SLOWING DOWN SHENZHEN SPEED

AN INCLUSIVE PLANNING APPROACH TO REGENERATE THE HOMOGENEOUS INDUSTRIAL AREAS OF SHENZHEN, CHINA

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Colophon

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An inclusive planning approach to regenerate the homogeneous industrial areas of Shenzhen, China

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Preface

Can you imagine: standing in one of the world’s most well-known factories, in the middle of an area called “The factory of the world.” That’s what happened to me half a year ago when I entered the walls of the iPhone factory Foxconn in Shenzhen, a city of more than 12 million people in the Pearl River Delta. This factory, as many others, is moving out of Shenzhen soon, which has great implications for its workers and former buildings.

The last year I had the chance to work on this issue in the research program of the International New Town Institute (INTI), ‘New Towns of the 21st century, International research and exchange program, the renewal of Shenzhen’. Delft University of Technology is collaborating in this research, with eight students doing research on different topics and in different areas. This “Shenzhen Studio” is within the complex city studio of the Urbanism master track in Delft. This studio gave us the chance to visit Shenzhen, collaborate in different workshops in China and the Netherlands and speak to many interesting people.

The research project of INTI is described as follows: “Over a three-year period, a research and exchange program for students, researchers and professionals will be established in six different cities. To do this, INTI is searching for cities that are experiencing lightning-fast urbanization as well as cities where the future of existing New Towns is subject to major urban planning issues, whether or not this is in combination with the construction of new New Towns. Although the cities are logically defined by local and regional characteristics, the current tasks are more universal in nature and therefore set an example for other parts of the world” (International New Town Institute, 2012)

Shenzhen is the first city to focus on within this three-year program.

I am collaborating in this program because China has intrigued me since the beginnings of my studies. To have now the chance to work and learn a whole year from this country is a great opportunity. The Shenzhen project of my graduation concerns themes I worked on before and themes which intrigue me. First, I focus on a vulnerable group, in this case migrants. I have been focusing in earlier work on vulnerable women in Buenos Aires and India. Second, I focus on alternative development strategies which I studied during my exchange time in Norway and I focus on urban renewal, which I have done during my studies in Delft. To come to this final result I focussed also on topics I am less experienced in. Stakeholder analysis and management are tools I could for example learn during this thesis.

In front of you lies the result of a year extensive research, planning and design in one of the projects I enjoyed most during my studies. One of the main reasons I enjoyed this graduation as much I did, was because of my mentor team Qu Lei and Machiel van Dorst, who guided me through several difficult situations and enabled me to gain an extensive amount of knowledge.

I hope you enjoy reading this master thesis as much as I liked writing it.

Maaike
Abstract

Shenzhen is one of the largest cities in China with around 12.5 million inhabitants. The city is only 30 years old, and was decided to be the first Special Economic Zone (SEZ) of China. This caused Shenzhen to have one of the fastest growth rates of cities in the world, explaining the saying developing in ‘Shenzhen speed’. A great deal of this rapid urbanization is due to factories which were attracted by the policies of the SEZ, causing Shenzhen to have the nickname ‘Factory of the World’.

However, currently the economy of Shenzhen is moving away from its traditional manufacturing base towards services and more specialised types of manufacturing. This shift, among other reasons, causes factories to leave Shenzhen, leaving behind vacant factory compounds and unemployed people. More and more of these people, mainly migrants, have the desire to stay in Shenzhen to build up a life. Next to that, form the vacant factory compounds often a great opportunity for their surroundings. They provide the space needed for functions and public space, currently not available in many areas in Shenzhen.

The current approach of the Shenzhen authorities in redeveloping former factory areas, does not take into account the will of these people, nor the local conditions of these buildings, and results in fast, big scale developments. This current urban redevelopment approach of the Shenzhen authorities cannot produce cities that are sustainable, equal, and inclusive. Alternative approaches are needed to create cities that are.

The aim of this thesis is to take position and to add knowledge to the debate of alternative planning approaches possible in Shenzhen. Dalang is chosen as a test site, because its population consist of 98% of migrants and the main economic focus is on low-end factories, of which some are already leaving.

The planning approach argued for combines a physical strategy with a social strategy. It is believed that the current problems in Shenzhen cannot be effectively solved with only physical interventions. Physically the planning approach is to combine big structuring projects with smaller projects that bring in the human scale. These projects are developed by diverse, inclusive partnerships to have the local perspective taken into account. Socially, the strategy focuses on the empowerment of the neglected migrants. The approach presented suggests that when access to basic functions is given, migrants can start to empower themselves.

The development strategy proposed in this master thesis suggests that an investment in a diversity of projects, can be more effective than the current strategy of authorities in Shenzhen, who invest only in large scale projects. A combined physical and social approach slows down ‘Shenzhen speed’ to a pace which can take into account local conditions and local needs. A slower speed allows the city to transform gradually into a more diverse, liveable and resilient city, where people can build up their lives.

Key words - China, redevelopment, factory areas, empowerment, alternative planning approaches, migrants

Reading guide

In the master thesis different pictures are used. The symbol at the bottom of each picture shows if this picture is a photo made by the author, a picture drawn by the author or if the picture of some one else is used. In the end of this master thesis the image credits can be found.
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This chapter describes the problem field, problem statement and aim for this master thesis, the research questions dealt with in this master thesis and which methodology is used.
1.1. Problem field

1.1.1. Introduction

In 1978 the eleventh conference of the Chinese Communist Party decided that Shenzhen should become the first economic zone of China. The Shenzhen Special Economic Zone (SSEZ) was created as an experiment for China to attract foreign capital, technology and management skills (Bruton et al., 2005). “Shenzhen is where the first overseas bank established its presence in China in 1982; where the first post-1949 Chinese stock came into existence in 1983; and where the first land auction took place in 1987” (Ng and Tang, 2004: 190).

Industrialization of Shenzhen

This opening up to the world had great consequences for the urbanization of Shenzhen. In 2005, 8.3 million people lived in Shenzhen, roughly 80 percent of whom are migrants. There are hardly cities in the world that have a faster growth rate (McKinsey Global Institute, 2009). A great deal of this rapid urbanization is due to factories that were attracted by the policies of the SSEZ. The landscape of Shenzhen became an industrial manufacturing area, predominated by widespread large-scale infrastructure constructions for industrial development (Cartier, 2002). Shenzhen became the factory of the world (BBC World Service, 2012).

Factories leave

But, there are changes taking place. Wages and land prices have been increasing (Al, 2012, Rein, 2012), the municipality has shifted its focus from low-end manufacturing to “finance, information, trade, commerce, transportation, and tourism, as well as a high-tech development and R&D” (Ng and Tang, 2004: 206) and since 2008 the global financial crisis also hit Shenzhen (Chan, 2010, Worldbank, 2009).

Effects for buildings

These changes have as an effect that the low-end factories are leaving (The Economist, 2012, Al, 2012, Friedmann, 2005, Ng and Tang, 2004), leaving behind empty low quality factory buildings (Susan858, 2012, The Economic Observer, 2012) and unemployed people (Flynn, 2009, Yeung et al., 2009, Chan, 2010, Solinger, 2006). These buildings stay vacant or are redeveloped into a different function. These functions for redevelopment are restricted by the Chinese law, making the options for redevelopment limited.

Effects for workers

The people working and living in these factories are mostly migrants. They sometimes have the choice to move with the factory, but mostly go home to their village (The Guardian, 2009, Worldbank, 2009) or stay in the city (Chan, 2010). When the migrants go back to their village, many of them decide after a year to return to the city (Pai, 2012, Want China Times, 2012) coming there without home or work. When the people decide to stay in the city after their factory left, some of them get a new job arranged by the leaving factory or by themselves, but many of them stay unemployed (Yeung et al., 2009, Colquhoun, 2012).

In this master thesis it will be shown that many of the migrants prefer to stay in the city when their factory leaves. This is because they have more job opportunities in Shenzhen than in their village, because family is still living and working in Shenzhen or just because they like Shenzhen and would like to build up a life.

Reaction authorities

The authorities in Shenzhen have to react to these two problems. In the case of the unemployed migrants, they react in different ways. In 2010 the Shenzhen’s vice mayor and police chief suggested that migrants who are three months or more unemployed, are forced to leave Shenzhen. He made this suggestion because he thinks the crime will decrease after this policy (Weinland, 2010). On their website thought, the municipality
of Shenzhen states that they helped 49,000 people to find jobs by the end of 2010 (Shenzhen municipality, 2012) and also different scholars stress this effort of the Chinese government and local authorities (Schucher, 2009, Solinger, 2006, Chan, 2010). In the case of the vacant buildings, the municipality often ignores the problem, letting the buildings stay vacant (Susan858, 2012, The Economic Observer, 2012), or letting them redevelop with a focus on the powerful stakeholders (Wu, 2012), which results in top-down planned, high end buildings that do not respond to the local context (Miao, 2011) or to the local people (Abramson, 2010, Friedmann, 2005, UN-Habitat, 2010). Next to this, the current top-down master planning approach used by Chinese planners (Abramson, 2010) is also ineffective in giving a solution for these problems because it “cannot produce cities that are sustainable, equitable and inclusive” (UN-HABITAT, 2009: 214).

Dalang
Dalang is a subdistrict in the outskirts of Shenzhen and a very good example of the problem dealt with in this thesis. It is a spontaneous developed area, there are many factories and 98% of the inhabitants is migrant (Yan, 2013). Currently the area is rapidly changing from an area with only low end manufacturing to a more diverse economy, which means that factories have left and are leaving. In this thesis, Dalang will be used as a test site for the development proposal.

1.1.2. Problem statement
Shortly said, Shenzhen is recently moving its focus from low-end manufacturing to high-end manufacturing and services. Next to that these low-end factories were already leaving Shenzhen, leaving behind vacant factory buildings and unemployed people. The current reaction of the authorities does not solve upcoming problems for all stakeholders, because strategies currently used focus on fast, large scale, physical projects and do not take into account local physical and social conditions. To improve this, an alternative development approach needs to be developed. Dalang, as a test site, is a good example of these developments and can thus be a good test site for an alternative approach.

1.1.3. Aim
The aim of this master thesis is to take a position on, develop more knowledge on and add a new opinion to the debate around alternative planning approaches for Shenzhen. This master thesis tries to show that a social strategy is needed to complement a physical strategy, that focuses on different scales, to solve complex problems in areas like Dalang. It is tried to be specific in developing an alternative planning approach to change vulnerable, homogeneous areas like Dalang into livable areas for all. Sustainable, diverse and integrated areas where people want to build up their lives.
1.2. Research questions
In this chapter the research questions of the Master thesis are discussed. First the main research question is explained, after that the four sub research questions are introduced.

1.2.1. Main Research Question
The main research question of the graduation project is:

How can an alternative planning approach contribute to a solution to the problems and interests of the stakeholders involved by the current transition of factory compounds in Shenzhen?

The research question of this master thesis consists of three different components with three different emphases: one focussed on an alternative planning approach (planning), one on the different stakeholders involved in the process (people) and one on the current transition of factory compounds (place). Each of these components has sub research questions.

1.2.2. Planning: An alternative approach
As discussed and will be more explained in the theoretical framework, there is an opportunity to add alternative planning methods to the current planning approaches in China. As Shenzhen is the "experimental city of China" and many authors address the importance of alternative planning approaches, especially on a local scale, these will be researched in this thesis.

We could ask ourselves the questions:
1. What are problems with the current planning practises in Shenzhen?
2. Can the small scale approach be used as an alternative planning method in Shenzhen?

1.2.3. People: Stakeholders and their interests
Different stakeholders with various ideas and interests are involved in the current transition of factory compounds in Shenzhen. However, not all stakeholders are equally included in this process. This results in designs that focus on the powerful stakeholders and that do not respond to all needs. In this master thesis, it is researched what the interests and ideas are of all stakeholders and how these can be brought together, so that a liveable area for all can be developed.

We could ask ourselves the questions:
1. Who are the (main) stakeholders involved by the current transition of factory compounds in Shenzhen?
2. What are the interests and perceived problems for each stakeholder group, why is this and what is their position and influence?
3. Which approaches can be used to bring the problems and interests of the different stakeholders together in a development proposal?

1.2.4. Place: Factory compounds in Shenzhen
Factory compounds are interesting because they have an important role in social, economical and spatial terms for Shenzhen.

In social terms, factories are the spatial element were many migrants live, where they get introduced to the big city life and, in recent cases in Shenzhen, get forced into the urban life when their factory leaves.

In economic terms, these compounds were part of the factory of the world. The current transition of Shenzhen from an industrial city to a world city, brings many economic consequences. The process of factories leaving Shenzhen, leaving a jobless workforce without many other job opportunities and vacant factory compounds behind, is seen in this master thesis as a problem, but also as an economic opportunity. That these factories leave, creates possibilities for a more diverse economy. How this diversity can be created is researched in this master thesis.

In spatial terms factory compounds can play a major role in the current transition of Shenzhen. Because these are the areas where development is possible, it is important what could be possible in the future with these compounds.

We could ask ourselves the questions:
1. What is the current condition and role of factory compounds in Shenzhen?
2. How to use the current industrial shift to prepare these factory compounds for the future?
The research in this thesis has next to a spatial focus, a strong sociology approach. The emphasis lies in understanding the daily life and future dreams of migrants living in Dalang, Shenzhen and in translating this knowledge into a future perspective and development strategy.

1.3.1. Methodology: Social constructionism
This thesis is created from the views of social constructionism. This is a perspective within the social sciences that sees social problems as social processes (Holstein, 2007) and “places great emphasis on everyday interactions between people” (Andrews, 2012). This causes the research shown in this master thesis to focus on local knowledge, problems and insights before conducting a large scale strategy. “Such local knowledge derived from interpreting, translating, discussing, and engaging in the lives of the study respondents, enhances the understanding of the richness and peculiarities in (a local site)” (May, 2005).

Next to the emphasis on local research, I use this perspective because social constructionism cautions to be suspicious about assumptions of how the world appears to be (Burr, 2003), and accepts that there are more realities. Because this research takes place in another culture than the culture familiar to me, it is important to stress this idea of relativism. The results of the research done on the daily life and future perspectives of migrants in Dalang are my interpretation of the answers the migrants gave to me and my observations. I used the findings of this research to “present a convincing argument rather than arguing that my results are definitive. This is consistent with the idea in constructionism that the findings of research are one of many discourses” (Andrews, 2012). This does not make these results unimportant or insignificant, because it “(…) can generate real debate and lead to change” (Andrews, 2012), which is precisely what this master thesis is aiming for.

1.3.2. Methods
In this master thesis many different methods are used. Following more researchers in urban planning, I’m convinced that a multi-method research strategy can provide me with critical understanding and an explanation of social reality (Stimson, 2010). This is because it is believed all methods have their own imperfections, but if these methods are combined, making a diversity of these imperfections, not only their individual strengths are compensated, but also their particular faults and limitation. According to Brewer (2006) “The multi-method approach is largely built upon this insight. Its fundamental strategy is to attack a research problem with an arsenal of methods that have no overlapping weaknesses in addition to their complementary strengths” (Brewer, 2006: 4). For this reason many different methods have been used in this research.

In the scheme the methods used for the different processes are shown. This thesis is mainly divided in two parts, the research and the result part. Within these two parts the focus, following out of the main research question, is on planning, people and place. Within the research these areas are researched from a theoretical perspective and from the perspective of Dalang. Within the result it is tried to come up with a development strategy that takes into account these three aspects. Within this process several methods have been used. These methods are described below.

**Literature study**
Literature is used in a big part of the research and result part. This literature research consists not only of academic articles and books, but also of non-academic books, websites, news paper articles, documentaries and movies. I tried to get as many perspectives on the issues I researched on as possible, because I feel as a foreigner, that is one thing I can do to understand the issues in China better.
Interviews
Interviews are an important part of the research that I have done. The interviews can be divided into two different groups of people. First, I interviewed experts on China, Chinese planning and Chinese society. Examples of experts that I interviewed are Stefen Al, an expert on Chinese factory compounds, John van de Water, Architect by Next architects and Cecilie Andersson, PHD on daily life of migrants living in China. Second I did interviews with stakeholders involved in the current transition of factory compounds in Shenzhen and Dalang. Examples of stakeholders that I talked to are foxconn workers living in Dalang, Vanke real estate developers and the local government of Dalang. These interviews were translated if this was needed.

Questionnaire
To get a better understanding of the current life, the future dreams and the needs of migrants in Dalang I did a questionnaire with more than 30 migrants. All questions were translated into Chinese and again all the answers were translated into English by Chinese students.

Mapping
I used mapping as a research and design method on different scales in Shenzhen. On each scale different elements are mapped. The main scales I used are the Shenzhen scale, the Longhua new district scale, the Dalang scale and the focus area I chose within Dalang.

Observations
During the fieldwork I did in Shenzhen and Dalang I did many observations. These observations can be both social and spatial oriented and are used for a better understanding of the area. Most of these observations are later translated into maps or conclusions.

Reference studies
To test my ideas to the reality of planning and spatial strategies and to find new inspiration, I have been doing reference studies. These were often places I have been visiting before or for example, planning strategies somebody told me about. These reference studies have been shortly described in this research.

Design
Designing an alternative future for Dalang felt as drawing a conclusion of all the research I had done before. I could combine all knowledge and inspiration in these drawings causing the designs telling the story of my research. Of course there are exceptions, because some interventions are also made because they are just looking beautiful and I think they can work in Dalang.

Story lines
To test my approach I made story lines out of the social research I did and tested these story lines to my development proposal. The goal was to answer the question what my intervention really means to local people.

1.4. Research significance

1.4.1. Academic Relevance
This master thesis tries to contribute to the discussion of alternative planning approaches possible in China, especially on the local scale and with a focus on people. Different authors stress the importance of planning on a smaller scale than currently is happening in China. While in the Western world many experiments are going on with these kinds of approaches, in China this has just been started. More research on this topic is thus valid.

1.4.2. Societal relevance
The societal relevance of this master thesis is two-fold. First, it tries to develop a planning process that includes migrants, a group normally completely left out of the planning process in Shenzhen. It tries to show that by using a different approach than the government currently does, problems for this group can also be solved. Second, this master thesis tries to give alternative futures for factory compounds in a rapidly changing district as Dalang. It tries to generate ideas so that it can be used as an example for future developments for factory compounds in areas like Dalang. In general this thesis tries to contribute to these two discussions currently going on in Shenzhen: how to deal with migrants in future planning and what can be alternative futures for factory compounds?

1.4.3. Ethics
Several critics state that because of Western intervention, Chinese cities are facing problems. Westerns are mainly criticized because they experiment with urban development and do not take into account the local context (Lee, 2011). In this development proposal and research this is tried to be prevented through extensive local research and especially focussing on the local scale and its residents.
2.

CONTEXT

This chapter describes the context in which this master thesis works. First, the Chinese context will be explained and after that a short explanation of Shenzhen will be given.
2.1. Introduction: Chinese urbanization and industrialization

“China is a country with 5,000-year-long civilization and a long and rich history. The compass, gunpowder, art of paper-making and block printing invented in China have made great contributions to the progress of mankind. The Great Wall, Grand Canal and other projects built by the Chinese people are engineering feats in the world. The history of Chinese cities can be traced back to Longshan Culture in the Yellow River Valley about 4,000 years ago. The records written in words started in the Shang Dynasty (16th-11th century BC). China, a farming society for more than 3,000 years, began to decline to become a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society from the Opium War in 1840. In the Revolution of 1911, the Chinese people put an end to the feudal and monarchic rule what lasted for more than 2,000 years in China. On October 1, 1949, Chairman Mao Zedong declared solemnly to the world the founding of the People’s Republic of China in Beijing. This was the new starting point for the great revitalization of the Chinese nation. (...) In 1978, the focus of the Chinese government began to be shifted to the economic construction. As a series of policies and measures were introduced to conduct economic reform and opening up China to the outside world, the national economy and urbanization developed at high speed” (UN-HABITAT, 2010: 13).

Because history is understood different by different parties, I have chosen to give the “all agreed upon” history by the United Nations. Over the past three decades China has undergone two major transformations. It went from a rural, agricultural society to an urban, industrial one and from a command economy to a market-based one (Worldbank, 2012). In this short introduction these two major events will be explained by clarifying the urbanization and industrialization waves from 1949 until now. It will be shown that as well governmental intervening as major events have been influencing China’s urbanization and industrialization.

First urbanization wave
The first urbanization of China started already around 1950, when millions of peasants streamed into coastal cities form the countryside. However, Mao wanted to stay in control of the country and its developments and wanted the country to industrialize without the incurring heavy costs of urbanization. “Between 1949 and 1960, the urban component had doubled to nearly 20% of the total population. In the following decade, however, this figure was stabilized at around 17%, as millions of young urbanites were sent ‘down to the countryside’ in an effort to de urbanize China’s large cities and avoid the embarrassment of large numbers of educated but unemployed youths” (Friedmann, 2007: 267).

First industrialization wave
The danwei system, which is the spatial element of the first industrial wave, as well has been introduced during the first years of the People’s Republic. “Danwei actually referred to all the government (or party and military) agencies, enterprises and non-
government institutions in the city. (...) In the planned socialist society of China, in which the collectivity takes priority over the individuality, it was not the single person but the danwei that composed the basic unit of social life” (Hui, 2012: 66). “Spatially, the danwei was a walled compound organized around a state-owned enterprise or other institution (educational, research, or administrative). Its work force was housed in what was to be a minuscule version of a full-fledged socialist society. Small apartments were to be provided at nominal prices. Collective provision would be made for basic health care and child care, as well as educational and recreational services” (Friedmann, 2005: 102).

Urban and industrial stagnation

After and during the introduction of the danwei, China underwent a couple of events, that led to the stagnation in growth and development of China. From 1958 to 1960, “The Great Leap Forward” introduced a collectivization of agriculture and the nationalization of industry and commerce that let to serious economic suffering. Tens of millions of Chinese died of starvation. To change this, the government tried to increase the agricultural production and sent more than 26 million people back to rural areas between 1960 and 1963. These people were supposed to work in agricultural production or teach peasants to read and write. During the next great revolution in China’s history, the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), again between 14 to even 30 million young Chinese people were sent to the rural areas. This time they were sent back to be “reeducated” and learn about the harsh life in China’s rural back lands (McKinsey Global Institute, 2009, Friedmann, 2005).

Reform period

In 1978, the “open door policy” was initiated by the new Chinese leadership under Deng Xiaoping. Under this policy China underwent dramatic changes in urbanization and development. Through a strategy of gradualism, this new policy was implemented in coastal cities before it was adopted nationwide. Four Special Economic Zones (SEZs) were established in 1979, all close to Hong Kong and Taiwan. Massive foreign investment from overseas Chinese and the return of the youth who had been migrated out of the rural areas and later an influx of migrant labour made these SEZs an immediate success and made them grow rapidly (Xu and Li 1990). The industries developed around this time were the low-end manufacturing industries, that still cause Shenzhen and the Pearl River Delta to have the name ‘factory of the world’.

Rapid urbanization and industrial development

Since 1990 urbanization has accelerated dramatically in China. Where between 1950 and 1990 the level of urbanization increased with 3.6 percent, this was 5.5 between 1990 and 2005 (McKinsey Global Institute, 2009). Urbanization has gone hand in hand with economic development. Because foreign and domestic investments increased rapidly, urbanization also took place in a rapid pace. A large amount of the urbanization was the development of industrial areas. In 2001 China accessed into the World Trade Organization (WTO) “China expanded and deepened its economic integration with the global economy. This policy reaped large dividends for China, bringing investments, advanced technologies, and managerial expertise; opening the international market for China’s goods and services; and giving a boost to China’s internal economic reforms” (Worldbank, 2012)

Effects

These reforms and events lead currently to millions of rural-to-urban migrants every year, that makes China as one of the most “rapidly urbanizing regions in the world” (Huang et al, 2007). It is even estimated that “if current trends hold, nearly one billion people will live in urban centres by 2025” (McKinsey Global Institute, 2009). But next to urbanization, the reforms had also effect on other sides of the daily life of Chinese. Positively, the poverty rate fell from more than 65 percent to less than 10 percent (Worldbank, 2012), the enrolment rate for primary schools in China reached 99.4%, the consumption market is prosperous and the Chinese living standards have obviously been improved (UN-Habitat, 2010). Negatively, millions of migrants are being exploited (Ngai and Smith, 2007), the housing supply and demand contradiction is outstanding (UN-Habitat, 2010) and Chinese planners still have find a way for sustainable city planning (Friedmann, 2005), as well in city form as in institutional sense.

2.2. People: The hukou system

The hukou system is a social management system that ties benefits like health care, education and pensions to a person’s place of birth (Friedmann, 2005). This means that migrants, coming from the countryside but living in the city, “don’t have the same benefits as the urban residents” (The Wall Street Journal, 2013).

Effects hukou system

This system was established from 1951 onwards to restrict migration from rural areas to urban areas (McKinsey Global Institute, 2009). The effects of the system were and are that a “two-tier society” (Friedmann, 2007: 278) is created. Because migrant workers do not have the same benefits as the urban residents, this “significantly limits their participation in the labour market (...) “That is because without access to health care, pensions or education for their children in their host city, migrants must return to their hometowns to settle down and raise a family” (The Wall Street Journal, 2013).

1980: Reforms

Before 1980 this system was inviolate, but after China initiated its economic reforms and opened up the country, it enforced the hukou program to be less strict. Couples were no longer required to buy food. A worker without a Hukou was now able to find employment in a city - but was still not eligible for many services in that area including education and medical care” (McKinsey Global Institute, 2009: 54). This relaxation had as an effect that urbanization could take place, and took place at a massive extend.

