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The Participatory Process of the Urban Village Redevelopment

Case Study in Shenzhen, China

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The Participatory Process of the Urban Village Redevelopment
Case Study in Shenzhen, China

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Abstract

The Participatory Process of the Urban Village Redevelopment
Case Study in Shenzhen, China

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Over the past thirty years, China's transition to a semi-open market economy has manifested as a process of rapid urban development. Low-income, migrant populations who arrive in the city in search of better work opportunities are being integrated into a class of new urban poor and must contend with limited housing options. As the first gateway city for global investment, Shenzhen's urbanization is now constrained due to a shortage of developable land. Urban villages, which are recognized as rural, collectively owned land located within the urban boundary, are now becoming targeted for government supported urban renewal. Because the urban villages' land lies outside the regulatory reach of the municipal government, these areas tend to develop in an informal manner and attract low-income migrant tenants. However, urban village tenants are being excluded from the renewal process, and they subsequently receive limited support in the form of social services from the city.

The aim of this research is to examine these widely debated concerns within the case of the ongoing Caiwuwei urban village renewal project in Shenzhen. Through this

research, I reconsider the functionality of power relations within China's rapid economic growth, particularly between urban development decision makers and the marginalized migrant tenant groups. These groups of migrant workers who rent housing in urban villages have a stake in the urban renewal process because they are participate in the urban village social network which supporting the need of cheaper supply from surrounding area. By applying theories of public participation to the process of giving avenue to speak up what they need, which is empowering from the urban village tenant groups, I identify challenges and possibilities for the inclusion of public voices in future government processes in China. This paper intends to understand, evaluate, and develop a platform for collaboration among all stakeholders in the urban village renewal process, including the government, developers, designers, township and village enterprises, urban village tenants, and the general public.

In this study, I find that the empowerment of urban village tenant groups may lead to the reformation of legislation pertaining to the issues of household registration and land use rights. The rural migrant should be legally registered under the social benefit structure in the city, and the tenants could have the right for their leasing during the renewal case. By means of a collaborative planning process, characterized by open, transparent and more equally distribute power relation, the array of stakeholders could develop a more inclusive and practical model for the transformation of the urban village community. I suggest that the project finance model of a public-private partnership could be structured around this collaborative process of renewal, in order to develop a platform for ongoing public participation, particularly in the provision of social services and institutions within the urban village community. Such an arrangement for urban redevelopment will facilitate the balancing of influence among disparate income groups.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The market transition from a closed market to semi open market through economic reform in China is manifest primarily as a process for urban development and urban landscapes. A new type of governance has formed through massive changes in demographics, capital, production, infrastructure and space (Wu 2001). However, governmental target on the economy at all levels is more focused on growth and development (Zhu, 2002). This political interest can be seen through the trends of rampant development over the past thirty years. After China's "open gate"[1] to global markets, Shenzhen became a case study for urban upgrading as the first Special Economic Zone (SEZ), which is located in the center city and includes four districts with total land coverage of 395.81sq.km. The policy has been made to benefit private investment and has encouraged the urban development in the SEZ over the past 30years.

During the economic reform concepts of capitalism after the 1970s, urban land regulation revolutionized where all land not designated as rural was automatically nationalized. Urban land was granted to the private sector in seventy-year leaseholds, implying that all urban land would be returned to the government after seventy years of private development. Before the period of economic reform in early 1970s, the land was owned by the native farmer as rural land in Shenzhen. There are two types of rural land: 1) the construct area for housing; and 2) the farm area. The SEZ development transformed the original farm area for the purpose of urban use and preserves the rural construct area for native farmer housing use. The remaining land fell under collective-

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[1] *Duiwai Kaifang* or, *menghu kaifang,* which translates literally to "Open Gate Policy" and refers to opening China's economy to international markets.

ownership, which provided the rural land owners with unlimited time of use for the land. However, they may not transfer the property for any other land use proposes.

During the early stage of reform, the Central, provincial, and municipal governmental bodies systematically purchased rural farm land for the purpose of urban development. The 318 remaining village sites were enveloped by the expanding city (Figure 1), yet they retained their rural status, meaning the city governments do not have authority to manage the site. Since the land fell outside municipal governmental urban regulations, these areas tended to develop in an informal manner and attract low-income migrant workers. Presently, forty percent of the total population (5.8million according 2012 Shenzhen population data) lives in rural owned areas because of the lower cost living and close proximity to work.
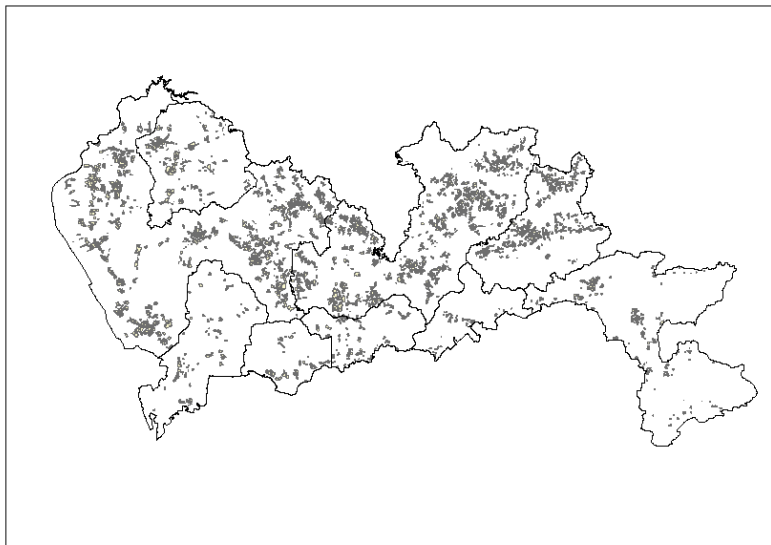
Figure 1:   Urban Village location map in Shenzhen city

The Township and Village Enterprise (TVE)[2] has formed to manage the preserved areas for rural construction use on a local scale. The land collectively owned by the original farmer, is called an urban village. The space has a high density of informal businesses, illegal businesses, as well as a high criminal rate (Wu, 2001). Both municipal and provincial governments have recognized this as a serious issue of Shenzhen. The government structure has limited support services for a majority of rural migrants due to limitations in the *hukou*[3] system, or household registration, which classifies citizens as either rural or urban (Chan 1996, Chan and Zhang 1999, Solinger 1999, Gu and Liu 2001, Fan 2002). The urban structure grants support services to people only within the areas from which they hold a *hukou*. The general public is raising concerns related to social inequality under such rapid urban growth in China. The income inequality rate has become greater than most developing countries in Asia (Habitat 2001, Khan and Riskin 2001). The rapidly increasing rural population is moving to an eastern coast urban core and is encouraged by the central government of China (Fulong Wu). This movement is causing the new urban-poor population to grow. This market transformation, from a socialist to a market oriented model, is largely responsible for creating what is known as the "poverty generation" (Wu, 2001).

