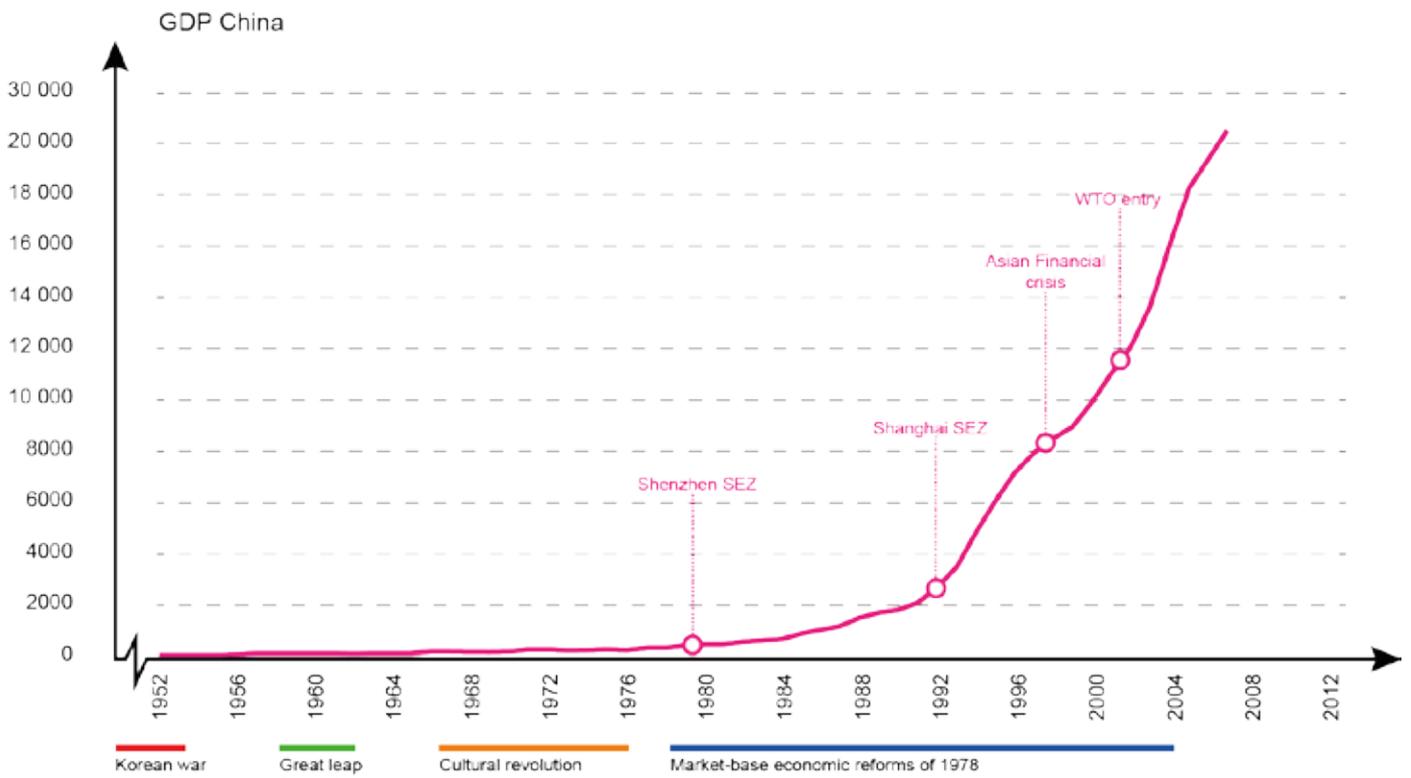
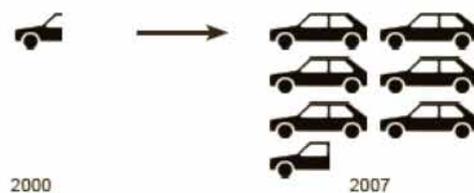


Figure 2. GDP is increasing rapidly since introduction of foreign investment (McKinsey & Co. report "Preparing for China's urban billion", 2009).

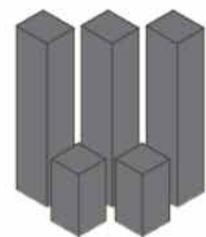
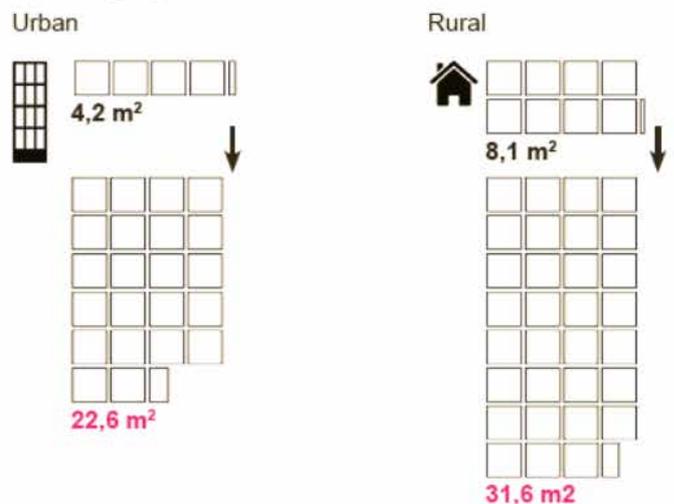
926 million urban citizens in 2025



Car ownership per 100 families



Housing space



Source: McKinsey & Co. report "Preparing for China's urban billion", 2009

Figure 2. Prosperity transformations in China due to rapid urbanisation and foreign trading (McKinsey & Co. report "Preparing for China's urban billion", 2009).

New Development: Gated communities

Definition

The following definition will be used for a gated community: 'a gated community is a housing development on private roads closed to general traffic by a gate across the primary access. The developments may be surrounded by fences, walls, or other natural barriers that further limit public access' (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004). Enclaves, residential quarters and compounds all refer to the same definition listed above and do not conform a specific aerial size or number of houses. Gated communities should be seen as a successful formula for market-controlled urbanisation. Developers explore gated projects as an important marketing strategy in the current real-estate market: enclaves can attract future residents, searching for a sense of community, identity and security by providing specific facilities and functions (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004). However, whether gated communities are true 'communities' is open for debate and some important aspects will be discussed later in this book.

Since the introduction of the economic reforms, the securities of the Danwei have been lost: high rise buildings, luxurious hotels and large shopping centres are replacing the traditional Chinese shopping streets (Hao, 2012). With the transition from a collective land and totalitarian controlled society to a society dominated by market forces, the Chinese peasant is responsible for his own individual survival, resulting in a mass migration to cities. Due to overcrowded cities and lack of public facilities, the upper class wants to dissociate themselves from the chaotic and polluted urban realm (Mars and Hornsby, 2008). As a result large private residential communities for the rich are built, dividing the different social classes and secluding themselves from the 'danger' outside their walls. In the transition from a planned economic society to a market-oriented system the government's top political concern is social stability. Therefore, the government encourages gating because it quickly reduces crime and increase control, safety and stability (Miao, 2010). The majority of the residents also like the gate, not only because it increases the safety, but it also keeps out noise of through traffic, unwanted sales persons and pedlars. However, there are many complaints about the rigid walls, since they symbolize a safe environment, but it only generates a virtual safety image. (Miao, 2010).

Worldwide phenomenon

Private and gated communities are not new in urban fabric. Historically, walls were built to protect local citizens from invaders. In the nineteenth century a renewed form of gating began to appear in Western countries. Wealthy citizens tried to protect themselves from the rapid industrialisation in cities through private and urban governance. They closed streets in old neighbourhoods to

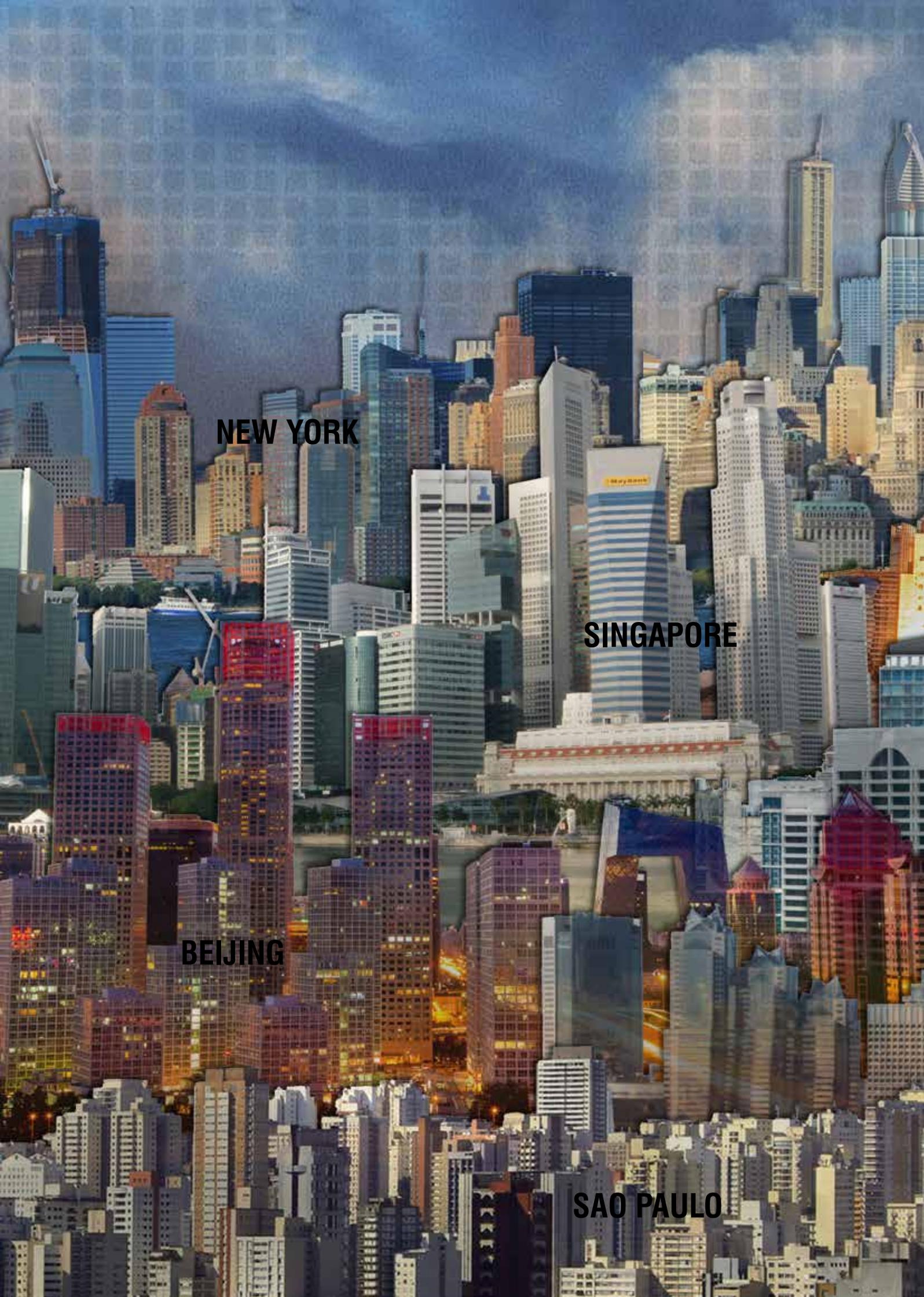
increase safety and to reduce traffic (Grant, 2008). In the mid- and late twentieth century another form of enclave emerged in postmodern cities; retreats and exclusive residential areas. In the United States many of these gated communities have appeared since the ideology of suburbanisation (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004). This gating trend has set its mark all over the globe, where in the United States, senior citizen communities are enclosed by golf courts, in South-America villages are surrounded by barbed wire and cameras. Or for instance in Dubai, where the complete city has been built with fenced neighbourhoods and commercial compounds. All these types of fortifications are the response to an increasing demand for safety, seclusion and community living. Enclaves where specific social classes group together, sharing an ideology or lifestyle, either by fear or hope (Mars and Hornsby, 2008). This phenomenon challenges not only the spatial organisation of the city, transforming public areas into private realms, but also introduces social tensions.

Types of gated communities

The writers of Fortress America, Blakely and Snyder (1997), have presented an extensive investigation on gated communities in the United States. They have identified three types of gated communities; lifestyle, prestige and a security zone. In practice, however, gated communities may show more than only one type. Lifestyle communities focus on leisure activities, such as golf and country clubs. Residents searching for identity, security and shared lifestyle, such as seniors, are mostly attracted to these enclaves. Prestige communities symbolize wealth and status and do often not include shared facilities. Athletes, financiers, celebrities and politicians are the type of residents for this community. Security zone communities are built as a reflection of fear for outsiders. Walls and gates are built to decrease crime, traffic and maintain property values. At some moment in time, all social classes have practiced this way of preserving the neighbourhood, but wealthy compounds have been the most successful (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004).

Welke types zijn aan te treffen in china

Figure 1. Shenzhen scenarios



NEW YORK

SINGAPORE

BEIJING

SAO PAULO

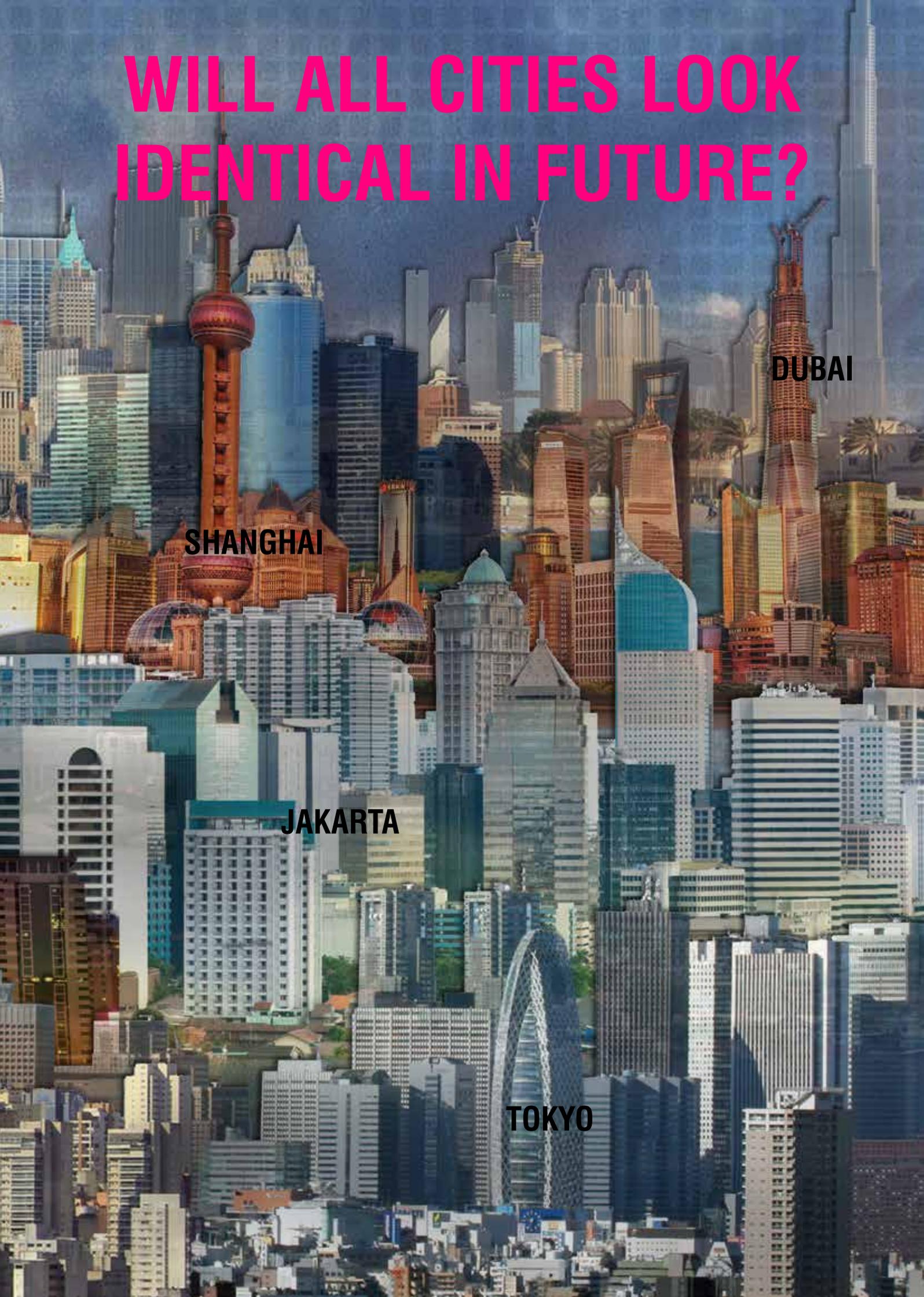
WILL ALL CITIES LOOK IDENTICAL IN FUTURE?

SHANGHAI

DUBAI

JAKARTA

TOKYO





The border between of Shenzhen and Hong Kong (<https://encounteringurbanization.wordpress.com>, 2011)



3. NEW TOWN: SHENZHEN

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

TIME

LINE

SHENZHEN SCENARIOS

HISTORY OF SHENZHEN

Shenzhen is one of the cities that received a Special Economic Zone, to compete and interact with Hong Kong's booming economy.

Shenzhen is a New Town, which has been booming since 1980 with an average growth of 400.000 inhabitants per year. Due to the rapid urbanization, the configuration of the city is changing in the same rate. A continuous flow of new skyscrapers, large highways and high quality housing takes over the existing villages that are in their way. As a result of the housing reform, the real estate developers have taken over the construction of residential areas. Therefore these areas become totally market-oriented and are primarily focused on middle and upper class citizens, these constructions tend to evolve in gated communities (Yao and Wei, 2012).

Due to the shift in economy, original industrial areas are moving away to the hinterlands of Shenzhen and Shenzhen is focusing on a service industry.

Figure 2. The urban structure for the masterplan of Shenzhen in 1986. Where centers are appointed in the four districts of the special economic zone.

Figure 2. The Comprehensive Plan of Shenzhen (1996 - 2010) A new masterplan for larger Shenzhen, presented in 1996, shows new connections with the hinterlands of the Special economic zone.

Figure 2. The Comprehensive Plan for Shenzhen City (2010 - 2020). This plan presents new corridors and connections between the different districts in Shenzhen. Connections between the Special Economic Zone and the urbanised areas are emphasized.

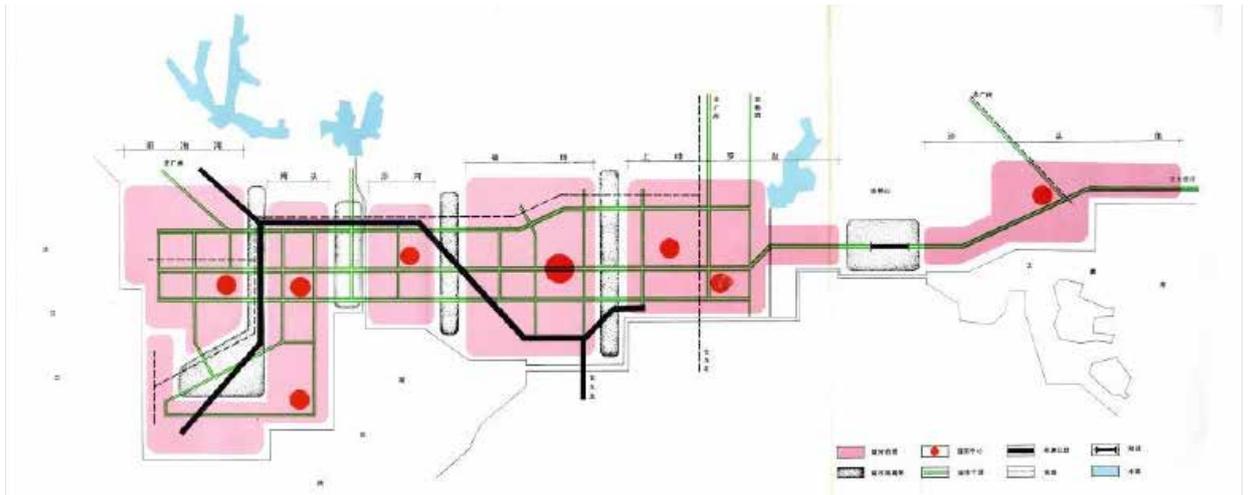


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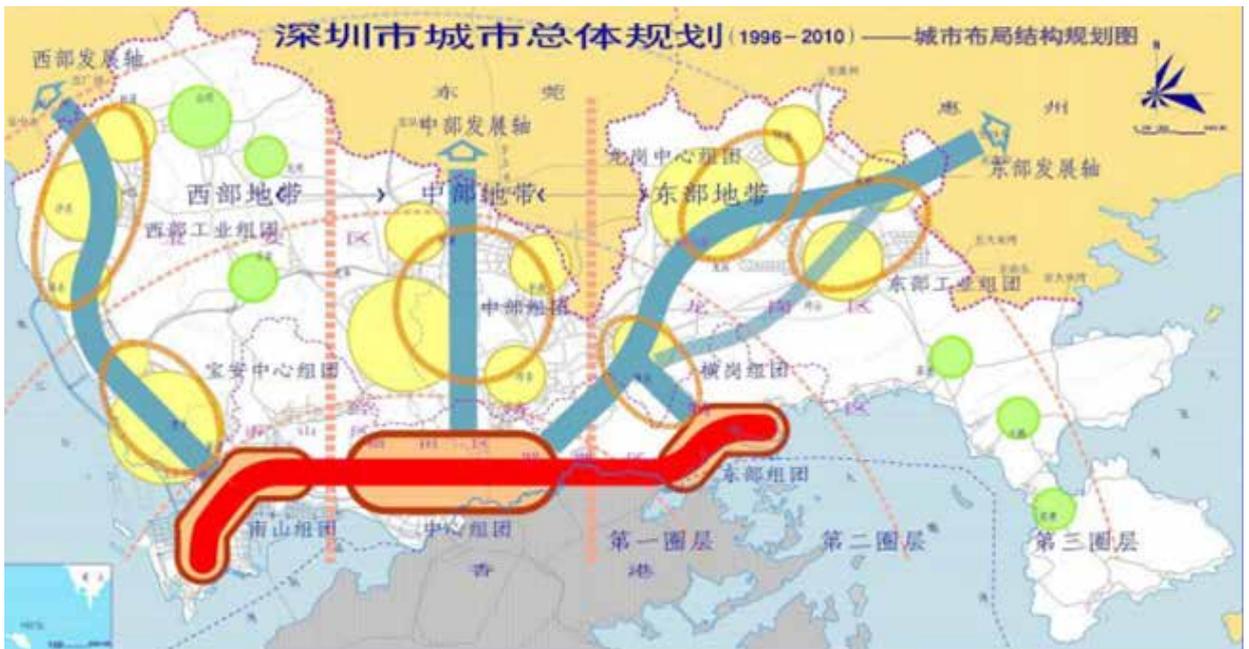


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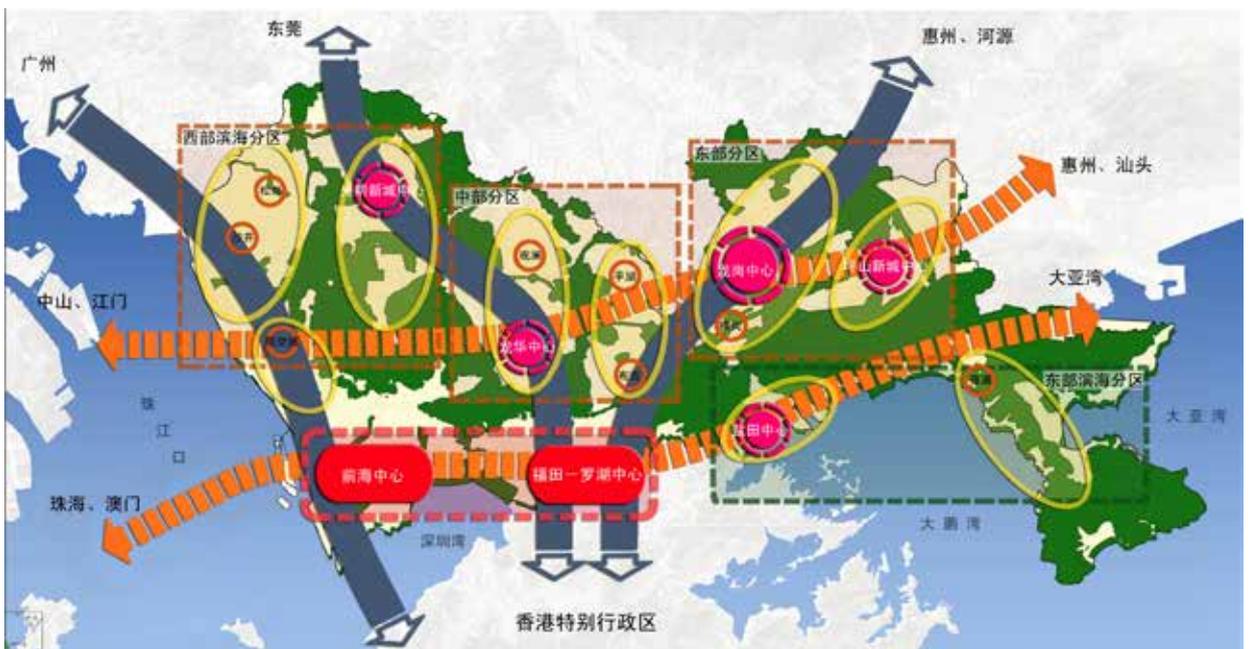


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SHENZHEN SCENARIOS

HISTORY OF SHENZHEN

Figure 2. Shenzhen in 1970, where the landscape mostly existed of agriculture and fishing villages.