Reforms continue

Currently these reforms continue. Last June for example, the National Development and Reform Commission of China argued that “the government should gradually tear down household registration obstacles to facilitate the orderly migration of people from rural to urban areas” (Xinhuanet, 2013). The main reason behind this relaxation is preparing the need for more consumerism in China. “China’s economy relies too much on investment and too little on consumer spending” (The Economist, 2010) and Chinese workers are only willing to spend if they are sure of a living in the city.

Only in small cities

The relaxation of the hukou however, will “be introduced from small cities to megacities gradually” (Businessweek, 2013). For this strategy is chosen because the fiscal burdens are lesser in smaller cities than in big cities and because the Chinese government wants to prevent China’s largest cities to grow even more. Different researchers, main actors in China and journalists argue though, that the impact of this reform will be limited, because the migrants prefer big cities with job opportunities over small cities (Businessweek, 2013, China Media Project, 2013) and argue therefore for the government to step up and help to cover the costs of major cities in China (The Wall Street Journal, 2013).

Shenzhen

Shenzhen has been experimenting with the hukou over the years, but with not too much result (China Labour Bulletin, 2008). The main problems for migrants in Shenzhen are that they are excluded from making use of unemployment insurance, birth insurance, education, affordable housing, and other public services (Zhai, 2012). Different theorists say however, that the abolishment of the hukou system could have a positive influence on migrant cities like Shenzhen (Cox, 2012, Yeung et al., 2009, Leong and Pratap, 2011) and could be needed to stimulate an economy focussed on services
and consumerism. Some have even argued that “Shenzhen may be again called upon to serve as a national laboratory, but this time as the country’s first special political zone, “in which political reforms (...) are tested before dissemination elsewhere in the country” (Yeung et al., 2009: 237).

**The experimental city Shenzhen**

With the introduction of the Special Economic Zone, the ‘new ruling class’ had already “decided not to go too fast and on a large scale without experimenting first and slowly on a small scale” (Leong and Pratap, 2011: 157). The next step could be, to go with testing social reforms in large cities, on a small scale. Not in whole cities, but in areas. Experimentation with the hukou reforms could happen slowly and on a small scale. Shenzhen could again be an experimental city for China.

2.3. Planning: The role of the government

The role of the government in the urbanization and industrialization of China is assumed to be large. The scale of the phenomenon is been so extensive that it is difficult to believe that also other factors have been playing a role. The McKinsey Global Institute believes that “it is certainly true that, in earlier years, the national government exerted significant influence on the balance between China’s countryside and its cities. Often, national policies had the effect of making urbanization relatively anaemic (...) In more recent times, central government has played a more enabling role” (McKinsey Global Institute, 2009: 58). The government did this through designate certain cities as Special Economic Zones to offer potential investor incentives and strategies as the China’s Great Western Development Strategy and the recent strategy to move 250 million people into cities (The New York Times, 2013)

The last 15 years though, have seen a change in China’s approach to urbanization. The power has decentralized. “Today, the decisive actors in China’s urbanization are city governments themselves” (McKinsey Global Institute, 2009: 58). City leaders have great freedom to develop their cities, which explains the differences in approaches cities use to face their problems.
2.4 Place: Shenzhen

Introduction
The city of Shenzhen is located on the south east coast of mainland China, north of the border with Hong Kong, and is part of the urban agglomeration known as the Pearl River Delta region, that is one of the largest and fastest growing urban areas in the world (Forbes, 2013). Compared to Amsterdam, Shenzhen is 10 times as big, has an estimated population 15 times as big and is more than twice as dense, making it the fifth most dense city in the world (Shenzhen Standard, 2012). An estimated 80% of the inhabitants of Shenzhen is migrant. The city has currently the 4th port in the world and over 150 international flights per week (Demographia, 2012).

Urbanization and industrialization in Shenzhen
In the 17th century the Qing Dynasty built defence towers in Bao’an and named one of them Shenzhen. “Probably because the area was criss-crossed by deep drains in the paddy fields (“shen” means “deep” and “zhen” means “drains”)” (Ng, 2003). Mee Kam Ng explains further:

“In 1911, when the Kowloon Canton Railway was built between Hong Kong and Guangzhou, a small station was set up in Shenzhen. After the setting up of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, Shenzhen, like the rest of the country, underwent a collectivization process in the 1950s and the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s and 1970s. These developments left Bao’an a destitute County. (…) In 1979, the city of Shenzhen was set up. In 1980, Shenzhen, together with Zhuhai, Shantou and Xiamen were designated as SEZs and they were entrusted with the following functions:

1. As a “window” for observing global trends in economic, scientific, technological, managerial and market developments.
2. As a “training ground” for talents in the Mainland.
3. As “experimenting ground” for reforms such as special economic management systems, flexible economic measures for enhancing economic cooperation and technology interflow between China and foreign countries (Shenzhen Museum, 1999, p 22).

These were formidable challenges for the local governments in the SEZs. For the first time in the history of the People’s Republic of China, a city level unit was entrusted with the task of running a local economy instead of just following investment decisions from central ministries” (Ng, 2003: 431).
After its creation, foreign direct investment (FDI) flooded into the city, "of which more than 70 percent came from Hong Kong, with a focus on low-value-added and labor-intensive manufacturing. From this base, Shenzhen rapidly industrialized (...) As the economy grew and the employment opportunities expanded, massive waves of migrants started flooding into the city. In 1980 the population was less than 100,000 people, but by 1992 Shenzhen had 2.33 million urban residents (McKinsey Global Institute, 2009: 260). The majority of these were young, women migrants (Cartier, 2002).

In 1992 thought, both land prices and labour costs were increasing and manufacturing companies started to move out to neighbouring cities. "The city decided that it needed to move up the value chain. It put considerable effort into boosting its financial sector, establishing the Shenzhen Stock Exchange in 1991, and into developing high-tech industries. (...) From 2000 to 2005 Shenzhen’s real GDP took off again (...). Three pillars of Shenzhen’s modern economy drove this robust expansion: high-tech services and manufacturing, financial services, and logistics" (McKinsey Global Institute, 2009: 260 - 261).

Currently authorities want Shenzhen to become a city with world class status (SDPB, 2002), but as the Third Master Layout Plan stresses, one with local characteristics. Shenzhen is according to several scholars an economic driven city, but is developing its strategies more and more with a focus on social and environmental issues as well (Ng and Tang, 2004).

The rapid urbanization and industrialization growth in Shenzhen is called ‘Shenzhen speed’ (Cartier, 2002), because it is unique in its magnitude. And it is not finished. Shenzhen’s population is projected to swell even more, making it a mega city (McKinsey Global Institute, 2009). The government officials and planners are positive though, and try to develop Shenzhen "into a city that they can be proud of" (Ng and Tang, 2004: 207).
3.

THEORY

In this chapter the research questions are dealt with from a theoretical perspective. An alternative planning approach will be researched, a closer look will go to the empowerment approach and the meaning of compounds through Chinese building history will be explained.
3.1. Planning – Think small

The focus of economy in Shenzhen is changing. While the authorities are still looking for a new identity for Shenzhen that can replace the ‘factory of the world’ image, the city coops with the problems of this economic change. Not only are many factory buildings left vacant after their factory left, also the former workers are often left behind unemployed, making both these areas and its residents vulnerable. The current redevelopment approaches of the authorities do not take into account all necessary scopes and scales and miss out on, for example, the local scale.

As an alternative method to deal with these vulnerable urban areas, different authors stress the possibility of intervening on a small scale. In 1973 Schumacher already states that every activity and intervention needs to be done on a different scale to be effective and that when you live in a poor environment, you should start with something small (Schumacher, 1973: 69-70). Friedmann continues with this statement that “it is only in the local community […] that “real” changes can be brought about” (Friedmann, 1987: 382). He also argues that in China particularly at the local level a process can start of “thoroughgoing reform of governance” (Friedmann, 2005: 116), an argument Flynn agrees upon when he says that in China “more local initiatives can be undertaken” (Flynn, 2009: 3). Furthermore, in 2009 UN-HABITAT concluded that “ideally, decisions on urban planning issues should be made as close as possible to those affected by them” (UN-HABITAT, 2009: 215) and should thus take place at a local level.

When intervening on a small scale could be an alternative planning method for factory areas in Shenzhen, how to make sure that these small projects have effect on a larger scale and a longer term? In other words, how to make these small scale urban interventions strategic? That is what this chapter will explore. First, different theories will be looked into on how to make small scale interventions strategic. Second, these approaches will be discussed. Third, the possibility of the different theories will be tested within the current planning system of China, to conclude with a method that could be used as an alternative planning method for redeveloping factory areas in Shenzhen.

3.1.1. What makes small scale projects strategic?

As many authors agree on the importance of intervening on a small scale, many more agree on the importance of making these interventions strategic. These strategic planning systems though, take many forms (Bryson, 2004 in Friedmann et al., 2004: 57). Four different methods of looking to strategic planning and how to make projects strategic are discussed below. Before the paper can look into these variables though, we need to understand what makes planning strategic. Louis Albrechts (2004) gives a definition where most authors agree upon.

“Strategic planning is centred on the elaboration of a mutually beneficial dialectic between top-down structural developments and bottom-up local uniqueness. […] Strategic planning is selective and oriented to issues that really matter. As it is impossible to do everything that needs to be done, ‘strategic’ implies that some decisions and actions are considered more important than others and that much of the process lies in making the tough decisions about what is most important for the purpose of producing fair, structural responses to problems, challenges, aspirations, and diversity. Strategic planning relates to implementation. Things must get done! […] Strategic spatial planning is not just a contingent response to wider forces, but is also an active force in enabling change” (Albrechts, 2004: 751 - 752).

In other words, strategic planning according to Albrechts is selective in issues to
address, is somewhere within the collaboration of top-down and bottom-up processes and is focussed on action and enabling change. This is a clear definition, but too broad to use for a methodology. The authors discussed further on, have gone deeper and more specific into this definition and have given their own interpretations of it.

**Healey: collaborative planning**

Healey (1997, 2003), Carter (2000) and Hall (1997) agree on the need for a long-term strategic framework. Hall starts from the perception that small initiatives have lower effect on a larger scale when they work in isolation. He states that strategic linkages and partnerships between local initiatives are needed to make projects effective on a long term and on a city-wide level (Hall, 1997). Next to this, he states that before a project starts, it has to take a view "within the wider context of a vision for the city-region as a whole" (Hall, 1997: 886). Healey (1997) continues on the importance of involvement and a longer-view perspective.

"(...) planning processes need to work in ways which interrelate technical and experiential knowledge and reasoning, which can cope with a rich array of values, penetrating all aspects of the activity and which involve active collaboration between experts and officials in governance agencies and all those with a claim for attention arising from the experience of co-existence in shared places" (Healey, 1997: 87).

In other words, collaborative planning according to Healey tries to involve all sectors of society into the planning process through dialogue, negotiation and consensus (Friedmann, 2008), which makes this process as inclusive as possible. She focuses in her research especially on governmental processes within planning institutions and how to change them (Healey, 2003). Healey concludes that a long-term strategic framework is essential. She agrees with Rein and Schon that a framework should have "conceptual coherence, a direction for action, a basis for persuasion, and a framework for the collection and analysis of data" (Rein and Schon, 1993: 153).

According to Carter, this framework in favour of emergent processes. He need both "(Carter, 2000: 38). A vision can be part of this process, and can be important because it "captures the attention of others and organises their actions" (Healey, 2007: VIII).

**Friedmann: strategic issue management in scenario’s**

Friedmann suggests that strategic planning should shift from mainly making plans to a focus on strategic issue management and more on helping produce decisions and actions, especially for Chinese coastal cities.

"What is being argued for here is a locally based, in-depth exploration of strategic issues of urban development under different sets of assumptions or ‘scenarios’ as a way to assess potential outcomes and their effect on local populations, the economy and the ecology of cities. It is a way of probing the future in order to make more intelligent and informed decisions in the present." (Friedmann et al, 2004: 56).

In other words, Friedmann focuses on making different perspectives for the future for strategic problems that have no best solutions. He suggests that the emphasis in Chinese coastal cities should be shifted away from plans to planning studies, which would "then become part of a wider planning discourse about the future of city-regions by involving sectors of civil society in the debate" (Friedmann et al, 2004: 55).

**De Meulder et al.: projects of projects**

De Meulder, Loeckx and Shannon propose in their essay “a project of projects” a planning form including visions and actions forming together a strategic way of intervening.

According to them:

“visions generate a general, open and flexible development strategy and frame social commitments which strive to enlarge the civic realm, to enrich the urban culture and create new, sustainable urban space; they are premised upon attractive long-term perspectives and the structuring of the city as a whole. (...) Strategic actions and projects confront visions with a specific context or the realities of urban life and development: a real site, a concrete problematic, actual programmes, limited resources, actors in flesh and blood with tangible interests and legitimate (or other) concerns” (De Meulder et al., 2004: 187 - 188).

These strategic urban projects are characterized by that they make a fundamental difference, that they have the capacity to link, mediate and organise multiple actions and actors and that they are feasible, visible and innovative. The abstraction of visions allows them to adapt to changes. Both projects and visions are created by urbanists and architects. Through communication and debate these visions become layered, enriched and substantiated (De Meulder et al., 2004). According to Joan Busquets, each of these “projects must have the ambition to constitute a partial contribution to a consistent overall strategy. The formulation of this wider strategy can be considered a project in itself. This wider strategy is what Busquets has called a ‘project of projects’, a concrete demonstration of the way in which local projects can be part of a wider constellation of projects” (CalaBreSe, 2011: 3).

**Hamdi: backward reasoning and emerging structures**

Nabeel Hamdi (2004, 2010) builds his ideas in ‘Small Change’ and ‘The placemakers’ guide to building community’ on the theories of Fritjof Capra (2002). Capra stresses the importance of both designed structures and emergent structures. Designed structures provide stability, rules and routines for an organization to work and emergent structures provide novelty, creativity and flexibility. The issue is not one of discarding designed structures in favour of emergent ones. We need both” (Capra, 2003: 121). According to Hamdi strategic means a trigger for emergence. Urban actions should be a trigger for building new partnerships, which could emerge as a network in the city. These urban actions should be small because “the closer one is to the source of the problem, the greater is one’s ability to influence it” (Hamdi, 2010: 157). His method he explains as followed:

“Starting small and starting where it counts, we build up the larger plan for social enterprise and good governance based on new forms of mutual engagement, a network of community-based partners in (urban issues). These larger plans will certainly need evaluation, on the basis of which options for implementation will appear and which will need analysis. (...)The process is cyclical and is more likely to lead us to a policy environment which is at once connected to issues on the ground and which facilitates emergence, which is enabling. It provides a framework of standards, legal structures and partnerships for mutualisation and puts into practice the idea of network governance” (Hamdi, 2004: 105 - 106).

Small scale urban projects, based on specific issues, involving multiple stakeholders are thus the start. These small projects should be able to “serve as a catalyst for achieving longer term more strategic objectives, to tackle constraints and scale it all up” (Hamdi, 2010: 165) and should have a trigger for emergence. The urban planner has a central role in this theory, because of his/her initiating, negotiating and implementing role. When implemented, these projects need evaluation to finally lead to effective network governance. This evaluation can be done by different actors. This kind of governance is "an inside-out structure of social organizations and enterprises held together by well-
3.1.2. Discussion

It can be understood that the different theorists don’t agree completely on each other’s methods. On what issues they agree and disagree can be red here.

Common thinking
All authors are within the tradition of the communicative model. According to Fainstein, “within communicative theory, the planner’s primary function is to listen to people’s stories and assist in forging a consensus among differing viewpoints” (Fainstein, 2000: 454). They agree thus on the importance of the negotiating part of planning and involving (local) people within the planning process. Second, all authors agree upon the importance of the existence and collaboration between scales and the importance of having a long-term perspective. “Small may be beautiful but big is necessary and inevitable” (Hamdi, 2004: 139). Third, almost all authors agree upon an evaluation, reflection and/or confrontation moment between the small and the larger scale. Fourth, adaptiveness to change, i.e. flexibility, of all aspects of the planning process is seen as an important factor. Last, authors agree pretty much how local plans should look like. Local plans should be focused on implementation and action, they should be focused on critically selected specific issues, they should be focused on a short to medium-term perspective and they should be build on partnerships or partnerships should emerge from them.

Different thinking: the start of the planning process
The biggest differences between the authors are in the first place on what scale they start their planning process from. Healey and De Meulder et al. start from a high scale. Healey starts from the perspective of institutions, and tries from there to build a robust inclusive planning process. De Meulder though, starts from a designer’s perspective with the formulation of a vision with a long-term perspective and on a large scale. Friedmann and Hamdi start from a local perspective. Friedmann argues that a strategic planning process should start with specific issues and locally-based studies. Hamdi, on the other hand, starts with listening to people and their specific problems and visions.

The discussion on where to start goes into two directions. First, Hamdi argues that a city plan made from a single, large-scale vision cannot produce a good city plan. His main point is that a vision should be multiple, made by people on the ground and created by multiple issues. Friedmann’s main critique on starting at a larger scale is that it is ineffective because by the time plans are completed from these visions, things have already changed. The main critique on the approach of Friedmann and Hamdi, with starting with local studies and plans, comes from Albrechts (2004). He argues that the heart of planning is creating ‘willed’ futures: “a future and place we want to live in” (Albrechts, 2004 in Friedmann et al., 2004: 63). In his opinion it is important to start with the current conditions, but it is also important to focus on the future.

Different thinking: the final product of the planning process
Second, the authors disagree on the final product of the planning process. Healey and Friedmann do not focus on making plans but more on the political meaning of the final product: an institutional change. Friedmann states that the goal of strategic planning is not necessarily to produce a plan, but to help produce decisions and actions that shape and guide what an organization is and what it does. “Sometimes plans help, but often issue analyses, visionary statements, dialogue, discussion or something else is more important” (Bryson, 2004 in Friedmann et al., 2004: 57). The final product according to De Meulder et al. and Hamdi is a city plan made up of small, networked interventions. Hamdi is very clear in how these interventions are able to network: by the people involved in them.

The main critique within this discussion is that the final product is not always an effective communication tool. Balducci states that a strategic plan, instead of the strategic studies argued by Friedmann, has an important symbolic character. It can be an understandable communication tool and an effective process of involving different stakeholders with different status and different powers into the planning process (Balducci, 2004 in Friedmann et al., 2004). The same critique Hamdi’s approach gets.
3.4 The position of small strategic projects in China within the theoretical discussion

Not having one single vision creates difficulties in “steering urban development” (De Meulder et al., 2004: 187). The strength of the approach of De Meulder et al. is that both plans and visions can be effective communication tools in holding all stakeholders together and in communicating to all of them where the city is going to.

3.5 Proposed planning approach

When testing the effectiveness of the different theories in Shenzhen, China, the contextual background of the different theorists is very important. Healey and De Meulder et al. argue from a western perspective and a more or less reliable and effective planning system. Especially in the case of Healey this is clear, when she argues for a collaborative approach on a high institutional level. This could be possible in some Western countries, but is at this moment not realistic for China. Also the approach of De Meulder et al. meets some problems within the Chinese planning system because it also build on an effective planning system. Thereby it is not said that visions cannot work in China, but the process of making them and actors involved in creating them could be reconsidered.

Hamdi’s theories are mainly focused on planning in developing countries. He argues that if a country does not have an effective planning system, small changes can be an alternative planning method because these projects do not necessarily rely on the planning system. In China though, not all locations are possible for these small changes. Very strategic locations where real estate developers are fighting for development options could be unsuitable. But vulnerable location, as factory areas, with low educated, vulnerable people, could be suitable for these small change interventions. In Hamdi’s approach the urban planner has a key role. Wu (2012), arguing a new planning approach for urban redevelopment in China, agrees with this role. In his vision the urban planner should play the role of coordinator to organize negotiations throughout the various planning stages to establish an open, equitable and transparent negotiation platform (Wu, 2012).

Friedmann is the only one of the theorists focusing especially on Chinese coastal cities, as Shenzhen, and argues that studies instead of plans should be an outcome. Chinese coastal cities should in the first place increase their knowledge on their cities and universities and research institutions can play an important role herein. This is understandable, because of the current Chinese planning problems discussed earlier. The critiques on his approach though, are also in the Chinese context valid. Plans can be a better communication tool than studies.

An alternative planning method for Shenzhen

When testing the effectiveness of the different theories in Shenzhen, China, the contextual background of the different theorists is very important. Healey and De Meulder et al. argue from a western perspective and a more or less reliable and effective planning system. Especially in the case of Healey this is clear, when she argues for a collaborative approach on a high institutional level. This could be possible in some Western countries, but is at this moment not realistic for China. Also the approach of De Meulder et al. meets some problems within the Chinese planning system because it also build on an effective planning system. Thereby it is not said that visions cannot work in China, but the process of making them and actors involved in creating them could be reconsidered.

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Working with small strategic projects in Shenzhen

My interpretation of how the small scale strategic projects can be used as an alternative planning strategy for factory areas in Shenzhen is a combination of the different theories and their critiques. Sandercock argues that in an urban world changes can come from “a thousand tiny empowerments” rather than from revolutionary adventures (Sandercock, 1998: 129-159).

As Friedmann interprets this: “big changes often come from an accumulation of many small ones” (Friedmann, 2008: 25). In figure 2 my position within the previous discussion is shown, and this position will be explained in this part of the paper.

In my opinion, Friedmann has a point with universities and research institutions playing a more important role in the planning process in China. They can build up and spread knowledge from different urban processes. I agree with Hamdi and Wu that planners have the role of formulating specific projects which address specific problems and with Hamdi and De Meulder et al. that these projects should be formed through partnerships. In general, I agree with Healey and Friedmann that debates and discussions can be key elements in knowledge transfer and in forming ideas and shaping cities.

3.1.4. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to look how and if small strategic projects can be used as an alternative planning approach in China. It can be concluded that these projects can be an alternative approach, however they should not be seen “in opposite on approaches that work with master plans or processes that depend on mandates from the decision-makers on a larger scale, as it is a partial approach that should work along with other practices, and not necessarily replace them […]” (Andersson, 2012: 107). As Nadin states, “there are no simple conclusions for planning […]” (Nadin, 2007: 49) and that is also here the case. In my view, partnerships could be formed around a diversity of projects, that together facilitate an effect for emergence and together improve an area at all scales.
3.2. People - Empower!

When a factory leaves, it leaves behind buildings and former workers. What could be an alternative strategy to deal with these people? How to empower them, so that they can continue to build up their lives? That question is tried to be answered in this section.

3.2.1. Introduction

When a factory leaves, some of the migrants have the choice to move with the factory, but most of them go home to their village (The Guardian, 2009, Worldbank, 2009) or stay in the city (Chan, 2010). When the migrants go back to their village, many of them decide after a year to return to the city (Pai, 2012, Want China Times, 2012) coming there without home or work. When the former workers decide to stay in the city after their factory left, some of them get a new job, but many of them stay unemployed (Yeung et al., 2009, Golquhoun, 2012). This makes unemployment rates especially increasing since the financial crisis of 2008 (Chan, 2010, Worldbank, 2009). On the other hand, Chinese cities increasing lack good skilled workers what will “pose a serious threat to China’s aspiration to move quickly toward increasingly higher-value-added economic activity” (McKinsey Global Institute, 2009: 23).

The municipality has to react to these problems and does so in various ways. First, they encouraged jobless migrants to go back home. An example is the campaign ‘back to the village to construct the new countryside’ as a reaction to the huge lay-off in August 2008 (Chan, 2010). Another reaction is to force migrants to go back home. In 2010 the Shenzhen’s vice mayor and police chief suggested that migrants, who are three months or more unemployed, are forced to leave Shenzhen (Weinland, 2010). On their website thought, the municipality of Shenzhen states that they helped 49,000 people to find jobs by the end of 2010 (Shenzhen municipality, 2012). This effort of the Chinese government and local authorities to re-educate laid-off workers on a very big scale is confirmed by different scholars (Schucher, 2009, Solinger, 2006, Chan, 2010).

In recent years, the focus of the Chinese government has been on attempts to create new jobs, to develop labour-intensive industries and small and medium-sized firms, to promote the non-public (or private) sector, and to encourage the tertiary sector, plus offering occupational training” (Solinger, 2006: 187). This is an effective approach, but is coping with difficulties. In the first place, the employees who benefit from this treatment are mainly the once from the big firms, because those are the once whose “high expectations from the state would have been most seriously damaged” (Solinger, 2006: 187). Second, there are serious signs of “misappropriation of training funds by local officials” (Chan, 2010: 669). In other words, the municipality ignores these problems, or feels completely responsible and tries to solve them in a very top-down, high scale approach or focuses on job creation, but none of these approaches have been so far truly effective (Chan, 2010).

The migrants in cities cause thus different problems in the eyes of the municipality as unemployment and criminality, but, as many scholars and increasingly PR agencies argue, they also provide many opportunities for a city as Shenzhen. They contributed in Guangdong province up to 25% GDP growth per annum (Flynn, 2009) and are important for the open identity of Shenzhen. “Its people come from all over China and many parts of the world. Here, eastern and western cultures and ideas blend and inspire each other. It is now a melting point of creativity that has formed a diverse and unique Shenzhen culture” (NewlandPR, 2012).

A different reaction to the unemployment and the need for skilled workers is possible. The upgrading of the workforce might indeed be the better policy response (Bloom et al., 2012), but the approach of the Chinese government can be focused on more issues and in a less top-down way (Flynn, 2009). Next to that, the ‘workforce’ in this case is the laid-off migrant group. This is a very vulnerable group, coping with economic, social
3.2.2. What is empowerment?