According to data from the 2011 Shenzhen Year Book, Shenzhen has approximiately 47% urban land, 3% urban village collective owned land, and 50% eco-protected land. More than 90% percent of the urban land has already been developed. Because of this, the less than 3% of urban village land in central Shenzhen has drawn

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[2] TVE: township and village enterprise, (集体所有制企业)which was implemented during the 1980s for managing the rural collective ownership land. Each TVE usually cover one to couple family based in same area from history of ownership of the village.

[3] *Hukou*, or the household registry system, is a Chinese. And also, it is separating Rural and Urban citizenship with verify benefit that different citizenship can receive.

much attention for renewal agendas. Through the proposed redevelopment processes, urban village land will be nationalized and converted into urban land ownership. The result is that large populations of migrant tenants in the urban village community eventually have to be relocated to the periphery of the city with little warning and no compensation. The original urban village space will be replaced by commercial and middle/ high-income residential development. The informal urban village structure will be completely reformed by the formal collaboration between the government, developer, and TVE. However, the process of renewal has little consideration for social-economic issues affecting its immediate constituents.

Urbanization and Development Model

The urbanization process has gone through a period of rapid growth in the past thirty years. Shenzhen has reached its limits of urbanization as there is no land left for the new development. A planner from Planning Bureau indicated that a "shortage of land is considered as the largest restriction for the future urban growth in developing city." The limited stock of urban land is one of the reasons for the national and regional regulation shifting related to land, land taxing and development strategy. Urban village redevelopment projects have been recognized as successful cases for governments, developers, and local TVE landowners (Figure 2).
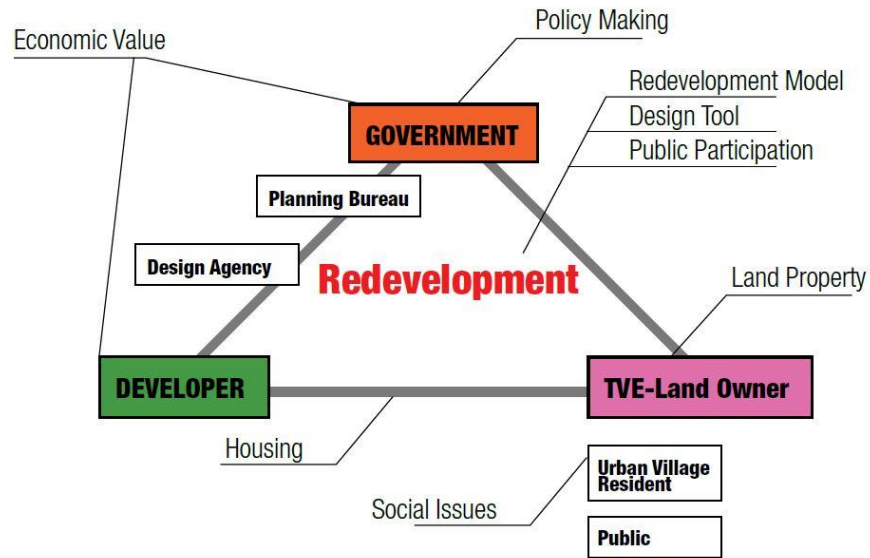
Figure 2:   Existing Development Model

The measurement of success refers to the economic benefit for the investor. However, the redevelopment model has a huge social impact on the urban village local community for both the owner and tenant. The functional and culture value of urban village has been recognized by some of the stakeholder groups, such as researcher, planner, and designer. 1) both a research director from a private design company and a research of urban village have identified that the issue of just having one redevelopment model for urban villages limits the careful consideration of different site satiations; 2) a senior staff member at the planning bureau notes, "the perception of urban villages has changed over time; the value of urban villages has been recognized from different groups in government."   According to another planning bureau official, "urban village is been functioning as low income housing for the past 20 years, and supporting urban development. The low income housing function has to be preserved or at least reloadable for poverty in a new social housing structure."

Research questions and objectives

The fundamental purpose of action research is to conduct efficient knowledge based on different relationships relating to daily life. The goal is to achieve a more equitable, sustainable and practical communication without exclusion. The action research is creating new methods of understanding through structuring the reflective and practical movements. The individual is the agent for participative research who produces knowledge through human community interaction, personal activation, and cooperative action. The success of action research is only possible through an in-depth collaboration between the individual and community by involving all stakeholders. This helps the transformational process by allowing individuals and groups to keep gaining and creating new knowledge over time. (Reason and Bradbury 2006). The movements of participatory research have led to worldwide activity on claiming the right of ownership by the Freire case (Reason and Bradbury 2006; Bhatt and Tendon). The public participatory method practices the fundamental purpose of action research on a local community scale in most of western society, but is hardly accepted by closed governmental structures like China. The lack of consideration for individual rights has been increasingly questioned by different levels of society in China.

The current urban village redevelopment process is characterized by a lack of transparency, government bias against non-local residents, and a lack of participation by the general public in the top-down power system. The process especially impacts the migrant urban village tenants through relocation without compensation. This is one of the reasons for the decrease in the non-local population and the decentralization of lower income groups from the center of the city. It also illustrates the social boundaries and physical gaps between the city and the urban village. The lack of participation in urban development on the public level leads to predictable results in the decision making

process for excluding the majority. A new strategy for redevelopment has to be considered from different perspectives including planning, policy, innovative design strategies, and public participation.