Figure 2. Shenzhen now in 2014. High rise skyscrapers dominate the landscape, with no sign of the original and historical villages that were once here.



Figure 2. Nantou in Shenzhen. A village that origins from 331, is up for demolition after failing to turn it into a museum. It is only one of the few historical elements in Shenzhen (Randomwire, 2011).



Figure 2. Kingkey 100 skyscraper in Shenzhen; once the tallest building in China (Baidu maps, 2012).



Figure 2. Shenzhen in 1970, where the landscape mostly existed of agriculture and fishing villages (Shenzheninfo).



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URBANISATION PROCESS

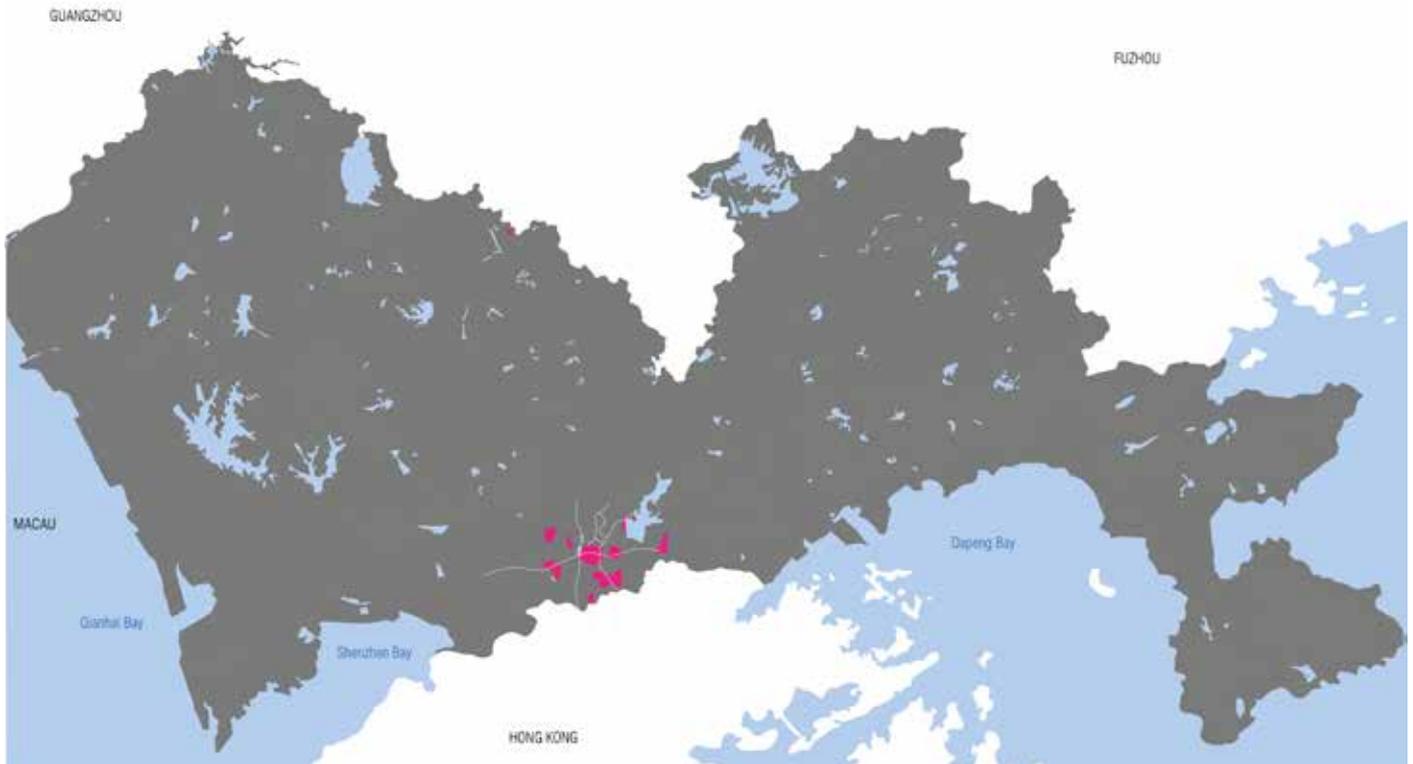


Figure 2. Shenzhen between 1980 and 1990. Shenzhen city starts out as a small scaled urbanized area close to the Hong Kong border.

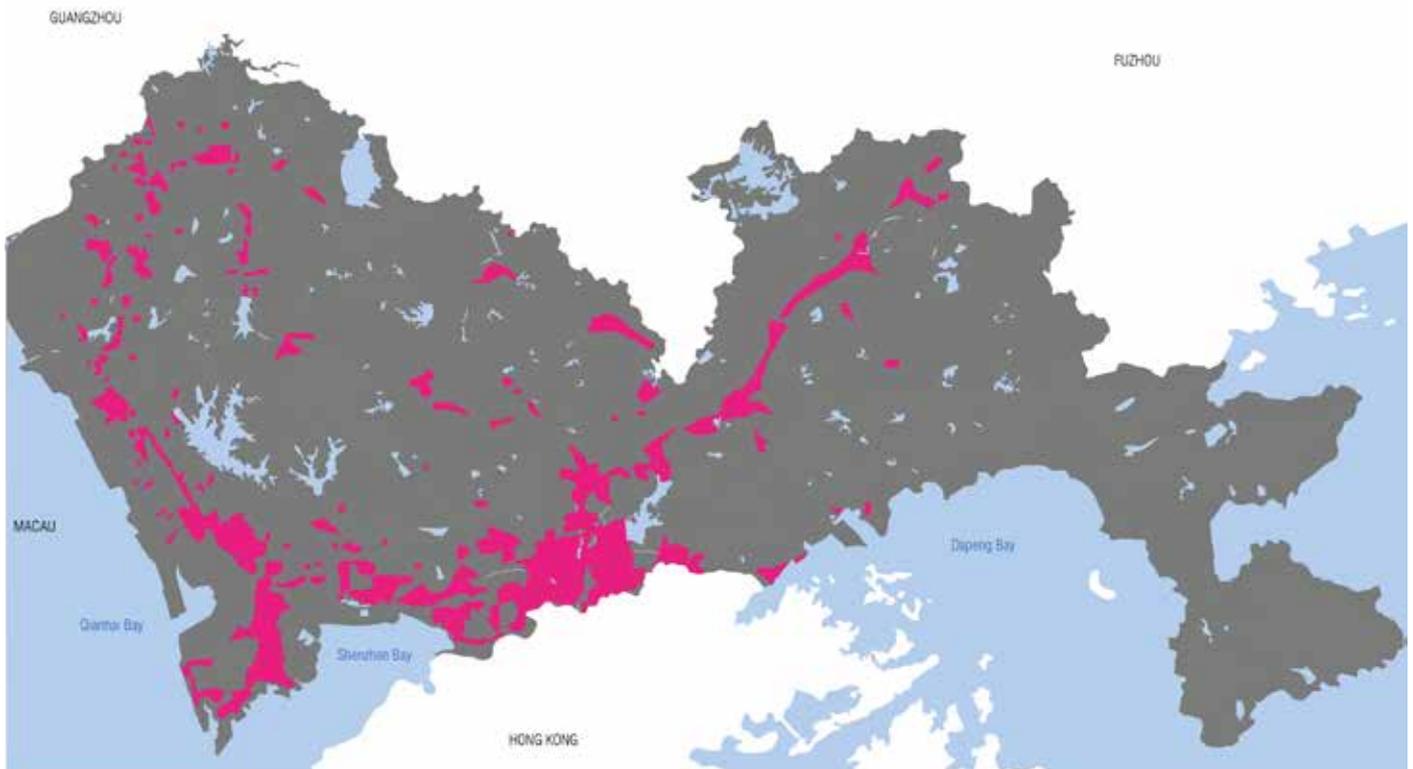


Figure 2. Shenzhen between 1990 and 2000 where the city expands more and more towards the North along the mountains and hills.

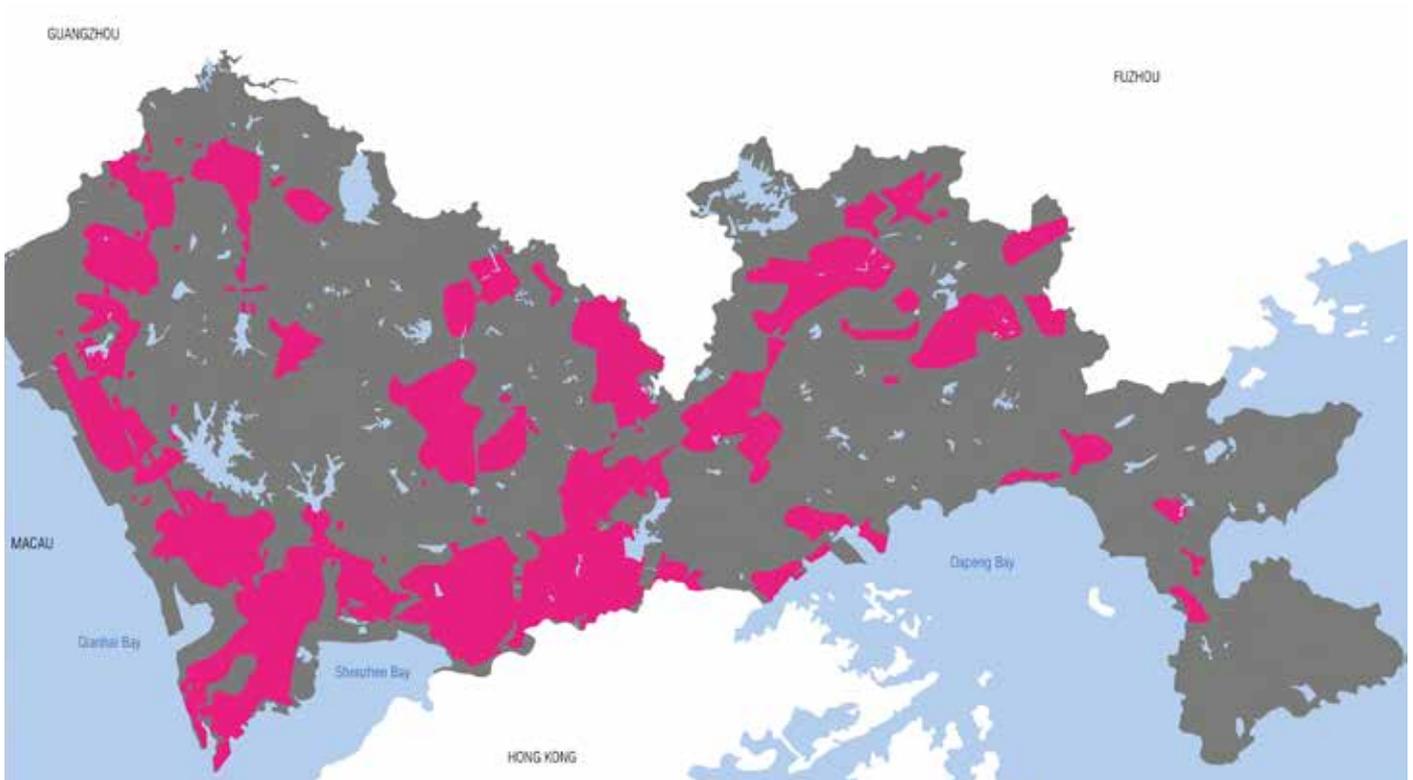


Figure 2. Shenzhen between 2000 and 2010. The city expands more and more and is becoming more dense because of the rough landscape.

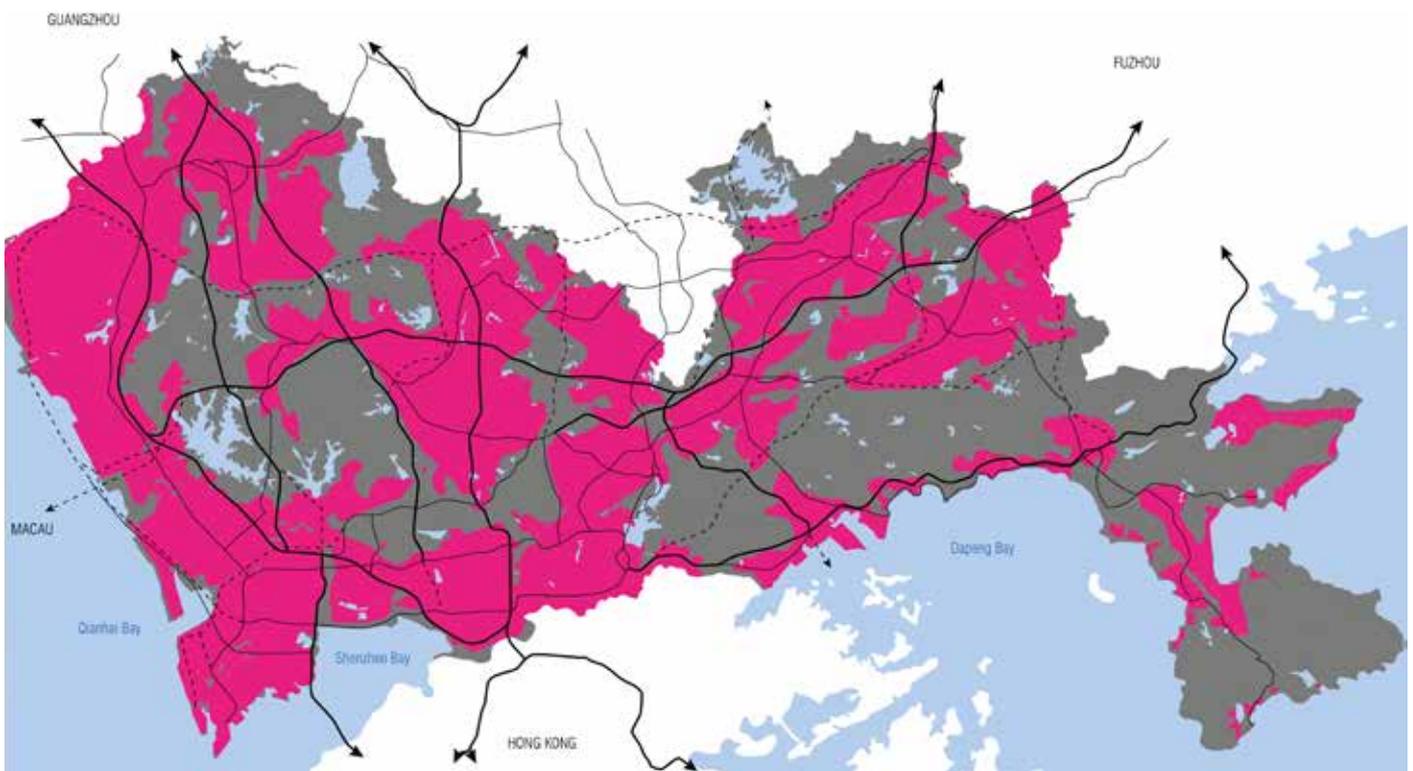


Figure 2. Shenzhen now until 2020. The city keeps on expanding and becomes more and more dense. Large tollroads dominate the landscape connecting all areas of Shenzhen.

SHENZHEN SCENARIOS

HISTORY OF SHENZHEN

New Town- What is it?

Historical developments

Land belonged to government, small money compensation for existing inhabitants

Urbanisation

Land lease developments (50 - 70 years)

Urban fringe

People pushed out

too expensive

General information

Area square meters

amount of inhabitants

legal/ illegal- Hukou migrants

Shift from industry to service

Situation now; problems?

Housing prices

Urban village principle

Handshake buildings

Figure 2. Most of the houses in an urban village have a plot of 10 by 10 meters. In some cases the owner expands towards the other house, creating so called handshake buildings. Or the owner builds as many as 12 storeys without permission.

Figure 2. Shenzhen in 1970's. The landscape of Shenzhen exists out of 1000 agriculture and fishing villages with around 300 inhabitants each. In the late 1970's the SEZ is introduced and the of a modern high rise city is born.

Figure 2. Shenzhen in 1980's/ 1990's. The city expands rapidly and the agriculture and fishing villages are absorbed in the urbanised area.

Figure 2. Current view of urban village Baishizhou. Most of the original villages have been demolished, but part of the original inhabitants received a small amount of money to rebuild their house. By renting out the house to other migrants, these urban villages rapidly expanded around high rise residential projects.

MAPS

PHOTOS

MAPS

COLLAGES



Figure 2. Most of the houses in an urban village have a plot of 10 by 10 meters. In some cases the owner expands towards the other house, creating so called handshake buildings. Or the owner builds as many as 12 storeys without permission. Shekou urban village in Nanshan District (Shenzhennoted).

URBAN VILLAGE PRINCIPLE

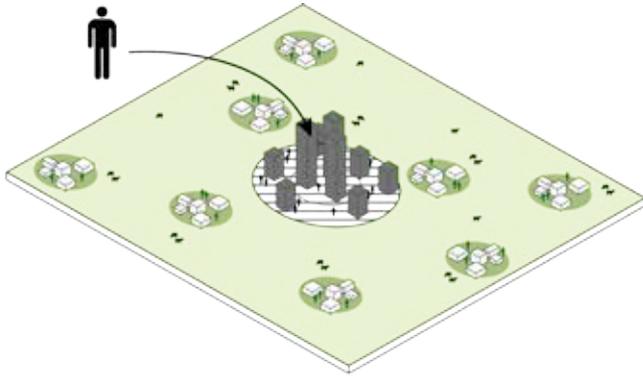


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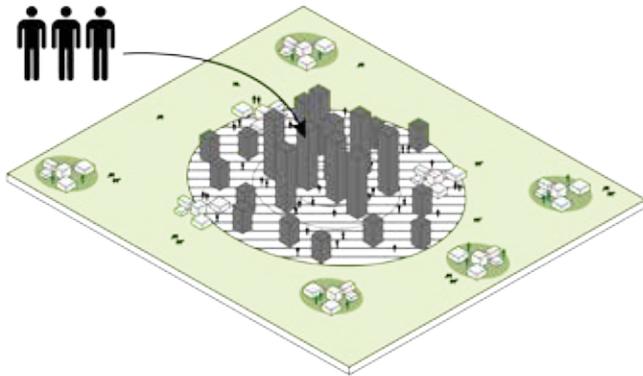


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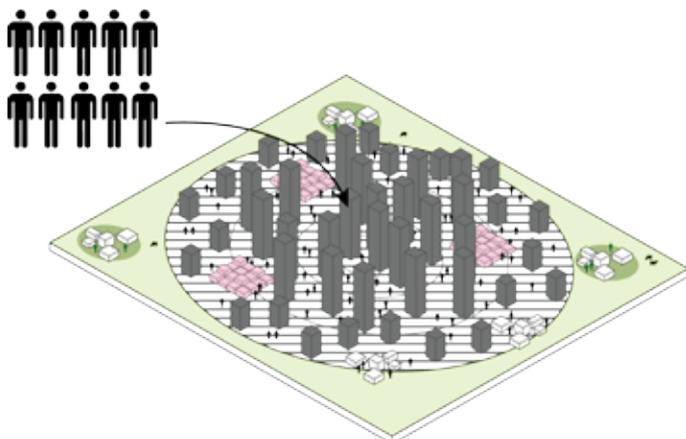
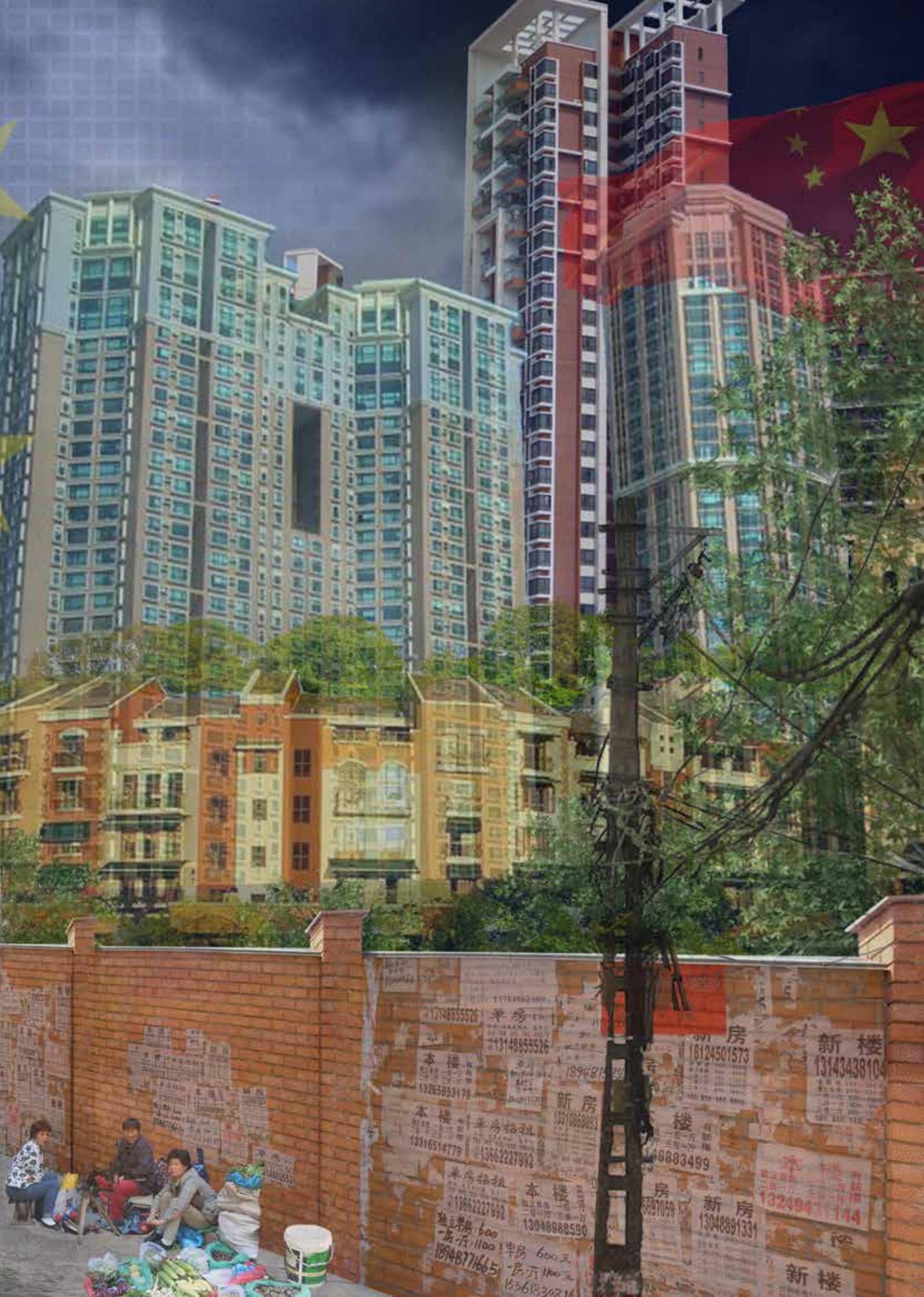


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深圳



Contrast between the rich and poor (ill by author).