The term empowerment can be understood in very different ways, very often linked to the culture it is used in (Qu and Hasselaar, 2011). In this thesis empowerment is understood as “a construct that links individual strengths and competencies, natural helping systems, and proactive behaviours to matters of social policy and social change. It is thought to be a process by which individuals gain mastery or control over their own lives and democratic participation in the life of their community” (Zimmerman and Rappaport, 1988: 726). It can allow people to think “beyond daily survival and to exercise greater control over both their resources and life choices” (GSIDRC, 2012). This explanation can still be interpreted in many different ways. To be more specific, my interpretation is explained below.

Strategies to promote empowerment can be broadly divided into structure (focused on laws, policies or institutions) and agency approaches (Tucker and Ludi, 2012). In this master thesis it is chosen to focus on agency approaches because these are the once which can be used most in a spatial way. Agency approaches “focus on enabling the marginalized to drive change for themselves. This includes enhancing their ability to participate in decision making, supporting them to access skills, resources and markets, facilitating collective action, building confidence and raising awareness of rights” (Tucker and Ludi, 2012: 7). In the following section it will be tried to give a summary for possible options for Chinese migrants in Shenzhen to be empowered.

Economic empowerment

“Economic opportunities are at the heart of pro-poor growth and empowerment” (Tucker and Ludi, 2012) and economic opportunities are mainly created through the improvement of education, increasing the amount of skills and job creation. This will be explained in this section.

Education - Education is the most important determinant of economic advancement” (Rawlings et al., 2007: 10). Wang and Wu argue in their research on migrant workers in Shenzhen that “the importance of educational attainment as a crucial determinant of migrant income points to human capital as the key to a successful career in a modern economy (Wang and Wu, 2010: 1466). Since less than 65% of the migrants in Shenzhen did not get higher education than junior high (Wang and Wu, 2010), this can be seen as a key point for empowering migrant workers. From another perspective, Bloom et al. (2012) argue that education can also be of major importance to drive the, current weak (Lim, 2012, Florida, 2012), creative sectors in China, and that the upgrading of displaced workers can be a great opportunity.

Job training combined to job creation - In her research on relevant skills and knowledge for informal workers, Limatainen argues that “the development of relevant skills and knowledge a major instrument for improved productivity, better working conditions, and the promotion of decent work is in the informal economy. (...) New skills and knowledge can open doors to more economically and socially rewarding jobs. Basic life skills, such as numeracy and literacy, problem-solving and management, communication and negotiation skills, improve confidence and capacity to explore

and try new income-earning opportunities” (Limatainen, 2002). These kind of trainings though, should always be combined with the creation or possibility of jobs (Tucker and Ludi, 2012). Last, specific and local research has to be done to find which skills and what knowledge is needed to empower these migrant groups in Shenzhen (Limatainen, 2002).

Public services - Within economic empowerment, equal accessibility of public services is of a major importance because “people may be unable to take advantage of new opportunities if they face extreme poverty, physical insecurity or poor health, or lack basic education. Equitable access to public services for excluded groups is therefore critical for empowerment and poverty reduction” (Tucker and Ludi, 2012: 8).

Social empowerment

Social empowerment is understood as a combination of self-acceptance and self-confidence, social and political understanding, and the ability to develop a sense of autonomy (GSIDRC, 2012). Zimmerman and Rappaport show how this sense of empowerment can be developed. “One way (...) is to become involved in decisions that affect community life (...) Psychological empowerment may develop more readily from activities aimed at influencing political decision making, but involvement with others, increased responsibility, and organisational problem solving are also expected to contribute to one’s sense of empowerment. (...) Citizen participation is broadly defined as involvement in any organized activity in which the individual participates without pay in order to achieve a common goal” (Zimmerman and Rappaport, 1988: 726). Social empowerment can thus be achieved in many ways, however, it is important that individual persons are actively involved and responsible in group processes. This may be a new experience for many migrant workers in Shenzhen, but also a great opportunity for them.

“Psychological empowerment may develop more readily from activities aimed at influencing political decision making, but involvement with others, increased responsibility, and organisational problem solving are also expected to contribute to one’s sense of empowerment” (Zimmerman and Rappaport, 1988: 726).

Equity

Economical and social empowerment need an equal environment to make them possible. Tucker and Ludi explain this correlation very clear when they argue that “equity and empowerment are intimately linked. A focus on equity also means a focus on justice and power, because inequities both derive from, and serve to maintain, underlying power imbalances. Elite that benefit from inequitable laws and practices tend to use their greater power to defend the status quo, while poor and marginalized people are relatively powerless to demand fairer treatment or hold institutions to account. Approaches to tackling inequity must therefore involve efforts to promote empowerment of the poor and marginalized so that they are better equipped to make such demands” (Tucker and Ludi, 2012: 5). Hasselaar and Qu argue that “participation is needed in a true democratic society, where it supports empowerment of people and stimulates active citizenship and steps taken from providing information to facilitating communication and finally cooperation and co-production (Qu and Hasselaar, 2011: 13).

Equity is thus very important to support empowerment. However, in a society like China, where democracy, participation and equity are different understood, this is a difficult point. One example of this difficulty is the hukou system. As argued before, this system causes great unfair situations in Chinese cities. To make social and economic empowerment of migrants possible though, equal cities have to be the starting point (Flynn, 2009). With the Hukou system still active, empowerment is hardly possible.
Currently, “hukou system restriction on labour mobility are gradually vanishing” (Friedmann, 2005: 75) and different scholars argue the positive influence on a migrant city as Shenzhen when it would abolish the hukou system (Cox, 2012; Yeung et al., 2009; Leong and Pratap, 2011). In this thesis it is therefore recommended to repeal the hukou system, if only in Shenzhen to make this zone again an experimental city. In the words of Justin Li, the principal of the Institute of Chinese Economics, Shenzhen could be a great place to start the first “Special Political Zone” of China (Li, 2010a).

In this thesis it is therefore recommended to repeal the hukou system, if only in Shenzhen to make this zone again an experimental city.

3.2.3. Empowerment as an alternative approach in Shenzhen

When testing the possibility of empowerment as an alternative approach to deal with vulnerable social groups, attention has to be paid to the local circumstances in Shenzhen. It is already argued that the hukou system has to change to make empowerment possible, making this approach difficult for current implementation in Shenzhen. Next to that, attention has to be paid on how empowerment is going to start. Almost all scholars agree that empowerment is effective when also started at a local level. “More local initiatives can be undertaken in the communities of these migrant workers” (Flynn, 2009: 3). By providing public services, migrants can be encouraged and empowered to establish more services themselves and develop by doing that migrants’ self help organizations (Flynn, 2009). However, these “bottom-up agency-based approaches in isolation seldom lead to real change in power relations or to more equitable and accountable governance” (Tucker and Ludi, 2012: 17). These approaches have to be interlinked and linked to higher levels of governance to be truly effective.

3.2.4. Conclusion

My interpretation of how empowerment can work as an alternative approach for vulnerable groups in Shenzhen focuses on how, in this case, migrants can drive change for themselves. This can be done through economic and social empowerment that means to improve the access to education, resources and improving skills and building up confidence through public participation and collective action. This is not a change of the political system, because this participation will happen on a small scale.

Equal environment

<table>
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3.3. Place - Compounds in China

The goal of this chapter is to develop a better understanding of compounds in China and Shenzhen. Compound structures have been very influential throughout the centuries in China and have been playing different roles. This chapter explains the form of these compounds and how this form affects the city. Next to that it tries to give more understanding of the governance models that were involved with the creation and management of these compound structures.

Five compounds are analysed through history. Two historical models: the traditional Chinese courtyard house and the danwei and three current models: the urban village, the Xiaoqu and the factory compounds. In end, these compounds are compared to basic rules of urban development. Out of this comparison some conclusions can be drawn.

3.3.1. Traditional Chinese cities and the courtyard house

The courtyard house has been centuries the basic unit of cities in China. Especially during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) the courtyard house was widely used, from the emperor to the normal people, everybody lived in a courtyard house. The typical courtyard house was a group of open spaces, enclosed by one-story buildings (Xu, 1998). The courtyard is designed according different ideas, and follows the principles of hierarchy, slow harmony, nature as identity and sees the family as unity.

Background information

Concept - Confucian moral order

Main idea - Each individual acts and lives within a strong social hierarchy

Spatial form compound - The design of the courtyard house is deeply influenced by feng-shui, both physically and socially. This system, developed through thousands of years, was “used for attracting good luck”(Xu, 1998: 272). The major goal of feng-shui is to find a way to live in harmony with the world around you. A very important element within the feng-shui system is Qi, which is the vital, positive energy that brings health, peace and luck (Xu, 1998: 272). Feng-shui had a deeply impact on the form of Chinese cities (Miao, 1990).

According to this system, not only the design of the compound is important, but also the site chosen for a city, settlement or compound. The typical courtyard house was a group of open spaces, enclosed by one-story buildings (Xu, 1998). “According to ancient feng-shui texts, mountains are Yin, while water is Yang; the solid is Yin and the void is Yang. In an ideal feng-shui site, an open space (Yang) is enfolded by surrounding mountains (Yin)” (Xu, 1998: 273). This means practically that there should be for example a mountain in the north of the site and a river at the south.

For the house there are many principles involved as that there should be a courtyard in the middle of the house, the master bedroom in the north, three rooms at each site of the house, you should enter the compound from the south east and you should move through the compound as a meandering river.

Functions - The function of traditional courtyard houses was housing.

Governance - According to Friedmann (2005), the civil society of urban China was well organized from the Song dynasty onwards. The government left the...
governance of cities mainly to these organizations who took responsibility for the
general welfare. “In urban settlements, local elites, organized into federations of
trade, craft, temple, neighbourhood, and native place associations, provided the
necessary arrangements for governance, including dispute resolution, policing,
charity work, public health, the construction and/or maintenance of urban
infrastructure, outfitting of a militia in turbulent times, and more” (Friedmann,
2005: 7). Rowe speaks of the existence of an “articulated public sphere” (Rowe,
1992: 10) when he shows the example of nineteenth-century Hankou.

Planned by - Courtyard houses were planned and built by private families.

Effects on the city - Chinese cities tended to have “an orthogonal, symmetrical
network such as a “+,” “T,” or “#” grid, with a street network orientated from north
to south. The administrative centre, the yamen and the most important area of
the city, was often located near the crossing point of the “+” or “T” grid (Miao,
1990). Jin (1993) argues that these centres lacked, compared to European cities,
a public square or other open spaces for public activities. “Because of the feudal,
autocratic political system of ancient China, the populace had no basic rights to
participate in government and political affairs” (Jin, 1993: 32). Instead of central
public spaces, most activities took spontaneously place along streets. Along
these streets, some smaller public spaces were located “at nodes along the street/
canal, such as at the ends of a bridge or in front of a temple” (Miao, 1990: 39) or
in front of courtyards. These compound often had as only function housing, but
especially in the late dynasties, workplaces were spread all over the city, which
increased the amount of mixed functions through the city.

Principles
Out of literature, four main principles hierarchy, family as unity, slow harmony
and nature as identity are identified (Xu and Yang, 2009, Nijveldt, 2012, Miao,
chapter.

Hierarchy - The Confucian philosophy who promoted social hierarchy was
promoted by authorities. “Each individual was supposed to behave according
to the rite of propriety and remain in their own rightful position defined by a
social hierarchy” (Wang, 2012). This had as an effect on cities it was very clear
what the hierarchy of streets, open spaces and buildings was. The open spaces
used by the inhabitants of the city were therefore small and situated next to
neighbourhood roads (Miao, 1990, Xu and Yang, 2009) and inside the courtyard
houses (Xu, 2000). The principle of hierarchy had a strong effect on the design of
these houses because it was the base of who could use certain spaces and who
could not (Wang, 2012).

Family as collective - The family has been for centuries the most important entity
of Chinese society. Within this family an extremely strict pyramidal structure
existed (Xu, 1998). The patriarch stood at the head of the family and should
know everything that was going on in the household (Pellow, 1993). This meant
for most family members that they had no privacy (Wang, 2012). Pellow (1993)
argues that in traditional Chinese there was even no word for privacy (Pellow,
1993, Xu, 1998) but that Confucius certainly distinguished the private and the
public sphere as to be different. He only made a difference between the “inside
group”, the family, and the “outside group”, the rest of the city (Pellow, 1993). This
caused the inside of most courtyards to be warm and colourful, while it made the
outside of most courtyard compounds consisting of grey walls, mostly without
windows (Xu and Yang, 2009). The family lived in the courtyard as a collective.
Collective facilities in the courthouse were for example the guest hall, a reading
room, a tea room, a private classroom, an eating room and a central void (Wang,
2012).

Slow harmony - In China, each individual building should be seen “as an integral
element of a larger composition in which it performed its functions in harmony
with other elements” (Xu, 2000: 171). This harmony can be achieved by a “process
by which people modify their environment bit by bit according to the feeling
of their bodies and minds” (Miao, 1990: 43). According the Chinese traditional
philosophy, people “tended to view the world in a perceptual and intuitive way”
(Miao, 1990: 43). The process could take a long time before it could achieve
harmony and it often resulted in “the orbits of walled expansion overlapping
each other over time which led to discontinuous city development” (Jin, 1993:
33).

Nature as identity - Because of the Zhou Li and other Confucian doctrines, there
was a whole set of rules aiming at creating all over China harmonious and
hierarchical cities. This caused Chinese cities to be very homogeneous. “Inevitably,
the identity of each traditional city in Southeast China could only be created with
limited means: the overall topography and the number and location of temple
towers” (Miao, 1990: 46).
3.3.2. The idea of collectivism: The Danwei

Around the 1950s and 1960s the history of factory compounds start in China when the first danwei’s were being built under Mao’s guidance (Bray, 2012). In the context of this master thesis the historical context of these structures is shown. Danwei’s “were once seen as the pinnacle of modern living, the pride of those who lived in them and the envy of those who did not; for they housed ‘new masters of society’ (Bray, 2012: 5)

“Spatially, the danwei was a walled compound organized around a state-owned enterprise or other institution (educational, research, or administrative)” (Friedmann, 2005: 102). A danwei “provided employment, housing, education, health care, welfare services and recreation for workers and their families” (Bray, 2012: 3) and was by doing so the “organizer of the daily life of its employees” (Hui, 2012: 66). “From cradle to grave, people would have little reason ever to leave the walled domain of the danwei” (Friedmann, 2005: 102). Bray argues that it is not a great exaggeration to say that the danwei was the foundation of urban China. “It was the source of employment and material support for the majority of urban residents” (Bray, 2012: 5). In the mid-1980s, when urban reform began, over 90 per cent of the urban workforce belonged to a work unit (Bray, 2006a). It is thus not strange, that this model of compound has been very influential in the way factory compounds are still build. The compound functioned as a city within a city, and was developed according the main principles the collective life, hierarchy and social equality.

**Background information**

**Concept - Collectivism**

**Main idea -** To be a machine for the production of loyal, proletarian workers

**Spatial form compound -** This socialist collective lifestyle was spatially designed in three scales. “At the most basic level of collectivity, every three to five families shared toilets and kitchens within each basic housing unit (danyuan). At the next level, each two to three buildings shared facilities like laundries, bicycle sheds and open space for recreation. Finally at the danwei level, all residents shared facilities like canteens, medical clinics, bath houses, meeting halls, sports grounds, kindergartens, primary schools etc” (Bray, 2006b: 7). There was thus a very clear relationship between space and the daily life of the people, between space and power.

**Functions -** Factories, low rise housing, social, cultural and recreational facilities

**Governance -** According to Bray (2006) the danwei unit has been a long time the basic unit of governance in urban China, because it “encompassed the social, economic and political life its resident members”(Bray, 2006b). Large scale danwei’s were almost always top-down planned, directly invested by the central government spatial units. The local governments had almost no influence on their appearance and governance. According to Bray “This gave rise to one of the most significant peculiarities of Chinese socialism: cities that were collections of independent workplace-based communities, rather than integrated urban environments”(Bray, 2006b: 5). This independency was spatially market by a high wall, enclosing the danwei. Danwei’s were designed according similar blueprints that first tried to “symbolize, and reproduce in miniature, the order of the socialist state; and secondly, [...] promote a socialist collectivized lifestyle amongst its resident members”(Bray, 2006b: 5).

**Planned by -** Central government
3.3.3. The idea of the collective company: The urban village

Urban villages first became prevalent in Shenzhen and Guangzhou and then became a reality in other Chinese coastal cities as well (Hao et al., 2011). An urban village is somewhere in between the urban-rural division in China. This has strong effects on its management. In China, urban land is owned by the state while rural land is collectively owned by the rural communities (Hao et al., 2011). When urban extensions encircle a rural, traditional village, the farmland is often transferred from rural to urban land. In this transaction the village collective gets financially compensated by the governmental authority. Because this transaction is becoming very high if also the village land is transferred, most village land stays rural. This means that this land is not under control of the state, but stays under the control of the village collective.

When an urban village is compensated for agricultural land annexed by the state, local villagers get enough financial means to start developing their houses. In most urban villages they started to replace traditional houses for concrete houses with more stores to rent extra rooms to migrant workers. In order to control the construction of these new villages, the government passed a policy in 1982 to define and control illegal construction (Shenzhen Municipal Government, 1982). "The maximum residential land area for each household was stipulated at 150 m², and the house footprint for each household should be no more than 80 m²" (Hao et al., 2011: 217). This regulation resulted in urban villages with very rigid grid structures, leaving public space out. Through time, the urban villages have developed to even more intense constructions, with buildings up to 18 floors, facing each other with one meter in between. The villages were developed with the idea of a collective organization, regulated informal development and diversity on housing level.

Background information

Concept - Regulated, informal development, dual characteristics

Main idea - The main idea behind the urban village is twofold. In the first place, the urban village is an area to live in for its residents, but in the second place it has developed as an area where its original inhabitants can make profit out of. This gives the urban village a dual character.

Spatial form compound - The urban village is a very common urban form in Shenzhen and cities in China, while its precise function and form can differ a bit according its location. Urban villages are rural villages which are encroached by urban development. The urban village is called chengzhongcun in Chinese, and means literally “village encircled by the city” (Liu et al., 2010). Urban villages are high dense neighbourhoods, mainly built by individual villager households and are preliminary inhabited by migrants. “The urban village is characterized overall by narrow roads, face-to-face buildings, a thin strip of sky, and inner streets packed with shops, grocery stores and service outlets” (Liu et al., 2010: 136). The areas are unplanned and lack public goods making them very different from other neighbourhoods in Chinese cities (Wu et al., 2012).

In an urban village the main residents are migrants and for a very small part the original villagers. These migrants pay rent to the villagers, ensuring the main income of the villagers and making them “rich and privileged” (Hao et al., 2011: 221). This while the migrants are mostly low-income and low-educated and have low-income jobs. Because of this big difference, these two groups hardly interact with each other.

Functions - Housing, commercial, recreational

Governance - In Shenzhen, the urban village is managed by the residents’ committee.
committee, replacing the village collective since 1992, and a Joint Stock Company, or village holding company. More about the residents’ committee and the Joint Stock Company can be read in the analysis - people part of this master thesis.

Planned by - Villagers

Effects on the city - The urban village creates enclaves of high density, low quality housing areas. The effect on the city differs a bit from the location of the urban village. Most urban villages are not walled, but because of the small streets are hardly accessible and act as a result like an alternative compound. The urban village has some mixed function areas with commercial and recreational functions, but the vast majority consists of housing. This homogeneous function makes the urban village dependent of other parts of the city.

Principles

Out of literature, three main principles are formulated: the collective organizations, regulated informal development and diversity (Li, 2010b, Liu et al., 2010, Ngeow, 2010, Hao et al., 2011, Wu et al., 2012).

Collective organization - The Joint Stock Company is a great example of the self-organization of citizens in China. This company takes responsibility, initiative and is completely managed by villagers. The downside of the Joint Stock Company is that only the villagers are included, and not the migrants living also in the urban villages.

Regulated informal development - The urban village is the result of a set of rules, decided by the central government. The villagers gave themselves their own interpretation of these rules, making the urban village a regulated informal development.

Diversity - Within the urban village, many different rooms and houses can be rent. This creates diversity in the offer of rooms, which can be seen in the size and the location of the houses.
After the death of Mao, Deng Xiaoping started the reform period. When the economic reform period started under his guidance, also the danwei system started to reform. The Chinese planned socialism gave more economic independency and, together with the housing policy reforms, from 1998 onwards state owned enterprises were forbidden to provide housing for employees (Bray, 2012). “New `commodified’ private housing for the masses replaced state-subsidized housing provided by work units, paralleled in commercial sectors by the decline in state-owned industries and the rise of privately owned manufacturing (Liauw, 2008: 8).

These new housing areas are called Xiaoqu, or Shequ and refer in modern Chinese to “an area based community in which its members share interests and resources” (Benewick et al., 2004: 17). The concept of Xiaoqu is developed in the 1980s by the Ministry of Construction (Bray, 2006b). The Xiaoqu is mostly managed by the community work station in combination with its residents. The effect of the Xiaoqu on the city is large, because the compounds are private areas and prevent thus many people who are not living in the compound, of using the space. The compounds are developed out of the principles of community, diverse living environments (on city scale), and self-organization.

**Background information**

**Concept - Community**

**Main idea -** The idea of the Xiaoqu is mainly developed to show what a new neighbourhood can look like in China. Xiaoqu are walled compounds with designs based on social, economical and political ideas. Social cohesion, neighbourliness and feelings of security and belonging are elements that are very important in the creation of Xiaoqu’s (Bray, 2006b).

**Spatial form compound -** These housing constructions are often very large scale projects. Bray argues that this is because of the population pressure and the land scarcity but mainly because the city officials have more power than under the Maoist period. “All these factors have led to the rise of a planning regime that favours large-scale coordinated projects” (Bray, 2006b: 8) and “have certainly not led to a proliferation of small-scale owner-builders” (Bray, 2006b: 8). These new housing constructions are called “small-districts” and are planned neighbourhoods where “housing is integrated with communal facilities like kindergartens, clinics, restaurants, convenience shops, sports facilities and communications infrastructure” (Bray, 2006b: 9).

**Functions -** Residential towers and social, cultural and recreational facilities

**Governance -** When the urban reforms were launched from 1984 onwards, the central government made clear that it would take over the responsibility for the provision of community services, from the work units to the entire urban population. Community services where seen as an important element in the modernization and rationalization of China’s urban society (Bray, 2006a).

After a period of experimentations, the Chinese government began from the half 1990s on to develop a strategy known as ‘community building’ aimed at re-organizing the urban population through ‘community’ units based on their place of residence” (Bray, 2006b: 10). This strategy is influenced by social-democratic concepts and “has become a resource for enabling, facilitating and implementing efficient and cost-effective government” (Bray, 2006a: 533). In China it has become a more localized and economic form of governance, where citizens are mobilized and trained to govern themselves, to a certain extend. “At
the same time, this discourse embodies a substantial ethical element, where good ‘community’ governance is seen as being dependent on raising the moral ‘quality’ of urban citizens’ (Bray, 2006a: 533).

As an institution, the community work station is responsible for community building. The role of the community work station is explained in the analysis - people part of this thesis. This community building in China includes services, welfare, culture, health, environment, education, morality, policing, grass roots democracy and ‘Party building’. This means that next to looking after residents with special economic needs, the ‘community’ is responsible for also lifting the moral and educational standards, to increase the overall ‘quality’ (zushi) of their population. Each ‘community’ is bound to a specific territory and is run by a team of officials (Bray, 2006b, Ngeow, 2010).

To face the workload of the community work station, volunteers are encouraged to help. The community work station is defined by the central government as ‘mass organization’ which means that one of its main duties is to mobilize ‘the masses’ to participate. There are different kinds of volunteers, there are the activists (often Party members) linked to different spaces, and the other volunteers. “Together these volunteer activists provide a comprehensive network for ensuring that all aspects of community life are kept under close scrutiny and that all the vital daily maintenance and security work is seen to. It is the volunteer network that links the community population to the formal organisational structure and binds its territory into one seamless social unit” (Bray, 2006b: 12).

This volunteering participation is crucial in achieving a degree of ‘self-governance’ within the community in Xiaoqu’s, a strong theme in the official literature on community building. ‘Self-governance’ in this concept should not be understood as ‘absolute autonomy’, but rather a limited form in “which the community is expected to manage its own affairs within the operational parameters established by government authorities” (Bray, 2006b: 12). This does not mean that there is any inherent equality amongst the citizens in terms of right to govern, because there is a great division between those of high moral ‘quality’ and those of low moral ‘quality’. Or, as it can also be said “there are those fit to govern and those to fit only to be governed” (Bray, 2006a: 345).

**Planned by - Private developers**

**Effects on the city -** The Xiaoqu has different effects on the city. In the first place, it makes big parts of the city inaccessible. Only residents and their guests can enter the compounds and because of the size of these compounds it takes a long time to cross them. The Xiaoqu has thus a great separation effect. In the second place, within the Xiaoqu there are large ‘public’ spaces, that can only be used by the group of people living in the Xiaoqu. The effect is that the differences between people using areas on the city scale become bigger. Third, the Xiaoqu functions as a half independent compound. There are many functions for residents within the compound, but most residents have to go out of the compound to go to work.

**Principles**

Out of literature, three main principles are formulated: Xiaoqu as community, diverse living environments and self-organization (Bray, 2006a, Bray, 2006b, Ngeow, 2010). These principles will be explained in this chapter.