The purpose of this research is to organize an experimental participatory action research event in the Caiwuwei urban village, in order to gain insight on the effectiveness of the process. This research seeks to establish a collaborative network between all stakeholders namely those who have been impacted by the current redevelopment process. This research aims to understand the needs of the disenfranchised urban village tenants. The study asks: what is the most effective way to bridge gaps between the decision makers and the people who are affected the most. This study analyzes the potential impact of public engagement during the recent urban renewal process in an urban village context.

Activating the knowledge and willingness from all stakeholders will be a long-term process. This is especially true for the urban village tenants and developer groups because of the conflicts of interest. However, the PI's goal for this study is to create a continually public engagement process for all stakeholders. This effort reconsiders the development policy based on understanding the needs of existing communities through urbanization beyond economic growth. Hopefully, the knowledge and collaboration will evolve on its own and be accepted by the governmental structure.

Chapter 2: Power Structure Analysis

The central government's agenda for economic growth has driven current policies, regulations, as well as both private and public investments has resulted in a rapid speed of urbanization. Investors and developers have impacted and enjoyed the market economic growth with top-down government encouragement. Both sectors worked together to create a mutual economic benefit that had a dramatic impact on the social sector, further reinforcing social stratification. The responsibility of the local-level governments is to enact the policies of the Central Government as well as social issues such as poverty, elderly care, unemployment, and unstable immigration (Wu, 2001). The analysis of power relation documented in this section attempts to illustrate the connections between each stakeholder. The Caiwuwei urban village redevelopment project is the case study for understanding the relationship between and within all stakeholders.

This chapter is organized into two sections:

- First is an examination in the relationships between stakeholders through the urban village redevelopment process.
- Second is an internal observation of stakeholder relationships during the proposal-approval stage for the Caiwuwei urban renewal project.

Redevelopment: National Scale Stakeholder Power Relationships

The relationship between stakeholders and government agencies are interconnected and the result directly on the decision making process, which impacts compensation and financial outcomes for the urbanization structure. Under the current renewal model, urban village redevelopment is determined by city government, investor, and TVE collaborative decisions. Table 1 illustrates the general power relationship in each sector.

The Chinese model of governance is highly top-down. Legislative power for planning is located at both central and provincial levels. The city level has limited authority for setting up regulations and implementing rules in the city-wide plan. Districts representing the sub-divisions of the city have the authority to monitor and manage development processes at the site scale. The fundamental understanding of the governance structure is that lower levels cannot contradict decisions made at higher levels. Communication between departments is difficult to find under this structure. There can hardly be found any input from lower levels to be considered amongst higher powers.

The investors and designers work closely most of time during the development process as they are both usually part of the private sector and investment companies generally pay the design fees. The design sector seldom has major influence on projects beyond the physical qualities of space. Development companies usually have two structures: first was formed under the public-private cooperation, in which the government makes investments with the private sector and was the dominant model during the early market reformation in the 1970s-1980s, and it still maintain activity in the current market. Second is solely private model and often involves collaboration

between international and domestic investor, it is the majority of development company in the current market.

The TVE make decision for the rural collective owner during the renewal process. However, the TVE requires eighty present agreements in order to the collaboration for the redevelopment process for the TVE is based on the on renewal issue. There is limit case that the TVE does not want to be redeveloped unless the compensation issue is not been figured out. The urban village redevelopment case shows that it is just a matter of time and compensation to initiate the collaboration between the city government, investor and the TVE owner group. The current renewal model excludes on major stakeholder groups: the general public and the tenants of urban village. The tenants normally make up more than ninety percent of the total population of urban village.

Table 1: Redevelopment process stakeholder power relationship

Stakeholder List	Role	Relationship
Government		
Central Government	1. Establish national agenda 2. Legislature power	Source of authority, directs all sub-ordinal sector
Central Planning Bureau	Set up regulation, planning research and analysis	Working closely with Central Government
Provincial Government	Legislative power apply Central regulation and law to local scale	Mediate between local management and higher power
City	Implementation of the goals that the province agenda set up	City managing, planning, and land department
City Planning Bureau	1. There are three departments under the planning bureau: Regeneration department, Urban design department, Architecture department. 2. Land zoning and regulation 3. The official planning committee for given approval for city scale planning and design development project proposal.	The key stakeholder represents government for city planning and design project. Approval process committee for the redevelopment proposal from development company and design sector
Land Bureau	The official land division for land ownership transformation	Land transformation after the redevelopment proposals are approved by city planning bureau
District Government	Under the city, enforce regulation	District Government sets up the public consultancy as a way of showing an attempt to make public outreach regarding their design & redevelopment process. However this is just for public relations
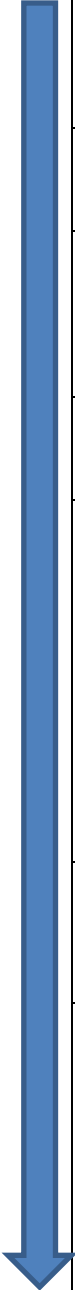
Table 1 (continued)

Development Company		
Investment/developer	Investoment -Private -Public-private	Developers seeks design sectors that act as political brokers towards all the government agencies
Design Sector		
Design Institute	Public-private Institute	Good relationship with the government, usually function as the team coordinator in redevelopment project
Design Firm	Private Company	Provide design proposal for planning approvement
Real Estate Consultancy	Private Company	Responsible for economic analysis of urban planning codes & requirements base on the site condition
Urban Village		
Township Village Enterprise	TVE is a non-elected body passed down generationally through families that makes governing decisions for the village owners	1. TVE negotiates on behalf of all villagers 2. Negotiation with developer 3. Land value transaction deal are non-transparent
Urban Village Owner	Individual with land ownership	Mostly agree on the TVE decisions or weiquan[4]
Public		
Urban Village Tenants	Renters who occupy the urban village community	No relationship, no accessibility to the redevelopment process
General Public	No direct relationship with the urban village or developments	Little participation until project approval

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[4] "维权" in Chinese, it is an individual movement to gaining right for public or individual propose. It related to land related issues, culture, marriage, family, and so on.