13148855526 单房

13148855526

本楼

189487529

301 房 18124501573

新楼 13143438104

13265853170

新房

楼

本楼 13816514779

单房招租

13310888883

168883499

13862227892

本楼

房

新房

13249411144

18748771665

单房 600元

13048891331

13048891331

新楼

15261830216

SHENZHEN SCENARIOS

HISTORY OF SHENZHEN

Figure 2. Shenzhen exists out of 10 different districts, with 4 SEZ districts: Nanshan, Futian, Luohu and Yantian. The location of these four districts are strategically appointed to compete with the economics of Hong Kong.

Figure 2. The area in pink is the build up area in Shenzhen, with black dots as urban villages. Most of the urban villages are situated outside the SEZ, firstly because the land is expensive in the SEZ, and secondly because all the social housing projects and lower social classes were forced to move to outskirts and suburbanisation projects outside the SEZ.

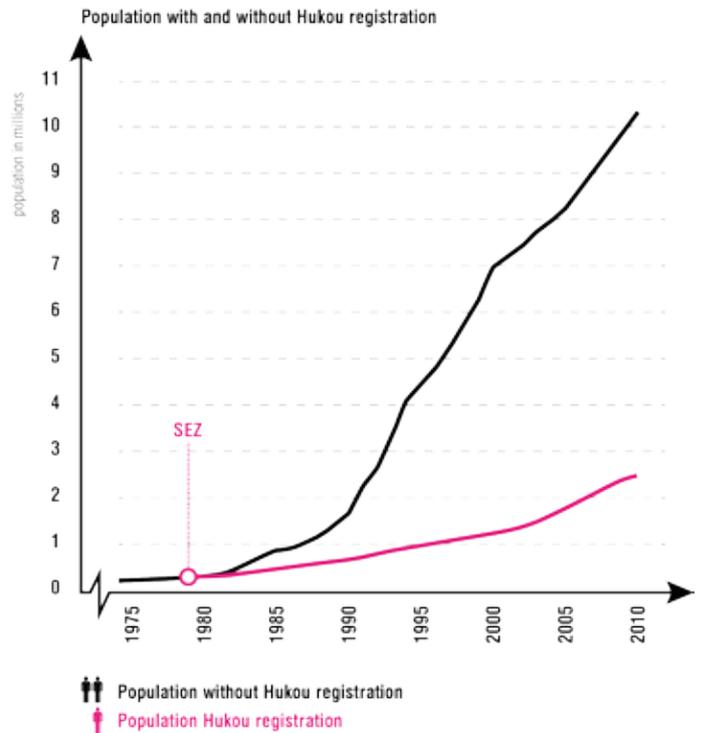


Figure 2. Number of citizens with and without a Hukou registration in Shenzhen. More and more migrants move to the city without having any social securities (Statistical Yearbook Shenzhen, 2010).

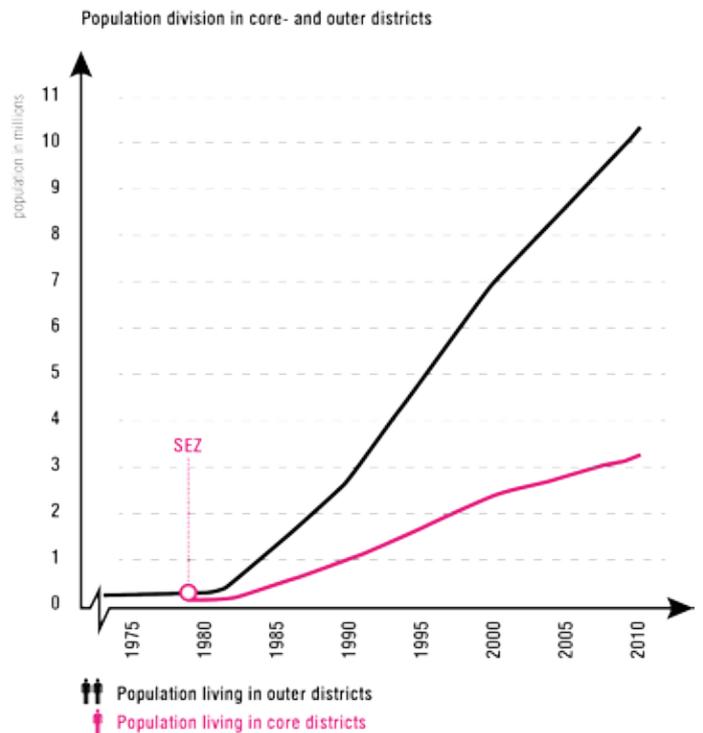


Figure 2. Number of citizens who live in the core districts and in the outer districts (urban sprawl). The city is expanding faster and faster, pushing the lower classes of society towards outer districts. There is a strong connection with the migrants and Hukou registered people (Statistical Yearbook Shenzhen, 2010).

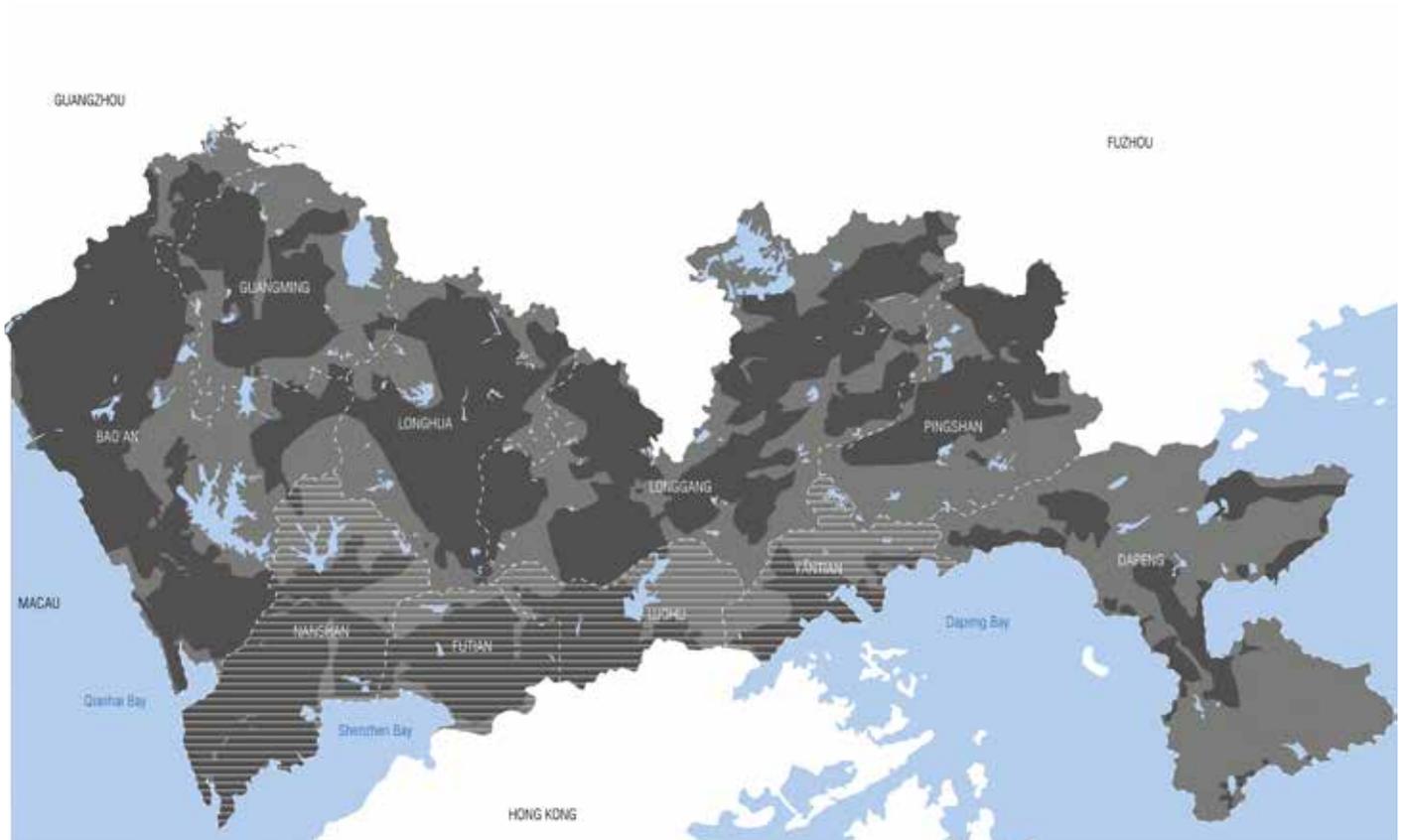


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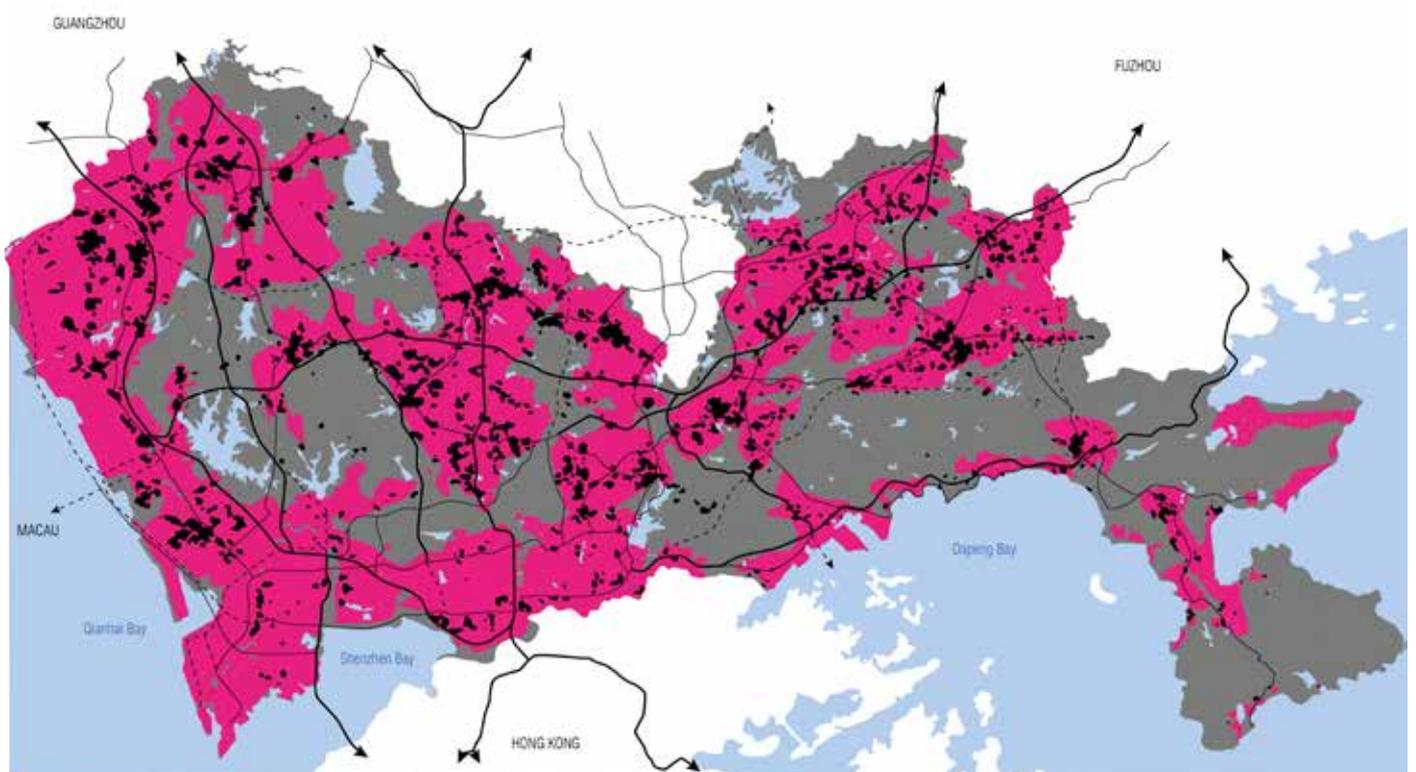


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SHENZHEN SCENARIOS

HISTORY OF SHENZHEN

Figure 2. Public transport system in Shenzhen. Shenzhen has invested in a high speed trainsystem from Hong Kong to Guangzhou and an extensive metro network. The lines with stops are currently running, but additional lines are being made. These are shown in several colours without stops.

Figure 2. The city of Shenzhen is only 30 years old and is not a tourist attraction. However, it has been investing in several theme parks, a zoo and museums. These are located mostly in the districts of the SEZ.



Figure 2. Splendid China



Figure 2. Citizen's Centre of Shenzhen.



Figure 2. Dameisha beach, Shenzhen. Beaches in the city are becoming more and more popular each year.

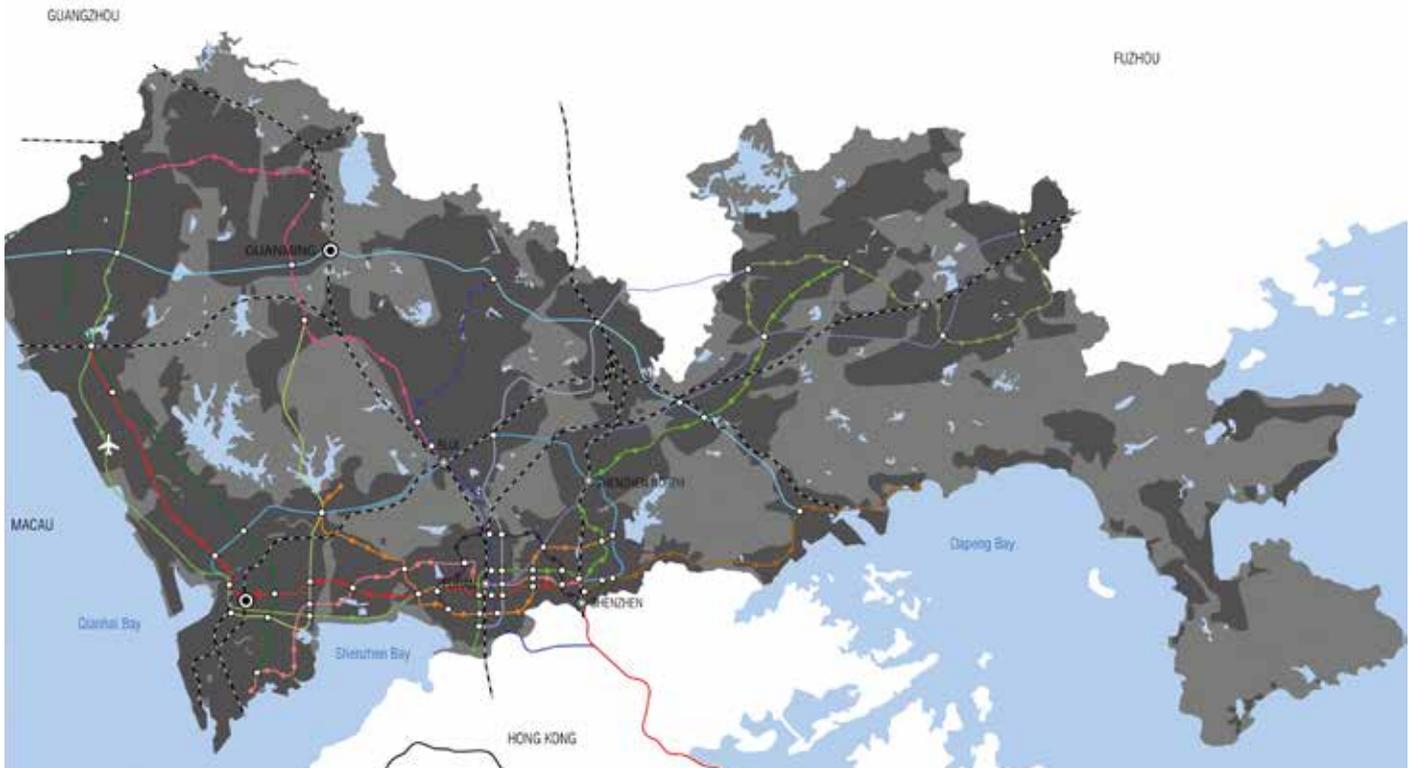


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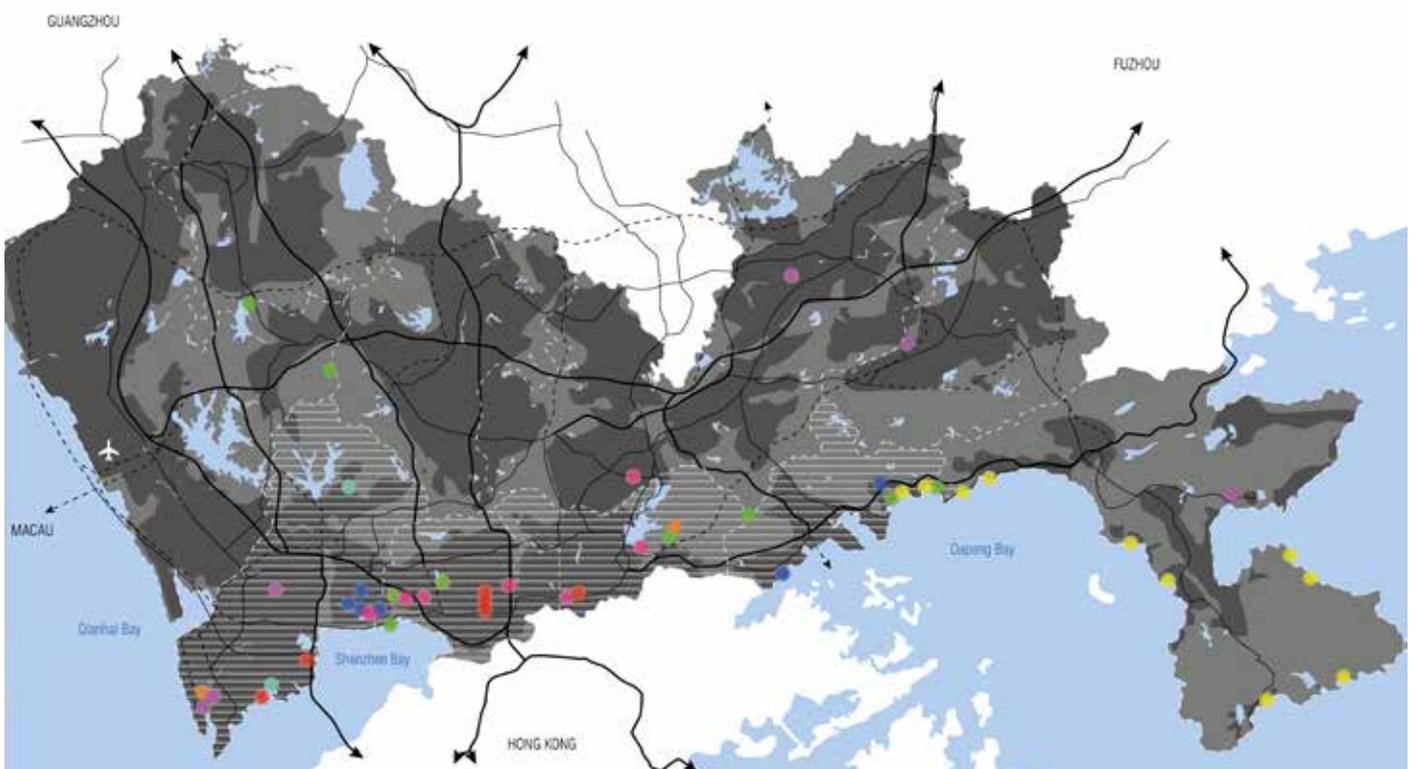


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SHENZHEN SCENARIOS 2.0

LIVABILITY

Definition of livability

Conceptual model

Shenzhen ranking



Figure 1. Shenzhen scenarios



Figure 2. Liveability model for vital neighbourhoods (Lowe et al., 2013)