**Xiaoqu as community -** Bray argues that “in many ways the Xiaoqu creates forms of social space that seem to be highly amenable to the implementation of community governance: they are meticulously planned in order to facilitate security, surveillance, community services and activities, and to promote a sense of belonging amongst residents. In short, the spatial arrangements appear to bolster the opportunities for “building community”” (Bray, 2006b: 13). All these spatial and social principles try to make sure that the Xiaoqu will become and act like a community.

**Diverse living environments -** There is a differentiation between Xiaoqu’s, because different compounds offer a different quality of living environment. There is a wider demand for living spaces and the Xiaoqu tries to give an answer to this question.

**Self-organization -** According the ideas of the central government, the community of the Xiaoqu should eventually become “self-sustaining, self-governing and harmonious” (Ngeow, 2010: 29). This shows a great effort to promote self-organization. One can argue about if the current management is really self-organization. The management staff is highly professional and the reasons behind the promotion of self-organization are focused on the cost-efficiency of the central government. Either way, the result is that residents become in some way responsible for their social and living environment.
3.3.5. The idea of production: the current factory compound

Since the fall of the danwei system, a new form of factory compounds is appearing, because factories are again using dormitories in a massive scale to house their workers (Siu, 2007). "Foreign-invested firms are building their own dorms to suit their own particular needs; typically, these facilities are within compounds flanking the factory. In these settings, the spatial integration between working and non-working life is tighter, and companies, rather than the state, play a more commanding role in controlling workers' lives" (Ngai, 2004: 33). In Dalang it also happens often that villagers built these compounds, that are then rented out to companies. The compounds are developed from the main principle that they should be efficient. Productivity is the main goal.

**Background information**

**Concept - Production and efficiency**

**Main idea** - The current model of factory compounds is built to make most profit. Everything within the compound is designed according to the concept of productivity and efficiency.

**Spatial form compound** - Factory compounds, where these workers live, are designed for effective production. This means the form of the compound is very rational and consists of blocks within a wall. The workers live and work within the walls of the factory compound. Most of these compounds also have facilities like a cafeteria, sports fields, common living rooms and sometimes even libraries, shops and computer rooms (Ngai and Smith, 2007). There is a great difference in facilities for the workers and the management staff. The management lives in higher standard apartments, leaves the compound at weekends and evenings for leisure activities and eats better food (New Shenzhen Business, 2012, AI, 2012).

**Factories** - The jobs migrants do are in general tiring, menial work and provide "few opportunities for advancement or the acquisition of transferable skills" (Jacka, 2005: 143). Workers often have workdays of 12 hours or more in environments like shown on the picture on the left. Pun Ngai, who lived and worked in one of these factories herself, states: "what the girls complained about most was not the low wage or harsh workload, but the lack of adequate sleep sustained over months and years" (Pun, 2005: 98). Another telling example of the exhausting working conditions is the story of a Chinese boy, who wants to see how his girlfriend is working. "Now I finally realize how hard their work is, only one word can describe it: tiring" (China whisper, 2011). Next to the tiring working conditions, typical for working in a factory is that the workers are also thought to be hard, dedicated workers. When visited a factory in Shenzhen, banners with phrases like "Work hard", "Attention" and "Responsibility" where hanging all around the factory to show the workers how they should act within the factory compound.

**Dormitories** - Most migrants live in dormitories. "Such dormitories are communal multi-storey buildings, housing several hundred workers. Rooms are shared, with between eight and 20 workers per room. Washing and toilet facilities are communal between rooms, floors or whole units, such that living space is intensely collective, with no area, except within the closed curtains of the worker's bunk, for private space" (Ngai and Smith, 2007: 32). These bunk beds are the core physical element of the temporary home of the migrants in the city. Cecile Andersson argues from her experiences living with these migrants that they get attached to these bunk beds. "The sphere within the confines of the bunk bed is the most intimate and private place within a typical migrant's dwelling" (Andersson, 2012: 320).
Free time - In their free time workers have a couple of favourite activities: talking and window-shopping. "Talking [is] an important fact of life after the workday because of the ban on speaking while working" (Pun, 2005: 152). If the workers, and especially women, can go outside the factory compounds they like to go shopping or mostly window-shopping. "In their search for “modernity” and in their hopes on improving their lives, the women workers possessed a great consuming passion. (…) For those who had worked in the city for a year or two, the urban environment with its many shops was attractive" (Pun, 2005: 159).

Professor Li Jinkui, professor in social studies at the university of Beijing and involved with the Chinese Development Institute (CDI), explained that he had spoken to girls who would spend half of their month salary on shoes. "They buy it not because they need it, but because they want it".

Governance - Authors give the current system of factory compounds different names. From the “steel cafeteria tray” (Chen, 2012) to the “dormitory labour regime” (Ngai and Smith, 2007) they more or less mean the same: these are places for production. The socialist planned economy is replaced by a booming global market economy. Foreign investors play a very big role in this system. They are attracted by “a supply of cheap labour and land and a favourable and flexible regulatory environment” (Eng, 2002: 555). Workers are completely controlled by their management staff (Ngai and Smith, 2007, Pun, 2005) and cannot speak up for their rights (Friedmann, 2005). This makes these young migrant workers, and especially women, "the cannon fodder of China’s industrial revolution" (Friedmann, 2005: 67).

Planned by - The government or spontaneous developed by the villager’s collectives

Effects on the city - The current model of factory compounds acts like a walled city within the city. Because of the large size of most factory compounds, the little time workers have to leave the compounds and the functions (sleeping, working, and eating) within the compound the compounds act like independent entities. There are hardly recreational, commercial and public functions within the compound though, which makes the compounds for that sort of functions dependent on their surroundings.

Main principles spatially - The main principle spatially of these factory compounds, is that they are build for production, in the most efficient manner. This means that no otiose expenses are invested in the public space or spatial quality of these compounds.
3.3.6. Compounds compared to the basic rules for urban areas

The compound analysis shows the historical and political context in which the different compounds where built and what their effect were on cities, but the urban qualities they brought to cities are still not understood. What made some compounds successful in how people used them? Therefore these compounds are compared to the basic rules for urban areas that Van Dorst (2013) explains in his lecture ‘Control: From Behaviour to Environmental Design’. These rules can help facilitate control over social interaction and over people’s own space, which is according to John Habraken the essence of human settlement (Habraken, 2013). There are many different theorists who have developed a set of rules or guidelines. This set of rules of Van Dorst is used because these rules emphasise the importance of how people use spaces on different scales.

The rules include that, first, a city should have a system of territorial zones that support control over social interaction. In other words, a clear hierarchy in spaces support the functioning of a city. Second, these zones are not just traffic areas but should facilitate the possibility for social interaction. Third, it should be very clear to everybody using the city which zone belongs to who and who thus is responsible for it. Fourth, zones should be accessible for everybody, but there should be a balance between residents and visitors. Last, zones should be nested systems that function simultaneously at different levels for individuals and for groups (Van Dorst, 2013). Van Dorst highlights the importance of control over social interaction that can be established after using these rules.

Several conclusions can be drawn out of this comparison. The two historic compounds, the courtyard and the danwei, have a clear system of territorial spaces. John Habraken explains that this could have been expected, because hierarchy was in both these systems an important starting point for designing. “Territorial hierarchy provides distinct locations that can trigger and support social structure as much as they may reflect it. Most historic fabrics had their spaces gated and visitors might pass through several gates before reaching the house of their destination” (Habraken, 2013). This is exactly shown in these two compounds, in the courtyard more clear than in the danwei.

Almost all compounds have zones for social interaction, but their quality and form differs a lot. In danwei’s there were even special communal spaces designed, in current urban villages though, hardly space can be developed into zones for social interaction because of the high density.

In all compounds it is very clear who owns which spaces. This can be explained because of the focus on control that authorities in China have had through the history.

The only city wherein zones are accessible to a high extend is the city in which the courtyard house was widely used. Currently, urban villages are also completely accessible however, because of their high density and limited public spaces they are not experienced as such. The three other compounds are walled, making them not accessible. This is a big problem for cities they are build in. Their size is often very large, making these large zones inaccessible for other residents of the city.

The city in which the courtyard house was widely used is the only city with different zones functioning at different levels. This can be explained out of the principle of ‘slow harmony’, the different sizes of compounds and the thereby created complexity which “is the source of both meaningful variation and deeper space control structure” (Habraken, 2013) in cities. “This kind of complexity signals a close relationship of spatial organization and building with human use and inhabitation. Its ability to adapt to life gives build environments great resilience over time. It is the one most important condition for the now so eagerly and rightly pursued sustainability in human settlement (Habraken, 2013).
<table>
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<th>Current models</th>
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<td><strong>Main idea</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Effects on the city</strong></td>
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<td>Linear, symmetric cities with a strong hierarchy in open spaces</td>
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<td><strong>System of territorial zones</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Zones for social interaction</strong></td>
<td>Walled cities within cities, the workers do not have to leave the danwei</td>
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<td><strong>Zones function at different levels</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Family as unity</strong></td>
<td>Limited: playground, square</td>
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<td></td>
<td>To have an efficient and cost-effective government</td>
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</table>

### Analysis compounds

3.26
3.3.7. Conclusion place

Image 3.25 shows the complete analysis of compounds in China. It can be concluded that the courtyard, the danwei and the Xiaoqu have the highest score, if they are compared to these basic rules. The ideas underlying the designs of these compounds are probably the reason for this score, because these focussed on social, political and economical ideas. This gives them many different components and makes them thus more resilient. The reasons for the current factory compounds to score the lowest is probably because the ideas underlying their design are mainly economical and don not take the residents of these compounds in account.

In general, a better design follows if the ideas behind the design follow these basic rules. As the city in which the courtyard house is widely used shows, this is easier to accomplish when an area is gradually developed, so that the design is build up from a variety of build forms, and by different people, so that the principles behind the design come from different perspectives. This is also tried in this master thesis.
3.4. Conclusion Theory

Many different conclusions can be drawn from this theory chapter. From the three chapters the main conclusions are summarised below.

The planning analysis suggested small projects as an alternative approach for planning in Shenzhen. These projects should be based on specific issues, should involve multiple stakeholders and should be able to be a catalyst for achieving longer term goals.

The people analysis suggested empowerment as an approach to help migrants in Shenzhen take control over their own lives and drive change for themselves. This empowerment has two facets, economical empowerment which involves access to education, health, training and jobs and social empowerment which includes building up confidence through public participation and collective action.

The place analysis showed the effects which different compounds have had through time on cities in China. It gave five basic rules which can help creating a livable city. It also showed that this is easier to accomplish this when an area is gradually developed, so that the design is build up from a variety of built forms, and by different people, so that the principles behind the design come from different perspectives.

Shorty said, this theory analysis gave different starting points, which can help by intervening in factory compounds in Shenzhen.
This chapter explains the local conditions of Dalang from a spatial, people and planning perspective.
4.1. Place - Location

In this place analysis it will be researched what the spatial qualities and problems currently are in the test site. On the scales of Longhua in Shenzhen, Dalang in Longhua and Lankou in Dalang these will be mapped and explained.

4.1.1. Longhua

Longhua is one of the nine districts in Shenzhen and a new district situated just outside the former borders of the former SSEZ. This means that “there is a great number of illegal housing structures, factory buildings, inadequate public facilities, incomplete civil infrastructure and an inefficient urban management, and so hasn’t been developed as fast as the SSEZ area” (Wu, 2012: 3). The district is around 175 km² and there are 2 million people living, of who have around 72,500 the urban hukou. The district includes the four sub districts of Longhua, Dalang, Minzhi and Guanlan. Each of these sub districts is managed by a local authority. The density of the district is quite high, with the highest densities around the metro-stops. These are also the locations for commercial activities.

History

In 2004 Longhua New District was formed, and in 2011 officially recognized, as a subdistrict of Bao’an district. Bao’an and Longgang district were by far the biggest districts in Shenzhen. Because the workload for the local governments, the municipality of Shenzhen decided that new functional areas had to be created. The goal of the creation of Longhua New district is according to the planning office to "facilitate the further expansion of the scope for urban development, the creation of new economic growth poles of a high standard, the acceleration of the pace of building modern and advanced international cities, the further optimization and adjustment of the overall layout of urban development, the realization of more refined and balanced public services, and the elevation of the level of urban development" (HKTDC, 2011). "The establishment of the new areas will further promote administrative reform in Shenzhen," (HKTDC, 2011) said an official concerned at the publicity department’s briefing.

Public transport and infrastructure

Longhua New District has some important public transport nodes, as the Shenzhen North station, which is becoming the most important public transport node in Shenzhen, and has very good north-south connections by infrastructure. Next to this, there are in the future extensions planned for two metro lines and a new regional road will be developed, connecting Longhua New District to the new ring road in the north of Shenzhen.
4.1.2. Dalang

The strategy and design in this master thesis is focusing on Dalang subdistrict, part of Longhua New district in Shenzhen. I have chosen Dalang as a location to intervene in Shenzhen because Dalang is a very good example of the problem dealt with in this thesis. The area mainly consists of factories and urban villages, 98% of the inhabitants are migrants (Yan, 2013) and currently the area is rapidly changing from an area with only low end manufacturing to a more diverse economy, which means that factories have left and are leaving. The biggest change in industries in Dalang is the fashion base industry located in the North of Dalang.

In 2006 Dalang was created as a district within Longhua New District and in 2011 officially recognized. Dalang has a population of 500,000 people, of which only 8640 have the urban hukou. The population of Dalang has been growing rapidly since 2000 and is still growing. Dalang consists of many hills, two great natural protection zones and there are six reservoirs. While the density in Longhua New District is quite high compared to standards in Shenzhen, the density in Dalang is low in average. This is something the planning bureau of Shenzhen wants to keep that way and use for the future image of Dalang.

History Dalang

In far history Dalang is of relative importance because originally there where only small villages located at the area. There were two important moments worth mentioning. In 1966 the Hakka people, a culture originally from the centre of China, moved to Longsheng, the area which is currently Dalang. Second, between 1937 and 1945 this area played an important role in the anti Japanese war. The mountains around Dalang were sufficient defence spots.

In 1981, Bao’an county is created under rural law. A year before the Shenzhen Special Economic zone was officially recognized by the State Council. Bao’an, and thus Dalang, were at that time not part of the SSEZ, but were located just outside the borders of this special zone. This had a lot of consequences for its development. For example, where the centre of Shenzhen always had an urban development plan, this was not the case for the areas outside the SZE (Wu, 2012).

In 1990 Bao’an and Longang are converted into districts and together with the four original districts in the SSEZ, formed the Shenzhen Municipality. At that time, the planning office started to formulate an urban development plan for the whole municipality (Ng and Tang, 2004). For Dalang this had consequences. Almost half of Dalang was developed during time from rural areas into a factory areas.

Next to this, from 1993, rules from the municipality also changed the look of traditional and urban villages in Shenzhen (Wang et al., 2009), because they began to standardize land allocation for villages. Apart from land for family housing, each village was also allowed to maintain some land for collective purposes as industry, commercial activities and public facilities.

From 2005 many of the villages start investing in sport fields, new community housing and even a new church. Second, from this time road widening and restructuring projects start to happen. This has as a side effect that a new typology is emerging next to these new roads: urban villages in a line. These buildings have often very active facades and residential space above this. In 2006 the border between Bao’an, Longang and the SSEZ officially stopped functioning, making Dalang really accessible. From this time on, the local government of also start to attract new industries.

In 2011 Dalang is created as part of Longhua New Area to “facilitate the further expansion [...], the creation of new economic growth poles of a high standard, the acceleration of the pace of building modern and advanced international cities, the further optimization [... of urban development, the realisation of more refined and balanced public services, and the elevation of the level of urban development” (HKTDC, 2011).
Analysis Dalang
On the scale of Dalang spatial analysis on environment, functions and connections have been done. The goal of these analysis is to understand the patterns spatially better in Dalang and to formulate out of the conclusions of these spatial analysis which can guide the development strategy.

Environment - Dalang is situated in between two major national parks, of which one is Yantai mountain, a major recreational spot for the area. There are still quite some agricultural areas in and around Dalang, but these areas are rapidly transforming into urban areas. There is a river going into Dalang, connecting the two national parks. The smaller green structures which are located in Dalang, are hardly accessible, there are just a few accessible parks. The national parks are accessible, but only through special entrances. Concluded, Dalang is situated in between green spaces, and is being crossed by a river, but Dalang is not using these qualities like it could.
Functions - The main functions currently in Dalang are factories, urban villages and (emergent) commercial areas. Factory areas and urban villages are often close to each other and everywhere, where no emergent centres, hills or new housing projects are.

Patterns of the commercial and public functions are analysed on the next page. Using baidu maps, the Chinese version of google maps, commercial, recreational and public functions are mapped. Examples of these functions are shopping malls, KTV's (karaoke bars), hotels and health facilities. Using these maps the existing concentrations of functions are mapped as a conclusion. Areas with a high concentration of different functions can also be named centres.

The main centre of Dalang is situated around and north of the metro stop in Dalang. This area has a high diversity and concentration of functions and has the highest density of public functions. Also, this centre has bigger functions, which attract people from all over Shenzhen. The second main concentration of functions is north of the Shenzhen north station. The density of public functions is a bit lower in this area, but this is probably because a large part close to this centre is still under construction.

In the middle west, an emergent centre can be seen in Dalang. This centre also has factory areas and urban villages close and has a low density of public facilities. This centre will in the future be connected to the subway system. Three smaller, emergent centres can be seen all over Dalang. These areas are mostly bad connected to the public transport and need investment to develop further. In the north, this will happen for sure, because a new fashion industrial park is being planned. For the other two emergent centres, this is not the case. These areas often lack public facilities.

Concluded, there are some centralities of functions in Dalang with only two areas where also public functions are concentrated. Emergent centres often are still not, or very bad connected to the public transport system in Shenzhen which makes them hard to reach and which can be threat for them to develop in the future.
4.11 Public services in Dalang
4.12 Consumerism functions in Dalang
4.13 Recreational functions in Dalang
4.14 Restaurants, hotels and banks in Dalang
4.15 Emerging centres in Dalang
**Connectivity** - In these two analysis of the connectivity of Dalang the public transport system and the road system are mapped.

The public transport system shows the existing subway line, the plans for further extension of this line and the high speed line to Guangzhou. There are also many small buses in the area, which are not shown on this map, because the precise information of the bus routes was hard to find. From experience though, it can be said that these bus trips take often a very long time, because of the traffic jams. It can be seen that a large part of Dalang is currently not connected to the subway system, and that a large part also will not be connected in the future to this system.

The map of the road structure shows that Dalang is situated in between highways, which makes Dalang concerning roads, quite good connected to Shenzhen. On a smaller scale though, many blind roads can be seen, which makes some areas particularly disconnected to others.
4.1.3. Focus area

The area that will be focussed on for a strategy is situated in the east of Dalang. This area is chosen as an example for other emerging centres in outskirt areas like Dalang. The outcomes of the analysis suggested that this area could become a future centre in Dalang, but is in need of future investments in especially connectivity. This is because currently this area is hard to reach.

The area is around 990,000 m² and has around 28,000 inhabitants. This means that the density is 28,000 inhabitants per square kilometre, which is ten times the density as for example Delft. This means that also the building density in this area is very high. 98 percent of the inhabitants of this area are migrants and thus only two percent is part of the registered population.

On the next pages an idea of living in this area is shown. There are urban villages, a traditional village, factory areas and some commercial housing blocks. More and more facilities are entering this area, as also shown in the analysis on a bigger scale, but still there is a great need for more public facilities. The live on the streets is very lively and a wide variety of activities can be seen.
4.22 Playing basketball

4.21 Restructuring the river

4.20 Playing pool on the street

4.19 Shopping area

4.26 Public space and activities in an urban village

4.25 Watching a movie in a restaurant

4.24 Playing in the urban village

4.23 Old church
Environmental - The focus area has some green and blue structures. One of the streams of Dalang is flowing through this area. Currently authorities are investing in improving the water quality of this stream, so that it can add quality to the neighbourhood. The authorities are also improving the sides of this stream, so that these can be accessible. There is a water reservoir in the north, which is part of a larger green structure and a swamp, and there is a pond in the traditional village. This pond is heavily polluted, but still used as a fish pond.

There are several green structures in the area, which are currently almost all being developed into parks. On the edges of these future parks, there is often agricultural activity by the inhabitants of the villages. The green areas are mostly difficult to enter, which explains the expressed need for more green public spaces in the area by its inhabitants. This is because the green structures are often situated on a hill and are almost never connected to spaces the inhabitants of Dalang really use.
Functions - While in the analysis different stakeholders say that Dalang is a homogeneous environment, this image is more nuances if we zoom in at the focus area. First, as also can be seen in the different sections, the height in the area plays an important role in making the urban environment quite diverse. Next to the heights, the different forms of the urban areas create a wide diversity in morphologies, which is shown on the next two pages.

The main economic activity in the focus area is manufacturing which explains the high presence of factories. Especially in the south of the area is a large factory compound area. There are several kinds of factory areas, diverse from factories with multiple factories to large factory compounds. More and more recreational and commercial functions are coming to the focus area. As can be seen on the analysis on the right and on the next pages, these functions cluster around the main roads and form a centre where the roads cross each other. There are some local centres in the middle of urban villages. There are hardly public functions in the area, and the public functions that are present in the focus area have a doubtful quality.

There are several urban villages in the area. Most of them have a very high density and contain hardly any public spaces. There is one traditional village in the area, which is dense and difficult to access, but is highly being appreciated by its inhabitants. Last, there are a few commercial housing blocks in the area. These are situated in closed compounds which are not accessible for the other inhabitants of the focus area.
Factories

Services

Public services

New urban village

Traditional urban village

Commercial housing

4.31 Dormitories in Dalang

4.32 Computer hall in Dalang

4.33 Public library next to a factory

4.34 New urban village

4.35 Traditional urban village

4.36 Commercial housing
Connectivity - The road structure which can be seen in this focus area is the result of fifteen years urban development without planning. The result is an area which is build up from different, mostly closed, compounds, which are not inter connected with each other. These different compounds all have their own design, which results in a great diversity of morphologies. Because most of the compounds are walled, many of the roads in the focus area are currently private, which makes the area even less accessible. Also the different villages play an important role in the accessibility of the focus area. These villages have often a very high density, a small road structure and few public spaces, which makes these areas not approachable for people who are not living there.
4.1.4. Conclusion place
Analysis have been done on the scales of Longhua in Shenzhen, Dalang in Longhua and Lankou in Dalang. Each of these scales shows different problems and opportunities.

The scale of Longhua shows that the area is on a high scale good connected to both Shenzhen and other cities by infrastructure and by the main public transportation hub Shenzhen North station.

Dalang is chosen because it is a good example of the problems dealt with in this thesis. Most of the land is developed spontaneous and contains of urban villages and factories. However, there are some centres emerging around transportation hubs and inside areas in Dalang. The connectivity of these centres needs to be improved, for they have the possibility to be developed further.

One of these centres is the Lankou area, with a main street where some services are appearing. On this scale however, the problems shown before become also more clear. Next to this emerging centre, almost hundred percent of the area contains of urban villages and factories. These urban structures developed spontaneously. This leads to a low connectivity between spaces, a low amount of public spaces and a low spatial quality. The strong green and blue structures, the hills and the diversity in morphology though, give this area some identity though.
4.2. Planning: Location

Planning in one of the fastest growing cities of the world is a challenge. Urban development goes so fast in Shenzhen that the expression ‘Shenzhen Speed’ is widely used and planners have a difficult time guiding urban development. The urban planning methods currently used in Shenzhen are very top-down (Abramson, 2010). It is a system which is introduced in 1998, replacing the old master plan led system, which had too many problems (Ng and Tang, 2004). The current planning system consists of five levels, which are the comprehensive plan (Shenzhen), the sub regional plan (Longhua), the sub district plan (Dalang), the statutory plan, and the detailed plan. Within these plans, planners in Shenzhen are mainly focussing on large urban projects and infrastructure. More about the results and alternatives for the large urban project approach can be read in the theory chapter about planning. The spatial effects of the current strategy of planners in Shenzhen are shown in this chapter.

4.2.1. Focus areas in Dalang

The comprehensive plan of Shenzhen shows the main focus areas of the Shenzhen municipality between 2010 and 2020. On the scale of Longhua and Dalang this means that the focus areas for the Shenzhen municipality are: Shenzhen north station, “with the largest capacity for passenger and freight traffic of all stations in Shenzhen. It is designed to serve as a complex transhipment point, with both long-distance passenger and cargo transportation activities” (Zacharias, 2010: 239), the new fashion industrial park in the north of Dalang, the new subway lines and a new road, connecting the two highways that embrace Dalang. These are also the focus areas for the Longhua district. The Street Office of Dalang has some smaller focus areas, which are the new park close to Yantai Mountain, a new shopping area and a new park in the east of Dalang. For the rest of the area of Dalang, there is a master plan, which is shown below. This master plan is very flexible though, and is more following the recent developments than that it is guiding these.
4.2.2. Urban development by infrastructure

The main strategy of governmental intervention in Dalang is structuring urban areas and guiding urban development by infrastructure (Zacharias and Tang, 2010). As shown on the pages on the right, there will be major investments in infrastructure in Dalang the coming years. The reason for the government to make such large investments in infrastructure is twofold. First, investment in infrastructure is needed because there are areas in Dalang which are disconnected from the road network in Shenzhen and there are all day long traffic jams which are troubling some of the areas in Dalang. Second, it is since the early 1990s the strategy of the government to promote automobile use over public transportation. Zacharias and Tang (2010) explain that the government maybe had no other option at that time, but for sure have in the current situation. The reason for the government to have this current strategy is because road systems are considered to be relatively low cost investments in comparison to public transport systems, while “at the same time covering significant territory” (Zacharias and Tang, 2010: 237).