Internal Power Relationships: Caiwuwei Observation

In this chapter, the Caiwuwei urban village was used to explore typical internal power relationships. The Caiwuwei redevelopment project was funded by the collaborative private development company, KingKey Development Limited Company[5], from 2011. The project's aim was to propose attractive urban design concepts in order for approval by the Shenzhen City Planning Committee for Redevelopment. Urbanus Research Bureau was contracted by KingKey Development Company to form an international workshop for the urban design project. As the core researcher in the design project, the PI and her research partner were assigned to investigate urban villages using video interviews as a preliminary methodology of qualitative research and analysis. Subsequently, the PI followed up beyond the initial design project with three years of continuous involvement related to official meeting, and public discussion around the Caiwuwei urban village renewal process. This observation is to give an example of irrational decision-making process, instead of a representable redevelopment case for urban village in general.

Private Sector _ Development Company

The evaluation of urbanization is based on the economic success in the current natural understand, which become the foundation of the cost benefit development model from the government and investor sector. The Caiwuwei area could be identified as the typical "successful" by developer and government in the developing case, which the redevelopment process has been going on for almost 30 years.

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[5] KingKey Development Company is 京基地产/京基集团 in Chinese.

In this process, the developer, as the only investor, tried to avoid including any discussion with the urban village issue because the most profitable redevelopment model is tabula rasa model without social responsibility. This method has been successfully implemented on past urban village redevelopment cases has caused no need for further reconsideration and improvement of the existing cost benefit model. The development model has been formed similarly based on the compensation model with the local enterprise. It is getting more and more expensive to redevelop urban village land because the increase in land value. The investor rejects collaborating on new cost-benefit models because the other stakeholders are accepting the offer provided by the developer without questioning.

Design Sector

The redevelopment project is usually funded by the private sector, which in most cases is a development company. The goal for design firm as the key player is to get the design proposal approval from the City Planning Bureau. There are different levels of design institute in China that are playing different role in the process. Some of them are semi-government with limited decision power; the others are private owned working for client. First of all, the public and private design institute, which was established by the city as public service with a private ownership. The design institute usually has a working relationship with the city government and planning bureau. The second level is the private-owned design company, which mainly works with the private sector. The other party from the private sector is the economic consultancy company. They work tightly with developer for come out the cost-benefit model for new development and provide the economic constraints to the designer to work with for proposing the design.

In the Caiwuwei design phase, the private sector functioned as a whole to provide the proposal for redeveloping the Caiwuwei area. Urbanus, the China Academy of Urban Planning and Design in Shenzhen (CAUPDSZ) is the design institute, which invited the Urbanus Architecture and Design Company and an economic consultant company to work together for the Caiwuwei redevelopment proposal, which the project is funded by the KingKey Development Company.

The Caiwuwei Urban Upgrade Design process lasted three months. More than twenty concept designs were generated by the international design workshop with the consideration of the existing urban village fabric in the proposal. However, the developer showed no interest on concepts of preservation. The proposal was denied by the developer in the final decision. The objective of the developer is to cater to the market and to make the proposal attractive enough that will lead the attention to the new high-end branding of the project. However, the lack of concern for local community, existing social networks, and low-income migrant rental on site are the topics increasingly driving the discussion in the design sectors to a dead end, because of the existing cost benefit model developed from the decision maker, have no consideration of the public sector.

The design agencies followed the developer's concept more closely with a visualization design which was to attract the government attention for approval. In Caiwuwei project, the Urbanus had attempted to approach developer's requirement with a reasonable degree of consideration for local residents into the new proposal for redevelopment, and was still not be accept by the developer. However, the concept was of high concern in the planning bureau because of the increase intention for public issues during the redevelopment process from the general citizen. In some degree, the designer and planner often work toward the same concept for a personal interest for the redevelopment process, which is leading the conversation going, and the planning

bureau who some time use their legality power to push the concept further with the developer.

Government

This difference in land management and regulation between urban and rural ownership has created an inconsistent urban fabric in Shenzhen. The existing urban village developments have not been legally recognized by the government, which simply means the construction is illegal. The government has released five reports to regulate the informal urban village self-development since 1982. However, the uncontrollable informal expansions by the urban village owner group have happened follows each of the report been released. (Pu, 2011) The typical building high has risen from two floors to eight floors for most of the urban villages. For some of the special cases, there are residential blocks higher than twenty floors.

The city government is currently encouraging private investor the renewal project by providing more building ratio in the central city. The Caiwuwei redevelopment project has been recognized as the leading project for the 2013 renewal project for Luohu District government. The redevelopment proposal was submitted to Shenzhen Planning Bureau for approval by KingKey Development Company at August 2011. There were two stages for getting approval for the Caiwuwei project between October 2011 and March 2012. In the first stage, the urban design department attended the hearing for giving comments to improve the proposal. Two important comments given by the head of urban design department are:

1) the proposal should consider the site as the most historical area for Shenzhen city, which the preservation for part of the site will be necessary for citizen's memory of the Shenzhen. (Figure 3)

2) the proposed idea must include three blocks containing historically important buildings to Shenzhen, that should be directly considered in the redevelopment strategy. The KingKey development company is required to respond to the historical preservation concern given by the city planning bureau for design improvement. (Figure 4)

Figure 3:   The comparison from KingKey 100 renewal project from Caiwuwei area
              Source: Kingkey 100 development company

Figure 4:   Three Tower: Historical building on Caiwuwei site

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The updated proposal drafted by design sector after the first meeting did not consider urban village preservation strategy because the developer required them to remove sections introducing urban village preservation concepts. The developer systematically shut down any discussions related to incorporating urban village topics into redevelopment schemes and forced the design teams to exclude preservation concepts entirely from the design phase.

During the second presentation, there were over twenty government stakeholders invited to participate in the project presentation, which included the director of planning bureau, architecture, urban design, and regeneration department director, the department leader from land bureau, and Luohu district government. The CAUPDSZ and a project consulting company attended the meeting with the Kingkey Development Company. Most importantly, the developer invited the highest-ranking people of power from city government to attend the meeting to make the conclusion for the meeting.

The typical process of decision making within official Chinese meetings follows the voice of the most senior official, and then subordinates will generally follow mandates regardless if they agree or not. It is a critical issue for having collaborated idea toward decision or one man decision making method. The current statute of management method is still limited to the uncooperative way for both government and investment decision making structure. The developer has had a close connection with the city government, and as such, their project, as one focused on redevelopment, conforms to the city government's long-term agenda for urbanization.