	RANK - Spatial Adjusted Livability Index	RANK - EU Livability Index	Change in ranks	Green Space (1=best-5=worst)	Sprawl (1=best-5=worst)	Natural Assets (1=best-5=worst)	Cultural Assets (1=best-5=worst)	Connectivity (1=best-5=worst)	Isolation (1=best-5=worst)	Pollution (1=best-5=worst)	Spatial Characteristics (1=best-5=worst)	Stability (18.75%)	Healthcare (15%)	Culture and Environment (18.75%)	Education (7.5%)	Infrastructure (15%)	Spatial Characteristics (25%)	Spatial Adjusted Livability Index
Hong Kong	1	10	9	1.2	1.0	1.3	4	2.3	1.3	3	2.0	95.0	87.5	85.9	100.0	96.4	75.0	87.8
Amsterdam	2	8	6	1.7	3.0	1.3	2	1.3	4.3	1.5	2.1	80.0	100.0	97.2	91.7	96.4	71.3	87.4
Osaka	3	3	0	2.8	2.6	2.7	2	2.3	2.5	2	2.4	90.0	100.0	93.5	100.0	96.4	64.0	87.4
Paris	4	5	1	1.2	3.2	2.3	3	1.3	3.8	2.5	2.5	85.0	100.0	97.2	100.0	96.4	63.7	87.1
Sydney	5	2	-3	1.3	4.3	2.0	4	2.3	4.5	1	2.8	90.0	100.0	94.4	100.0	100.0	55.7	86.0
Stockholm	6	4	-2	2.3	3.2	2.0	2	2.0	5.0	2	2.6	95.0	95.8	91.2	100.0	96.4	58.9	86.0
Berlin	7	7	0	1.3	4.5	1.7	1	2.5	4.8	2	2.5	85.0	100.0	97.2	91.7	96.4	61.7	85.9
Toronto	8	1	-7	1.0	4.5	4.0	5	1.8	3.8	1	3.0	100.0	100.0	97.2	100.0	89.3	50.0	85.4
Munich	9	9	0	1.2	2.5	1.3	4	1.5	5.0	2	2.5	85.0	100.0	97.2	91.7	89.3	62.5	85.1
Tokyo	10	6	-4	3.3	2.7	3.3	5	1.3	3.0	1.5	2.9	90.0	100.0	94.4	100.0	92.9	53.3	84.3
Rome	11	18	7	2.3	3.0	1.3	1	1.8	4.8	2	2.3	80.0	87.5	91.7	100.0	92.9	67.3	83.6
London	12	22	10	1.0	4.0	1.7	2	1.0	4.0	1	2.1	70.0	87.5	97.2	100.0	89.3	72.6	83.5
Madrid	13	15	2	1.8	2.3	1.7	4	1.8	4.3	2	2.5	85.0	87.5	94.4	100.0	92.9	61.3	83.5
Washington DC	14	11	-3	1.5	4.7	2.7	5	1.3	3.0	1.5	2.8	80.0	91.7	94.4	100.0	96.4	55.1	82.2
Chicago	15	12	-3	1.5	4.7	3.3	5	1.0	3.3	1.5	2.9	85.0	91.7	91.7	100.0	92.9	52.7	81.5
New York	16	23	7	1.3	4.3	2.3	4	1.0	2.3	1.5	2.4	70.0	91.7	91.7	100.0	89.3	65.2	81.3
Los Angeles	17	17	0	3.2	5.0	2.0	5	1.3	3.0	1.5	3.0	80.0	91.7	94.4	100.0	89.3	50.3	79.9
San Francisco	18	21	3	2.2	4.7	1.3	5	2.3	3.3	1.5	2.9	85.0	91.7	94.4	83.3	85.7	53.0	79.7
Boston	19	16	-3	2.0	5.0	2.7	5	2.0	3.8	1.5	3.1	80.0	91.7	91.7	100.0	96.4	46.7	79.6
Seoul	20	25	5	2.8	2.3	3.7	3	1.8	1.5	3.5	2.7	80.0	83.3	85.6	100.0	89.3	58.8	79.1
Atlanta	21	12	-9	2.0	5.0	4.0	5	1.0	4.5	1.5	3.3	85.0	91.7	91.7	100.0	92.9	42.9	79.0
Singapore	22	20	-2	2.2	2.0	4.0	5	2.3	4.5	2	3.1	95.0	87.5	76.6	83.3	100.0	46.7	78.2
Miami	23	12	-11	3.3	5.0	3.7	5	1.8	4.3	1	3.4	85.0	91.7	91.7	100.0	92.9	39.3	78.1
Budapest	24	19	-5	3.7	3.8	2.7	2	3.8	5.0	2	3.3	85.0	91.7	90.0	100.0	83.9	43.0	77.4
Lisbon	25	24	-1	3.0	3.7	3.7	3	3.3	4.8	2	3.3	80.0	87.5	95.1	91.7	80.4	41.7	75.3
Buenos Aires	26	26	0	2.8	3.3	4.0	4	2.8	3.8	2.5	3.3	70.0	87.5	85.9	100.0	85.7	42.3	73.3
Moscow	27	30	3	2.7	3.3	3.3	3	1.8	3.8	2	2.8	65.0	79.2	81.5	91.7	83.9	54.2	72.3
St Petersburg	28	29	1	2.7	2.8	4.0	2	3.5	4.5	2	3.1	65.0	87.5	81.5	83.3	80.4	48.2	70.9
Athens	29	28	-1	2.7	3.0	2.3	4	2.5	4.8	2.5	3.1	75.0	83.3	83.1	75.0	75.0	47.3	70.8
Beijing	30	32	2	3.3	2.8	3.7	2	2.0	2.3	4.5	2.9	80.0	66.7	72.2	83.3	85.7	51.5	70.5
Santiago	31	27	-4	3.7	2.7	3.3	4	3.3	4.3	4	3.6	75.0	70.8	89.1	83.3	85.7	35.1	69.3
Warsaw	32	31	-1	2.3	3.8	2.7	5	3.3	5.0	2	3.4	80.0	70.8	80.3	75.0	82.1	39.0	68.4
Shanghai	33	35	2	3.3	3.5	4.0	4	2.3	1.0	4	3.2	80.0	62.5	75.0	75.0	75.0	46.1	66.8
Shenzhen	34	37	3	2.8	2.7	3.7	4	3.5	1.3	3.5	3.1	85.0	62.5	63.7	66.7	82.1	48.5	66.7

Figure 2. Ranking of cities: Shenzhen on the 34th position (Eaves et al., 2012))



Informal home extensions and power lines inside the urban village of Baishizhou (photo by author, 2013)



4. A CASE STUDY: BAISHIZHOU

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

Baishizhou, which means White Stone, is currently one of the few urban villages left in the SEZ of Shenzhen. The urban village used to found itself in an agriculture landscape. In the 1950's the first people (~60-80 people) moved from the so-called reservoir towards the location of current Baishizhou. They built small farmer dormitories, which are still present today. The main income of the villagers was through farming and fishing. Because the village was close towards the coastline, many of these farmers had an additional job of being a soldier. In 1978, when Economic Reforms were introduced and Shenzhen became a SEZ, the government decided that all land belonged to the state. In 1987, the area of Baishizhou consisted out of five small villages: Shangbaishi (meaning Upper White Stone), owned by Sha He with 289 inhabitants; Xiabaishi (Lower White Stone) with 440 inhabitants; Baishizhou with 365 inhabitants, Baishi Cun with 360 inhabitants and Xin Tang with a total amount of 256 people. The arable land was in hands of the Sha He (agriculture) and Overseas Chinese Town (Industry), until they split in 1987. OCT was accountable for a industrial area close to Baishi Cun, which resulted in job opportunities. A map of the situation in 1987 is presented in Figure... The land between 1978 and 1992 was both collective and governmental owned, but because the farmers did not have enough power, and Sha He and OCT split, they were forced to give the land to the government in 1992 and received small payment. The upside was that the approximately 2000 farmers received a Hukou and became citizens. Between the year 1995 and 2000 the area started to urbanise rapidly. The farmers lost their land and therefore their job. Due to lack of education these new citizens had no choice but to find a different way of earning money. This resulted in building houses. The houses were rented out to migrants from all over the country that were searching for happiness and jobs in Shenzhen. The original farmers became more and more wealthy and kept on building more and more residential buildings which resulted in the current situation of Baishizhou.

New developments

Due to rapid urbanisation in 1978, the housing became market-oriented. Large private residential compounds were built closely around the five villages. Rigid walls ensured that privacy and security was present for the wealthy upper class citizens that reside in these enclaves. The most expensive gated community in Shenzhen (Portofino) was built next to the urban village. More and more migrants moved to the illegal village of Baishizhou and the village expanded more and more. The urban village owes its shape to the strong borders with the industrial and gated communities and is unable to expand further. The original villagers became very rich by building houses and renting them out. So rich, that these people do not live in the urban village itself, but in one of the high-rise gated communities in Shenzhen. Some



Figure 2. Historical farmer dormitories, built in the 1950's has been abandoned as housing units since two years. The quality is too bad for living and is currently used for storage.



Figure 2. The historical well is still in use for washing water. It used to have a holy pagoda, but has been demolished decades ago when Baishizhou rapidly expanded due to incoming migrants.



Figure 2. Narrow streets with informal shops and markets dominate the urban village of Baishizhou. It is a fight for themselves, since the government does not help this village and population: electricity, internet, garbage all has to be managed by the villagers themselves.

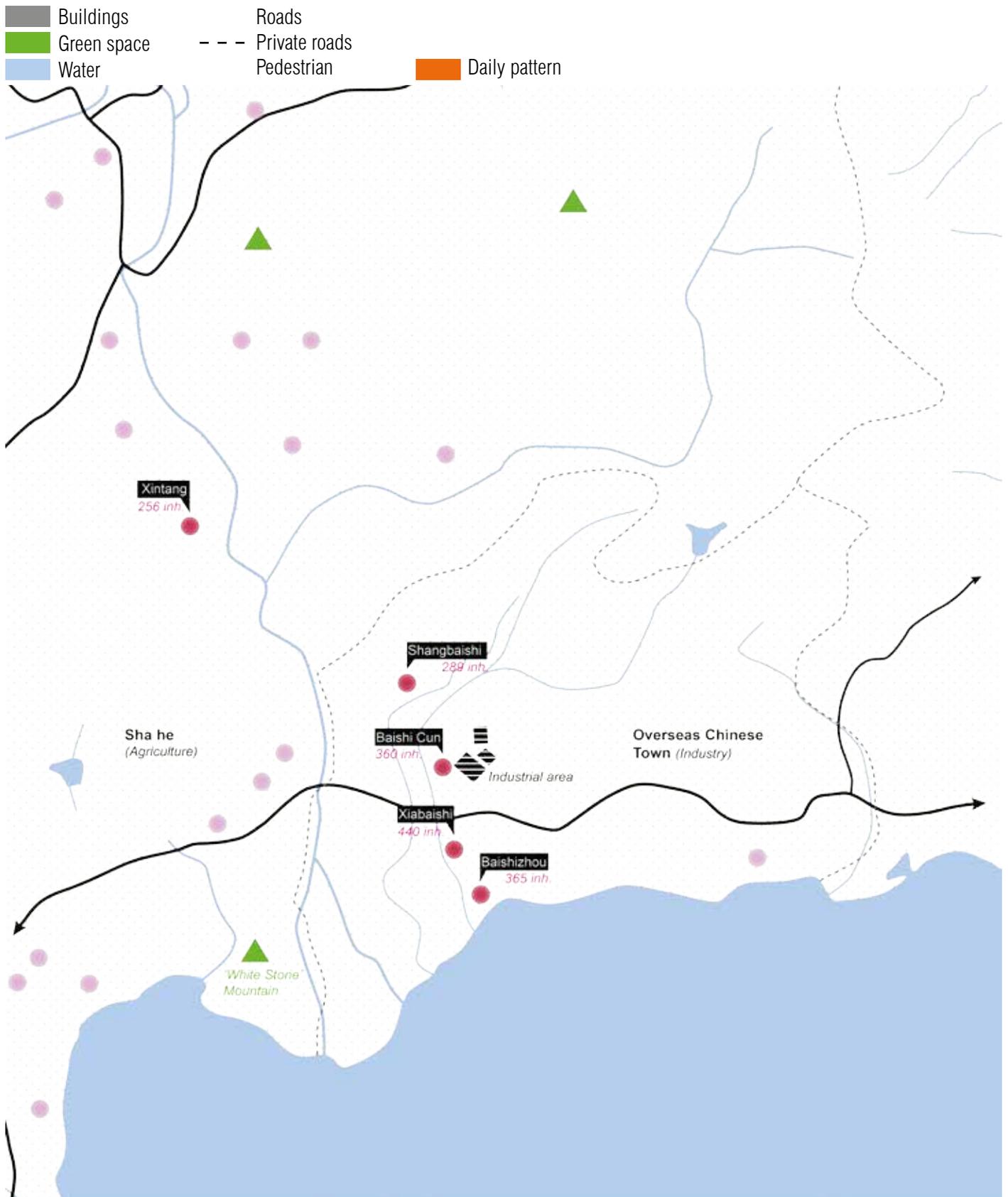


Figure 2. Historical map of Baishizhou around 1950's. The area existed of four agriculture and fishing villages and belonged to the Sha He county. The industrial area belonged to the Overseas Chinese Town. It is named after the White Sone Mountain, located South of the villages.

houses go up to 12 storeys. Baishizhou is one of the many urban villages in Shenzhen and is an illegal settlement. Many urban villages have already been demolished in Shenzhen. However, the government did not succeed in Baishizhou. After a gunfight with the police officers, the government decided to stop controlling the village. This resulted in a strange contrast with the buildings along the borders of Baishizhou. While in the urban village electricity, garbage collecting, sewage, water etc. has to be organized and maintained by the villagers themselves, the government organises all these basic facilities for the main street and the settlements around Baishizhou.

Demographics

Currently Baishizhou counts around 120.000 inhabitants, where only 7000 are legal registered inhabitants. The other 113.000 inhabitants are migrants whereas 38.000 is floating population. In Baishizhou only 82.000 inhabitants live here permanently (legal or illegal) (Hong Kong University, 2011). It is situated next to popular tourist destination, such as Window of the World, and has a very good connectivity with Futian CBD.

Space syntax

ANALYSE KAARTEN

Prices per area - jiping Nanshan district - current situation

SEZ

Pretparken, universiteiten
strategic location

Sleutel: touristen in baishizhou zien te krijgen.

Figure 2. The location of Baishizhou, showed in pink, in the regional context of Nanshan. Baishizhou is surrounded by important facilities, such as the university and the High-tech park. On the south side of the urban village, most of the tourist attractions are located Window of the world, folk village China and Splendid China are the main tourist attractions in Shenzhen.

- Samenstelling gezin gated communities

In de gated communities; hoofd van het gezin werkt hard, heeft vaak kinderen, maar is zelf nooit thuis, dus heeft zijn opa en oma die bij hun leven, deels ook om geld te besparen. traditioneel



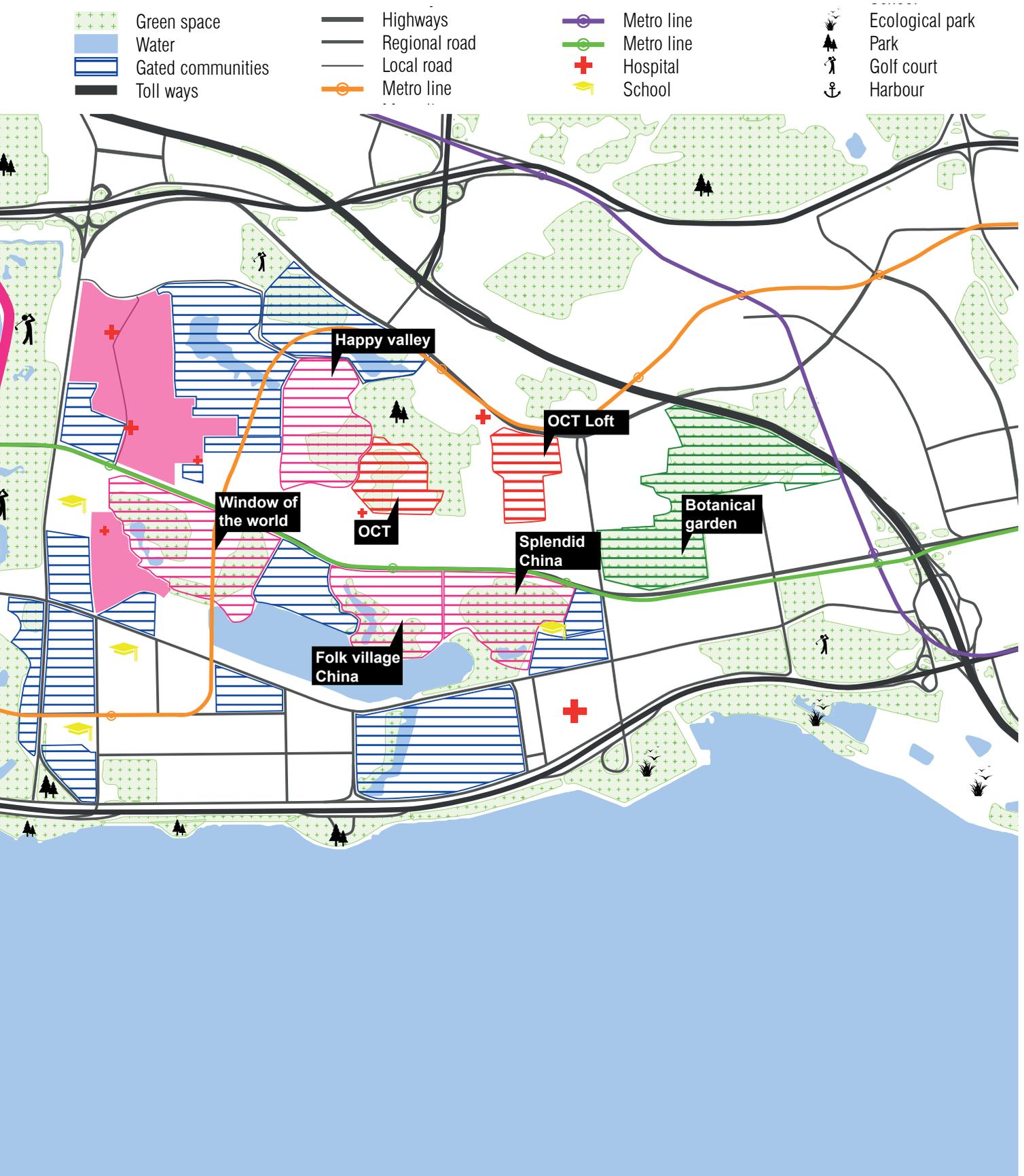


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PORTO FINO

FORMER FACTORY AREA



URBAN VILLAGE

SHENZHEN SCENARIOS

HISTORY OF SHENZHEN

Hierarchy and ownership

MAP WITH ALL THE DIFFERENT LOCATIONS WITHIN BAISHIZHOU

Prices per area - jiping

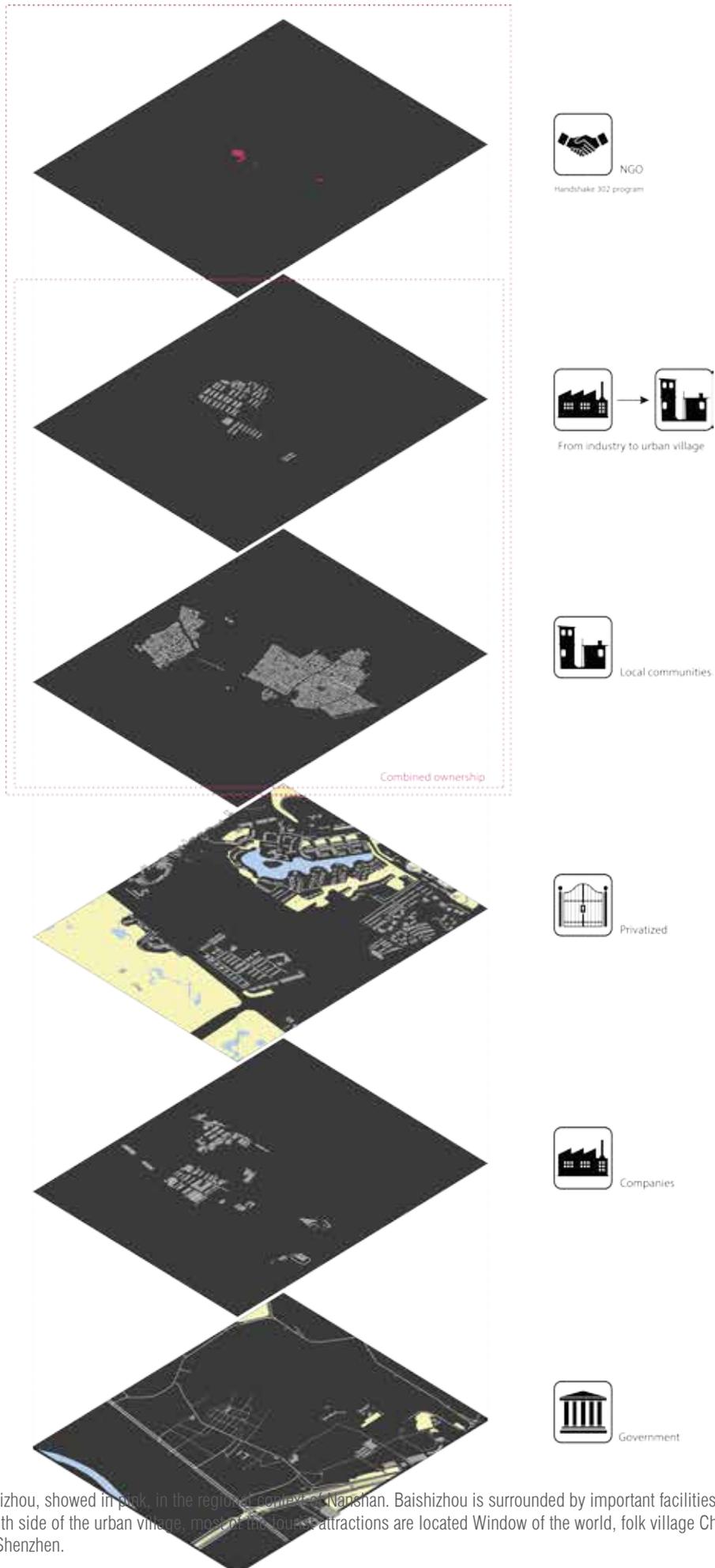


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SHENZHEN SCENARIOS

HISTORY OF SHENZHEN

conclusie

netwerken - waarom: kleinere buurten voor mindere snelle development, of meer gefaseerde development in de toekomst.

jane jacobs: goede organisatie van netwerk en hierarchie en gaan meer mensen door je urban village.

Ieder segment in het netwerk bezit een openbare ruimte voor verschillende doelgroepen/ actoren. Niet elke openbare ruimte hoeft hetzelfde te hebben, maar kan andere faciliteiten bieden --> 6 ontwerpen.

walkable city: traditie van Chinezen: lopen en fietsen. China focust zich op autos', mensen worden rijker en aantal autos is toegenomen.

Figure 1. Shenzhen scenarios



Illegal, informal and unorganised electricity system in Baishizhou (photo by author, 2013)



5. SOLUTIONS AND STRATEGY

SHENZHEN SCENARIOS

Inventarsation problems

social and scientific relevance

newspaper articles
 what is public space
 Hutong
 Lilong

literature!!

Shenzhen is a New Town, which has been booming since 1980 with an average growth of 400.000 inhabitants per year. Due to the rapid urbanization, the configuration of the city is changing in the same rate. A continuous flow of new skyscrapers, large highways and high quality housing takes over the existing villages and its street life that are in their way. As a result of the housing reform, the real estate developers have taken over the construction of residential areas. Therefore these areas become totally market-oriented and are primarily focused on middle and upper class citizens, these constructions tend to evolve in gated communities (Yao and Wei, 2012).

Public space is a place where people interact and share information; a place where cars, cyclists and pedestrians meet; a place where buildings and streets come together; where residential buildings interact with shops, markets and street life. Public space can be defined in streets, parks, playgrounds, markets, etcetera. Spatial configuration tends to create an environment where people are in control of the public space. Citizens know what is happening in front of their doorstep, they know their neighbours and keep an eye on the street; social security. For this reason public space plays a vital role in the social and economic life of the city and its communities. However, when buildings become higher than four floors the interaction with the street is lost, which impacts the vitality of the street life (Alexander et al., 1977). High buildings become an obstacle in the public space due to its anonymity towards what is happening on ground level. When walls are built around several of these buildings or even houses, the same problem arises. Who keeps an eye on the street? Who knows who is living in the block across from you? Social security decreases dramatically, because the life is taken from the streets into the blocks or compounds (Yao and Wei, 2012). This phenomenon decreases the safety in the streets, parks and squares of a city and increases crime rates. Because who will see or notice you from their enclosed homes when someone robs you?

Spatial configuration therefore plays a key role in the social structures and security of the city and its street life. The livability of a city cannot be done only through building infrastructure, shops, public transport etcetera. It is built through social interaction and communities.

There has been a considerable amount of research about the spatial, social, political and economic aspects of gated communities around the globe and its impacts on the city and its street life. The many journals, books and articles that have been written about New Towns are rapidly increasing since the massive urbanisation. Much of these research papers talk about this trend that started in the mid to late twentieth century and discuss safety issues (culture of fear and architecture of fear), the change in spatial configuration and social structures. However, most of these articles only talk about the problems that arise in these fast growing cities in primarily South America, Africa and the United States. For example, the amount of gated communities in Sao Paulo has increased dramatically in the last couple of decades due to the rapid urbanization and high crime rates and the city is therefore called the "City of Walls" (Caldeira, 2000). Many of these problems are clearly visible, but have not yet a solution.

Moreover, not much research has been done in China, especially in Shenzhen. Shenzhen only has 3% land left to build. The rest of the city will be densified and urban villages will be sacrificed to become high dense urbanized areas for middle and upper class citizens. These particular places are attractive for gated communities and enclosed enclaves. Currently the International New Town Institute (INTI) has a research program on new New Towns around the globe. INTI is dedicated to improve the quality of global urban development, with a focus on New Towns (INTI, 2012). Shenzhen is part of the first research towns. INTI has some partners, including TU Delft. Previous year, a group of 8 students from TU Delft have already done a graduation project on Shenzhen and this year, we will take a next step and introduce the livability issue. Since Shenzhen is only 30 years old, not much research or solutions have been done. Moreover, the problem is becoming larger by the day in the cities that are growing rapidly. The following news articles state some of the problems of social segregation, security problems and loss of street life. However, the developments still continue in the same way.