So, it is shown that interventions are needed, but the strategy of the government is very rigorous and one dimensional and causes several problems. First, as shown by the pictures the effects of these road-widening projects are roads which are too large for the traffic using them. These wide roads are not only unnecessary but divide also the urban blocks. Second, as shown in the future road analysis and this will be shown in the local analysis as well, the future roads and road widening projects not always take into account the current urban structure. Planners have no time for research in local areas why they miss other urban development solutions than only intervening by infrastructure. This results in unnecessary demolishment of houses, public spaces and heritage, which currently give identity to Dalang. Third, people who do not own a private car are disconnected from other areas in Shenzhen. Zacharias and Tang (2010)
stress the importance for the Shenzhen authorities to invest in public transportation as an alternative approach to only focussing on investment in infrastructure. The public transport intervention should be considered in the “larger environment” though, to result in a sustainable urban solution.

4.2.3. Focus area thesis
In the focus area, the authorities follow the same development strategy as in the whole of Dalang. The main strategy is to structure by infrastructure development, which includes new roads and road widening projects. Some of these projects are indeed needed, because of the traffic jams and the connectivity issues between spaces which currently can be seen in the area. However, there are also quite some proposals for new roads which would demolish important structures in the focus area. One example is the proposed road which would demolish a local centre in the traditional village and a pond. One other example is the proposed road that will cross the water reservoir in the north of the focus area. These intervention is highlighted in the drawing on the right. There are no plans for the improvement of public transportation in the area.

4.2.4. Conclusion planning
The current focus of authorities in Shenzhen to focus still on large urban projects and infrastructure causes several problems in local areas and is too rigorous and one dimensional. Instead, more attention could be paid to these local areas, in a slower pace and with taken into account of public transportation.


4.3. People: Stakeholders

The social analysis in this master thesis tries to give an insight in the views of stakeholders involved in the planning processes and urban regeneration processes in Dalang. The outcomes of this analysis are used in the development strategy shown in this master thesis.

By interviewing many local stakeholders and doing a literature review it is tried to give an idea of the interests different stakeholders have and problems the different actors face with urban regeneration processes in Dalang, with particular focus on the regeneration processes of factory areas. The stakeholders involved in the development processes in Dalang are divided in five main groups. These five groups are the authorities, private parties, academics, organized citizens and unorganized citizens. Most of these stakeholders are interviewed during the fieldwork in Shenzhen, but when a stakeholder is not interviewed, the information used is based on literature studies and interviews with other stakeholders. This is shown by a * at the name of the stakeholder.

4.3.1. Authorities

In China, many cities have different structures of governance. When making plans in Dalang, four levels of formal governance and one level of informal governance are involved. To get a better understanding in how these different levels, and especially the lowest levels work together, a short explanation is given below.

The common history of the community work station and the residential committee

The community work station is currently the lowest level of government in Shenzhen. Independent from the community work station, the residents’ committees operate on an even lower level. In Dalang there are 5 community work stations and 20 residents’ committees. Because both institutions have the same history, they will be explained first together.

The community work stations and residents’ committees (further on resident’s work stations) have a long history. From the 1950s onward these stations were established across the country as leading organisational bodies. Their principal function was to ensure social control in their neighbourhoods. Because the danwei system had an important function in the provision of social welfare and social control until the late 1990s, the resident’s work stations were until that time not very powerful. “[…] the members of those [stations] consisted primarily of elderly women (housewives and pensioners) with lower educational level” (Heberer, 2006: 9). When the danwei lost its function as a provider of social welfare, the importance of resident’s work stations grew again, because “they became responsible for the welfare of a rapidly increasing number of people, of which a greater proportion than ever before was unemployed and in need of some assistance” (Trott, 2006:6).

In Shenzhen the separation between the resident’s committee and community work station (shequ gongzuozhan) began in 2003. “Within a community, resident committees became the consultative organization while community work stations became the executive branch. As a self-governing consultative organization, resident committees were to be elected by all community residents, while as an executive branch, work station were to be run by professional assigned by the government” (Ying, 2010: 182).

In Shenzhen, an experimental model of governance is used, called the ‘one meeting and two stations’ (yi hu fen liangzhan) model. In this model, the work station is more powerful than the residents’ committee. “The Shenzhen case is a “strong government” model in which the government strengthens its services for and has greater penetration into communities while community resident committees enjoy self-governance” (Ying, 2010: 183). These two organizations will now be further explained.
In English literature the names for community work station and residents’ committee are sometimes transferred or called differently. This is because the Chinese words can be translated in multiple ways. In quotations, the names are thus sometimes changed to avoid misunderstandings.

The effect of the Shenzhen model of governance
It can be concluded that the street office, the community work station and the residents’ committee are very effective institutions. They were only once designed as temporary institutions. Currently these institutions have a very important role in the reform of China though (Ngeow, 2010). Wang argues “50 years ago, the active promotion of the [institutions] was based on the assumption that active mobilization of citizens would help the development and consolidation of the new regime in urban areas. After 50 years, the intentions of reforming [institutions is] to readjust the state-society relationship, increase social capacity for self-governance, and promote grassroots democracy” (Wang, 2003 in Ngeow, 2010: 40).

Ying argues that the “most important result of Shenzhen model is that government quickly increased its capacity, especially at the grass roots level, in regulating society and providing service. It was basically ‘fast reform with low cost’ . However, this was also a shortcoming of this model. Experts believe that the community work station becomes an agency of the street office, and therefore an apparatus of the state. Meanwhile, the community resident committee might lose control over the community work station, its only direct connection to the state. When government extends its reach through the community work station to penetrate community more effectively, the resident committee that is elected by residents becomes irrelevant in community affairs due to its lack of power, money, resource, and capability, although it is known to be self-governing” (Ying, 2010: 182 - 184).

The precise role of all institutions is thus unknown for Dalang. Still some conclusions can be made. First, the amount of people all institutions are responsible for is very large, also compared to other averages in China. It is thus maybe not so strange that the community work station becomes a part of the hierarchy of governmental structures in Shenzhen. They have such a large amount of people to care for, that they can almost be seen as a district government. Second, out of all literature it is shown that residents’ committees have currently not too much influence on the policies of the local government.

Planning bureau of Shenzhen

Interests: Steer the urban planning of Shenzhen
Resources: Steering urban development with master plans
Goal: Make Shenzhen into a good, efficient functioning city

The planning bureau of Shenzhen is the department that steers all urban developments in Shenzhen. I had the chance to have an interview with two planners who explained the future plans for Luohu New District and Dalang. The planning bureau of Shenzhen sees their role changing from doing everything themselves to outsourcing more and more to private parties and citizens. In the planning process they see their role as a more functional one. “Different people solve different problems”. They are trying to make an integrated urban plan, but they agree that they have quite limited tools to solve social problems.

Future plans - In the future the planners see Shenzhen more connected to Hong Kong, Dongguang and Guangzhou than it currently is. Dalang can play a role in this connection because of its location. Dalang will have a low carbon plan, developed with the national government. According to the density zoning, Dalang will have a low density. The Planning Bureau thinks that supporting creative industries and the upgrading of the economy is an efficient way of development for areas like Dalang.

Background information

Interests - The main interest of the planning bureau of Shenzhen is to control the city planning of Shenzhen.

Resources - The planning bureau of Dalang is a formal institution of the municipality of Shenzhen. They are responsible for guiding the urban development in Shenzhen by making master plans. These master plans only function as guidelines though, and can be implemented in various ways. When local governments or private parties want to change areas, the planning department can make adjustments to the plan. The process is thus quite market driven, with a government that controls.

Goal - The main goal of the planning bureau of Shenzhen is to have a good, efficient functioning city. Dalang is not a focus area, but part of the plan for Longhua New District.

Redevelopment factory areas - The planning bureau of Shenzhen has the ambition to develop and change planning regulations for the regeneration of factory areas because they want to have more programs like social facilities to be possible in these areas. Next to this, they want to develop the planning process since urban regeneration projects are quite new in Shenzhen.

Main perceived problems - The main problems the planning bureau of Shenzhen faces by redeveloping Dalang are bad connectivity of Dalang, the strict regulations for the redevelopment of factory areas, that only allows certain functions in these areas, the lack of land to develop in Dalang and the lack of public facilities and spaces.
In 2004 Longhua New District was formed, and in 2011 officially recognized, as a sub district of Bao’an district. This means that the district also has its own institute to regulate the district of Longhua. There is no interview done with the officials of this district, so all information in this section is out of information other stakeholders have told, from the internet and out of literature.

Future plans - Because the Shenzhen North station is inside the district, the connectivity to other cities and the centre of Shenzhen is very high. Future plans include extensions of metro lines, the attraction of new industries and the creation of different districts with different identities. High tech companies will be mostly attracted to the north of the district, while the south of the district will focus more on commercial activities. In that middle of Dalang, a fashion industry base is located.

Longhua is planning to become a high-standard, booming region in Shenzhen.

Interests: Steer the urban planning of Longhua New District
Resources: Budget, political power, steering urban development with sub-master plans, initiate urban development
Goal: Make Longhua New District to a strong district in Shenzhen

Street Office Dalang

There is a lack of public facilities, but no space to develop them.

Interests: Have a big influence in controlling Dalang in all possible ways
Resources: Budget, political power, steering urban development with sub-master plans, initiate urban development, guiding social development
Goal: Develop Dalang into a successful area in Shenzhen

The Street Office of Dalang is responsible for the whole area of Dalang, including 500.000 people. They have many people in charge and recently hired many more because they have such a heavy workload. The street office became official in 2011. Two interviews have been held with one of the main representatives of the Street Office.

Future plans - The Street Office of Dalang has the ambition to change Dalang in the future into an Eco Town. This would mean that Dalang keeps its relative low density, that there will be no towers and that there will be an emphasis on the natural environment surrounding Dalang. There are three focus areas in the future: the Fashion industry park, the commercial and financial area in the South around the metro line and the Yantai mountain area that can become a creative industrial park.

Background information
Interest - The main interest of the Street Office in Dalang is to effectively, influence the development of Dalang in almost all possible ways. They steer development in economical, social, environmental, political and spatial ways.

Resources - The Street Office of Dalang has budget, people and planning tools as resources to influence and control development in Dalang. They admit though, that they have an insufficient number of staff inside their office to do this work.

Goal - The goal of the Street Office is to develop Dalang into a successful area in Shenzhen, in all possible ways. By the redevelopment of factory areas in Dalang, the Street Office is mainly thinking of diversifying the economy. They are buying out low-end manufacturers to replace them for R&D facilities. In the future the low-en manufacturers could also be replaced by public facilities. The Street Office wants to help the young migrant workers with building up their lives and think that public facilities play an important role in doing so.

Main perceived problems - The Street Office of Dalang faces problems by the redevelopment of factory areas because the villagers, who own the factories build, want to make profit. An official from the Street Office in Dalang concluded: “Whatever we want to do, we have to negotiate”. Next to this, the lack of land for development is a perceived problem. This is because in Dalang there is a lack of public facilities, that have to be developed somewhere in Dalang, but there is no space according to the Street Office. Third, the economy is perceived too homogeneous with mostly low end industries. Fourth, Dalang has a big, growing population. This is currently perceived as a problem because the Street Office is incapable of providing public facilities for all these people.
Under the street office, the community work station is active. In Dalang are five community work stations. Each station is responsible for around 125,000 people. As shown, in Shenzhen, the community work station is organized according to the separation model (fenshe moshi). This separation model means that the work station is situated in hierarchy under the Street Office and independent from the residents’ committee (Ngeow, 2010).

The workers, working in the community work station are recruited and paid by the street office. "In effect, the work station has the characteristics of being the ‘dispatched office’ of the street office. Members […] are free from many administrative burdens and duties and can spend more time and energy deliberating on issues that matter to the […] residents themselves" (Ngeow, 2010: 176 - 177).

Ngeow argues that the community work station is designed to "lesson the heavy work of the residents’ committee" (Ngeow, 2010: 180), but while is does, it also decreases the power of the residents’ committee. In practice, the community work station is controlled by the Street Office, while the residents’ committees have hardly any influence on their work (Trott, 2006). This is especially the case in the separation model, the governmental model Shenzhen is using. "In such instances, even if members of the residents’ committee are elected democratically, it might not matter at all since they have in effect yielded most of the powers to the work station" (Ngeow, 2010: 180 - 181). A high official in the Shenzhen municipality argued for social organizations in the community that can help with the work of the community work station. "As long as they are self-sufficient, there is no reason why they can’t coexist with other service providers" (Yushan, 2012: 234).

Residents’ committees are in Shenzhen ‘self-governing’ organizations, directly elected by residents (Li, 2010b). Their task is to organize the community they are responsible for and being the voice of the people in their area. “Members of the residents’ committees are free from many administrative burdens and duties and can spend more time and energy deliberating on issues that matter to the […] residents themselves” (Ngeow, 2010: 176 - 177). The members are not on the governmental payroll (Li, 2010b), but can be paid by the Joint Stock Company of urban villages (Hao et al., 2011). This makes the residents’ committees in theory independent from governmental institutions, but in practise residents can perceive the residents committees “as an agent of the government rather than being a genuinely autonomous self-governance body” (Ngeow, 2010: 30 - 31). How residents’ committees are perceived in Dalang, is not known by the author.

In Dalang there are 20 residents’ committees, each being responsible for around 25,000 persons each. This is at least 2.5 more people than the average residents committees are normally responsible for in China (The New York Times, 2011, Ngeow, 2010).

**Background information**

**Interests** - Residents’ committees are responsible for bringing the voice of the people to the authorities, it is in their interest to do this the best they can.

**Resources** - The residents’ committees have very low resources. Their main resources lay in the people that are members of the committees and the democratic form they have. Being voted for gives them “the power of the people”.

**Goal** - The goal of the residents’ committees is to improve the area they are responsible for.
4.3.2. Private parties

Local project developer

Interests: Having more and bigger projects
Resources: Budget, people and experience
Goal: To make more profit

The local project developer interviewed, once started as a bookshop developer in Dalang. The local government had started a big redevelopment project where they developed an old factory site into a commercial area. In 2008 the bookshop developer was asked by the Street Office to develop a bookshop in one of these old factories. This experience was so positive, that the Street Office asked the bookshop developer to develop the whole commercial area in Dalang. Since that moment the bookshop developer is a local project developer. The local project developer has the ambition to develop a factory area in Dalang into a high end commercial area with hotels, restaurants, recreational facilities and international shops. It should become the new centre for Dalang.

Background information

Interests - The local project developer is mainly interested in having more and bigger projects, or expand existing projects.

Resources - They have the budget, the people and experience to build more projects. It is not sure if they also have the resources to manage areas.

Goal - The goal of the local project developer is to make more profit. Because they are currently renting buildings for 20 years, this is the time limit in which they are thinking.

Main perceived problems - The project developer faces several problems by the development of the commercial area in Dalang. First, the developer doesn’t want to re-use the old factory buildings because then they make less profit, but they have to. Since the buildings are owned by the villagers the developer is only allowed to change the function of the building, not the building itself. Second, the master plan of the government and the cities regulations do not allow many functions in the buildings. The developer is not allowed to change the buildings into residential use for example. The developer thinks it is very difficult to change these master plans.
Vanke project developer

"The goal of Vanke is to build faster, sell faster and become bigger in the future, to make more profit in the end."

Interests: Having more and bigger projects, gain more knowledge
Resources: Budget, experience, its scale: largest project developer in the world
Goal: Make more profit, become very powerful

Vanke is the largest real estate developer in China and in the World. The company was founded in 1988 by the successful businessman and adventurer Wang Sui and became the second largest enterprise to be listed on the Shenzhen Stock Exchange. Vanke develops, manages and sells real estate throughout the whole of China and works with well-known Chinese and Western architects such as URBANUS and Steven Holl. Architects. Vanke mainly consists of two parts: a developer department and a property manager department. In Shenzhen, interviews have been held with different people within the head office of Vanke in Shenzhen.

Background information

Interests - The main interest of a project developer the size as Vanke, is to have more, and bigger projects. Next to that they are currently doing more research on social and technical issues, so they are also interested in gaining more knowledge in different fields.

Resources - First, Vanke project developer is a very rich project developer. They certainly have a very large budget. Because Vanke is such a rich developer, it makes Vanke very powerful.

Goal - The goal of Vanke is to build faster, sell faster and become bigger in the future, to make more profit in the end.

Main perceived problems - Because it is currently not possible to redevelop factory areas into real estate, and Vanke is only focusing on real estate development, Vanke is not involved in the redevelopment of factory areas. Vanke is also not particularly interested in Dalang.

Small entrepreneurs

"Difficult of being an entrepreneur in Dalang is that many migrants have no money or time to spend on activities we offer."

Interests: Earn enough money to make ends meet
Resources: Their business, their energy
Goal: Grow and start more establishments

In Shenzhen, interviews have been held with different small entrepreneurs. These were small shop owners, an owner of a local training centre and the owner of a local music school. All these companies worked independent from each other and from the government.

Background information

Interests - Small entrepreneurs are mostly busy with getting by with their business. It is also thus in their main interest to be in an environment which is positive for the profit their business. The owner of the local music school for example, was very passionate about his pupils and the music, and had many ideas to improve his business. The same kind of energy could be seen with other entrepreneurs interviewed in Dalang.

Resources - The main resource of small entrepreneurs is their business and everything that can be done by this business, but what should not be forgotten is the energy most of these entrepreneurs have.

Goals - The goal of most entrepreneurs is to grow and open more establishments in the future.

Main perceived problems - In Dalang the biggest difficulty faces by these entrepreneurs is that the population of Dalang has not so much money and time to spend. Next to this, many migrants move a lot, making it more difficult for a training centre and a music school to keep pupils.
In Shenzhen interviews, presentations and conversations were held with different architects and urban designers. A compilation of these is shown below. Most information comes from URBANUS and NODE, two architectural offices in Shenzhen.

UBRANUS - Founded in 1999, under the leadership of partners Xiaodu Liu, Yan Meng and Hui Wang, Urbanus is recognized as one of the most influential architecture practices in China. More than a design practice, Urbanus is also a think tank. It aims at formulating architectural strategy from the urban environment in general, and the ever changing urban conditions in specific.

NODE - NODE, which stands for Nansha Original DEsign (or NO DEsign), was established in 2004 in the city of Nansha, a transit node in China’s Pearl River Delta; to the north is Guangzhou and to the south is Hong Kong. In contrast to rapid urban development elsewhere in China, Nansha has taken a relatively slower pace toward urbanization. NODE argues for participation and inclusion of local interests as well as those from external sources.

Background information

Interests - The main interests of architects and urban designers are to gain more knowledge about an area, and to create beautiful spaces that can be added to their portfolio, and which they can use to get more assignments. URBANUS has shown with their design for the OCT Loft area that it is possible to create in Shenzhen a very successful redeveloped factory area.

Resources - Architects and urban designers have different kinds of resources than the other stakeholders. They are visionary, that often helps in inspiring other stakeholders involved in a project. Next to this, architects and urban designers can show initiative and can bring different stakeholders together to start a project.

Goal - With many projects the goals of architects and urban designers are twofold. First, they want to create beautiful spaces that influence their environments positively. Second, they have to make enough money with each project, or with their whole portfolio, which means that they are limited in their time for each individual project.

Main perceived problems - In the words of Tat Lam, research director at URBANUS, “Shenzhen is a very strict city”. This causes many problems and restrictions when they are working on redeveloping areas, like factory areas. Doreen Heng Liu, founder of NODE, showed the main problems of Dalang are the homogeneous population and economy, the lack of public facilities and spaces and the need for more recreational functions.
4.5.3. Organized citizens

Volunteers in Dalang

Interests: Become a family that influences its neighbourhood positively
Resources: People, funding from the Dalang Street Office and occasionally sponsoring by local banks
Goal: To improve their neighbourhood, to become a family

In Dalang there is a U-stand, a voluntary stand, located at the people’s square. About the history of volunteers in Dalang different people disagree. The governmental version of the history of the volunteers in Shenzhen is that during the 2011 Summer Universiade, a big national event, in Shenzhen more than 800 U stations were established by the municipality across the city, of which 58 still are remaining in the city. The different U stations offer various services ranging from diverting traffic, giving directions to providing basic English language training. Other versions of the history of volunteers in Shenzhen say that these have come up spontaneously and by individual people and after that were supported by the government.

The volunteering network in Dalang consists of 3000 volunteers, active in 5 different groups. Little grass is the biggest volunteering organizations and has around 2000 members. The interview that has been held was with the founder of Little Grass, mister Liu, who told me the second version of the history of volunteers in Dalang. In Dalang the volunteers are active in organizing many events for the migrants as dumpling games and sports games. Every evening they provide games for the migrant workers. Next to that they help old and sick people in Dalang.

Background information

Interests - People become part of the volunteering network because they “become part of a family” according the leader of Little Grass. They get to know people, can organize activities and by doing so get more confidence. The interest of the volunteers in Dalang is to improve the neighbourhood and have a good time.

Resources - The volunteers in Dalang are sponsored by the Street Office of Dalang and occasionally specific activities are sponsored by a local bank. The main resource of the volunteers though, is the people and their enthusiasm for Dalang and the volunteers.

Goal - The main goal of the volunteers in Dalang is to become a family for its members. With this family they can mean a lot for the community of Dalang. In the future they want to collaborate more with the Street Office in for example making a lovers park next to the Yantai Mountain.

Main perceived problems - According to the volunteers the biggest problems in Dalang are the lack of public facilities, the lack of public spaces, the low social interaction between people and the need for more recreational and cultural facilities. Next to these problems the volunteers are always in need for funding.
Church representative

"We look after the people from our own community"

Interests: Christianity
Resources: Collections from the church community
Goal: To have a good Christian community and to rebuild the old church.

In the Langkou Christian Church different representatives were interviewed. The Langkou Christian Church is the oldest church of Shenzhen and is located in the oldest village of Dalang, Langkou. The Church has been built in 1886 by a French pastor. In 1891 there was also a girl’s school built next to the church, that would become a very well known school. In 1949 the girl’s school became a kindergarten. By that time the community of the church was around 120 people. Due to its age and the damages the church had from the different wars, the community decided in 2000 that it was time to build a new church. In 2003 the community had collected enough money to build a new church next to the old one. Currently the Langkou Christian Church has around 1000 registered believers (Langkou Christian Church, 2012) who come from all over Shenzhen. The main activities of the church are currently religious activities and activities concerning their church community. The church operates completely independent.

The old church is in a very bad state and closed because it can collapse. The Street Office wants to renovate the church so that it can become a tourist attraction, but has since today not started those activities. The Church representatives do agree that the church needs renovation but do not specifically have an opinion on what it should become in the future.

The Langkou Christian Church and the representatives do not really have a relationship with Dalang or with the surrounding communities. “I do not go out so much, I like to stay in the church” stated one of the representatives. Another said that the Langkou church is not related to the Langkou village, “we look after the people from our own community”.

Villagers*

"The percentage villagers in Dalang is less than two percent, but they still own many property"

Interests: Make most profit possible out of existing ownerships.
Resources: Land and real estate ownership
Goal: To make more profit

Because there have been no interviews with current villagers in Dalang, the following information is mainly based on literature and interviews with other stakeholders. Currently the percentage of villagers in Dalang is less than two percent, because most of them moved away. The villagers still own many of the buildings though, and are therefore an important stakeholder in regeneration projects in Dalang. The villagers in Dalang are organized in Joint Stock Companies (JSC) and in residents’ committees, who’s role is earlier explained. But where the JSC is only responsible for the villagers and their concerns, the residents’ committee is also responsible for the migrants living in these urban villages. Many of the JSC’s have been recently changed into residents’ committees though (Ngeow, 2010), so it is difficult to say something about the current position of JSC’s in Dalang.

The JSC is a mixed institution that combines economic, social, and administrative responsibilities. The villagers living in the urban village are all shareholders of the JSC (Hao et al., 2011) and own the rural land of the village collectively. This has as an effect that villagers and thus these JSC have been able to build constructions as housing and factories with minimal formal development control (Wu et al., 2012). The JSC is often the organization steering real estate development and collecting property rental but is next to that responsible for implementing political guidelines, mediation, important buildings inside the village and community welfare (Perera and Tang, 2012, Liu et al., 2010). In many urban villages in Shenzhen, the JSC finances the operations of the residents’ committee (Hao et al., 2011). This makes residents’ committees in theory independents from governmental institutions (Li, 2010b), but economically completely dependent upon the Joint Stock Company.

Background information

Interests - Villagers are according other stakeholders mostly interested in making money out of their property.

Resources - The main resources of the villagers are in the property they own: the buildings of most factories and villages in Dalang.

Goal - According to other stakeholders, the goal of most villagers is to make most money out of the property they own. This is only not based on any information form villagers self and is thus not reliable.

Main perceived problems - The main perceived problems of villagers are according other stakeholders, their cooperation with the government because of the redevelopment of the villagers’ property and with the migrants because they are the main renters of the villagers’ property.
4.3.4. Academics

A full day professor Li Jinkei, a professor in social studies at the university of Beijing and involved with the China Development Institute (CDI), showed and told many of his perspectives on Dalang.

Professor Li argues that Dalang is a very interesting place, with many opportunities. The natural environment is very beautiful, it is close a new central access, it is very close to the Shenzhen North Station, there is a new clothing industrial area and the Dalang Street Office is really active in helping the local people and supporting them in their cultural and social activities. The Dalang Street Office even supports other institutions like local banks to do the same. Next to that it is way easier to find a job since the financial crisis. The last four years, the workers income has doubles and many babies were born.