The meeting lasted approximately two hours, including a presentation from the developer and design institute for a half -hour. The planning bureau department gave their constructive criticism on the updated proposal after the presentation that it is not meeting what they were expecting with the consideration of the preserving existing

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infrastructure. The major problems were raised from the architecture and urban design department because they are the agency have direct access to the public concern. The director of the city planning bureau, who generally has sway and, thus, decision-making person, was not convinced by the proposal. However, the highest-powered administer representing city government to give ultimate say. In this sense, the city government overrules the planning department's role. During the process of approval, there is always PaiNaoDai [6] in which whoever has more power has the right to speak at the end and make conclusive decisions. This decision-making method creates non-continuous, case-by-case results for large-scale development. As such, the Caiwuwei project received approval from the planning bureau.

By this stage, a big change in attitudes occurred where the question of "should the project be built?" became "how can it happen?" Nobody demonstrated formal disagreement despite differences in personal opinions. The biggest change for the project is that it became co-opted as a city redevelopment project, which could be understood as a public project proposed by the government despite the fact that it was a private project proposed as an independent investment. Both the developer and government used this method with the intent to reduce any potential conflict from the public, making it easier push the project further into the compensation stage for village owners. In the following stage of this plan, the developer will be recognized as the investor after all compensation agreements have been established. All the public meeting and compensation agreement with local owners will be hosted by the Luohu District Government, which they are the presenter to the public. The lack of transparency creates the unbalanced power between

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6 Rack the head (拍脑袋) referring to an action, means the one man decision making:

different stakeholders during the redevelopment decision. The exclusion of public has increasingly expanding the misunderstanding between the power and powerless group.

Urban Village

The rural ownership has legislative right which been recognized by the law. It is empowering of the TVE group during the urbanization process and become a game change for the urban village redevelopment model. However, the TVE is still been excluded from the internal decision making process, but has recognized as sector have to be compensated for redevelopment. The Caiwuwei TVE was formed during the city urbanization process in 1980s and today serves as management service for the urban village. The market reform was instituted by the Central Government in the late 1970s. The role of the TVE is to manage the collectively-owned property, investments, profit distribution, and decision making. It is more than a network of ownership, but rather it represents traditional network of relationships between members of the village families' connection. This family structure has transformed into the TVE Street during the economic reforms. Urban village enterprises manage the investment and provide public services for urban villages. The Caiwuwei TVE funds the Caiwuwei management company, which is local management service for the Caiwuwei urban village area. The company provides support and maintaining service for infrastructure. The Caiwuwei management company has its own independent security team for maintain order on site. Tenants must be reported to management office by the individual owner for rental housing, the security department also has comprehensive documentation of the current business service. In the sense, urban villages provide their own management structure on site.

The tight relationships between the families when they are making decisions mirrors traditional family structures, the man present each family speaks up for his family. Cunzhang[7] will be selected by all of the families to manage the business and service, which the town village enterprise also has him as the leader for communicate with outsider. He is the one can get the agreement from each family, and make final agreements with outside stakeholders. It is typical for a construction boom to occur in urban villages whenever the city attempted to regulated informal buildings, regulating in significant upward growth. Base on the regulation for urban village construction published in 1982, each of the blocks owned by the family can building no more than 150 square meters, which is generally two stories high building. In reality, the current village blocks are eight stories or higher. The additional floor area is the informal building area as the urban regulation. However, It become arguable because the unclearly of the management issue between city government and village enterprise from history reason.

    In most of the case for urban village redevelopment, it is the passive stakeholder to get the process going. The urban village running as a family style which is a close community, people communicates within a small group based on family relations. The village leader is the primary communicator involving project like redevelopment, which includes sensitive topics such as compensation.

Urban Village Resident (Low income migrant population)

The urban village tenant population that the paper is referring to is considering as the forty percent of the total population of Shenzhen, which was an estimated 5.8 million

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[7]   village leader (村长), is a man from village family.

people in 2012. They are estimated to compare at least as 95% of the population who is living inside urban villages.

The urban village tenants, is the powerless group, are not been included in the redevelopment decision making process, and the related information is not transparent to this group. They have no legal right to protect their rights from the urban renewal. It is one of the reasons caused by the lack of legislature recognition from government of the property user.

Public

The urban development process has been always a close process between government, land owner and developer. There is limited information released to the general public, even the public consultancy section has been suggested to include into the official development process by the central government. However, is the involvement of public has become just a show without real meaning? What typically occurs is the development department will release a technical drawing with project decision on inside the government building. The entry for reporting feedback will be open for one month; longer or shorter depend on the project. However, it is not even possible for people to access the information.

It is the similar situation for the urban village redevelopment process. However, the Caiwuwei redevelopment project revealed significant conflicts within the general public, when an image of a physical model was posted on Weibo (the Chinese analog of Twitter). More than one hundred discussions have been made during sort amount of time for criticizing the project just before the second hearing. There are many concerns around the issue of the city history, the high speed development, and governance. It is a special

case because the redevelopment process usually will not release any information to the general public till it is been proved by government, which means no comment will be accept or impact on the decision making process.