Worldwide relevance and problems

Favela
 Kampong
 Gated communities

China NBCNEWS.com

Beijing starts locking poor villages at night

Government cracks down on rising crime in migrant neighborhoods

By CARA ANNA
Associated Press
updated 7/14/2018 7:49:51 PM EDT

BEIJING — The government calls it “sealed management.” China’s capital has started gating and locking some of its lower-income neighborhoods overnight, with police or security checking identification papers around the clock, in a throwback to an older style of control.

It’s Beijing’s latest effort to reduce rising crime often blamed on the millions of rural Chinese migrating to cities for work. The capital’s Communist Party secretary wants the approach promoted citywide. But some state

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BEIJING



中国与世界，环境危机大家谈
china and the world discuss the environment

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文章 Articles

Chinese cities “feel the loss of streetlife and community”

Tom Levitt
05.11.2012

中文版本 1 comments

Badly planned urban sprawl is harming traditional Chinese communities, which want better-connected cities and not the American suburban dream, says US architect Peter Calthorpe



Beijing should decentralise jobs along the transit systems to help reduce congestion (image copyright -AX-)

Calthorpe Associates have projects in Kunming and Chongqing and jointly published, “*Planning cities for people*” a set of design principles for Chinese cities.

Tom Levitt: In the US, the car was once seen as a saviour of urban transportation. Would you now say it is more likely to be the enemy, particularly in terms of more sustainable development?

Peter Calthorpe: Well I think everything is fine until it is used too much. In



Print Share

主题 TOPICS



Climate change & Energy



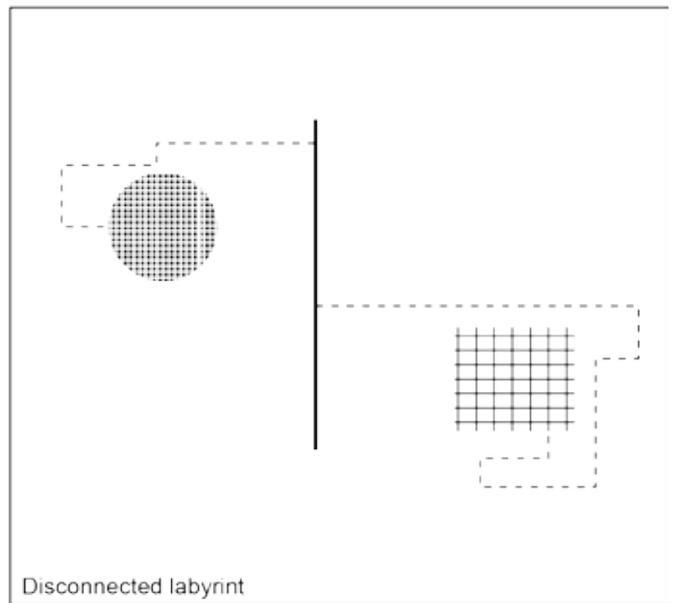
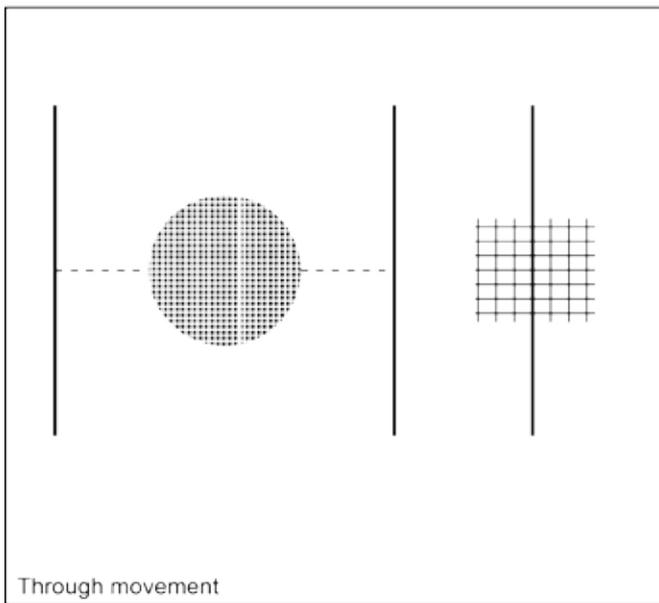
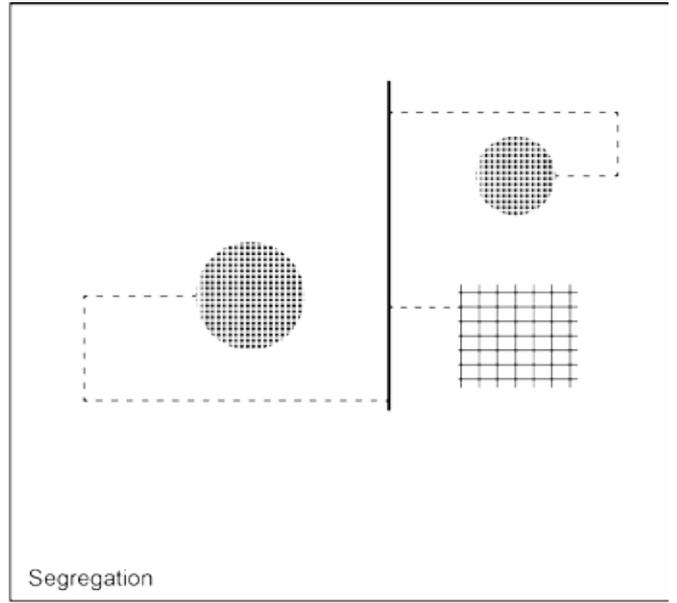
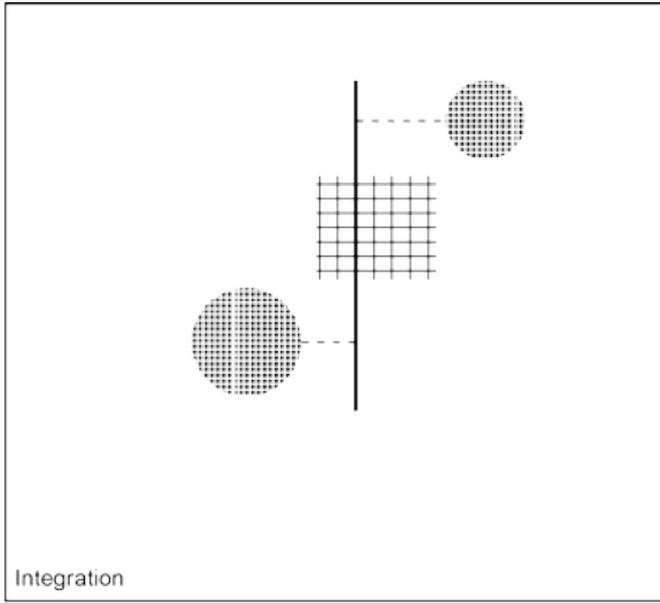
Cities

作者 AUTHOR

Tom Levitt
Tom Levitt is a journalist and editor, based in London. Before joining chinadialogue he was deputy editor at the Ecologist magazine. He also

SHENZHEN SCENARIOS

DISCONNECTION



SHENZHEN SCENARIOS

SPACE SYNTAX

Space syntax is an approach that investigates the relationships between spatial layout and a range of social, economic and environmental aspects. Connectivity, patterns of movement, interaction, awareness, density, land use and value, urban growth and societal differentiation, safety and crime can be mapped with this information system.

By creating a space syntax map of Shenzhen and Baishizhou, the hierarchy of streets within the neighbourhood can be identified. Also the connectivity, crime and other topics can be presented and can contribute to possible place for intervention. Through realizing a space syntax map of Baishizhou, a specific location can be chosen for further analysis and implementation of a possible solution of integrating several communities with existing gated communities. The location will be chosen based on the connectivity with surrounding areas. The main idea is to choose a location, with multiple different communities, that is not well connected to each other. By creating a solution as an end product, the Space Syntax will play a role in validating my approach and confirm whether the created solution will work or not.







SHENZHEN SCENARIOS

HISTORY OF SHENZHEN

Case studies

TEDA model

Rio maggiore - cinque terra

Beijing hutong Tiamen

Pocket parks

BEIJING LILONG

SHENZHEN SCENARIOS

HISTORY OF SHENZHEN

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Density parameters

Density parameters Chinese dream

HIGH-RISE MING COURT, WEST-KOWLOON, HONG KONG

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 12.5 FAR
  35 m² pp



Baidu maps, 2013

DORMINTORY BLOCK FOXCONN, LONGHUA, SHENZHEN

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  15 m² pp



Baidu maps, 2013

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  3 m² pp



BAISHIZHOU, NANSHAN DISTRICT, SHENZHEN

 120 000 p/km²
 5.08 FAR
  10 m² pp



STRATEGY

PRESERVATION BAISHIZHOU

Sleutelplek: Historische gedeelte moet gepreserveerd worden

Hoe kunnen we

Baishizhou is a neighbourhood that is used by many different types of people on a multi-level scale. As discussed in the analysis of this project. However, future development for this neighbourhood consists of multiple high-rise gated communities, where middle and upper class dominate (Urbanus, 2012). The lower classes and migrants have no rights and will be forced to either leave Shenzhen (no Hukou registration) or move elsewhere in Shenzhen without compensation. The village of Baishizhou will no longer exist and all local Chinese traditions will be replaced by the Western ideology of privatising housing, increasing car usage and clustering of social groups, creating unilateral homogeneous estates instead of community neighbourhoods.

Instead of assuming Baishizhou will be replaced by private enclaves, will there be a possibility to preserve Baishizhou and make it part of the new history of Shenzhen? Can urban villages be seen as the new Hutongs of Shenzhen in the future?

If so, we have to look back into the history of the traditional Chinese cities and neighbourhoods. The Chinese have a much stronger tradition of street life, they love to spend time on the street. The tradition of street life is a very important component of well-being in China (Levitt, 2012). It is the place where they play games, meet other people, stroll around, take their (grand)children to the playground. It is a vital aspect in the lives of the Chinese people.

In the new design, an alternative model is presented for the future of Baishizhou. The neighbourhood that is represented in the map is the focus area of the project. This area will be preserved as much as possible, since this area houses a historical site (farmer dormitories from the 1950's) in the center. Key to this project is to make Baishizhou an important and pleasant place to stay. Earlier was stated that Baishizhou has a strategic position on a regional and local scale. We can enhance the importance to focus on a new

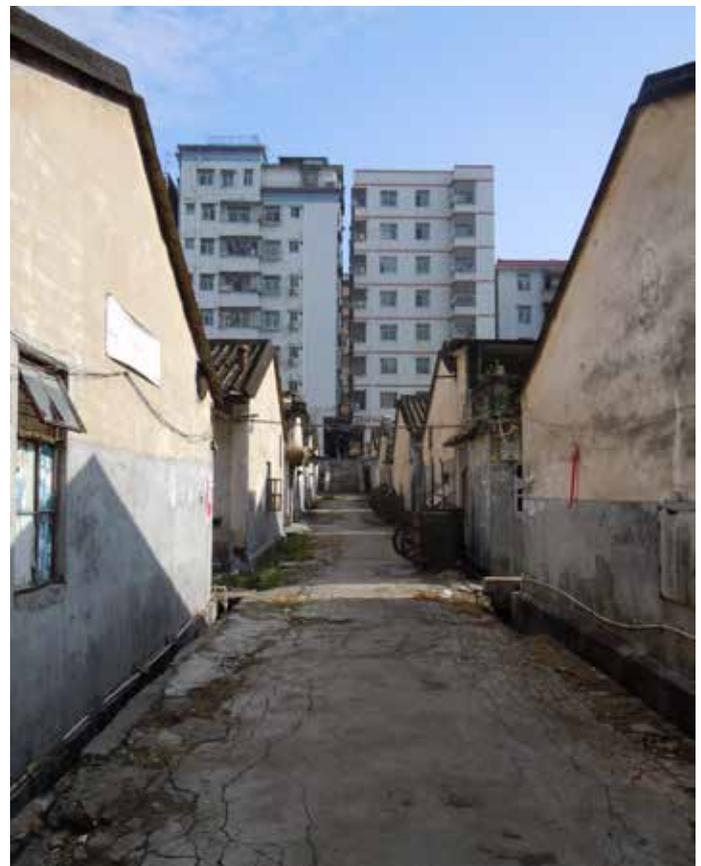


Figure 2. Old farmer's dormitories, built in the 1950's. This area is the only remaining historical element in this neighbourhood. It is now surrounded by multiple storey urban villages residential buildings, seen in the back.

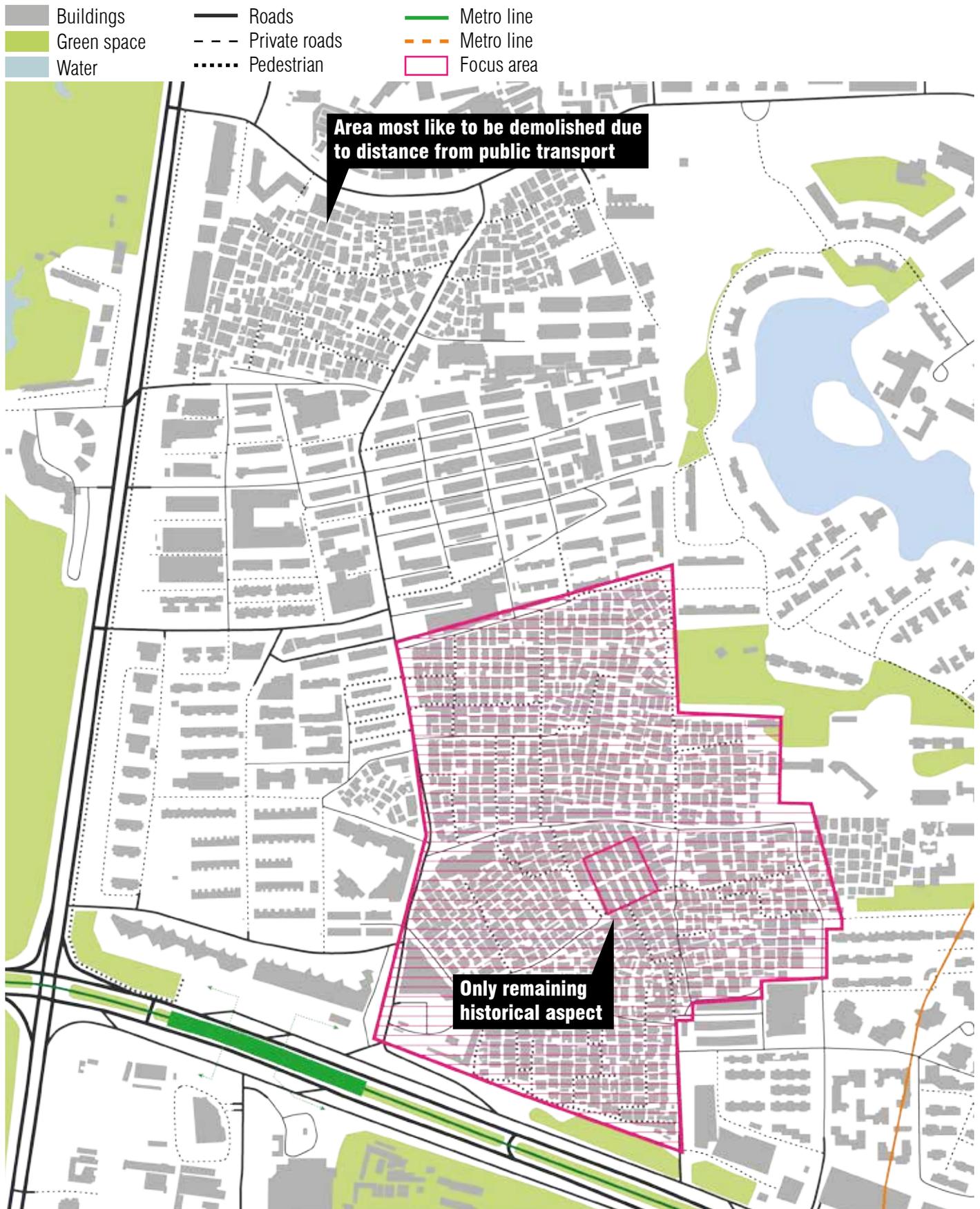
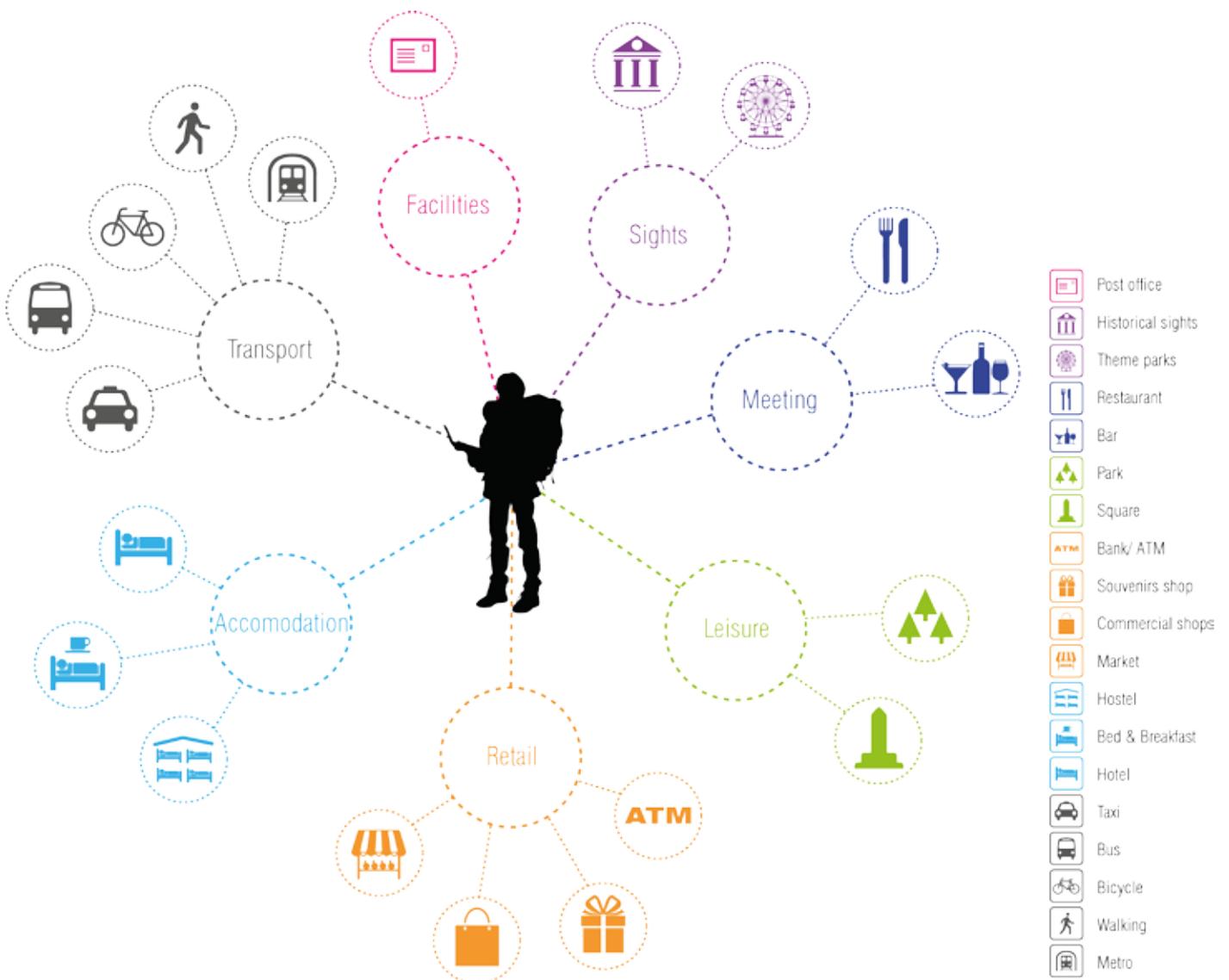


Figure 2. The focus area of the project in the context of the whole neighbourhood. The choice of this location is chosen due to its strategic position towards the city and the good connection with public transport network. Also this location has interesting historical aspects.

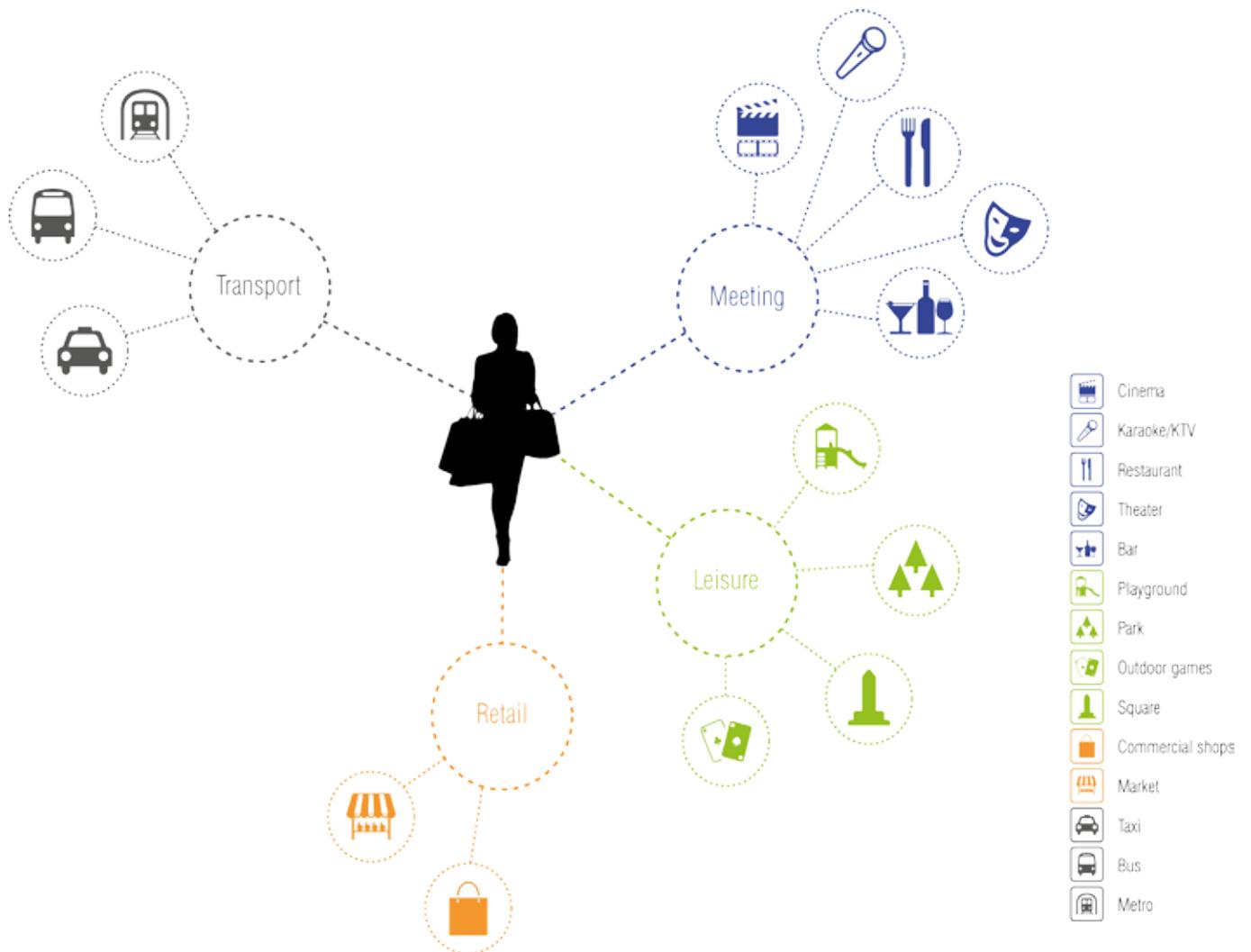
ACTORS

TOURIST

Baishizhou is close to all the main tourist attractions in Shenzhen. The key is to attract these tourists to Baishizhou and reward them with the traditional Shenzhen streetlife. The tourist can easily take the metro from Window of the World to Baishizhou and stay in Baishizhou. But therefore it must be established which necessary facilities are needed to fulfill the needs of these future tourists. Also it must be said that Baishizhou will only attract a certain type of tourists. The focus will lie on the backpackers and easy travellers, who do not require five-star hotels and resorts. Tourists prefer easy access to their hotel after a long day of sight seeing. Additionally, bars, restaurants and shops must be close by. In the figure below, the necessary facilities for tourists are presented.