**Background information**

**Interests** - The main interests of professor Li is in understanding and learning from Dalang. By doing so, he can use this knowledge in other areas within China and Shenzhen.

**Resources** - Professor Li has a lot of influence and power through the people he knows and the institutions he is in. He, and other academics, can by these contacts have a lot of influence on how areas will be transformed.

**Goal** - In general Professor Li wants to improve Dalang and other areas in China. Professor Li argues that Dalang should change into a real city, where people, live, work and spent their free time.

**Main perceived problems** - Professor Li sees mainly three big problems in Dalang. First, he argues that people living in areas like Dalang have difficulties building up a social life. There are several reasons for this, but the main reasons are that people have very different backgrounds, and that many of the migrants in Shenzhen have no time or public space to meet each other.

A second major problem is that the economy of Dalang mainly consists of small and middle industries. There are hardly any social services and there is mainly one group of people. He argues for attracting different kinds of people to Dalang by improving the social services and the public transportation. Also the people already living in Dalang should improve their skills. The factory workers should have more free time to do this.

Last, the confidence of the migrant workers is a big problem according to professor Li. Their experiences of their own performances are often very low. This confidence, or self esteem, should be improved.

4.3.5. Unorganized citizens

In this section an overview is given of the different groups of residents in Dalang, which are called in this chapter the unorganized citizens. Because there is limited data of available about the residents of Dalang, the information shown is based on interviews in the area and a study from Yan (2013).

Most people, about 98%, living in Dalang are migrants. As shown in the diagram, most of these migrants have a low education level, move often, work in the manufacturing industry and are under 34 years old. These migrants are divided in four different groups, because these groups have similar interests and face similar problems. This information is shown below.

**Trends in Dalang**

In the results shown in this chapter, the problems different groups of residents face are shown. There are however, also some trends which most of these residents mention, which are happening in Dalang at the moment. These trends are that Dalang is developing really fast. This is shown by the improvements in public space, the road widening projects and the new shopping malls in Dalang. These new shopping malls are also part of a new trend, namely that the economy is changing. New commercial, recreational and higher end industries are coming into Dalang. The last trend in Dalang, which is particularly shown in the research done in this master thesis, is that people like to stay in Dalang and build up a life. As shown have most residents in Dalang a very high mobility, but the outcome of this research shows that at least 33% percent of the people would like stay in Dalang, also if their factory leaves.
People living in a dormitory

People who live in a dormitory live and work within the boundaries of a factory compound. This factory compound is often quite large and can consist of more factories. They live mostly with three to eight people in one room and say the environment in these dormitories is crowded and dirty. The people living in dormitories are mostly young, uneducated assembly line workers and older men, who work in the factory as guards. The people living in dormitories earn around 2000 RMB per month.

**Background information**

**Interests**: Many of the people interviewed are working and living here just to make a life. They are basically surviving and are interested in a better life and a better future.

**Resources**: The resources of people living in dormitories are very limited. They have hardly any education, which gives them jobs in which they get very limited salaries.

**Goal**: Many of the people living in dormitories spoken to, actually had very little ambition, or a very vague, but big ambition. They did not have really future ideas for Dalang, but also hardly for themselves. Many times if we asked the question "What are your plans for the future?", the answer was "I do not know", "I want to become the boss" or "I want to go home". The people who answered "I want to go home"; were mostly young factory workers, or factory workers around their 30s who missed their families or wanted to go home to get married and start a family.

**Main perceived problems**: More than one-third of the people living in dormitories spoken to, said to like to stay in Dalang. They did not really have an opinion about the problems perceived with the redevelopment of factories, but practically it would mean that they lose their job and home. People living in a dormitory are the least satisfied in Dalang. They do not like the environment, would like to add street lights, public spaces as parks and recreational and commercial facilities. If the education of the people was a bit higher, they argue also for more public facilities.
People living in the traditional village

Interests: Have a good life and staying in the traditional village
Resources: Themselves, salary
Goal: To live a happy and healthy life

The people interviewed in the traditional village live in small traditional houses. Often they rent a room of not more than 15 m², with a kitchen and bathroom included for 100 RMB per month. They mostly live with a whole family, or with more people in this traditional house. The people living in the traditional village often live there already for a long time. We spoke to men who lived there already more than 12 years. They can have all kinds of professions like vendors, shop owners and factory workers in small factories but are also often unemployed because they are retired or housewives.

**Background information**

**Interests** - Many of the people interviewed like to stay living in the traditional village and do not want it to be demolished and rebuild by the government. They are already renting these houses for many years and have built up a life here.

**Resources** - The resources of people living in traditional villages are very limited. They have hardly any education, which gives them jobs in which they get very limited salaries. They are often not involved in any organization which could give them support.

**Goal** - In the traditional village the ideas for the future of the people mainly was “to live a happy and healthy live”. They do not really have big ambitions for their own future.

**Main perceived problems** - People living in the traditional village are mostly very happy with their circumstances. They like the traditional village, while they also admit that it is dirty and not really developed. They would like most to add more public space in the village to have the chance to meet more people.

People living in the VIC

Interests: Have a good life, have a low rent and live close to their job
Resources: Themselves, salary
Goal: Diverse

The profile of people living in the Villages in the City (VIC) is very diverse. During interviews in the VIC's housewives, young girls and boys, elderly, factory workers and guards were interviewed. Actually anybody wanting to pay more than for the traditional urban village or the dormitory can live in a VIC. People live in VIC's with families and with more people in one room. They have to pay between 300 – 500 RMB per month and can have up to 60m² per unit. They can have all kinds of jobs as service workers, factory workers and shop owners. In one building in a VIC in Dalang, of 8 stories can live around 100 people.

**Background information**

**Interests** - Just like other people, people living in VIC’s are interested in having a good life. Next to that they say one of the main reasons for them to live in a VIC is the low rent and that they live close to their job.

**Resources** - The resources of people living in VIC’s are mostly more diverse than people living in dormitories and in traditional villages. This is mainly because they have different kinds of education. Most of them are still very limited educated and earn little salaries, but some of them are higher educated and working on their careers.

**Goal** - The people living in the VIC are so diverse in their ambitions, that it is difficult to draw conclusions. Mostly one-third of the people wants to go home to build up a live there, one-third has no clue what to do in their future or want to go to Beijing or Shanghai and one-third would like to stay in Dalang. They have no clue what to do in the future or they have all kinds of ambitions what to do in the future like being a boss, being a clothing designer or start an own shop.

**Main perceived problems** - People in the VIC, mostly answer to the question: “how do you like Dalang?”, “So so”. They like Dalang in certain aspects, but they are also critical. Like almost everybody in Dalang, they mostly dislike the environment. They say their living environment in crowded, dirty and noisy, the streets are narrow and polluted and there is too much traffic. They would like to have more public space. If the person interviewed has a high education, or if she is a young mother, they stress the importance of public facilities more. Young people would like to have more recreational facilities.

Lack of public space

Social interaction between different people is low

Pollution

Need for more recreational and cultural facilities
People living in the commercial housing

"More than 50% of the people interviewed, living in commercial housing, want to stay in Dalang in the future"

Interests: A life in a neighbourhood with a certain quality
Resources: Skills, salary
Goal: Stay in Dalang, improve the Neighbourhood

The profile of people interviewed, living in commercial housing is that they are service workers, higher educated factory workers and often have families living with them. In general they earn more money and can thus spend more money on housing. Renting commercial housing is more expensive than renting housing in the VIC, but can still differ a lot. In general the safety is perceived to be better and people have more space inside the house.

Background information

Interests - People living in commercial housing care more, and have the resources to care more, about their living environment. This makes that they are more interested than other groups, or at least more obvious in their demands, in the quality of their neighbourhood. They are critical about the level of facilities and spatial qualities needed, and are interested in having them improved.

Resources - Most of the people living in commercial housing have a higher education, a job in the service industry that pays more than a manufacturing job or they are part of a family. This makes that they have mostly a higher salary and are thus able to pay the rent for more expensive housing.

Goal - More than 50% of the people interviewed, living in commercial housing, want to stay in Dalang in the future. They often state that the public facilities really have to improve, but they also see that Dalang is developing very fast and that this could be true in the future. The ambition of people living in commercial housing is often quite high and better thought of than the people living in dormitories, traditional villages and urban villages. They would like to move to other cities and have reasons to do so, they would like to become a boss and have a kind of plan to do that or they just want to have a happy and healthy life, especially for their children.

Main perceived problems - People living in commercial housing mainly care about the environmental issues in Dalang, the traffic and the public facilities. They think Dalang is dirty, the air quality is low and there is too much rubbish on the streets. They argue for the improvement of the public transport in the area and they would like to have more and better educational, health and cultural facilities.

Relation space and interviews

From interviews in Dalang several conclusions can be drawn. There were four main question asked to 31 different people living in Dalang. This is a limited amount of people, so the result of these interviews is used to indicate problems and opportunities for Dalang and improve my understanding of the area. They are not used as being absolute answers to questions.

The results of these questions are processed in the different profiles of people living in Dalang, just shown. Some of these results however, have also a spatial relation. People who live in commercial housing for example, are most willing to stay in Dalang, where people living in dormitories are most willing to leave. Next to this, as can be seen in the analysis below, people living in factory areas are least satisfied with living in Dalang and people living in the traditional village are most satisfied with living in Dalang.

4.58 Outcomes questionnaire Dalang January 2013, N = 31

4.59 Housing typologies where interviewed people live, questionnaire Dalang January 2013, N = 31

4.60 Do you like Dalang, questionnaire Dalang January 2013, N = 31
4.3.6. Conclusion people

As shown the different stakeholders involved in the development processes in Dalang, with particular focus on the regeneration of factory areas, have different interests, resources and goals. This makes that these stakeholders have different levels of influence and stakes and face different kinds of problems in these processes (UN-HABITAT, 2001). Understanding the position of the different stakeholders in these processes makes it possible to come up with a development strategy for these areas in which the needs and interests of the different people involved are included.

Stakeholders involved in development processes in Dalang

The influence-Interest Matrix shows which stakeholders are important to include in the development processes and what role they can have. Involved in development processes in Dalang, the most critical stakeholder groups are the three lower levels of authorities, because these have a high influence in what happens in Dalang and have a high stake, because they are responsible for activities and outputs of Dalang. Next to these groups the villagers have a high stake and influence because they own much of the land in Dalang and the local project developer is a critical stakeholder because of the financial resources and experience he brings along. The last but least critical stakeholders are the academics and the architects and urbanists because they bring in knowledge and expertise.

Stakeholder groups useful for decision and opinion formulation are the higher levels of authorities in Shenzhen and Vanke project developer. These groups are not particular interested in developments in Dalang because they operate on a higher scale in the city or in larger development projects, but can help with critical and structural problems as for example development regulations.

The current residents of Dalang are an important stakeholder group, but are certainly in need of empowerment because in the current development processes these residents have very low influence. The same counts for the volunteer groups and small entrepreneurs. These groups are better organized and have a better financial position than the residents of Dalang, and have thus therefore a higher influence.
Stakeholders involved in regeneration processes in Dalang

Fewer stakeholders are involved in regeneration processes of factory areas compared to general development processes in Dalang because of the low diversity in users of these areas. The most critical stakeholder group involved in regeneration processes of factory areas in Dalang is the Street Office of Dalang because the Street Office has a high influence in these processes and a high stake because they are responsible for activities and outputs of Dalang. Next to this, the same stakeholders are critical as in the development processes in Dalang, for the same reasons. The two lower levels of authorities are less critical in these regeneration processes, because most of the time these levels of authorities are not involved in the current factory areas or with their inhabitants. The same stakeholder groups are important for decision and are explained within the conclusions of the analysis chapter.
4.4. Conclusion analysis

Following the analysis several problems, qualities and trends in Dalang are highlighted. This conclusion shows the relationship between these different issues.

**Interrelationships problems, trends and qualities Dalang**

There are three main reasons for the current situation of Dalang. Because Dalang was for a long time not part of the Special Economic Zone of Shenzhen, there was also no authority responsible for the area. This non-presence resulted in three main problems. First, the lack of urban planning resulted in an unorganized urban landscape, which causes current extreme high density of the area, the lack of public spaces, the low connectivity between spaces and the low connectivity to the centre of Shenzhen. A positive result though, is that the current structure of Dalang has a great diversity of morphologies and a compound structure, that both can improve the identity of Dalang.

Second, the non-presence of an authority resulted in the lack of public facilities in the area and a lack in care taking for the area, which results in, among other effects, a high pollution in the area.

Third, the lack of planning in the area resulted also in a very low diversity of economies. This is because no authority has been supervising or had the strategy to diversify the area. It is not completely sure if this would have been different if there was a strong, guiding authority in the area though, because the authority needs to have this strategy. The result is either way that the main economic activity in Dalang is still manufacturing, which results in a very high percentage of migrants in Dalang and a need for more recreational and cultural activities. These migrants come, obviously, not from Shenzhen, are often young and uneducated and have therefore very low confidence.

Currently the situation in Dalang is changing though, because there is a Street Office in Dalang and the economy of Shenzhen is rapidly changing. The presence of an authority in Dalang has as an effect that the area develops very fast. The Street Office is investing in public spaces and in road widening projects, which are visual for the inhabitants of Dalang. The presence of authorities has also disadvantages though, because it means that developments are controlled and influences. This can be seen in the strong planning regulations which prevent the regeneration of factory areas in to several functions and in the one dimensional way the government is trying to guide development.

In Dalang new, emergent economies as recreational, commercial and creative economies are entering and have as a result that new centres are being created. Because many of the current inhabitants of Dalang see these changes and like these changes, they like to stay and build up a life. These people also said though, that they still need more cultural, recreational and public facilities and an improved spatial quality to really make a living in Dalang.
Problems in governance
Next to the relationship between problems, trends and qualities of Dalang, conclusions can be drawn from the stakeholder analysis, which are more governance and planning related. There are two main conclusions, which can be used in the development strategy for Dalang. First, the amount of residents where each of the authority levels is responsible for is too large (Ngeow, 2010). The Dalang Street Office is responsible for the amount of residents currently live in a city like Rotterdam, but has not even the resources a sub-district of Rotterdam has. This is for a problem because the different authorities do not have enough resources to be in control of the area they are responsible for while they have big need to be in control.

According to Liu Runhua, the current managing Deputy Director of the Guangdong Provincial Social Work Committee, the government needs to give more space for other organizations to provide certain public services. Eventually the government will hold less and less control, leaving more room to social and market organizations [...] It is the effective expansion of the sector by incorporating new organizations, and also opening previously government-monopolized areas to social organizations. There is nothing controversial about reforming this emerging sector. My opinion is we should try our best to encourage the increase of social public service providers” (Yushan, 2012: 222). The opinion of mr. Runhua can be explained because he sees that the government can not provide all the needed services to the inhabitants of Shenzhen, so there is a need for improvement. His opinion correlates to a certain extend to current initiatives of different authorities to strengthen the position of volunteers (Sasin, 2012), but where Liu stresses the importance of authorities which have less control, the authorities still try to guide these volunteer developments completely (Sasin, 2012).

The second conclusion which can be drawn form the stakeholder analysis is that the current residents of Dalang are in need of empowerment. These residents have a very high stake in development projects in Dalang, but have a very low influence in these projects. Because many of the developments in Dalang will directly influence these people, they need to be included in some way in these developments. The development strategy needs to include a solution for this problem.

The third conclusion from the analysis is that the cooperation between the different stakeholders currently operating in developments in Dalang needs to be improved. Several stakeholders explained the difficulties they were facing in the cooperation in development projects in Dalang. This resulted often in projects which were less effective and sustainable than they could be. A strategy to improve this cooperation is thus needed.
This chapter shows the development proposal for Dalang, based on theoretical research and the local analysis of Dalang showed in the chapter before. In chapter 5.2.4 until 5.2.6 it is shown how this strategy can be translated to the reality of three different factory areas in Dalang.
5.1 Planning: Governance

Within the analysis several conclusions were drawn. There were three main problems concluded from this analysis which were that there is too less cooperation between the different stakeholders in the area, that the planning process is not inclusive and some stakeholders need empowerment and that the different authorities are responsible for too many inhabitants for the resources they have.

5.1.1 Proposal

To solve the problems, two proposals for a new governance structure in Dalang are presented. First, the Street Office of Dalang could become a District Office. The Dalang street office is responsible for 500,000 people, which is enough to be a District Office, and could therefore be upgraded. The other governmental institutions will be automatically also be responsible for a more reasonable amount of people. This results in the creation of a new Street Office, the Lankou Street Office, responsible for the area around Lankou village, which is shown in the focus area. In Dalang all community work stations can be upgraded to Street Offices, resulting in five new Street Offices in Dalang.

Second, a new inclusive planning process is proposed to solve the cooperation problems and to make the planning process more inclusive. Research has been done to areas around the world which cope with the same problems. Among others, the following three examples have helped with the coming into being of the governance strategy.

The Community Development Company, The Netherlands

In Dutch neighbourhoods which are difficult to develop because there is a large complexity in problems and parties, the Community Development Company (CDC) is used as a cooperative solution. In this company mostly authorities, developers and housing corporations work together and bring in the land and property they own in this company. This CDC acts then as an independent company until the projects are done. Lessons that can be learned from this process are that:

- different parties, with different interests can work together to improve a neighbourhood
- the financial risks are limited for these parties and the profits are shared
- the development plan will be matched to the different stakeholders, which can lead to a “larger and more ambitious plan” (Agentschap NL, 2013)
- because there are multiple parties involved and social responsibility should be taken, the process can be slow (Agentschap NL, 2013)

Political process of the San Ysidro projects in California

In 2001 the architect Estudio Teddy Cruz starts to collaborate with a community-based nongovernmental organization (NGO) to develop a pilot project for San Ysidro, located just across the border of Mexico. The NGO had been working for years in the area and was involved in programming public facilities, as well as community-based development efforts. The collaboration between the architect and the NGO has been intensively throughout the process wherein the role of the architect was more showing vision and translate problems and ideas into plans and the role of the NGO was more coordinating and organizing the process and informing all stakeholders about the upcoming changes. Lessons that can be learned from this process are that:

- the least influential inhabitants of the area were involved in the development process and had influence on the final result
- the municipality was willing to implement new zoning categories, which legalised nonconforming units through a new affordable housing overlay zone and authorized their reconstruction.
- the NGO had the central role in the developing process, because they communicated with all involved parties and leveraged ideas
- because there are multiple parties involved and especially the local residents, the process can be slow (Cruz, 2013).

Dapperbuurt, Amsterdam, collective client controlled development

The urban regeneration process of the Dapperbuurt in Amsterdam is one of the forerunners of, by Hein de Haan defined Collective Client Controlled Development (CCCD). “CCCD follows a relatively simple strategy to produce complex programmes for neighbourhoods, and to provide tailor made designs that meet the demands of the residents” (Qu and Hasselaar, 2011: 130). In the Dapperbuurt at the time of the urban renewal process, mainly people were involved living in the social renting sector. The approach used in this process was a step-by-step renewal process wherein “the residents had the power to influence the urban plan and the design of the building” (Qu and Hasselaar, 2011: 130). Lessons that can be learned from this process are that:

- “demands of the residents were known beforehand and were considered in the design,” (Qu and Hasselaar, 2011: 130 - 131),
- the municipality allowed certain adjustments to the design, even when these were not allowed by rules that were then in force. There was thus a top-down framework, which was, sometimes, adjusted to local needs;
- “the social infrastructure in the neighbourhood was protected
- houses and public facilities were kept in use during the process;
- started with building instead of demolition, to keep up the good spirit in the neighbourhood;
- considered the people as partners in the process” (Qu and Hasselaar, 2011: 130 - 131).

5.1 Area Lankou Street Office will be responsible for

5.2 Dalang Street Office becomes Dalang District
Three different processes from the USA and the Netherlands are shown as examples of complex urban regeneration processes, but how could this look like in Dalang?

The challenge of the experimental areas
Following the ideas from the Dapperbuurt and from San Ysidro, experimental areas could be a way to deal with factory areas in Dalang. In these areas a limited amount of redevelopment options are possible, and this is seen by most stakeholders as a problem. Shenzhen currently has the vision to use “design as a strategic tool in piloting urban transformations while (they want to) respect balanced economic development opportunities within a socio-culturally relevant context” (Shenzhen Centre of Design, 2009). Because of this effort Shenzhen was appointed as a UNESCO City of Design in 2008 (UNESCO, 2008). These piloting urban transformations formed from different perspectives, directly follow the development proposal argued for in this master thesis to add a layer on top of the existing master plan of “experimental areas.” This will be explained in detail in the next chapter of this thesis. In the experimental areas more redevelopment options could be possible.

The challenge of cooperation with residents
As shown in the examples of the Dapperbuurt and San Ysidro, it is possible to develop designs and planning processes that meet the demands of local residents, even when these local residents belong to the socially weaker segments of a society. However, these examples also showed that the initiative and organization needs to be in the hands of alternative parties, in these cases NGO’s and architects, who organize workshops and have contact with other stakeholders. The residents themselves need to have some kind of organized representation. In the case of Lankou area, this representation can be the residents’ committees.

The challenge of the Community Development Company
The Community Development Company (CDC) is used as a solution for the problems the current main stakeholders in redevelopment projects face. The CDC will be a collaboration between the villagers owning many of the buildings in Dalang, the Lankou Street office, owning much on the land, and a local project developer. These three parties will all be part of the CDC, who will own the land and will have the right to develop it. The profit the company makes will be shared. This makes the three parties from stakeholders, shareholders of the developments in Dalang.

The challenge of the initiator and organizer
As shown, the NGO was a very important party within the development process in San Ysidro. This was because the NGO started the whole design process, leveraged the ideas between different stakeholders, made the development process inclusive and organized the development process. Currently though, there is no such party known in Dalang. How is it then possible to establish a party that will have the same role in the development process?

Lately, more attention is paid in China to the need for NGO’s (Yushan, 2012). Even the former Chinese President Hu Jintao publicly spoke about the need for stronger social services provided by social groups and civil service (Context China, 2012). Following these words, Shenzhen is chosen as an “experimental site” for “reforms in a wide range of civil affairs for assessment by the Ministry of Civil Affairs and other government agencies” (ICNL, 2013). This means practically in Shenzhen that it is becoming easier for (not political sensitive (Lau, 2009)) NGO’s to register themselves, making them legal and allows them to get funding (People daily, 2008). This and other reasons cause the emergence of new forces in Shenzhen, in the form of, among others, NGO’s that are willing to improve the urban planning process. Examples of these NGO’s are R!PT!DE, Re-Tumu and the Shenzhen Centre for Design (SCD).

While the political environment for NGO’s is improving, there is currently not such an institution in Dalang. Therefore some of these ‘emerging forces’ could be attracted to
Dalang to cooperate in the local development process. The SCD could for example be the initiator of a local, participatory design process. The SCD is an independently operating nonprofit organization and aims to ‘encourage and promote innovative urban and habitat design’ (Moving Cities, 2011). In interviews and lectures Huang Weiren, director of the centre, repeatedly argues for the possibility for alternative planning approaches in Shenzhen. His ideas are that space could be designed in a more human scale (Claus, 2012) with more public participation, which is precisely the idea of this development proposal.

In Dalang the SCD would be engaged in initiating the development process, leveraging ideas between different stakeholders and would be able to organize the development process. The SCD has to work closely with the local residents’ committees who take into account the local needs and wishes in Dalang.

The other stakeholders involved in the proposed planning process will be now explained.

Volunteers in Dalang - Volunteers in Dalang will be included in the process because they can play an important role in informing and involving residents with the development process. They can organize activities and events that are part of the development process. They can be financially supported by the CDC and private companies.

Planning Bureau of Shenzhen - The planning bureau of Shenzhen is important to involve in the process because they manage the master plan and design regulations, that need to be changed or wherein new zones need to be added.

Academics - The role of academics is fourfold. First, academics can help with mapping the area. Second, they and their students can help with formulating new ideas for development of the area. Third, they will be involved in the evaluation process so that the process can be improved and last, experiences with this development process can be shared, published and be used in other areas as well.

Architects and urbanists - Architects and urbanists will be involved with mapping the area, showing possibilities for developments in the area and visualizing ideas. They need to work closely with all the other stakeholders.

Residents’ committees / workshops - Through residents’ committees and workshops the current residents of the area will be involved in the planning process. Because these residents currently need empowerment in the political process and they need to be organized better, representatives in residents’ committees will be chosen to be the voice of the residents in meetings. Workshops will be organized by the SCD, or organizing party, to better understand the needs of this group.

5.1.2. Process
The process wherein these stakeholders will work together has five main phases:

Getting to know the neighbourhood - wherein the initiator coordinates the different activities by different stakeholders. Involved will be the architects and urbanists, academics, the Lankou Street Office for maps, and the residents in workshops.

Add new experimental zones / change regulations - As shown in the analysis by many of the stakeholder the regulations for the redeveloping of factory areas are regarded to be too strict. A trial can be start with the Planning Bureau of Shenzhen to loosen up these regulations for certain areas that will be changed in the master plan.

Design the future - All stakeholders are involved in designing a future in which all their ideas are represented.
Develop the future - According to the plan and the strategy, different stakeholders will be involved by the development of different projects in the design. These partnerships will thus be diverse as will be the projects. The initiator will have a coordinating role. The volunteers and initiator will have an important role in informing different stakeholders and organizing events throughout the development process.

Evaluation - All stakeholders will be involved with an evaluation of the process and the result. The initiator will coordinate this evaluation and the academics will process the information.