The nontransparent political urban development process and lack of communication between power and individual has been increase the tension in general public. The power of Weibo to create the discussion across different groups and topics which created an impact for the project, not because of the reconsideration of the actual concerns but for the wariness of the public voice has impacted the Caiwuwei redevelopment project. However, the government and developer rather take the public feedback as a threat than an opportunity.
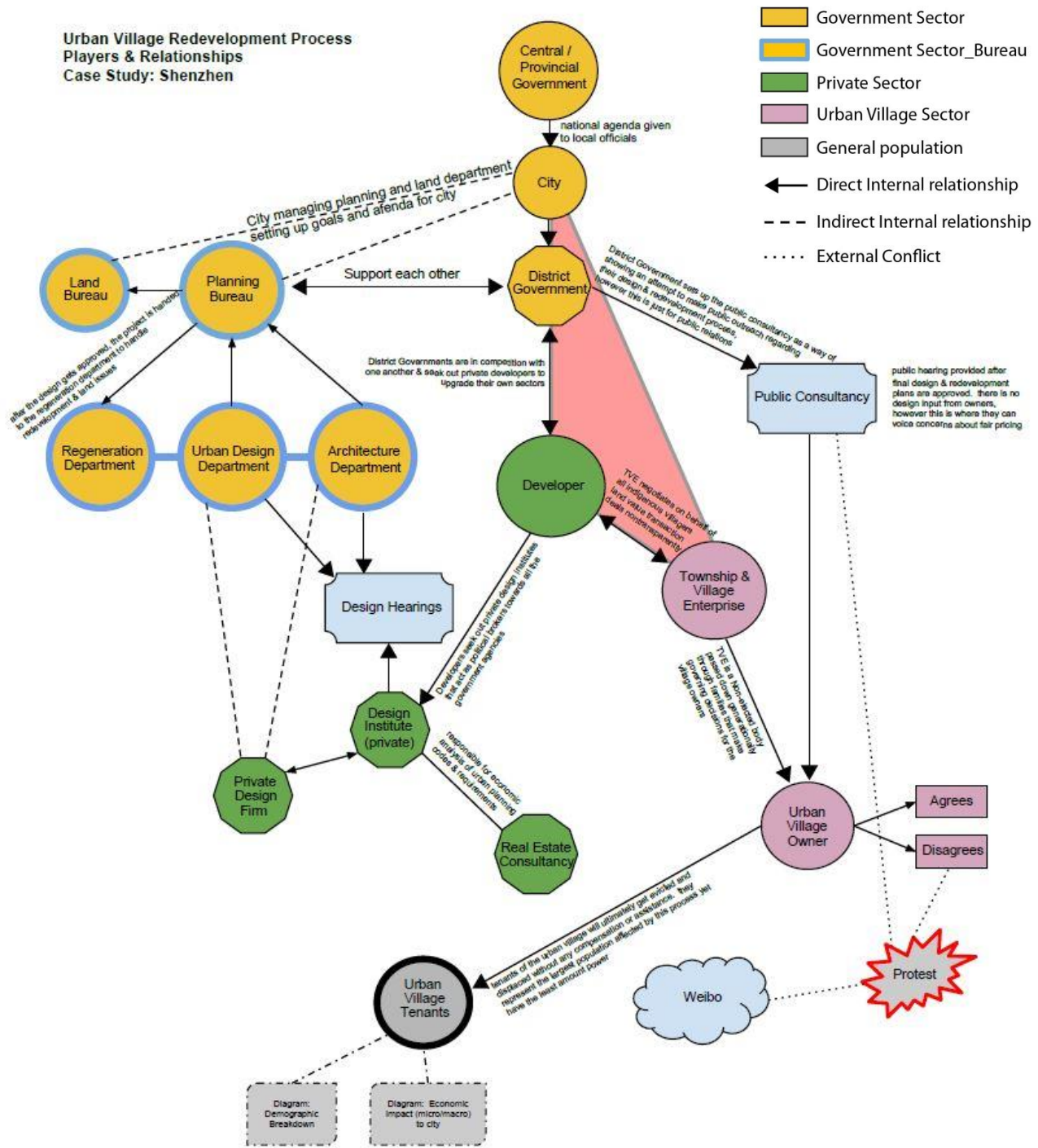
Figure 5: Relationship Diagram between different stakeholders during the urban village redevelopment process (conduct by Chris Gee and Na Fu, Publish on Urban China magazine, China)

Chapter3: Urban Village Site Condition Analysis

Case study: Caiwuwei Urban Village, Shenzhen, China

The site analysis is conducted in one month on site study in Caiwuwei. Interview participants came from two groups: the internal participants include local tenants and land owner, and the external group included the KingKey developer, government officials, designers, and independent researchers. The site analysis identified issues and topic base on the Caiuwuwei case study, but it is represents a larger picture related to urban village in general.

The data has been organized into five sections based on the feedback from two groups of interviewees. The external group primarily understands the urban village topic from a theoretical framework related to a wider structural discussion. On the other hand, the local Caiwuwei tenants and owners would refer the personal living experience.

Definition of Urban Village

The urban village, by definition, is the rural area surrounded by urban development. It has been functional as the lower income rental housing for immigrant since economic reform. The comment understanding on urban village has functioning as social facility from external interviewees. It provides an ideal situation for "convenient living and working within 15mins distance" said by Mary Ann O'Donnell, a research scholar on urban village issues, and currently working on Baishizhou urban village, "and it is providing a space for new creative generation for Shenzhen." Forty percent of Shenzhen's population—more than six million residents—currently lives in urban village. The residents of urban villages are usually those who need public service support on affordable housing, lower income rental housing or any other similar program. "Urban

villages function as low rental housing which has a positive impact for the development in the city" said by Weiwen Huang, director of the Shenzhen Planning Bureau Architecture Department. However, the current state-sponsored low income housing program is running poorly because the lack of resources, distance from the city center, and bureaucratic hurdles. Furthermore, local registration is required for eligibility, which effectively excludes urban village tenants from affordable housing.

Land ownership creates different type of identity relative to the site between land owners and tenants. The psychological understanding of home make urban village in a unique position. in the definition, the owner owns the land, but they have, generally speaking, moved out of the urban village. The Caiwuwei urban village has become a revenue generator since 1997 because the construction for village building. It became a propose for renting since then from local ownership group. However, because of the family history and rural collective ownership the owners are highly attached to the site. This attachment is recognized by the original owner group, but not the other type of owner in Caiwuwei, which is analysis from the interview i had with the original land owner, the *danwei* housing owner[8], and illegal ownership[9]. Those type of ownership developed shortly after economic reform by using original urban village build land.

The social network has been recognized as important element in the relation between the tenants, because the traditional understanding of family style collaboration. Most of tenants have high attachment with the friendship and connection has been made,

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[8] *Danwei* housing: *Danwei*, which translates best as "work unit" is a model of housing provision developed during between the1950s and 1980s wherein urban employers provided their employees with residences. After the economic opening, the ownership of the housing has been transfer from factory or enterprise own to individual ownership.