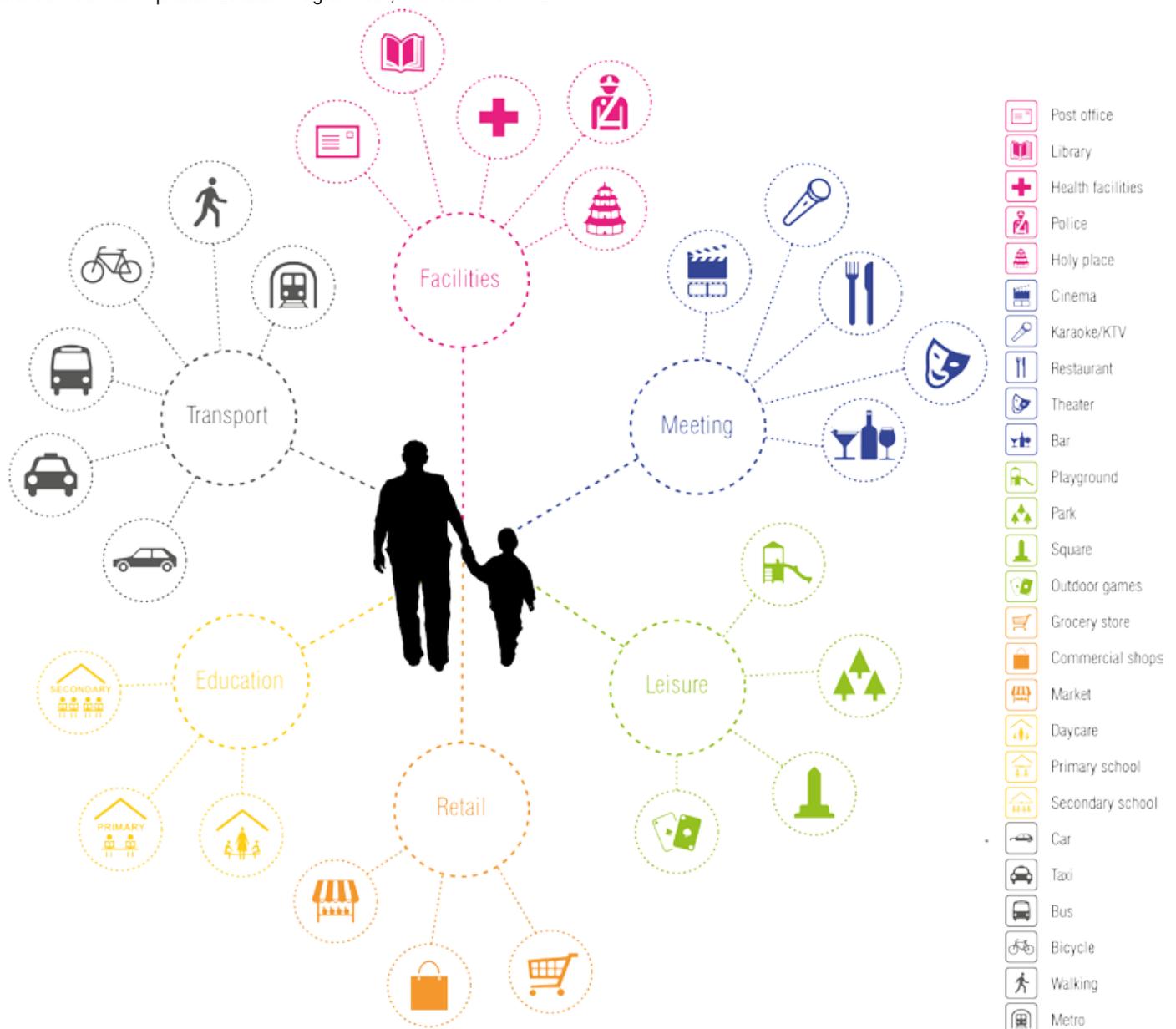
REGIONAL PASSANT



LOCAL PASSANT

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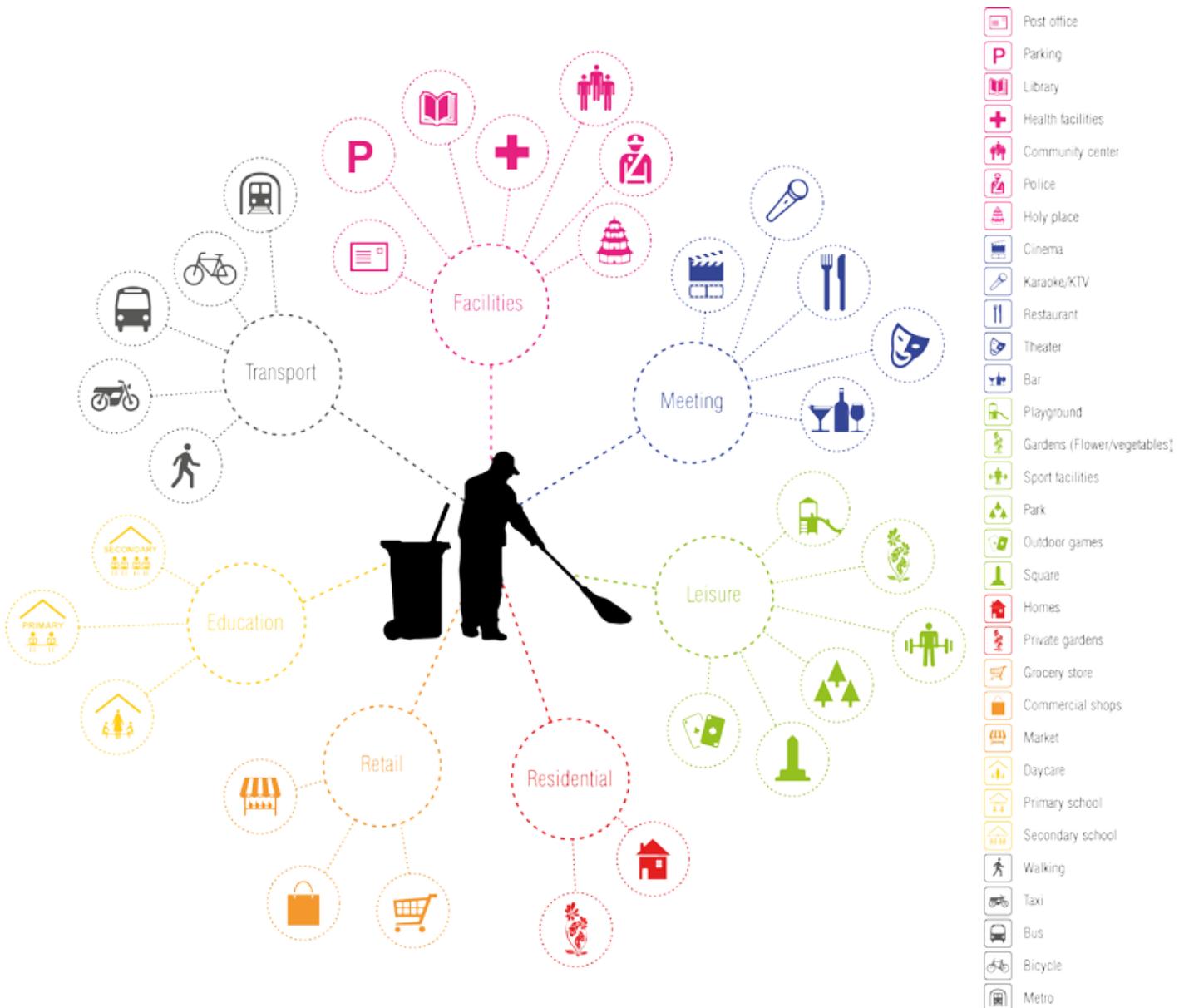
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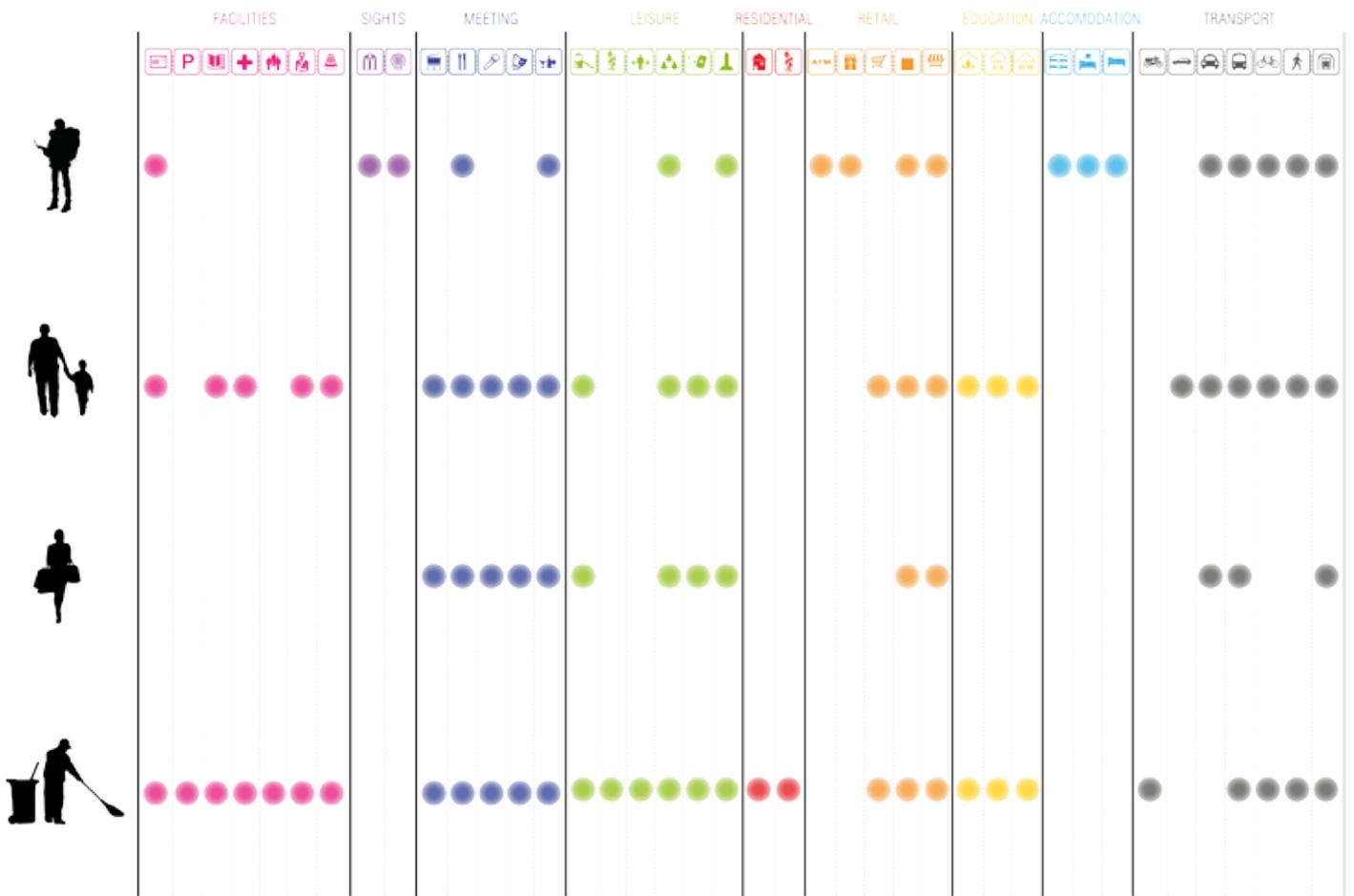


LOCAL RESIDENT

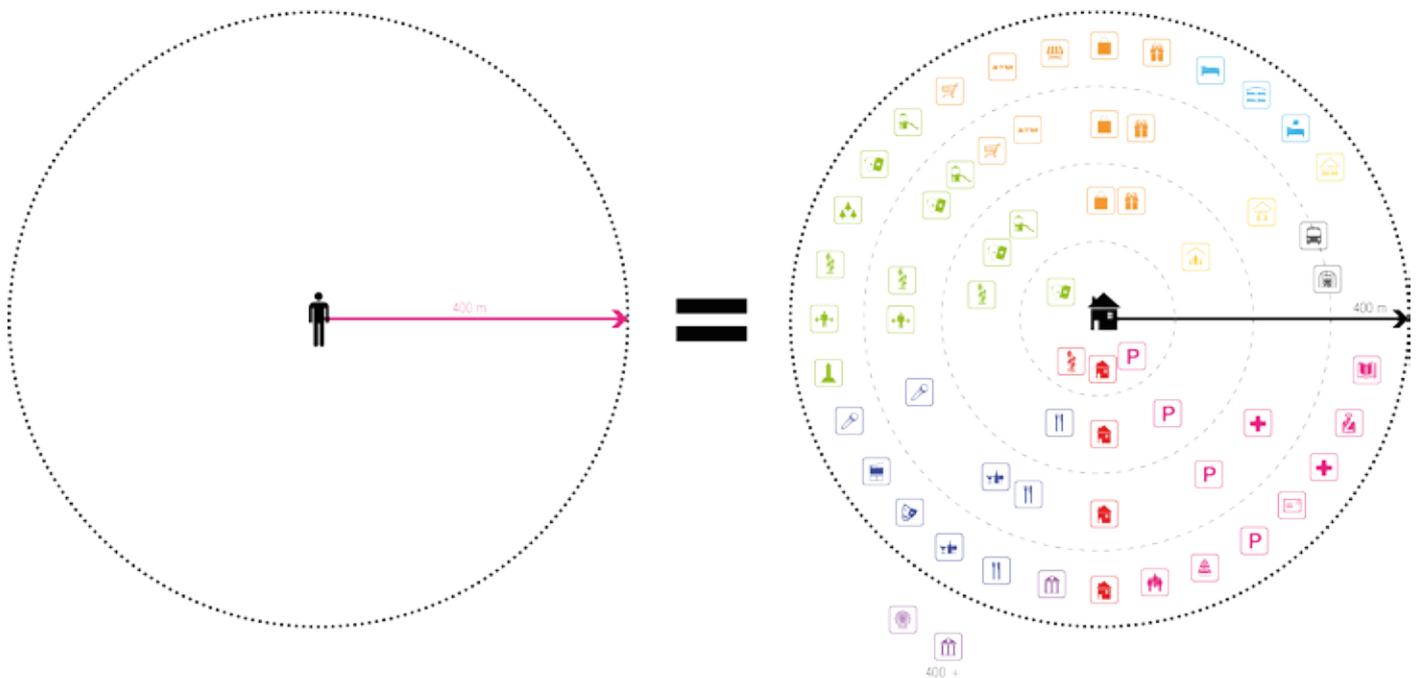
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IDEAL RADIUS IS 400 M / BASED ON ASIAN STANDARDS OF WALKABILITY



	EXISTING FACILITIES	MISSING FACILITIES	SHORTAGE OF FACILITIES
FACILITIES			
SIGHTS			
MEETING			
LEISURE			
RESIDENTIAL			
RETAIL			
EDUCATION			
ACCOMODATION			
TRANSPORT			

SHENZHEN SCENARIOS

HISTORY OF SHENZHEN

Mist voldoende openbare ruimte om de leefbaarheid te vergroten; dit kan samen gebracht worden met het netwerk.

Gaan alle gebouwen weg in historische deel, of niet, of deel weg?
Verschillende openbare ruimten voor verschillende actoren?



Figure 1. Shenzhen scenarios



Figure 1. Shenzhen scenarios

SHENZHEN SCENARIOS

HISTORY OF SHENZHEN

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Figure 1. Shenzhen scenarios



Figure 1. Shenzhen scenarios



Men gather together on the streets to play Majong, a popular game amongs Chinese, Baishizhou (photo by author, 2013).



6. DESIGN OF BAISHIZHOU 2.0

SHENZHEN SCENARIOS

HISTORY OF SHENZHEN

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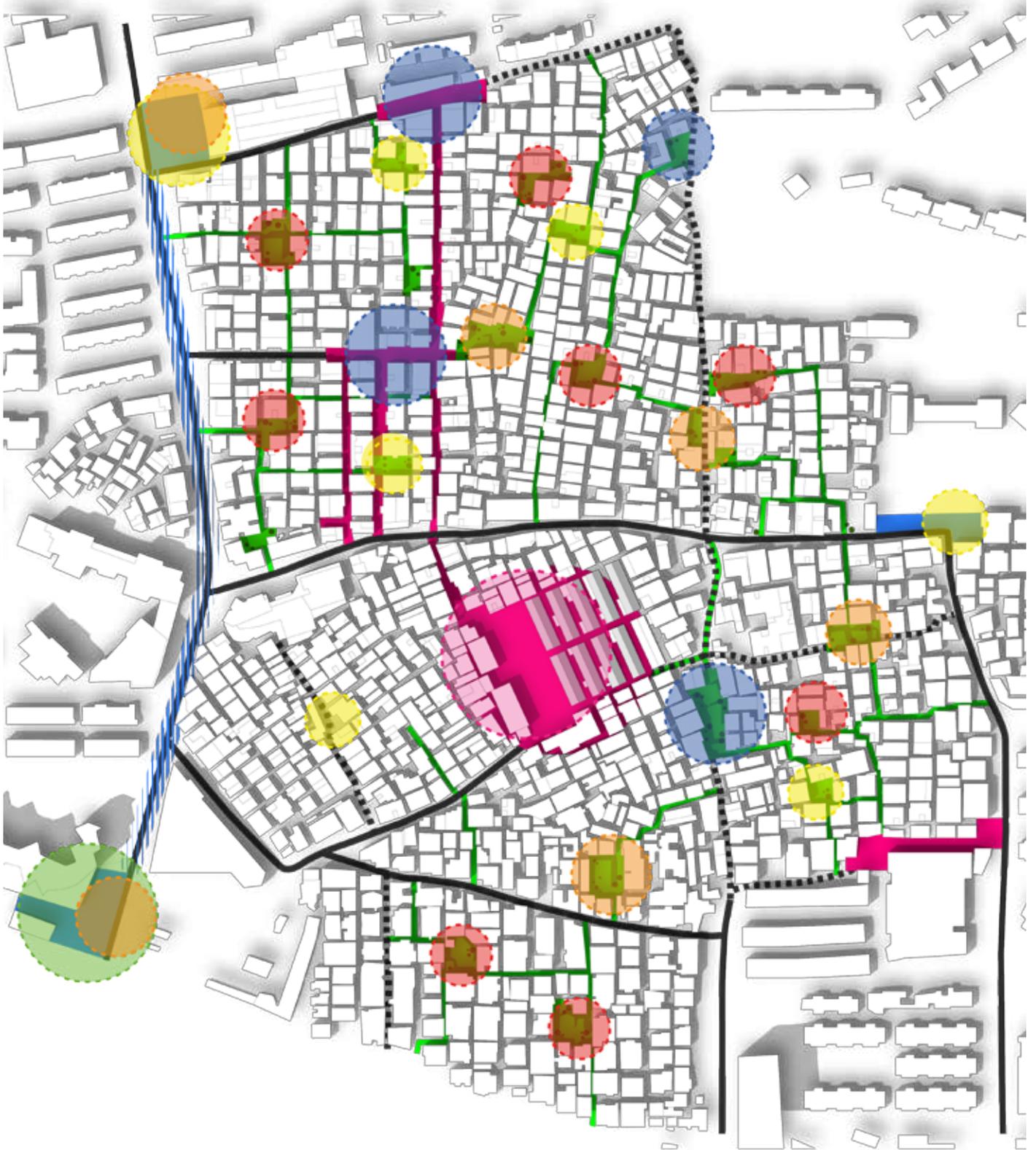
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Figure 1. Shenzhen scenarios