5.1.3. Discussion
There are several advantages of this approach. First, it is tried to be an inclusive planning process wherein everybody who is involved with developments in Dalang is involved in the process. Second, the collaboration between the different parties is improved and the process is coordinated to balance the different ideas. Third, this development process lightness the work of the authorities, who have not enough resources to manage all these processes and last, the process will be slower than the current development processes going on in Shenzhen in Dalang. In this thesis it is tried to develop a strategy that ‘slows down Shenzhen speed’ so that there is time to take into account local people and the human scale. The proposed strategy is designed to have this effect.

There are also several challenges that this proposal faces. First, the CDC needs to be formed and the collaboration between the parties within the CDC has to work. Second, the Shenzhen Centre of Design is chosen as a logical institution to be involved in this process, but it is currently unknown if the centre is willing to involve. Third, there is currently no information known by the author about the residents’ committees in Dalang, so involving them might also be a challenge. Fourth, there is a huge amount of collaboration needed for this process to succeed.

5.1.4. Conclusion
A planning process is proposed in this strategy that is inclusive and has such a pace that it can take into account local needs and a human scale. Different stakeholders involved in the process need to collaborate on different scales and on different issues. This is similarly an advantage of this approach as it is a challenge.
5.2. Place: Strategy and design

This master thesis suggests how to change Dalang from a homogeneous area with low spatial quality, into a livable city for all. An inclusive and resilient area, build up from different communities which feel part of Shenzhen.

The current urban form of Dalang is the effect of a city that has developed itself. The role of this development proposal is not to replace this city, but to help it to perform better according to the current circumstances. Theories used by coming to this approach are already shown (Van Dorst, 2013, Habraken 2013). Other theories used are from Kevin Lynch (1968) who argues that the experience citizens have is the most important for a, in his words, 'good city'. Also Jan Gehl (2010) agrees in his book 'cities for people' with Jane Jacobs (1961) who argues that cities, in essence, are made for people to live in and should serve this goal.

In this approach not only the viewpoint is taken that cities are made for people, but are developed with people. According Portugali (2013) cities are not complex systems, the people living in them are and make them complex. In the words of Portugali these people are the 'urban agents'. These are not only the residents, but also the planners, architects and people working within the city authorities. To deal with the city, all these urban agents need to collaborate equally in the planning process.

The strategy follows Habraken in his ideas that a good functioning city needs a strong structure, with small flexible cells within this structure. This strategy is combined with the outcomes of the analysis and argues that the area needs to be better connected, empowered and diversified. The proposal is to do this by forming partnerships in the area, that include all stakeholders. These partnership can start a diversity of projects so that the city can be build up gradually from projects from different sizes and different perspectives.

1. Connect
To start developments in Dalang, people need to be connected. They need to be informed about upcoming changes and need to meet each other to be able to work on project for the areas. This can be achieved by creating places for social interaction. Next to this places need to be connect to improve the current bad accessibility of the area. This needs to happen on different scales, from connecting Dalang as a whole on the public transport network of Dalang to create small connections between different centres and compounds. Last, larger green structures need to be connected to improve the visibility and accessibility of these spaces.

2. Empower
There is a great need for public facilities in Dalang as education, training and health facilities. These facilities need to be developed in Dalang in order to improve the area. Next to this, when people are connected, they can start, with help form other, to empower themselves and start projects. These projects can help empower places, because the place analysis suggested that the spatial quality of Dalang needs to be improved.

3. Diversify
Dalang has currently a very homogeneous economy and population. To be a resilient area, more diversity is needed in both. The economy and population of areas are linked to each other though, so both need to change at the same time: new facilities, new industries need to be attracted to and a bigger diversity in housing needs to be build in the area. This will also increase the diversity spatially in the area.

The proposal is to make these three elements of the strategy possible by

1. Forming partnerships, that include all stakeholders
The people analysis has showed that not all stakeholders in Dalang are involved in planning processes in Dalang and that the different stakeholders do not work together. It is suggested that forming partnerships can help by creating a more livable and resilient area. Partnerships might thus be formed in which all stakeholders are engaged in development projects in Dalang.

These partnership will ...

2. Build up the city gradually in projects of different sizes
The partnerships will be diverse, because different stakeholders will be involved in different projects. These diverse partnerships, will start a diversity of projects in scale, process and perspective, that will have as a result that the city can be build up gradually.
5.2.1. Strategy Dalang
Different strategies work on different levels. On the level of Dalang, the focus of the strategy is on connecting places, making places accessible which allow development.

Connections are created between different centres, public transport networks and green structures. These connections are done by a new tram and green corridors through the city.

Connectivity - The tram connection is made to improve the accessibility to public transport networks within the whole area of Dalang and to improve the connectivity of emergent centres so that they have the possibility to develop further. By the example of recent developed tram networks in Buenos Aires (2007), Shanghai (2010) and Barcelona (2004), which solve similar problems, this tram is developed.

Functions - The tram allows different existing and emergent centres to develop, so that a hierarchy of different centres will appear. This hierarchy is decided on the current presence of functions and the future connectivity. A regional centre, is a centre with international brands, which is connected to several public transportation networks, while a municipality centre is a centre with functions which are focussed on a neighbourhood scale and is connected to a bus network and a tram network.

Environment - There are two main forms of green connections on this scale in Dalang. There is the green connection which is connected to the river and the green corridors connecting the larger green spaces. These connections improve the accessibility and visibility of green spaces in Dalang.
5.2.2. Strategy Focus area

The development strategy is translated to the focus area. On this level all the aspects of the strategy can be shown. One of the big problems shown in the analysis is that there is limited space for development in Dalang. It is on the other hand also shown that the economy is changing and that there are factories leaving Dalang. This brings thus opportunities, because these former factory areas can be redeveloped in more diverse areas and the high need for public spaces and facilities can be provided.

In Dalang three kinds of factory areas can be seen, these are also highlighted in the analysis. Vacant factory areas, factory areas with multiple users and factory areas with one user. These areas have different development options because of their current situation and because of their location. An area part of a municipal centre is developed differently than an area that is more locally oriented. How this works precisely is shown in the strategy and design for the three factory areas. The factory areas have one aspect in common though, and that is that they are “experimental areas”. These experimental areas are created on top of the existing master plan. In these areas more functions are possible. Next to these experimental areas, two levels of centres can be seen: a local centre that is focussed in activities and functions on the surrounding neighbourhoods and a municipal centre, that is focussed in activities and functions on the whole focus area. The centres are inter connected. Now the strategy will be explained by the three main steps:

Connect

The connections shown in the strategy of Dalang are translated to the focus area. These are physical connections between centres, which are the tram, roads or bridges, connections between green structures and places or moments which make connections possible between people. These places can be buildings where people can meet each other and public spaces. On the other hand there are moments organized where people can meet each other in the form of information evenings, workshops and events.

Empower

Empowerment takes place in several ways. First, functions helping empowering people, like education, training and health facilities are situated next to centre areas in Dalang. There are two levels of these centre areas. The municipal centre will have functions that are used by more people than the local centres. In local centres more neighbourhood focussed functions will be located. Second, public spaces need to be improved as roads and squares, which can also be called empowerment, only then of spaces.

Diversify

New facilities, industries and different kinds of housing will be developed throughout the area. There will be the possibility to start-up your own company, there will be a wider variety of recreational and commercial functions and there will be different kinds of factories and offices. This will have the biggest effect on the three factory areas, but also the rest of the area will diversify. The strategy used here, is that the accessibility of urban villages for example will be improved, so that it will be more attractive to start businesses there.

As shown in the earlier analysis and strategy, the proposal is to make these three elements of the strategy possible by

Forming partnerships, that include all stakeholders

On the local scale different partnerships will be formed around several projects. These partnerships include next to the authorities, residents, volunteers and other stakeholders in Dalang.
These partnerships will

**Build up the city gradually in projects of different sizes**

The different projects will be explained by the explanation of each different project, in the end of this chapter an overview of partnerships and projects will be given.

5.2.3. Design Focus area

This strategy will be tested on three different factory compounds in Lankou. One factory area consisting of multiple factories and two dormitories, one vacant factory area and one factory area used by only one business: Foxconn. These factory compounds are chosen because they are typical examples of what kinds of factory areas there are in Dalang, so that the strategy can be tested in typical, but still very different scenarios of factory areas.

The goal of the design and the development process is to show how through factory compounds Dalang can be transformed into a real city. In the coming chapter first a small introduction will be given on the different factory sites, then it will be explained what will be the strategy and the development concept, then the process of the development proposal will be suggested and finally the result, the final design, is presented.
5.2.4. Vacant factory compound

**Goal of the intervention**
The goal of this intervention is to show the possibilities of a vacant factory area close to an emerging centre and to show how important such an area can be for the whole neighbourhood.

**What is there?**
*Introduction compound* - In the middle of the focus area is a vacant factory area situated close to the emerging centre. The compound is according to spacemate, build up from mid rise closed blocks (which is not true) and is in between a highly urban area and an urban area. There is an open space at the back of these factories, which is probably the reason for the relatively low density of this compound and the outcome of spacemate. The program bars shows that 36% of the factory area consist of commercial functions. This is because there is a shopping mall at the corner compound. 64% of the compound consist of vacant factory buildings. These factory buildings are in a good enough condition to be re-used.

**Functions** - The factory compound is close to an emerging centre, which means that there is a variety of functions close by. There are several urban villages and other factory compounds close. There is a great need for public spaces and facilities in the neighbourhood.

**Environment** - The water stream is flowing next to the factory compound and there is a green hill on the other side of this stream. This hill is currently inaccessible.

**Connections** - The roads in the factory area are currently all closed off. This has as effect that the whole compound is inaccessible. This is the case with all the factory compounds that are close by. The urban villages that are close are accessible, but have very small roads.

**Problems and opportunities** - The biggest problem of this factory compound is the inaccessibility of the area and that there are no functions. This area has many opportunities though, because it is situated next to a centre area and different green and blue structures.
5.14 The current functions
5.15 The current infrastructure
5.16 The future infrastructure plans

5.17 The concept for the design of the compound
5.18 The location of the compound within the strategy

5.18 The location of the compound within the strategy

5.19 Process: prepare

The process of the development of the compound through the different phases, following the strategy is shown below.

1. Prepare
Community hall - People need to be informed and need to have the chance to get information about upcoming events and give their opinion. Therefore, the first action within the development process is that the Shenzhen Centre for Design (SCD) and the volunteers, funded with money from the Community Development Company (CDC) create an information desk.

5.19 Process: prepare

2. Connect
Community hall phase 2 - The information desk can be extended with a community space, meeting spaces and an area for the volunteers to store materials needed with events. In these spaces, workshops and meetings can be organized to discuss the upcoming plans with all the stakeholders.

Demolition - The start will be that the CDC will demolish the three most northern factories in the compound, to create an empty area.

New bridge - To start connecting spaces, a small pedestrian bridge is created by the CDC. They also start the design process of the park with the local residents.

Riverside improvement - The municipality of Shenzhen will finish the already started improvement of the riverside and will make the whole riverside accessible.

Strategic
Following the strategy this area will be on the one hand part of the centre of the focus area and on the other hand be part of the green connection between two main green structures in the area. The compound can be the switch between these two main functions, can have a major attraction and can create some local places as well. Because this compound currently has no users and is part of the centre area, it is relatively easy to attract new, empowering, functions and to provide in the need for open spaces in the area.

Concept
The concept shows the interlinking function of this compound in the future between the green connector and the centre area. This link acts different to the street, where it is active and attracting, than to the ‘back’ area, where it is soft and a trigger for the creation of a more intimate environment.

Concept
The concept shows the interlinking function of this compound in the future between the green connector and the centre area. This link acts different to the street, where it is active and attracting, than to the ‘back’ area, where it is soft and a trigger for the creation of a more intimate environment.
3. Empower

**Event** - On the empty space left after the demolition a big event for the whole focus area can be organized by the SCD and volunteers, funded by the CDC and local small entrepreneurs. The event is organized for the residents of the area to show the good intentions, to involve them with and to inform them about the upcoming developments in their area. For the organization of this event, a stage and a movie screen that can stay after the event are installed. The event can be a movie evening, a market, performances, workshops and much more.

**Community hall phase 3** - The spaces in the community hall can be extended by all kinds of activities needed by the residents of the area. Urban gardens, ping pong halls and places to play cards can be created with help from the SCD and volunteers.

**Demolition** - The three factory buildings in the north left are now to be demolished.

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**5.21 Process: empower**

4. **Diversify**

**Upgrade public space** - The open space the event was organized on, can be upgraded and designed. The CDC will be in charge of this. The public space will attract people from all over Dalang, has to host several different events and needs thus a very flexible and attractive design.

**Culture house** - A big trigger for the area can be build and opened in the form of an entertainment and culture house. This building will be very important for the whole focus area because it will attract people from all over Dalang. The building will also be the link between the centre area and the green connection on the other side of the building. The building needs to have an open, attracting appearance. The CDC will develop the building and manage it in the future together with private partners.

**Street furniture** - Together with local artists and the creative school in the Foxconn compound, street furniture can be designed and developed by local people.

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**5.22 Process: diversify**

**5.23 Design centre area**
found and where activities are organized. There will be the possibility for recreational activities is the one building as playing pool, ping pong and gardening, and the other building will be more designed for meetings.

References - Several references have been used for this design. The most important once are the people's square in Dalang, several examples of culture houses around the world and the different outdoor movie possibilities in neighbourhods in New York. The people's square is used for it's dimensions and the activities that take place on the square. The cultural houses have been researched because of the dimensions that are needed for such a facility and the appearances of these houses. The examples of movie grass fields in New York have also been researched for their dimensions and design. The conclusion of these reference studies is that the grass field should be large and open, should be protected from the main street and that the cultural house should be open to the public and attractive.
5.29 The vacant factory area currently

5.30 Design centre area

5.31 Community centre with garden, that is part of the green link
5.2.5. Factory compound with multiple factories

**Goal of the intervention**
The goal of this intervention is to show how a local factory compound with residents and factories that are not planning to move out, can transform gradually to an attractive local area where residents like to live and work and stay to improve their lives.

**What is there?**
*Introduction compound* - In the North of Dalang there is a factory area situated in the middle of new urban village neighbourhoods. The compound is according to spacemate, build up from mid rise compact blocks and is highly urban. The program bar shows that 80% of the area consist of factories and 20% of housing. The factories are multiple small scale, low end, factories. The factories make all kinds of products, various from clothing to electricity wires, from big machinery to components for motor bikes. Many of these factories provide noise disturbance and pollution. There are two dormitories in the area, where around 450 inhabitants live. All the buildings are in a bad condition, the factory buildings worse than the dormitories.

*Functions* - Around the factory compound there are several urban villages, and in the south of the compound the centre of the focus area is situated. There are several local centres also close by and at the borders of the urban villages facing the factory compound, many local shops are located. Public spaces and facilities are not present in the neighbourhood.

*Environment* - Next to the compound the water stream flows and the municipality is currently constructing the sides of this stream to make it more accessible.

*Connections* - The compound is difficult to access. Even when not all the roads are private, the public roads are in such a bad condition that these do not welcome visitors to enter. In the future plans of the planning bureau of Shenzhen, there will be several roads constructed around this area to make it more accessible. The factories that are currently there do not fit the future ideas of the Street Office of Shenzhen and they would like them to upgrade.

*Problems and opportunities* - Summarized the area is homogeneous in population and economy, is not good accessible, has very low quality buildings and works as a barrier for it’s surroundings. There are though, emerging centres in the neighbourhood and a water stream that is being upgraded. A great opportunity for this compound is to connect to the neighbourhoods around it and provide on a local scale functions the compound itself and its surroundings need.
Strategy
Following the strategy the area will make connections to other areas, centres and green structures, will empower its residents and spaces by bringing in public functions and improve the spatial quality of spaces. It will diversify the economies and spatial qualities by bringing in the opportunity for local factories to upgrade themselves and bring in more space for other functions like commercial functions and recreational functions.

Concept
The concept shows active borders of the compound: an attractive skin. There will be a new local centre created that will be connected to other centres in the area. Factories will still be there but in the centre of the compound, with space in between them and other functions. The river will be accessible.

Process
The process of the development of the compound through the different phases, following the strategy is shown below.

1. Prepare Inform - In the factory area close to the centre of the focus area, an information centre is opened. This is also the centre where the residents of this area can find their information.

An alternative space - Because in this factory live and work people who were not planning to leave, an alternative space needs to be build for them to live and work in during the upcoming constructions. The planning bureau of Shenzhen already had plans for a bridge and road north of the compound, connecting the two sides of the water stream. The current police building needed therefore already to move. The space that comes free after the police station has moved can be used for this alternative space for the residents of the compound. This intervention is build from temporary constructions so that it is fast to move, but can in the end transform into a permanent structure. Next to the new, alternative spaces for people to live and work in, public space can be created. This space should be designed and constructed to be there permanent. The CDC has the leading role in this development.

2. Connect Demolition - As soon as the alternative spaces are ready, the demolition of one of the residents buildings and four of the factory buildings can start.

Community house & public space - In cooperation with the residents and the CDC, the SCD will coordinate the process that will lead to a new community house and public space in the area. In this community house, all kinds of ‘common’ functions can be situated as a kitchen, living room, meeting rooms, a day care for children, etc.

Factory - One new factory will be constructed, as an example for the other factories. The factory will be designed so that all small businesses using it can share facilities as machinery, computers, toilets and meeting rooms. There will also be training facilities in this factory.

Housing project - The dormitory left over, will be developed by the residents themselves under guidance of the SCD. They will get open space around their dormitory to develop into a garden and they can use the common facilities in the community house.
3. Empower

**Library** - A library that can serve the whole focus area, will be constructed by the CDC. This library will have books, music and movies, but also computer rooms, a book store and room for events.

**Demolition** - Two other factory buildings can be demolished, as soon as the other buildings are demolished.

**Public space** - New roads can be constructed by the CDC and the public space surrounding and within the compound can be designed and improved.

4. Diversify

**Mixed use** - The CDC will develop in cooperation with the SCD and local residents new housing for the old residents and new housing for new residents, commercial functions at the borders of the compound and new factory buildings that are situated in the middle of the compound.

**Design**

*Problems* - The design looks like it does because it is addressing several problems and it is inspired by several examples of neighbourhoods. The main problems this proposal tries to solve are the need for better connections, the need for public spaces and facilities, the need for more green and the need for more recreational facilities. The two new bridges and the attractive skin of the compound improve the connection with the other neighbourhoods. The new local centre has functions like a library, a community house, a kindergarten, shops and restaurants that will improve the diversity of functions in the neighbourhood. There is a green connection next to the river, making also larger green areas more accessible. There are different kinds of housing: one of the old dormitories will be renovated by the residents themselves into a more beautiful, but still affordable building. The other new housing will be a mix of affordable housing to more upmarket housing possibilities. The factories will be situated in buildings in which they can share facilities like computers, meeting rooms and machinery. In this way the facilities are used more efficient, making it cheaper for the factories to use them, and they have the possibility to meet and learn from each other.
References - References used by this design are the surrounded urban villages, the courtyard and several examples of community living and upgrading from different countries. The surrounded urban villages are used as a reference for the profile of the several housing blocks. The public space in the design is designed by example of the old courtyard principle. The public spaces differ in accessibility and have a hierarchy. The accessibility decreases from spaces next to the main street, to the inner courtyards. The community design examples are used for the process and form of the community house with common functions like a kitchen and the community garden surrounding the dorm.
5.48 The factory area with multiple factories currently

5.49 Design factory area

5.50 Design inner space between buildings
5.2.6. Factory compound with one factory

**Goal of the intervention**
The goal of this intervention is to show how a factory area with one factory can be transformed into an attractive working and living area when suddenly the factory leaves and 33% of the workers decides to stay.

**What is there?**
*Introduction compound* - In the South of Dalang there is a large factory area, with multiple large factory compounds. One of these compounds is a Foxconn compound. Foxconn is a large Taiwanese factory that has been in the international news the last two years because of the working conditions of the factory workers. In this factory, among others, Apple products are being made (The Epoch Times, 2010, The Guardian, 2010, The Guardian, 2012, Chang, 2012, The Guardian, 2013). Foxconn is planning to move this year to the inlands of China, leaving the factory compound vacant and the factory workers without a job or with the choice to move with the factory. The factory compound consists of five large factory buildings and six dormitories. All buildings are in a relative good condition. The compound is according to spacemate, build up from mid rise super blocks and is highly urban. The program bar shows that 36% of the space is related to living, while 64% related to factories. There is also some commercial space, but this space does not even cover 1% of the area. There live around 3600 workers in the compound. Among 1200 would think about staying in Dalang.

*Functions* - Around the factory compound are other factory compounds. There is a local centre in the South, where the workers play pool, computer games or ping pong and where they eat.

*Environment* - The compound is surrounded by a green hill, that is currently inaccessible.

*Connections* - Currently the compound is impossible to access because the roads are private and strictly guarded. The compound is connected to one of the major roads of the focus area. In the future there are plans for improving the connections of the factory compound to its surroundings.

*Problems and opportunities* - Summarized the area is homogeneous in population and economy is inaccessible, has very low quality buildings and works as a barrier for its surroundings. There are though, emerging centres in the neighbourhood and a water stream which is being upgraded. A great opportunity for this compound is to connect to the neighbourhoods around it and provide a local scale functions the compound itself and its surroundings need.

5.51 The compound consists of mid rise super blocks
5.52 The concept for the design of the compound

5.53 The current infrastructure

5.54 The future infrastructure plans

5.55 The concept for the design of the compound

5.56 The location of the compound within the strategy

Strategy
Following the strategy the compound will be connected to other areas, will have a local centre and will be connected to a large green area. The borders of the compound facing the main roads will have active borders.

Concept
The concept shows that the compound will be divided in smaller cells, with one main strip in the middle that is connected to a centre. Working functions are more situated in the south, and living functions more in the north.

Process
The process of the development of the compound through the different phases, following the strategy is shown below.

1. Prepare
Inform - In the factory area close to the centre of the focus area, an information centre is opened. This is also the centre where the residents of this area can find their information.

New factory - As soon as Foxconn leaves, a new factory will be attracted to the area by foxconn and the CDC. This factory is offered not only an existing building, but also land to develop.

New restaurants - A new restaurant will be attracted to the compound by the CDC.

Demolition - As soon as there is a new factory and a new restaurant, the demolition of two factory buildings and of four dormitories can start.

2. Connect
Improvement common spaces - The SCD will together with the Foxconn workers who staid in the compound, improve the common spaces on the ground floor of the dormitories

Improvement public spaces - The CDC will improve the public spaces around and inside the factory compound and will develop together with the local residents a public space special for them, with a focus on sports.

Connection to new centre - As soon as the small pedestrian bridge is ready close to the municipal centre, the CDC can start with the design and develop process of the green, current inaccessible area surrounding the compound.

New road - A new road can be constructed as soon as the factory is demolished. This road was already planned by the cities authorities.
3. Empower

Health centre - A health centre will be situated in the centre of the area. On the ground floor will be the entrance and an information desk, but will also be room for commercial functions.

Creative school - A creative school will be situated in one of the old factory buildings. Therefore the building needs some adjustments. There will be much focus on the design of the building and the public spaces.

Adjustments factory buildings - In order for new industries to enter the area, the CDC will, in collaboration with the future renters, renovate two old factory buildings.

New factory phase 2 - The factory that was already in the area from the start can start developing new buildings with help of the CDC.

4. Diversify

New industries - As soon as the factory buildings are ready, new industries can be attracted to the area. These industries are preferably tech start-ups and creative industries, linked to the school.

Upscale housing - New, higher end, housing blocks will be developed in the area by the CDC. They will be developed to attract the higher educated workforce that can work in the new industries that will be developed in the area.

New commercial and recreational facilities - In the factories and in the area will also be room for new commercial and recreational facilities. Especially next to squares, the ground floor of buildings will be developed with a focus on these facilities.

Design

Problems - The problems, trends and opportunities addressed in this design are the need for more public space and functions, more recreational functions, a greater diversity in economies and people and the needed improvement of the accessibility. There is one main centre in the form of a Chinese tea garden in the middle. This centre is situated next to the active strip, that goes straight through the area. The compound is decided in several sub compounds or blocks, each having their own centre. The centres in the working area in the south are public, those in the north in the living area more private. There is a creative school and a health care facility and there are several small shops, restaurants, offices and locations for start-ups. There will be two factories active in the area. These buildings will be flexible in use though, and can also become offices in the future. There will be a greater diversity in housing. From the renovated dormitories where affordable housing will be situated, to more upmarket apartment blocks. The area will be made accessible in many ways.
References - The three main references used by the design on this area are the danwei compound, the OCT loft area and the Französische viertel in Tübingen. The danwei is used for it's hierarchy, the communal living and main axes. The OCT loft area is used for ideas for the public space and the use of different kinds of centres and places. The Französische viertel in Tübingen is used for it's urban design on a larger scale and the interaction between new and old buildings in a relatively homogeneous environment.
The factory area with one factories currently.

Design factory area.

Design factory area, the dormitories.
5.2.7. Conclusion place

The design of Lankou area shows the relation of the three factory areas with each other and with their surroundings. What can be seen is that the areas have become more diverse, both in functions as in form, that the connectivity has been improved and that the human scale has been brought back to the factory compounds and their surroundings. Not only the development strategy is used for the factory areas, but it is also shown what this strategy can mean for the traditional urban village. Through strong connections, taking into account the local conditions of the village, the traditional urban village is made accessible and attractive to enter. Different existing buildings have been highlighted, because these buildings are currently vacant and could be redeveloped. Some of them have even historical value.

The different aspects of the design will be explained in the following maps.