[9] Illegal ownership: there are cases show the after the urban village block has been constructed, there are illegal transfers without official documentation between the original owner and the private individuals. This movement is not been recognized by the urban structure, it may cause conflicts during the transition period.

which is one of the most important considerations when considering moves to new residences. However, the relationship that tenants has with the physical urban village relatively low; people don't use the space much than a place to sleep, tenants expressed an eagerness to move out of the urban village. Urban villages are usually a rural migrant's first stop when moving coming to the city because of the cheaper rental price as compared to the market-rate housing in the surrounding area. Even so, the price has increased rapidly in the recent years. The research shows the rent has been increase about one quarter in the past two years. The demographics have shifted from the low-income rural migrant workers to the lower middle-income white-collar workers whose jobs are located inside the Shenzhen central economic zone[10]. Most of the lower income migrant population has been push to the periphery.

Social Activity

The typical lifestyle of the residents of urban villages is a mix between the traditional rural family and modern urban. The land ownership difference naturally create a boundary between spaces, which given the unique rural-urban social community style to grown. In the traditional rural context, each village will be managed by just one or two families. The connection and relationship between the owner is tight and there is a high level of interaction between residents. This would be typical of life in pre-urban Caiwuwei. After economic reform, millions rural migrants flocked to Shenzhen for work, many landing in urban villages because of the cheaper cost of living. This movement brings in complex social activity into the existing form, which transfer the rural social

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[10] Shenzhen central economic zone is the first area open after economic reform policy. It includes 4 district in the south side of the city with share geographical boundary with Hong Kong.

method to the per urban-rural stage. The current case still shows the rural method of connectivity, but functioning in the more complicated platform.

The tenant interview shows the connection that the rural population flow method has been function as more traditional way. The rural migrant intent to be introduced with their friend, especially for the first location, migrants arrives in cities with the people from the same village. There are large portions of communities that have come to Caiwuwei from the same hometown. These groups of migrants often work on similar types of jobs. This invisible connection creates highly connected networks within the urban village. From interviews conducted with tenants, trends were noted such as that people from around Chongqing City are often movers and chef; while migrants from Anhui Province often fix shoes and sell street food. Those who have come from from nearby areas such as Chaozhou City in Guangdong Province or from neighboring Fujian Province have had the longest tenancy on the site and many have started their own business inside Caiwuwei urban village. The social boundary is clear by different groups. The different generation has shown the changing method of social attendance. Those between 40 and 50 years of age over will most likely work on independent or informal businesses, which have limited requirement for human interaction. On the other hand, the age group between 20 and 40 years usually works for tertiary industries. Younger workers have more interaction and collaboration between different regions of migrant group. The traditional social divides have started to break down for the population who work inside of urban village. It is not clear for the renter who lives in Caiwuwei but work outside from this research.

Interviews with the owners showed a completely different story. After the rural migrants began occupying the Caiwuwei area, owners began collecting monthly rents and, eventually, became quite wealthy. Their life style has changed, but within the owner

group. Many family members, especially those of the younger generation have moved to places such as Hong Kong, North America, and European counties. The remaining population has moved to gated apartment housing located outside of urban village provided by the TVE where they live together. As such, the owners do not even live within the urban village. The TVE also provides a private activity center for the owners. This arrangement creates spatial divide between the owners and tenants. Long-term tenant, He Aiyi, described the clear social class differences, that they owner group has simply see the tenants as monthly rental payer. The two groups have hardly overlapping daily social activity.

From an outsider points of view, one of the participant who come to the Caiwuwei event noted "the communication is more active [compared to the urban context]; people are not afraid to engage with strangers." And "The housing, street and ground level businesses have created a nice scale for living. And also, the social network has grown a real community inside of urban village, which people can make connection easily. The spatial relationship functions as important components for urban village."

However, it is clear the social boundary between different groups, has been formed by culture, understanding, social class difference. However, there was a lack of willingness for real communication beside general conversation amongst tenants. Participants tried to stay within their comfort zone. The biggest gap was between the local Caiwuwei (the owner and the tenants) and the outsiders.

How people understand Urban Village

"The reason I don't like Caiwuwei is because the environment is too noisy, the buildings are too close to each other, and there is a lot of prostitution, the streets are

dirty" said an expatriate from Turkey, who is living in Caiwuwei for a month and looking to move to a high rise residential building outside of the urban village. The social and the spatial condition which has been described are typical of a majority of urban village. These living conditions make it harder to be accepted by the urban construction requirement. It is reflect in one of the stakeholder interviewee's concern for the quality of space, public safety, and health issues. This general understanding of urban villages has an impact on the redevelopment related topics. People have accepted that urban village clean up movement is the best option from social, economic and political stand point.

The urban village has high density with the flooding population which has no urban regulation constrain. Renters normally don't have a strong attachment to the urban village, especially when they are in the city for a short amount of time. Even for long-term renters, interviews showed they also do not care for the space because they feel no responsibility to the environment surrounding them. They can easily move to another location. Furthermore, they feel powerless to change anything about their environment or even speak up for themselves.

Tenant chose to stay in urban village in downtown Shenzhen for a couple primary reasons. One reason is the convenient location, which is close to food, shopping. A second is that urban village housing is much cheaper than the urban living even compare with the surrounding space. The Caiwuwei urban village is a special case as it is known to the safest village, partly because of the installation of closed-circuit television (CCTV) and upgraded infrastructure. The reasons for living in urban village are similar. However, the renter did not see the future life in village or the city. They understand that they are the outsider. The further discussion will be discussed in the social issue section, because a lot of uncertainty are caused by the lack of public service support, such as *hukou*, public right, and education.