Figure 1. Shenzhen scenarios



STRATEGIC PLAN OF HISTORIC QUARTER

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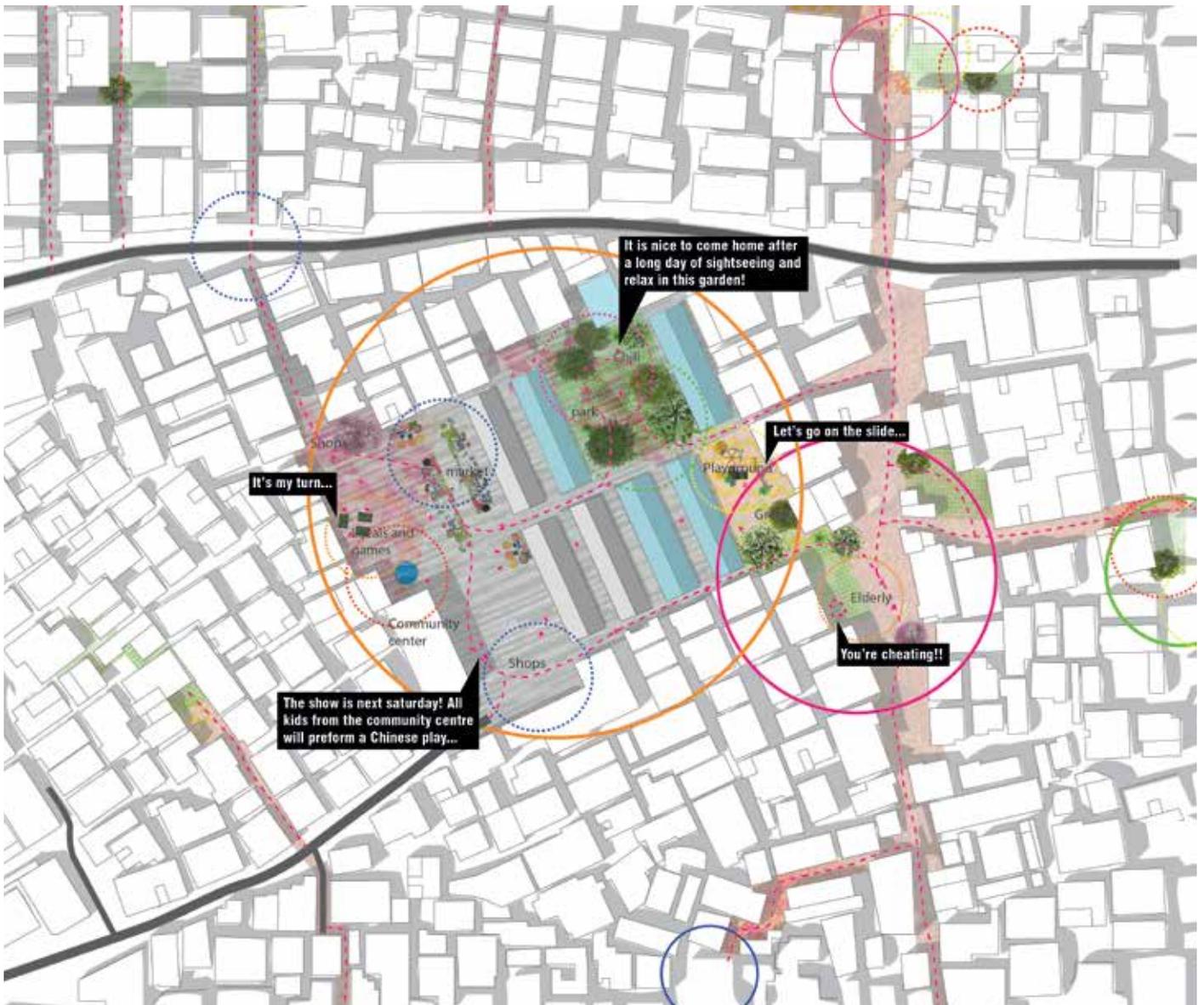
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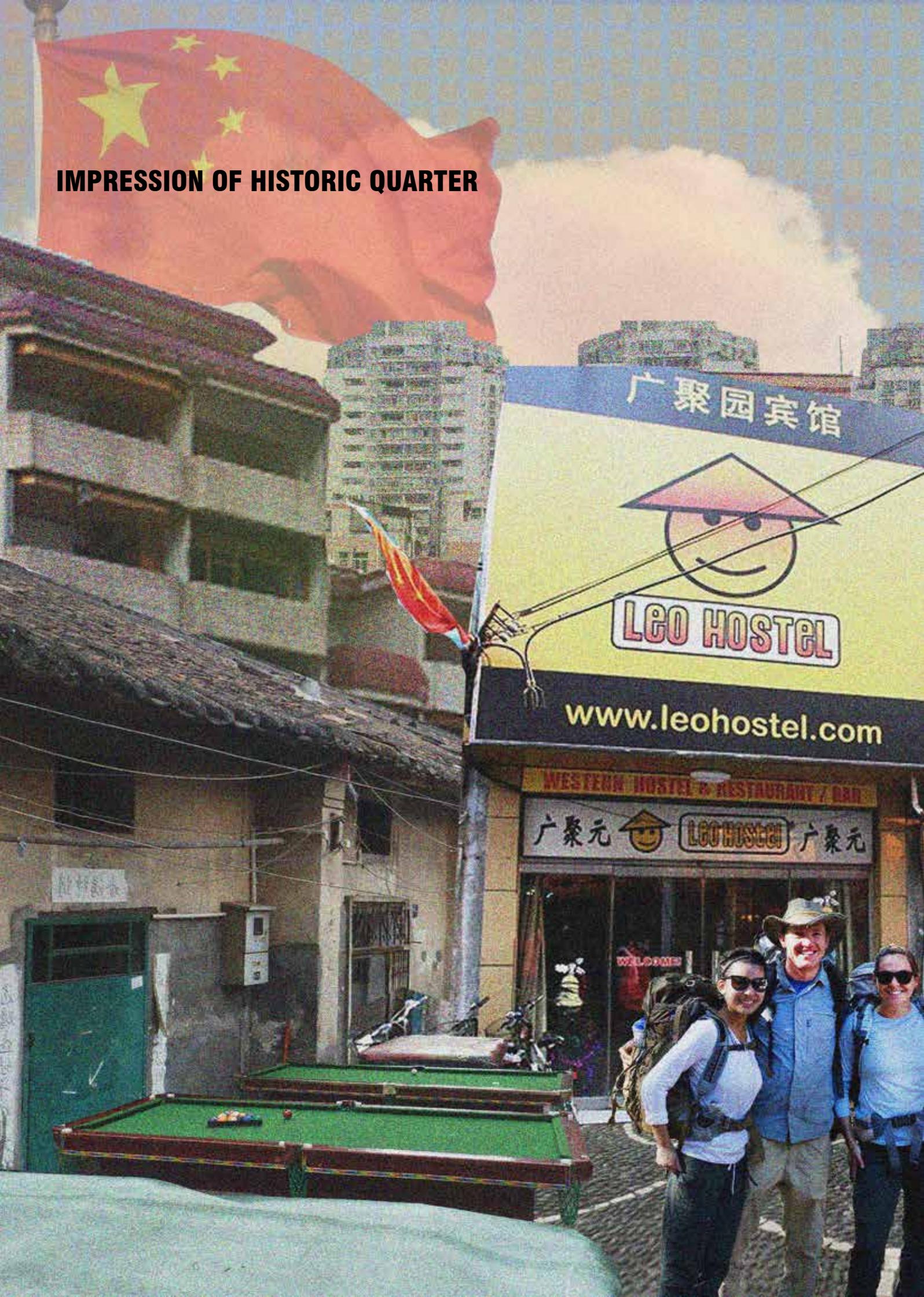
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IMPRESSION OF HISTORIC QUARTER





7. CONCLUSION

SUMMARY

RECOMMENDATION

LIMITATIONS AND CONCLUSION

REFLECTION

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Getting free haircuts on the central square of Baishizhou (photo by author, 2013).



APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW

MISTER AND MISS HEBEI



Name

Mister and Miss Hebei

Age

Both 74 years

Occupation

Retired, but used to be farmers

Where do you live?

CNOOC Shenzhen Bay Garden gated community.

How long have you lived in Shenzhen?

2 months.

Where are you from originally?

From the North of China, but we moved to Shenzhen to live with our son and grandson and for a better climate. The North is too cold for us at our age.

Who do you live with?

We are staying with our son. Our son is divorced, so we partially take care of our grandson as well. He partly lives with us.

Is the house bought or rented?

Our son rented the apartment.

Costs per month;

We do not know.

Where do you work?

We are retired, but our son works for an electronic company in Shenzhen.

Salary:

-

How do you get to work?

-

How do you usually get around?

(by foot, car, public transport...)

Because of old age, we do not travel far. We usually stay on this

square or walk around baishizhou for some errands. Otherwise we take our son's car or when he is at work we take the subway.

Can you describe your daily routine?

Wake up when son goes to work, around 7 am. Make breakfast for son and grand son and afterwards play some games on the square and sit in the sun. Does grocery shopping in the neighbourhood and make sure dinner is set at night, around 7 pm when son goes home. At night they sit stay at the appartement with family for tea and go to bed around 9/10 pm.

Do you know many people in your street or neighbourhood?

We know some people from our floor in the apartment building and we talk to people here on the square. Play games etcetera. But we are not friends.

Do you go/ know things outside of your district?

We hardly go out of our district due to our age. Most of the shopping is done here on the main square and for other supplies we go into the urban village for vegetables etcetera. It is much cheaper there, than in the stores.

Do you interact with people from the gated community/ urban village? Do you use their facilities?

Yes, we go to the local market and streets to buy vegetables and meat.

Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood? Why?

Have you ever encountered crime/ criminal activities?

We feel safe here, because our area has a lot of security. You need identity cards to access our appartement building.

Do you feel at home in Shenzhen/ Baishizhou? Why?

Yes, much more than in the North of China.

What would make you feel at home?

More family in Shenzhen.

What could be improved in the neighbourhood?

-

What are you future perspectives and dreams?

Staying in Shenzhen.



INTERVIEW

MISTER ZHU



Name

Mister Zhu

Age

26 years

Occupation

Public security

Where do you live?

I live in the urban village of Baishizhou.

How long have you lived in Shenzhen?

1 year.

Where are you from originally?

-

Who do you live with?

I live in a dormitory from the security company and stay with workmates.

Is the house bought or rented?

It is rented by the company and I do not have to pay for it.

Costs per month;

Food and housing is payed for by the company.

Where do you work?

I work in Baishizhou as a security officer and walk around the public squares and patrol the streets.

Salary:

2000 RMB/month.

How do you get to work?

By foot, I walk on the streets all day.

How do you usually get around?

(by foot, car, public transport...)

I usually go by foot, since everything is close to my home. I usually stay in Baishizhou, but if i go out to the cinema or something, I will take the subway.

Can you describe your daily routine?

I usually work 12 hours every day, with only 1 or 2 days off per month. I eat breakfast together with my workmates in my dormitory as well as lunch. At night we sometimes go out and eat in the urban village. In the weekends I try to do some running and shopping and at night we usually drink and play games either in the dormitory or on the street.

When i have a holiday I like to ride my bike around Shenzhen.

Do you know many people in your street or neighbourhood?

We know some people from our floor in the apartment building and we talk to people here on the square. Play games etcetera. But we are not friends.

Do you go/ know things outside of your district?

I do not have much free time, so I hardly go out of Baishizhou.

Do you interact with people from the gated community/ urban village? Do you use their facilities?

I meet a lot of people on the street and talk to lots of people, but I do not have many friends. Mostly I interact with my workmates in the dormitory. I do most of my shopping in the urban village, because it is cheap.

Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood? Why?

Have you ever encountered crime/ criminal activities?

I feel very safe in Baishizhou, but sometimes there are still some robbers.

Do you feel at home in Shenzhen/ Baishizhou? Why?

I feel very at home, because the people here are very friendly.

What would make you feel at home?

I do not know.

What could be improved in the neighbourhood?

I do not know.

What are you future perspectives and dreams?

I do not know about the future, I live from day to day, trying to survive. I have a good job right now and I hope I can keep this job for a while.



INTERVIEW

MISS LIU



Name

Miss Liu

Age

21 years

Occupation

Online shop owners

Where do you live?

I live in Futian in Shenzhen.

How long have you lived in Shenzhen?

Couple of years.

Where are you from originally?

-

Who do you live with?

I live with one of my classmates.

Is the house bought or rented?

Rent.

Costs per month;

-

Where do you work?

I own an online clothing shop.

Salary:

The same as a regular job, enough to survive.

How do you get to work?

I work from home.

How do you usually get around?

(by foot, car, public transport...)

I usually take the subway to school or walk in my neighbourhood for daily routines.

Do you know many people in your street or neighbourhood?

I am not from this neighbourhood. I am waiting for a friend who lives in Bao'an.

Do you go/ know things outside of your district?

Yes, I go to Baishizhou to meet up with my friend. We are going shopping in Hong Kong and this area is a strategic point to meet up. It is near Shenzhen Bay and has a good connection by subway.

Do you interact with people from the gated community/ urban village? Do you use their facilities?

Yes, we go to the local market and streets to buy vegetables and meat.

What are your future perspectives and dreams?

I do not know about the future, I live from day to day, trying to survive. I have a good job right now and I hope I can keep this job for a while.



INTERVIEW

MISTER PENG



Name
Mister Peng

Age
66 years

Occupation
Jobless

Where do you live?

I live in the urban village of Baishizhou.

How long have you lived in Shenzhen?

1 year now, but usually I stay in Shenzhen for 3/4 months a year.

Where are you from originally?

Shijiazhuang, Herbei.

Who do you live with?

I currently moved to Shenzhen to take care of my newborn grandson. I stay with my son and his wife.

Is the house bought or rented?

My son bought a house in gated community "Lucky Gardens".

Costs per month;

-

Where do you work?

I do now work, but I do take care of my grandson. My son is 35 years and works for a software company.

Salary:

-

How do you get to work?

-

How do you usually get around?

(by foot, car, public transport...)

I usually walk or if I go further I take the car. My son drives to work everyday.

Can you describe your daily routine?

I am making sure that my grandson is taken care of and make dinner and breakfast for my family. I usually walk around the neighbourhood and do some grocery shopping.

Do you know many people in your street or neighbourhood?

I do not know many people here. There is hardly any interaction between people here. I only know my neighbours, but we are not friends. Most of the time i spend alone, with my grandson, of with my son and his wife.

Do you know many people in your street or neighbourhood?

I do not know many people here. There is hardly any interaction between people here. I only know my neighbours, but we are not friends. Most of the time i spend alone, with my grandson, of with my son and his wife.

Do you go/ know things outside of your district?

I hardly go out of the district, it is complicated with a small child.

Do you interact with people from the gated community/ urban village? Do you use their facilities?

No, sometimes I talk with my neighbours.

Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood? Why? Have you ever encountered crime/ criminal activities?

I feel very safe in Baishizhou. Not much happens on the street and our community is secured with guards.

Do you feel at home in Shenzhen/ Baishizhou? Why?

I do not want to live here forever, Shenzhen is too hot, but my son likes it.

What would make you feel at home?

If i would know more people and if the weather was cooler.

What could be improved in the neighbourhood?

I do not know.

What are you future perspectives and dreams?

Hopefully moving back after my grandson goes to school and hopefully my son and his wife will move back with me to Herbei.



INTERVIEW

MISTER XIONG



Name

Mister Xiong

Age

50 years

Occupation

Security guard "Lucky Gardens"

Where do you live?

I live in the gated community of Lucky Gardens. There is a special dormitory for me and the other guards.

How long have you lived in Shenzhen?

6 months. This is the second time I came to Shenzhen. The first time I lost my job and was forced to go home, because I had no money to stay in Shenzhen.

Where are you from originally?

Fujian province.

Who do you live with?

I live with my workmates.

Is the house bought or rented?

It is rented by the company and I do not have to pay for it.

Costs per month;

Food and housing is payed for by the company, so I live for free.

Where do you work?

I work as a security guard at gated community of Lucky Gardens.

Salary:

3000 RMB/month, but I think that is too low. I work everyday and hardly have days off.

How do you get to work?

By foot.

How do you usually get around?

(by foot, car, public transport...)

Sometimes I take the metro or the bus, but I usually stay here because I do not have a lot of free time.

Can you describe your daily routine?

I work 7 days a week and have no day off, only during Chinese New Year. I interact with my workmates, but do not go out much, because Shenzhen is too expensive.

Do you know many people in your street or neighbourhood?

No, only my workmates. Sometimes the inhabitants of this community will say hi to me.

Do you go/ know things outside of your district?

No, I do not have enough time to go out.

Do you interact with people from the gated community/ urban village? Do you use their facilities?

Only my workmates. I do not have to go shopping, because the company takes care of that. So I'm usually here in this guard house or in the dormitory with my workmates.

Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood? Why? Have you ever encountered crime/ criminal activities?

I feel very safe here.

Do you feel at home in Shenzhen/ Baishizhou? Why?

I feel at home.

What would make you feel at home?

I do not know.

What could be improved in the neighbourhood?

I do not know.

What are you future perspectives and dreams?

I do not think much about the future, but I would like to save some money and get a better job.



INTERVIEW

MISS DING



Name

Mister Ding

Age

30 years

Occupation

Sales woman

Where do you live?

I live in the urban village of Baishizhou.

How long have you lived in Shenzhen?

6 years.

Where are you from originally?

-

Who do you live with?

I live in a dormitory in the gated community.

Is the house bought or rented?

It is rented by the company .

Costs per month;

Food and housing is payed for by the company.

Where do you work?

I work in Baishizhou in the urban village as a sales woman for China Mobile.

Salery:

-

How do you get to work?

By foot, it is only 200 meters from my home.

How do you usually get around?

(by foot, car, public transport...)

I walk around here, but sometimes I will go to Dongman in Futian and then I will take the metro.

Can you describe your daily routine?

I do not want to answer this question.

Do you know many people in your street or neighbourhood?

I do not want to answer this question.

Do you go/ know things outside of your district?

Hardly, everything is close here.

Do you interact with people from the gated community/ urban village? Do you use their facilities?

-

Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood? Why?

Have you ever encountered crime/ criminal activities?

I feel safe.

Do you feel at home in Shenzhen/ Baishizhou? Why?

I feel at home.

What would make you feel at home?

I do not know.

What could be improved in the neighbourhood?

I do not know.

What are you future perspectives and dreams?

I do not know.



INTERVIEW

MISTER HUANG



Name
Mister Huang

Age
18 years

Occupation
Waiter

Where do you live?

I live in the urban village of Baishizhou.

How long have you lived in Shenzhen?

9 months.

Where are you from originally?

Hubei. I dropped out of Junior High school and moved to Guangzhou. But there were not as many opportunities as in Shenzhen. Also my brother lives in Shenzhen, so that is the reason why I moved here.

Who do you live with?

I live in a house of the boss of my friend.

Is the house bought or rented?

I rent a room.

Costs per month;

-

Where do you work?

I work in this restaurant as a waiter.

Salary:

Not enough to survive. My brother helps me.

How do you get to work?

I walk to work.

How do you usually get around?

(by foot, car, public transport...)

When I go out to Luohu or Futian I will take the subway, otherwise I go by foot.

Can you describe your daily routine?

I work 7 days a week, but at night I hang out with my brother and my friends. We drink at one of their houses and play games.

Do you know many people in your street or neighbourhood?

I have many friends here in this neighbourhood. And my brother lives here too which is nice.

Do you go/ know things outside of your district?

I work a lot and do most of my shopping here in Baishizhou, but sometimes I go out with my friends and we will go to Luohu or Futian.

Do you interact with people from the gated community/ urban village? Do you use their facilities?

No. I do almost everything in the urban village.

Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood? Why?

Have you ever encountered crime/ criminal activities?

There are quite some thieves, but it is not severe. I feel safe here.

Do you feel at home in Shenzhen/ Baishizhou? Why?

Yes, because my brother lives here too. Shenzhen is a great city, because I have many opportunities and chances for me.

What would make you feel at home?

-

What could be improved in the neighbourhood?

I do not know.

What are your future perspectives and dreams?

I am not satisfied where I stand today, but I think if I work hard I can get a better life.



INTERVIEW

MISS KANG



Name
Miss Kang

Age
19 years

Occupation
Shop assistant

Where do you live?

I live in the urban village of Baishizhou.

How long have you lived in Shenzhen?

2.5 years.

Where are you from originally?

Sichuan province.

Who do you live with?

I live with my parents. My parents also work in Shenzhen.

Is the house bought or rented?

My parents rent the house.

Costs per month;

600 RMB/ month.

Where do you work?

I work as a shop assistant in a small grocery shop in Baishizhou.

Salary:

2000 RMB/ month.

How do you get to work?

I walk from home to the store.

How do you usually get around?

(by foot, car, public transport...)

I never leave Baishizhou, so I always walk.

Can you describe your daily routine?

I work all day, 7 days a week. I do have 1 day off per month. I wake up and have breakfast at home with my parents. I eat lunch here

somewhere on the street and at night I stay with my parents again, we will have dinner and tea.

Do you know many people in your street or neighbourhood?

I do not have friends, but I do know a couple of people from my age.

Do you go/ know things outside of your district?

I always stay in Baishizhou.

Do you interact with people from the gated community/ urban village? Do you use their facilities?

No, all the things I need are here in the urban village. I do not have time to go somewhere else. All the money I earn I spend on shopping and helping my parents.

Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood? Why?

Have you ever encountered crime/ criminal activities?

It is pretty safe, but last year, 2 guys broke in our apartment and stole some things. But this usually never happens. They guys got caught by the police.

Do you feel at home in Shenzhen/ Baishizhou? Why?

I do not feel at home here, I would like to go back to my home town. I do not go to school, because my parents do not have enough money. I have nothing here except my parents and work. However, the people here in Shenzhen are very friendly.

What would make you feel at home?

I do not know, maybe having more free time to spend with friends and family.

What could be improved in the neighbourhood?

I do not know.

What are your future perspectives and dreams?

I do not think about the future, I live now.



INTERVIEW

MISS LI


Name

Miss Li

Age

19 years

Occupation

Shop assistant in the bakery

Where do you live?

I live in the urban village of Baishizhou.

How long have you lived in Shenzhen?

2 years.

Where are you from originally?

Guangdong.

Who do you live with?

I live in a small apartment with the other girls and owner of the bakery.

Is the house bought or rented?

It is rented by the owner and I do not have to pay for it.

Costs per month;

Food and housing is paid for by the owner.

Where do you work?

I work in Baishizhou in a small bakery and patisserie.

Salary:

-

How do you get to work?

I walk to my work, because I live right around the corner.

How do you usually get around?

(by foot, car, public transport...)

I walk around the neighbourhood.

Can you describe your daily routine?

I work 7 days a week, also in the weekends. Sometimes I have a day off and I sleep, or go shopping here in the neighbourhood. I eat with the people from my home.

Do you know many people in your street or neighbourhood?

I am not familiar with a lot of people, only the 2 girls who I work with. Other people I know, I only greet.

Do you go/ know things outside of your district?

No.

Do you interact with people from the gated community/ urban village? Do you use their facilities?

I usually go shopping in the urban village. I do not know people from the gated communities, they hardly come here.

Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood? Why?
Have you ever encountered crime/ criminal activities?

I feel very safe in Baishizhou. I can walk at night by myself and nothing happens. This is the great thing about Baishizhou.

Do you feel at home in Shenzhen/ Baishizhou? Why?

I do feel at home, but I have a problem with the language here, because sometimes I do not understand the people here. I like my hometown better.

What would make you feel at home?

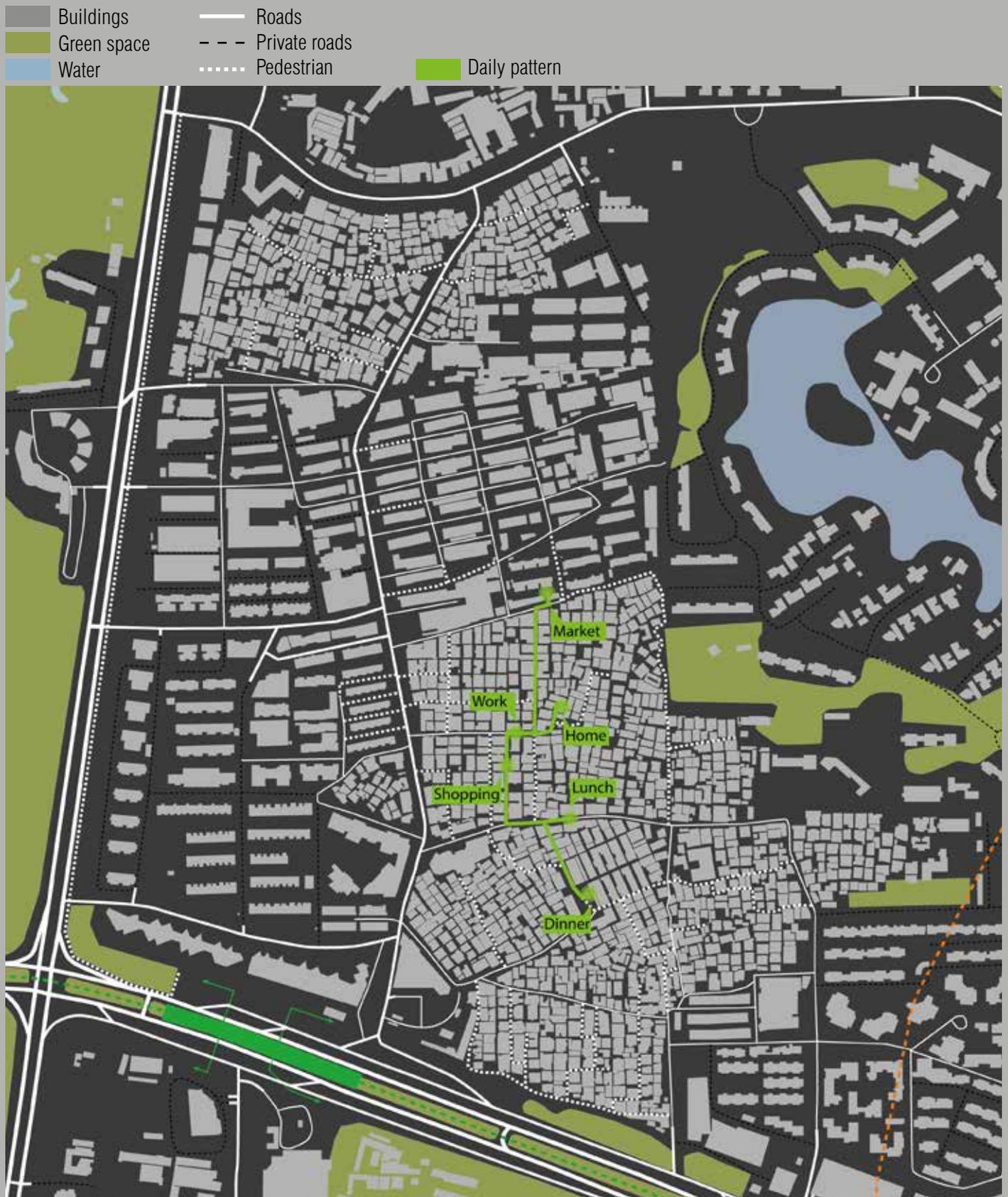
Understanding the language better.

What could be improved in the neighbourhood?

The people here throw everything on the streets, so there is a lot of litter. This should be improved; it should become cleaner.

What are your future perspectives and dreams?

I do not know.