Green structures - it can be seen that the connectivity between the green structures is improved, making them more accessible and visible throughout the focus area. There is also a greater diversity in green structures and agricultural land is made an official land use.

Connectivity - throughout the area the connectivity between spaces has been improved. As well the public transportation by the tram network, as the roads have been improved. There is not only a better connection, there are also more layers of streets. The red connections between neighbourhoods are for example main pedestrian roads, where cars are not welcome.
Functions - The map, the spacemate diagrams and the program bars show that the diversity in functions has been improved. Not only are there more areas suitable for functions because they are accessible and improved in attractiveness, but there are also new functions in the area like a community house, culture house and health building. What can be seen is that many of the public functions are situated next to the main public spaces, to make them more accessible and attractive to visit. The type of function is related to the location of the function and the type of residents that are living in an area. Functions in a municipal centre have to offer a bigger audience something then the once in a local centre. For the same reason, different types of residents have influence on the type of function.

In the spacemate diagrams it can also be seen that the structure of the build form has been changed in the compounds. The biggest changes can be seen in the Foxconn compound, the factory compound with only one factory and the vacant factory compound. These compound change their typologies according to spacemate. In these cases it means that their block size has decreased.
Partnerships
The SCD will have the main organizing role in the development process and will be supported in that role by the academics, architects and urban designers. The proposal is that they will guide five different partnerships that will work in the area. These partnerships develop projects that are always communicated with all the other stakeholders.

The different partnerships are:

**CDC** - The Community Development Company is already a partnership of the Lankou Street Office, a local project developer and the villagers. This partnership will be responsible for the whole area and will share the profit in the end. They will organize and implement most of the infrastructure and green projects because these are projects functioning on a larger scale.

**Representatives & SCD** - The representatives of the migrants, the migrants themselves and the SCD will develop some community projects. The renovation of three dormitories and public space will be developed by this partnership.

**Representatives, SCD, CDC & volunteers** - The largest and most complicated partnership will be the one with the representatives of the migrants, the migrants themselves, the SCD, the Community Development Company and the volunteers. In the centre area there will be different stages of development, and all of these parties will be involved in some of these developments. It makes it more clear for the process that not everybody will be involved in these areas at the same time.

**Representatives, SCD & CDC** - Areas which redeveloped with help from local residents will be organized with a partnership consisting of the representatives of the migrant, the SCD and the CDC. In this way there will be enough attention for the local needs, will there be someone heavily involved to organize workshops and sessions and communicate these needs and will the CDC have enough power to implement the plans.

**CDC & external party** - The partnership that will work on new developed areas, will consist of the Community Development Company and an external party. It depends per project how much the CDC will be involved and how much the external party. The external party is in most cases a different party, from the renter of the library to the owners of the cultural house.
5.3. People: Storylines

The storylines presented here are made up to show how different people, in different stages of their lives experience the development process and use the final proposed space. The storylines do not represent all people living in the focus area though, and even the group they represent is much more diverse than shown in these stories. The storylines should thus be seen as examples of local residents, this is also why the names of the personages are fictional. The storylines are based on my own interviews, the interviews of ChenYan, a Chinese graduate student at the Hong Kong University, a large questionnaire done in Dalang and literature studies. So, the storylines might be made up, there are definitely linkages to the reality.

5.3.1. “Since Foxconn left, so much has happened!”

Name: Yao Yao
Hometown: Sichuan Province
Years in Dalang: 2
Marital status: Single
Education: Middle school
Profession: Assembly line worker in Foxconn
Age: 18
Lives in: Dormitory (together with 5 other girls)
Earns: 2000 RMB
Hobbies: Window shopping, watching movies
Future dream: I don’t know

Yao Yao lives now for 2 years in Dalang. She has been working as an assembly line worker in Foxconn. Yao Yao comes from a small village in Sichuan Province where she grew up with her grandparents because her parents were working in Guangzhou. She went to Shenzhen to get the chance to earn more money to support her grandparents and parents. She started working at Foxconn because she thinks working at a large factory is good for her experience and resume.

Foxconn has left already some time ago, but Yao Yao stayed. She had no clue what to do, when her factory was leaving, but she was tired moving and she liked Dalang. Since Foxconn left, so much has happened! She and her coworkers have been working really hard under the leadership of the Shenzhen Centre of Design to renovate their dormitory. Now it’s colourful and she sleeps only with two other girls in the dormitory. She is still an assembly line worker in a factory, but she is working hard to develop her skills. During the renovation process she helped organizing a big event on the main square and she found out that she liked it and that she’s good in it. Now she is following a managing course in the community centre to develop this skill, she might start her own business in the future...!

Yao Yao is using a big part of Dalang. She has not that much free time, but when she has free time she uses it to go out with friends to the outdoor movies, to go shopping or to take a walk in the park. If her friends are working she likes to go to the library, where she can watch documentaries.

Dalang is becoming really cool! Yao Yao’s friends are trying to get a room in her dormitory, because the reputation is that good. Luckily the rents will not rise because that is negotiated with the SCD and the development company, which is responsible for the neighbourhood. Yao Yao is planning to stay still some time in Dalang.
5.3.2. “There is room to play!”

Name: Changying
Hometown: Dalang
Years in Dalang: 3 years
Marital status: -
Education: -
Profession: -
Age: 3
Lives in: Affordable housing (together with family)
Earns: -
Hobbies: Playing, going to the park, dancing
Future dream: To become a police woman

Changying is three years old and lives together with her mother, father, grand mother and grand father in an affordable housing complex in Dalang. She is born and raised here, but her family is from a little village in Guangdong province. Her mother and father have been working in several different locations before coming to Dalang, her grandparents just recently moved in.

The last years some big changes have taken place: their whole neighbourhood is redeveloped. First they lived in a dormitory, but when a whole group of people argued that their dormitory had to be demolished because the building quality was too low, they had to move to a temporary house, before they could move to the house they live in now. Changying did not like all the moving so much, but loves her new home: it is so much lighter! And her grandparents can also live here!

The parents of Changying are still working in the factories where they worked before, but like it much more. There is room for training, they meet many other factory workers and the buildings are very light and open.

Changying likes the new centre, because there her kindergarten is situated, where she goes one day a week. The other days her grandparents take care of her, or her parents. With her family he goes all around the neighbourhood: to the park, to the playing field, to the big centre and she even went once to a show especially made for children in the big culture building.
5.3.3. “I now have my own company”

Name: Dingxiang
Hometown: Dongbei province
Years in Dalang: 5 years
Marital status: Girlfriend
Education: University
Profession: Owner company
Age: 35
Lives in: Commercial housing (together with girlfriend)
Earnings: 7500 RMB
Hobbies: Badminton, library, watching movies
Future dream: To become the boss

Dingxiang comes from a small city in Dongbei province. Because he went to university, he left his hometown when he was 18. The last years he had a great job at Foxconn: a technical designer, but he was already then thinking of starting a business for his own. Dingxiang has a girlfriend working in a factory in Dalang.

When Foxconn left Dingxiang and his girlfriend had to make a difficult decision, because Dingxiang was offered a job in the new factory. After they heard what the new plans for the Foxconn area were, and because his girlfriend wanted to stay, they both decided to stay in Dalang.

Since then a lot has changed. First Dingxiang started working in a new factory that came to replace Foxconn, but he did not like it so much. After an information evening organized by the SCD that was the speaking point through the whole process, he heard about the upcoming changes in the area, and that there would be room for creative start-ups. When the time was there, he had an interview and was chosen with his business plan to start his company.

After some time, he and his girlfriend decided to move to the new commercial housing in the Foxconn area: it looks so nice! Dingxiang is now really proud on his house, his company and the compound he is living in. Many young people and couples are living in the compound which makes it really lively. Also in the rest of Dalang all facilities are there: training facilities, the health care building is just around the corner and there is enough entertainment. When Dingxiang and his girlfriend want to go to the city centre they go by car, but sometimes also my public transport because it is almost as fast and easier with parking.

The girlfriend of Dingxiang is recently becoming active with organizing social activities for the neighbourhood, through which she met many people. Now Dingxiang is also thinking of joining.
5.3.4. “I am very happy to stay with my son and his family!”

Name: Jinhai
Hometown: Guangdong province
Years in Dalang: 7 months
Marital status: Married
Education: Primary school
Profession: -
Age: 65
Lives in: Tradition village (together with his son, his wife and their child)
Earnings: -
Hobbies: Playing cards, chatting, do exercises.
Future dream: Being healthy

Jinhai just arrived in Dalang. He comes from a small village in Guangdong province where he has been a farmer for all his life. His wife died a year ago and that is why he recently decided to move to live with his son and his wife in Shenzhen. His son lives in the traditional village in a courtyard house. They live there together with the wife of his son and their child. The son of Jinhai spends long hours working in a factory and that is why Jinhai spends a lot of time with the child. In his free time he likes to play cards, watch television and hang out on the street. The last years his eyes have become very bad though.

Since Jinhai started living in Dalang, the area has changed a lot. First, roads were a bit messy and there was too much construction noise for Jinhai to enjoy the rest of the neighborhood, but along the way, he went to visit more often, also because the grandson likes to go out. Now he has been visiting the library, the museum and he even has been to a Chinese opera in the culture house.

He has made new friends with whom he is playing cards a lot. Next to that he goes gardening in the new agricultural areas behind the traditional village. Jinhai meets other elderly men from areas around his village in the community house, where they sometimes even get offered traditional food. His grand son often joins him to these meetings, he then goes watching a movie.
5.3.5. Conclusion people

The map 5.85 shows what places are used by the people represented in the four storylines. Some places will be used more often by a more diverse group than other places. The map cannot be a conclusion for the use of all the spaces in Dalang though. This is because in the first place, and as shown before, the storylines do not represent all people living in the focus area and should be seen as examples of how different people can use the spaces and experience the proposed developments in Dalang.

In the second place, do some of the people represented by the storylines, represent a larger percentage of the population than others. It is already shown for example, that the majority of the population of Dalang is young and uneducated. This ‘type’ is in the storylines represented by Yao Yao. More people currently living in Dalang will thus have similar use patterns as Yao Yao. The hypothesis of this master thesis though, is that some of these young people will stay in Dalang and build up a life. This will mean that they will get children (Changying), will develop themselves (Dingxiang) and ultimately grow old (Jinhai). In these different stages of their lives, they will have different user patterns of the area. This is one of the reasons why the storylines are chosen: not to show how all the residents can use the area, but how different kinds of people, in different stages of their lives can use the area and experience the proposed development process.
5.4 Conclusion development proposal

This development proposal shows a strategy in which a diversity of partnerships is formed around a diversity of projects in size and perspective. The location chosen is Lankou area, in Dalang, which is part of Longhua New District. In this area it is shown how homogeneous factory compounds can be redeveloped into diverse areas, with participation of the former residents. An emphasis is put on the importance of projects on the smallest scale, that bring back the human scale in these factory areas. A more resilient area is created, where people from all generations can live and build up a life.

The strategy proposed in this Master thesis is tested on Lankou, but the title of this master thesis is "Slowing Down Shenzhen Speed". This implies that the strategy could be possible in more areas in Shenzhen. This strategy is according to the author possible to implement in areas, that are homogeneous, have no high investment interest and where migrants are the main residents. This means that these areas can be all around Shenzhen. If there is for example chosen for the redevelopment of an urban village in the city centre of Shenzhen, the proposed strategy can be used, because these areas are also homogeneous and have a large percentage of migrants. According to the author, it is a political decision for these areas to have a high investment interest. If the municipal authorities decide that it is important to have migrants living in the centre of Shenzhen at that location, the investment interest for other functions is obviously not relevant anymore.

In the development proposal there is chosen to show the proposed strategy in the form of a spatial strategy and in detail, in the design for three factory areas. In these designs it is shown that the same strategy can cause different outcomes, depending on the local conditions of these factory areas.
6.

CONCLUSION

This chapter shows the conclusion of this master thesis, the recommendations that can be drawn from this research and an evaluation of the whole project and process.
6.1. Conclusion

The goal of this master thesis is to take position and to add knowledge to the debate around alternative planning approaches possible in Shenzhen. The position of this master thesis is that from a people’s and local’s perspective better urban planning is possible. An inclusive planning approach is presented, that focuses on more scales than the current practices in Shenzhen. This inclusive multi-scale approach is applied to Dalang, a homogeneous district with low spatial quality. This master thesis shows how Dalang can change into a livable city for all, just as many other areas like it can.

The outcome of this project is embodied in the three main research topics of this research and focuses on planning, people and place. The main research question is: “How can an alternative planning approach contribute to a solution to the problems and interests of the stakeholders involved by the current transition of factory compounds in Shenzhen?” This research question is formulated since Shenzhen is changing its economy in ‘Shenzhen Speed’ from low-end manufacturing to high end manufacturing and services, which means that low-end factories are leaving the city formerly known as the ‘Factory of the world’. Shenzhen now has to find a new identity without its factories, but also has to deal with the effects of the vulnerable, unemployed people and vacant factory compounds that these factories leave behind.

The authorities in Shenzhen mainly focus on fast and large scale projects that do not take into account local spatial and social issues. This research suggests that there are alternative planning approaches possible. For this research as well international theory as Chinese theory is used. Chinese historic compounds, for example gave excellent starting points for the new design of factory compounds in Dalang. The ideas from these theories and the implementation of them in Dalang, showed how the approaches researched can be added to the current approaches of the Shenzhen authorities.

Following this research, the main conclusions are highlighted per research focus area.

**Different sizes of projects are needed, with diverse partnerships organizing them**

The approach suggested in this master thesis involves all stakeholders in Dalang. These stakeholders are next to the authorities, local project developers, residents, volunteers and many more. In diverse partnerships the stakeholders are organized around different sizes of projects. This results in an approach wherein large, structuring projects work along local projects that bring in the human scale. This planning approach links scales, people and different opinions and results in a city that develops gradually. Because ideas from different perspectives are involved the city will be more diverse and thus more resilient.

**Vulnerable groups can empower themselves, after provided basic empowerment**

It is believed that the current problems of Dalang cannot effectively be solved by physical interventions only. The approach suggested in this master thesis therefore combines a physical strategy with a social strategy. Currently, the largest group in Dalang and Shenzhen, the migrants, are completely left out of the development processes of urban areas. Next to that, the government argues that they have not enough resources and space to provide all the needed services for these groups. This research suggests that a city has to provide the basic empowerment needs like education, health, training and job creation, before its population can empower itself.

**Factory areas provide space for development**

The factory areas provide space for public space and all kinds of facilities that are currently missing in Dalang. In spontaneous developed areas like Dalang, factories are still one of the main functions. These factories are very diverse in form and activity. The vacant factory areas and factory areas under transition can be seen as a great opportunity for the many problems areas like Dalang have. It has to be understood though, that these factory compounds all need different strategies, according to their local conditions. A compound where people are still working and living needs a different approach than a complete vacant compound. Three examples of possible redevelopments of different factory compounds are shown in this master thesis. These examples showed that in order to use and adapt to local conditions effectively, the local scale and people have to be taken into account.

The title of this master thesis is ‘Slowing down Shenzhen speed’. This implies that the inclusive urban planning approach proposed can be used in more areas in Shenzhen, and not only in Dalang. This strategy suits areas in Shenzhen that have a large percentage of migrants and a homogeneous economic activity. This strategy can be used in areas that have a low investment interest, which is shown to be a political decision of the authorities in Shenzhen. When there is the political will in Shenzhen to regenerate urban areas and to allow people to build up their lives, this strategy can be used in areas all around Shenzhen. Then, the developing speed of Shenzhen can be slowed down to a pace that can take into account local conditions and local needs.
6.2. Recommendations

As shown, the development proposal is mainly developed to add to the discussion about the development approaches currently going on in Shenzhen. This automatically makes the development proposal in the current condition difficult to implement. The conditions that prevent the current proposal and the recommendations for changes are:

1. **Implement experimental social development zones**
   Shown is that an equal environment is needed for vulnerable people to allow them to empower themselves. When it is, according to the hukou system, forbidden to provide migrants with public facilities, this equal environment will be very difficult to create. However from different angles it is indicated that experiments are needed and happening with the hukou system. In this master thesis it is recommended to start testing social reforms in large cities, on a small scale. Experimentations with the hukou reform could take place slowly and in specific “Social Development Zones”.

2. **Implement experimental areas**
   The current regulations for the regeneration of factory areas are too strict in the functions they allow. Different stakeholders argue for and different international examples show the possibility to add ‘experimental areas’ on top of the current master plan of Dalang. These areas are more flexible in the functions they allow than areas in the rest of Shenzhen. Shenzhen could again be an experimental city for China.

3. **Invest in a diversity of projects**
   The current planning approach of the government to restructure outer areas like Dalang, is mainly focusing on fast, large scale infrastructure projects. This research suggests that an investment in a diversity of projects, can be more effective than the current strategy of the authorities in Shenzhen. These projects would allow the city to transform gradually into a more diverse, liveable and resilient city.

4. **Invest in cooperation and mutual understanding**
   The proposed strategy focuses on cooperation and mutual understanding between stakeholders. Because there is a large number of very diverse stakeholders involved, the process can be slow and the cooperation can be problematic. For this reason it is very important to invest in this cooperation and mutual understanding. In this thesis it is recommended to form a Community Development Company to allow the developing parties to work together and it is recommended to attract a developing NGO to Dalang. This NGO, in the suggested form of the Shenzhen Centre for Design, improves the inclusiveness of the planning process because they make sure all stakeholders are involved and all ideas are leveraged.

5. **Provide an environment for people that allows them to stay**
   One of the main challenges when factory areas with residents are redeveloped, is how to provide an environment for these residents to stay. Local residents have showed that they would like to stay after their factory leaves, so investments are needed for them to be able to have a place to work, live and eat.

**Recommendations for further research**

The main recommendation for further research is that the process might be implemented, on a small scale in experimental areas, and might be evaluated extensively to learn from the experiences. Attention is needed for the tools that can be used to evaluate the planning and design process and outcomes. In the opinion of the author at least the formation and collaboration of the partnerships might be taken into account. With all stakeholders could be contact about their expectations of the process beforehand, their experiences throughout the process, and their opinion about the final result. Academics could be the one organizing this process.
6.3. Evaluation

Within this evaluation I try to show what the research and process of the making of this master thesis brought me.

Making it spatial

This research was started when I still studied in Trondheim, Norway, and got to know the ideas of Nabeel Hamdi, who explained the possibilities of the small scale approach in complex urban settlements. He, and in general my education in Norway, had a very people centred approach. I learned how to do social analysis, and had for example a course “planning in diverse cultures” that explained the difficulties the planning profession faces while acting in different cultures.

During this time in Norway, I was already in contact with the International New Town Institute, about the possibilities of graduating in collaboration with them. This is why I already started a social research on female factory workers in the Pearl River Delta, China, while I was in Norway. Coming back to Delft I had thus already ideas about problems to address socially and theoretically, but spatially I still had to start. This shows the challenge I had during the beginning of the graduation process to bring together the social and planning problems and their spatial reality.

After the visit to China, these issues were easier to integrate because the spatial implications of social and planning problems became clear. I found out that many social and planning problems have spatial implications, and can sometimes be solved spatially. What I learned through this research, is that it is important when working on urban issues to see them through various scopes. There are so many processes that influence cities, that it is above all, necessary to show the different perspectives. This is what I have tried to do in this master thesis.

Linkages

The research for this thesis started thus with a theoretical approach and a social research project done in Norway. After this, half a year of literature and google maps followed as only sources of information about the reality in Dalang. This was problematic because my approach was to provide an alternative planning approach for the current realities in Dalang. I was thus already developing an alternative planning approach, without knowing these current conditions.

After the site visit I discovered several local conditions that could be opportunities for my development proposal, or challenged my earlier ideas. One example is that in the theory the possibility for small scale interventions is researched, but that in reality it seemed more logic to combine small scale processes with large scale processes that were already being developed. One other example was the finding that for some stakeholders Dalang was of no interest (Vanke project Developer). These outcomes from the reality, slightly changed the focus I had from the theory research, and in the end, combined, formed the development proposal.

The link between the design and the strategy, analysis and theory is very interwoven. The design I used in this process for two goals. First I used the process of designing to improve my analysis and development proposal. For example, I found out that I should have done more analysis on a local scale than I had done while designing. These analysis were thus made quite late in the process but helped me to improve my design and story. Second, I used the design to show and test how the strategy could work and look like. I tried by designing to show that the strategy I have developed is not just fiction, but could really work and would be favourable. In general, I feel like the designs combine everything I learned throughout the year and show it in understandable examples. This makes them maybe the best conclusion of my graduation project.

Problem?

I remember the moment that I found a vacant factory in Dalang and knew that there was at least one vacant factory in Shenzhen. The literature and news messages I read before going to Shenzhen pointed out that at least 40% of the factories should be empty and that this was a problem. Going to Shenzhen though, and speaking with people who had already been there, showed me that the ‘problem’ was more nuanced than I thought by then. Yes, factories were leaving, but these factories were transformed in such a high speed into other factories or other functions that it was not a real big problem. In the end, and what I try to show with this research, is that the factories are not the problem, but part of the solution for a much wider problem: that Dalang is not a place where people can build up their lives and that Shenzhen has to find a new identity. In the words of Professor Ji Linkui, who explained me a lot about Dalang, Dalang is not a real city, but can become one in the future, and the factories can play an important role in this development.

Analysis techniques - multi-method approach

As shown before, throughout the project I have used many different research approaches. Since my approach was people centred, techniques I used were interviewing and observing, that were borrowed from sociology. A difference though, is that I also tried to map this information, to see if there were spatial relations. I not only interviewed local stakeholders, who allowed me to understand the local conditions in Dalang, but I also tried to speak before going to China to experts, who could help me focussing my research.
Next to these techniques I have used multiple other research approaches. I read a lot throughout the process. In a later stage of my graduation project I started mapping all kinds of topics in Dalang on a large and a more focussed scale. I started drawing sections and made a 3D model from my focus area, just to get a better understanding of the spatial qualities in Dalang. These analysis allowed me to do what my planning proposal was: design a multidimensional development proposal for Dalang.

**Complexity**

This research project is done within the studio ‘Shenzhen Scenario’s’. “The studio wants to understand the existing modes of development in Shenzhen, to understand socio-spatial changes in the evolving post-industrial network society and to build alternative scenarios and develop strategies for more sustainable, diverse and integrated development and spatial interventions”. The research project presented in this thesis follows this approach and tries to understand developments in Dalang and aims to develop strategies for alternative, more sustainable developments. The issues dealt with in the research project also follows the studio because it focuses on social, spatial and planning issues. More than the studio subscribes though, the focus is on social issues, because of the theoretical framework and the goal of the project. The studio ‘Shenzhen Scenario’s is within the graduation studio ‘Complex Cities’, which recognizes the complexity of cities. Dalang is analysed with different focuses and on different scales because of this recognition.

**Planning in diverse cultures**

One of the great lessons I have learned during my graduation year was what planning in a different culture means. I have already shown that I have been working according the ideas of social constructionism, that focuses on daily interaction between people and accepts that there are more realities. This focus on people seemed to be a great challenge.

Not only is, for example, the Chinese language in type different from English, so that I could not read the articles written by Chinese scholars, local newspapers or the shop signs, even if Chinese is translated into English, the same words can have totally different meanings. The word ‘harmonious’ means something completely different for a Chinese girl than for me and the same counts for words as density or speed. A high density in China is probably ten times denser than a high density in the Netherlands. This was a particular challenge with understanding the local governance system, because the different institutions were often translated as the same or again different institutions in English.

Interviewing different stakeholders was also a great experiment since everything needed to be translated. So, the translator needed to understand the stakeholder ‘correctly’ and then needed to translate the message ‘correctly’ to me. The chance that in this process information is understood wrong, or is missed, is of course quite present. During these interviews was again, not only language a challenge, also culture. On the picture one of the great Chinese students is shown, while he is interviewing a female construction worker. His whole attitude says to her “It is safe, you can tell me your opinion”. During these interviews, I often walked away, because otherwise people would be too shy to answer to questions. Next to this, the Chinese students also explained me that the questionnaires I had made had to be adjusted to the Chinese culture. Some questions were ‘private questions’ and needed to be written down, in stead of spoken out loud for example. “How old are you?” was one of these questions.

To understand anything about the Chinese context, I double checked most of my information with Chinese friends or my mentors, who could then explain me more about the reality and the background of the problem I was facing. I am more than grateful for the effort and time these people have spend on my misunderstandings!
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Chapter 1
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Chapter 2

Chapter 3

Chapter 4
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Chapter 5
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Maaike Zwart, Utrecht, Nov. 2013
Shenzhen is only 30 years old, and was decided to be the first Special Economic Zone (SEZ) of China. This decision had great influence on the urbanization of Shenzhen, because it has seen one of the fastest growth rates of cities in the world, explaining the saying developing in ‘Shenzhen Speed’. This thesis is a research about what it means for Shenzhen, the ‘Factory of the World’, if its economy is changing towards services and more specialized types of manufacturing. This change is causing factories to leave Shenzhen, leaving behind vacant factory buildings and unemployed people.

This thesis shows that the vacant industrial areas can be an opportunity for Shenzhen. These areas, and the people living in them, can help with the transformation of Shenzhen from being a factory town to a real city. The planning approach argued for suggests that an investment in a diversity of projects, organized by diverse and inclusive partnerships, can be more effective than the current strategy of the authorities in Shenzhen who invest only in large scale projects. The ‘Shenzhen Speed’ is slowed down to a pace that can take into account local conditions and local needs. This allows the city to transform gradually into a more liveable and resilient city, where people can build up their lives.