INTERVIEW

MISTER ZHAO


Name

Mister Zhao

Age

55 years

Occupation

Owner watch shop

Where do you live?

I live in the urban village of Baishizhou.

How long have you lived in Shenzhen?

1 year.

Where are you from originally?

Hunan province.

Who do you live with?

I live with my wife and our 2 children (son and daughter).

Is the house bought or rented?

We rent an apartment.

Costs per month;

1200 RMB/ month.

Where do you work?

We own a small shop on the main street here in Baishizhou. We restore and sell watches and clocks. I used to be a teacher at the university, but didn't like that job anymore.

Salary:

Enough to live. We also have to pay for our shop, this is 1050 RMB/ month, but we make enough to have a good life. He earns the same as when he was a teacher.

How do you get to work?

I walk to work.

How do you usually get around?

(by foot, car, public transport...)

I walk or when I will take the subway.

Can you describe your daily routine?

I work 7 days a week, also in the weekends. Sometimes if we do not feel like working, we will not open the shop. If we do not work we spend time with the family or I play video games on the computer. My wife usually takes care of the food and the shopping, while i work at the shop.

Do you know many people in your street or neighbourhood?

There is a phenomenon here in Shenzhen that a lot of people do not know eachother. This is the same in my case. We only greet eachother, but do not know anything about eachother.

Do you go/ know things outside of your district?

Actually hardly. Everything we need is close to our home or shop.

Do you interact with people from the gated community/ urban village? Do you use their facilities?

We only interact with the family, but my children are always working, so it is usually me and my wife.

Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood? Why?
Have you ever encountered crime/ criminal activities?

I feel safe here.

Do you feel at home in Shenzhen/ Baishizhou? Why?

I do feel at home, but I do not like the new generation. They do not work hard enough and tend to be lazy.

What would make you feel at home?

More interaction.

What could be improved in the neighbourhood?

-

What are you future perspectives and dreams?

My motto is; Cherish the time we have now, and do not waste this time. I do not really think about the future.



INTERVIEW

MISS LI



Name

Miss Li

Age

26 years

Occupation

Mother

Where do you live?

I live in the urban village of Baishizhou.

How long have you lived in Shenzhen?

3/4 years.

Where are you from originally?

-

Who do you live with?

I live with my husband and my child.

Is the house bought or rented?

We rent an apartment.

Costs per month;

1050 RMB/ month.

Where do you work?

I do not work, being a mother is a full time job. But my husband works at an electric-tech company.

Salary:

-

How do you get to work?

My husband takes the subway.

How do you usually get around?

(by foot, car, public transport...)

I usually walk or take the subway.

Can you describe your daily routine?

I take care of my child and sometime I take the subway to the park in Futian. But it is not convenient to take my child far away.

Do you know many people in your street or neighbourhood?

I only know my neighbours.

Do you go/ know things outside of your district?

Yes, sometimes to go to the park. But mostly I stay here in Baishizhou, because all the facilities we need are here.

Do you interact with people from the gated community/ urban village? Do you use their facilities?

Only in the urban village.

Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood? Why?

Have you ever encountered crime/ criminal activities?

Now it is safe, about 2 or 3 years ago, when we just lived here, it was unsafe. Many robbers and thieves. But they increased the amount of police on the streets this past 2 years and now it is a lot safer.

Do you feel at home in Shenzhen/ Baishizhou? Why?

I do not feel at home. If we do not have enough money we will move back to our hometown.

What would make you feel at home?

Earning more money to raise our child and buy a house. Also there is a lot of trash, it should be much cleaner.

What could be improved in the neighbourhood?

Clean environment.

What are your future perspectives and dreams?

I do not know.



INTERVIEW

MISS PENG


Name

Miss Peng

Age

50 years

Occupation

Street cleaner

Where do you live?

I live in the urban village of Baishizhou.

How long have you lived in Shenzhen?

10 years.

Where are you from originally?

Xintang, Hunan.

Who do you live with?

I live with my family.

Is the house bought or rented?

We rent an apartment.

Costs per month;

1500 RMB/ month.

Where do you work?

I work as a street cleaner in Baishizhou. Baishizhou has 3 cleaning district and every 3 months we rotate districts.

Salary:

Around 1800 RMB/ month. We make around 60 RMB/ day and we get an average of 4 days off per month. We do have to work during Chinese new year.

How do you get to work?

I walk.

How do you usually get around?

(by foot, car, public transport...)

I usually walk or take the subway.

Can you describe your daily routine?

I work most of the time, i make very long hours. When i have free time i have to do some grocery shopping and make dinner for my family.

Do you know many people in your street or neighbourhood?

I only interact with my workmates. But the people on the street here are very nice and always talk to me.

Do you go/ know things outside of your district?

Hardly, i have no time. We would like to go to our hometown, but we do not have enough holidays.

Do you interact with people from the gated community/ urban village? Do you use their facilities?

I do everything close to home in the urban village.

Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood? Why?
Have you ever encountered crime/ criminal activities?

Now it is safe, because of the police, many years ago it was very unsafe.

Do you feel at home in Shenzhen/ Baishizhou? Why?

I do not feel at home. But my whole family lives here and the people in Shenzhen are nice.

What would make you feel at home?

I would like to buy a house, that would make me feel at home.

What could be improved in the neighbourhood?

-

What are your future perspectives and dreams?

I do not know.



INTERVIEW

MISTER LUI



Name
Mister Lui

Age
25 years

Occupation
Finance job

Where do you live?

I live in the urban village of Baishizhou.

How long have you lived in Shenzhen?

3 years

Where are you from originally?

Wuhan, I went to the university there to get a finance degree, afterwards I moved to Shenzhen because of the great work opportunities and the good behaviour of inhabitants.

Who do you live with?

I live alone.

Is the house bought or rented?

I rent an apartment.

Costs per month;

1000 RMB/ month

Where do you work?

I work in the High Tech park.

Salary:

12.000 RMB/ month

How do you get to work?

I take the subway, because it is really close. I walk to the subway.

How do you usually get around?

(by foot, car, public transport...)

I usually take a taxi or subway.

Can you describe your daily routine?

I work 5 days a week and have the weekends off. In the weekends I go out with my friends, colleagues and former classmates to clubs in Futian, coco park or I will go to the OCT loft area. Sometimes I will go to Hong Kong to go shopping.

Do you know many people in your street or neighbourhood?

I do not know many people in Baishizhou, but I do have many friends in the city, some of them live in Baishizhou. We do a lot of things together after work and in the weekends. We go everywhere in Shenzhen.

Do you go/ know things outside of your district?

Yes, I mostly go out of Baishizhou.

Do you interact with people from the gated community/ urban village? Do you use their facilities?

I use the markets and shops here in Baishizhou, because it is very cheap.

Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood? Why? Have you ever encountered crime/ criminal activities?

Yes, I feel safe here.

Do you feel at home in Shenzhen/ Baishizhou? Why?

I feel at home here, because I know many people in Shenzhen. The people are very friendly and there are a lot of opportunities and chances here in Shenzhen for young people like me. I would like to live here forever.

What would make you feel at home?

-

What could be improved in the neighbourhood?

Clean environment.

What are your future perspectives and dreams?

I would like to start a company with friends next year and eventually buy a house.





High-rise residential quarter in Shanghai (Designobserver, 2013).



APPENDIX II

The Walled Cities

A global phenomenon and study on Chinese gated communities

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communities and enclaves. Many based on ancient and traditional forms, these new enclaves appeared primarily in the United States but were rapidly adopted by modern settlements in South America, South Africa and Asia. (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). Old neighbourhoods were closing their streets, protecting their area and reducing traffic, transforming public space into private realms. This phenomenon challenged not only the spatial conditions of the city, but also impinged upon social and organisational aspects (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004). A rather complicating factor is that the historical context of these enclaves differs in each country. However, they are all linked to a global trend; safety and security of local citizens (Low, 2001).

The aim of this paper is to obtain a better insight in these so called compounds and to identify the problems of these gated communities in relation to public space. Moreover, preliminary strategies on how to (re)integrate gated communities into urban fabrics in China are presented. Chinese gated communities arose more than 3000 years ago, as status symbol to separate emperor from citizens and urban from rural citizens (Jin, 1993). However, current gated communities in China are based on the American model (Le Coix and Webster, 2006). In the mid twentieth century wealthy citizens built enclaves to protect themselves against rapid industrialisation (Blakely and Snyder, 1997).

Through literature review an introduction of different types of gated communities throughout the world is presented. Emphasis will be on new gated communities in China. Which impact does this new development have on urban configuration and social life in high-dense Chinese cities? This paper will focus on understanding China's new building strategies and the influence of gated communities on spatial fragmentation and social segregation in highly urbanized areas. Spatial interventions with the goal to integrate enclaves and to increase social cohesion will be addressed and will provide the necessary insight for a dedicated design project.

Key words – China; spatial fragmentation; social segregation; gated communities; security

1. Introduction

Gating goes back thousands of years and has been adopted again by non-Western countries during last decades. Gated communities have become more and more popular, especially in rapid growth areas with high urbanisation rates, for example in Chinese cities.

Chapter two presents the definition, investigates worldwide trends and the types of gated communities. Chapter three will focus on the historical development of 'gating' in China and compares with current trends. Next, the consequences of gating will be summarized. Chapter five discusses the urgency of this topic, with proposals for alternative planning models in chapter six. The paper concludes with a summary and outlook towards my master thesis plan.

2. Gated communities

2.1 Definition

The following definition will be used for a gated community: 'a gated community is a housing development on private roads closed to general traffic by a gate across the primary access. The developments may be surrounded by fences, walls, or other natural barriers that further limit public access' (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004). Enclaves, residential quarters and compounds all refer to the same definition listed above and do not conform a specific aerial size or number of houses. Gated communities should be seen as a successful formula for market-controlled urbanisation. Developers explore gated projects as an important marketing strategy in the current real-estate market: enclaves can attract future residents, searching for a sense of community, identity and security by providing specific facilities and functions (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004). However, whether gated communities are true 'communities' is open for debate and some important aspects will be discussed in section 4.3.

2.2 Worldwide phenomenon

Private and gated communities are not new in urban fabric. Historically, walls were built to protect local citizens from invaders. In the nineteenth century a renewed form of gating began to appear in Western countries. Wealthy citizens tried to protect themselves from the rapid industrialisation in cities through private and urban governance. They closed streets in old neighbourhoods to increase safety and to reduce traffic (Grant, 2008). In the mid- and late twentieth century another form of enclave emerged in postmodern cities; retreats and exclusive residential areas. In the United States many of these gated communities have appeared since the ideology of suburbanisation (Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004). This gating trend has set its mark all over the globe, where in the United States, senior citizen communities are enclosed by golf courts, in South-America villages are surrounded by barbed wire and cameras. Or for instance in Dubai, where the complete city has been built with fenced neighbourhoods and commercial compounds. All these types of fortifications are the response to an increasing demand for safety, seclusion and community living. Enclaves where specific social classes group together, sharing an ideology or lifestyle, either by fear or hope (Mars and Hornsby, 2008). This phenomenon challenges not only the spatial organisation of the city, transforming public areas into private realms, but also introduces social tensions.

2.3 Types of gated communities

The writers of *Fortress America*, Blakely and Snyder (1997), have presented an extensive investigation on gated communities in the United States. They have identified three types of gated communities; lifestyle, prestige and a security zone. In practice, however, gated communities may show more than only one type. *Lifestyle communities* focus on leisure activities, such as golf and country clubs. Residents searching for identity, security and shared lifestyle, such as seniors, are mostly attracted to these enclaves. *Prestige communities* symbolize wealth and status and do often not include shared facilities. Athletes, financiers, celebrities and politicians are the type of residents for this community. *Security zone communities* are built as a reflection of fear for outsiders. Walls and gates are built to decrease crime, traffic and maintain property values. At some moment in time, all social classes have practiced this way of preserving the neighbourhood, but wealthy compounds have been the most successful (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004).

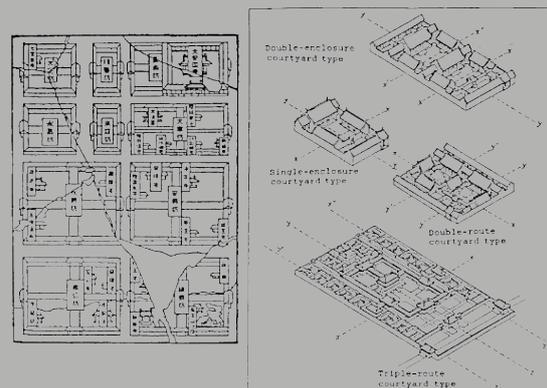
3. China

In urban planning and architecture of Chinese cities, walls have always been an important factor to control social structures. From the imperial palaces, the Great Wall of China to the communist *Danwei* work

units, walls have always been part of the urban fabric. However, in the past decades the new formula of fortification has been rapidly implemented in booming China. Entire networks of residential areas arise with private services, infrastructure and self-governance. With each new compound built, it becomes more apparent that the gated community has a central role in China's urbanisation process.

3.1 History of gating

The Chinese gated communities show a long history. Gates were built as a form of status and protection. Every city had a wall to protect urban citizens from rural citizens. Within the city the emperor had his palace walled to detach himself from the city citizens (Jin, 1993). The walls were a way to separate urban from rural residents. The inner wall was to demonstrate that the palace was more important than the residential district. During the period 770 BC -906 AD China breaks up in smaller states (political reforms) due to political disorder. Cities are redeveloped and enclosed neighbourhoods arise to minimize social interaction, but increase local social control. *Figure 1* shows the typical structure of several types of closed neighbourhoods.



In the Song dynasty (618 – 1840) a new spatial transition is taking place. Commercial districts and residential areas are combined into one common neighbourhood. Walls within the cities are being demolished. The city is no longer divided into enclosed neighbourhoods; neighbourhoods become more heterogeneous. During the colonial era (1840 –1949) industrialisation is taking place on a large scale. As a consequence production, circulation and residential activities are separated again. The first commercial buildings are introduced, in high contrast with traditional Chinese streets with shop houses. Western traders and diplomats receive their own enclosed neighbourhoods.

During the socialist era of China (People's Republic of China as of 1949) the city is regarded as an evil place due to high industrialisation (The Great Leap Forward) and bad quality of living. The cities have to become class-less cities, and there should be a

large difference between cities and rural areas. To keep people from moving to cities, the *Hukou* is introduced; a system in which people can only use healthcare and education facilities in their hometown. However, this did not stop the mass-migration to cities, which resulted in a new 'socialist' housing development: *Danwei work-units*. *Figure 2* gives an artist impression of the *Danwei* model.

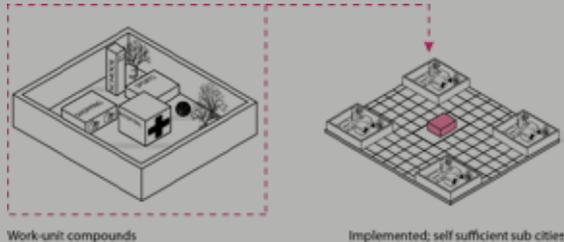


Figure 2. The Danwei model: self-sufficient neighbourhoods combined with factories (ill. by author).

Buildings are standardized within a unit surrounded by a wall, with a complete set of living facilities, mostly provided by the industrial companies. These units became self-sufficient sub centres (Jin, 1993).

3.2 Economic reforms of 1978

In 1978 the open door policy was introduced allowing foreign companies to invest in China. Along the East coast, a *Special Economic Zone* (SEZ) was introduced in multiple cities to boost economic growth. An immense urbanisation took place and is still taking place, modelled to western ideals. Since these reforms, the securities of the *Danwei* have been lost: high rise buildings, luxurious hotels and large shopping centres are replacing the traditional Chinese shopping streets (Hao, 2012). With the transition from a collective land and totalitarian controlled society to a society dominated by market forces, the Chinese peasant is responsible for his own individual survival, resulting in a mass migration to cities. Due to overcrowded cities and lack of public facilities, the upper class wants to dissociate themselves from the chaotic and polluted urban realm (Mars and Hornsby, 2008). As a result large private residential communities for the rich are built, dividing the different social classes and secluding themselves from the 'danger' outside their walls. In the transition from a planned economic society to a market-oriented system the government's top political concern is social stability. Therefore, the government encourages gating because it quickly reduces crime and increase control, safety and stability (Miao, 2010). The majority of the residents also like the gate, not only because it increases the safety, but it also keeps out noise of through traffic, unwanted sales persons and pedlars. However, there are many complaints about the rigid walls, since they symbolize a safe environment, but it only generates a virtual safety image. (Miao, 2010).

4. Consequences of gating

Currently, the primary reason for gating in China is safety and security. However, exactly the opposite effect is seen in the streets. The lack of social security and street views, result in anonymous and deserted public space and sidewalks around the walls of these gated communities. Furthermore, the design of Chinese gated communities is not comparable with, for example, American enclaves. Whereas American compounds exist out of townhouses or villas, Chinese gated communities are clusters of high-rise residential buildings usually over 15 storeys high.

4.1 Deserted streets

Gated residential quarters in China may be considered super blocks within the urban fabric. Citizens can walk for hundreds of meters (150-250 meters) without street intersections. The number of gates is minimized to save costs for guards. As a consequence, sidewalks around these residential compounds are mostly deserted. Physical borders prevent people from using the street. This is due to unattractive street views and lack of any (commercial) facilities (Xu and Yang, 2009). Gating discourages people from walking, but increases the use of their cars due to large distances between residential and public facilities. *Figure 3* shows a gated community in Shenzhen: two separate residential quarters are built alongside the public street. This street is almost exclusively used for through traffic due to the absence of public functions.



Figure 3. Gated communities 'Lucky Gardens' and 'Bay Gardens' along the public, but abandoned street in Shenzhen (photo by author).

Not only gated residential quarters are built by real-estate developers, also national institutions, such as universities and factories, are walled. Thus losing the local urban context and not anticipating local urbanisation (Miao, 2010).

4.2 Homogeneous neighbourhoods and autonomous residential districts

The effects of gating are becoming more and more visible in cities like Shenzhen. The physical fences

not only create spatial fragmentation in the urban fabric, but have an even more dangerous problem: social segregation. The booming housing production, which is encouraged by the government, is given to private developers. The government divides the land in small plots and gives each plot to a different developer. The only goal of this developer is to maximize profits. Residential projects become prestige projects with prices going sky-high. These projects are specifically developed for the upper class citizens. The enclaves are socially homogeneous, leaving these residential areas spatially and socially isolated (Mars and Hornsby, 2008). The lower classes of society (including migrants) end up in old *Danwei* housing, illegal settlements and deteriorated areas, creating clusters of specific social classes within the cities. The lack of governmental policies concerning social housing ensures that little will change in future.

4.3 Anonymity

As discussed before residential clusters exist of multiple high-rise buildings with over 15 floors. In most of these clusters green space and some public functions are integrated. These 'private' facilities have to compete with, for instance, large shopping malls which are more attractive as their product range is usually much larger. The result is that locals will favour facilities outside their residential area. This minimizes social interaction within the local community; neighbours only meet in elevators or parking garages and thus hardly know each other. *Figure 4* shows a high rise residential quarter in Shanghai. Most of its residents work during the day; the residential (green) space barely used.



Figure 4. High-rise residential quarter in Shanghai, where social interaction is lost (Brook, 2013).

This leads to a dangerous paradox. Chinese communities and neighbourhoods are historically based on close relationships (Levitt, 2012). Public space has always played a vital role in the social and economic life of the cities and its communities, but due to these new development strategies (public space privatized), cities and neighbourhoods become completely anonymous. The elderly, singles,

disabled, etc. become socially isolated (Wu and Gaubatz, 2013).

5. Relevance

Considerable research has been presented about the spatial, social, political and economic aspects of gated communities around the globe and its impacts on the city and street life. Many books, journals and articles have been written about the urbanisation and gated community trend in the past century in countries, such as the United States, South America and Africa (Blakely and Snyder, 1997, Grant and Mittelsteadt, 2004, Grant, 2008, Le Coix and Webster, 2006, Low, 2001). However, not much research has been done on *New Towns*, such as Shenzhen, China. China plans to build 20 new cities in the forthcoming 20 years, but is unable to find buyers for the hundreds of millions of new homes. Reports have shown that in 2011, 64 million new homes, mostly neat 4 storey houses or skyscrapers in the form of gated communities, are empty. Experts discuss the soulless cities where tradition and street life have completely been lost (Dailymail, 2011). Public space can be defined in streets, parks, playgrounds, markets, etc. and plays a vital role in tradition and history of Chinese cities. In public space, people are expected to interact and share information. A place where transport (including cyclists) and pedestrians meet; where buildings and streets come together and residential buildings interact with shops, markets and street life. Therefore, solutions should be researched (and implemented for the current housing development) that restore social coherence in *New Towns* in China.

6. Possible solutions

6.1 Redefining urban blocks

Learning from the traditional city and emerging trends in recent practice, a number of solutions will be discussed. Instead of gating large neighbourhoods, the clustering of small groups of buildings or small neighbourhoods should be considered. *Figure 5* shows two designs of clustering. Regularly distributed streets and short blocks are valuable for improving the vitality of the neighbourhood, according to Jane Jacobs (Jacobs, 1961). Allan Jacobs argues that there should be an intersection every 90 meters and the optimal size of blocks should be between 60 and 100 meters. Allen describes that the best streets are those that minimize application of uniform walls. Streets should be embedded in a transparent environment, that is with entryways about 4 meters apart (Jacobs, 1993). Blocks in Chinese cities should preferably have 100 - 150 instead of the current 300 - 800 residential units. The original *Lilong*, which is a traditional neighbourhood in Shanghai, holds around 40-60 dwellings (Miao, 2010). The important aspect of this traditional neighbourhood is the fact that they do not contain private facilities, while the neighbourhood is con-

trolled by a small community. In the cluster designs proposed in *figure 5*, either clusters of buildings (left) or clusters of blocks (right) may be gated as found in traditional *Lilongs*. Although gating is applied, it should not prevent non-local residents entering the area; within the urban fabric no private streets should exist.



Figure 5. Two possible clusters designs with their public space. Black is commercial area, hatched is public space or park. Left: Few buildings are clustered together along a main street with public facilities, with publicly accessible parks and squares. Right: Blocks are clustered with semi-public parks and squares and public facilities around the borders (Miao, 2010).

6.2 Public space

Proper public space should support interaction between people. It should contain access to sun light, a proper landscape, food facilities, public attractions, benches and proximity to a street and public transportation (Whyte, 1980). Thus (the small) individual blocks and residential clusters should avoid including commercial facilities (black rectangles in *figure 5*). The streets between these residential communities will then become the true public space, a place where people from different clusters can gather and all activities take place. Parks and squares may be located within the cluster to create a semi-private realm which, may be controlled by the cluster committee (*right figure*). However, it is necessary that parks and squares are also designed outside of the clusters, bordering the public streets (*left figure*). Public space will be managed and controlled by the city council. A mix of citizens from all social classes should provide the necessary variety within clusters and public space, leading to more social diversity and reducing the number of autonomous districts (Miao, 2010).

7. Conclusion

In summary, although a global phenomenon, new trends in gating have been identified in Chinese cities. Enclaves are the new planning typology in densely populated and rapidly growing cities. There is no exhaustive literature on these new developments in China. The consequences of these developments became visible only recently. Social classes become more separated and spatial fragmentation occurs at large scale. Due to absence of governmental policies this situation will not change in near future.

However, there is a social urgency to rethink the planning and building system in China. Two proposals are presented. First, the size of urban blocks should be reconsidered. Clustering small groups of buildings or small neighbourhoods are more effective towards vital street life. Secondly, public space should not become part of private residential quarters; it should really remain public.

My master thesis will contain a more extensive study on gated communities in China, specifically in the city of Shenzhen. Several solutions will be discussed.

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Chinese student taking a quick nap in the public library of Shenzhen (photo by author, 2013)



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