Urban Village management

Ownership of Caiwuwei is a key point discussion in the redevelopment process. Ownership is a complicated issue due to the history of urbanization in Shenzhen. "[The urban village owners] are the local owner of the city, not us [new citizens and migrants]; we are all outsider" said a city official from planning bureau, she has presenting what happened   back to the time before the urban development for Shenzhen city, when it served as as farmland and owned by the farmers. The rural collectives are, essentially, the original owners of Shenzhen. The situation changed after the Open Gate Policy, which led directly to the policies that led to the urbanization of Shenzhen City. Since then, a vast majority of Shenzhen has transformed from rural to urban land, which comes under the urban system of regulation. At the same time, the original system of ownership for the urban villages has stayed the same with its collective ownership structure. Urban villages are self-managing, a rural enclave inside the urban context. During the current event, the TVE sometime had been value high by developer and government. An employee at KingKey expressed his opinion of the TVEs: "The town village enterprise is very good system, it is very democratic and transparent." However, this concept can be hardly accepted by general public, and it is easily argued, because the typical urbanization structure has deemed rural ownership as secondary classification in China system. "The TVE is immediately marginalized over the years," said the director of the Design and Research Institute. The rural ownership has survived in the ideological periphery and server for the social need in the city. This classification has benefitted urban development as urban villages has been provided low income rental housing to the rural migrant who provided the labor to build up Shenzhen over the last thirty years. The proposed redevelopment of the urban village will impact the existing community network, increase cost of living, and push those of lower incomes to the urban periphery. The

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redevelopment of Caiwuwei will also increase pressure on urban services such as the cost for public transportation.

The TVE set up a management system, which functions like a rental agency, in order to maintain the space, provide security, and address official documentation for tenants. The urban village blocks are managed by the TVE management office together for renting purpose. As such, each member of collectives has less individual responsibility, but acting as group, the collective has a considerable amount of power. When a developer proposed redeveloping an urban village, the TVE acts to negotiate the buy-out. Normally, city management office does little more than take care of complaints from public and address illegal events. However, during the Caiwuwei redevelopment process, the TVE actively collaborates with the city management office. According to the onsite research, "[the village management officials] are taking care of the open space, and [the city management] are taking care of the business and interiors." However, according to a city management official, "we are taking over the control of the space from the TVE management office." The news I got from the street is a private security company is been hired by the developer and district government to take over the management responsibility, and moved in on December 16, 2013. While there is little clarity in regards to what will happen, one thing is certain. The clean-up process will start when the private security company move into Caiwuwei, a process that has been standard in other cases of urban village redevelopment.

The vagueness of what happen for general public has impacted the economic and social avenues on the current local community. The value of businesses has been decreasing, resulting in an increase of vacant business spaces in Caiwuwei. The house rental market are still functioning normally on site, as it will typically be two to three years before the redevelopment process requires that residential tenants move out. For

new residents in the city, this time frame is acceptable. However, as the process progresses, it will impact on the living condition and local community character.

Social issue

In general, the related issue has been addressed for both the outside stakeholder and the local Caiwuwei are public education, social housing, public participation, and public service support. All the stakeholder has participate on the social issue topic from independent researcher, designer, city official, and developer in the Caiwuwei survey; they all agree that urban village redevelopment has ignored the social issues as described earlier. The responsibility for the current service issue and social support has been highly identified by two group of stakeholder. One of them is the designer, "the issues cannot be fixed by design; it is a social issue which has to be considered by governments or higher power." The other one is the developer: "It is a issue for low income population problem, tax model, and how to place rural migration in the city, it is the government's responsibility for the unbalanced social resource. The government needs to reconsider what their role is." Both parties think that providing low income housing is not a design or a development issue, but a social issue for government responsibility.

The biggest concern and need from the local are the social housing for the current resident in Caiwuwei. "we need cheaper affordable housing" said by a beverage shop worker, " social housing is important, the current social housing is really far from the central, the transit is so difficult, I don't want to live there." City planning officials also recognize that "the redevelopment will have an effect on the low income rental housing system, at the same time, increasing the living cost and service cost."

The education system here is that the primary and middle school system are open for all communities, but they need to go back to their hometowns to take a test if they want to continue higher educations. Situation will be even harder for family who come with children. The insufficient support in the education system is the biggest consideration for the low income migrant workers. Schools close to urban villages are supporting the education needs of the migrant workers' children. However, the public education system is not accessible after middle school for whom without a local identity (Hukou). This regulation has been separating migrant family into two parts. most of the time, the mother will move back to hometown with children for higher education, and father will stay in city for getting higher pay for supporting family at hometown.

The education has the second concern from the onsite survey, one of the most critical reason is because of the *hukou* issue which limits the education above middle school to the local citizen. The local Caiwuwei tenants said: "the process for getting into school is really complicated, they need social security identification from both parents, rental contract, and so on. it hard for us to have our children here with us." A sixteen-year-old restaurant worker who migrated from Chaozhou expressed his personal struggles: "I want to go back to school but I have to earn money for my family. There is no night school or short class that I can take."

Public engagement has been valued high in the outside stakeholder group during the site survey. The beverage shop worker from Caiwuwei have expressed "public participation is important, I think China is not a democracy, all the decision is been made by the government." Public participation will be further discussed in the following section.

The local tenants think the urban village preservation, public participation for redevelopment, *hukou*, and transparency are important factors to consider. The restaurant

worker who live in Caiwuwei for a year who said, "urban village should be preserved, because the city have high income and low income people, there are a lot white collar lives in Caiwuwei, they don't get higher pay, where can they go if the urban village will be destroyed."

All of the issue require for further analysis.

Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology for

Public Participatory Process

Research Framework and Hypotheses

The public participatory process research is an internal qualitative analysis of a motivation movement for the urban village redevelopment process. The research framework is built on the ongoing redevelopment project based on the existing collaboration model between developer, government and urban village owner. The working Hypotheses is the public participatory apply on urban village redevelopment process will impact on the willingness of communication from the local tenants and public, the increase transparency of the redevelopment process, willingness of collaboration between different stakeholder, and potential changes can be made from policy scale.

The research will be conduct into three stage:

Stage one: The local urban village needs assessment and in depth interview with identified local owner and tenants.

Stage two: The guild tour and banquet party with both internal and external stakeholder

Stage three: The post event interview with outsider stakeholder.

Justification of Case Studies Using in This Research

Why case study?

CaseStudy: Caiwuwei, Luohu District, Shenzhen, China

The Caiwuwei Urban Design proposal is the kick off point for the third stage caiwuwei urban village renewal process, which is funded by the collaborative owner

development company. The project is armed to propose attractive urban design concept in order to be approved by the government planning commission in Shenzhen for redevelopment in 2011. Urbanus Research Bureau had been hired by KingKey Development Company to form an international workshop for the proposal. As researcher in the design project, I had been involved in the site visit, interviews, and project documentation. And follow up with a two years continuously close involvement with the Caiwuwei urban village redevelopment process. Continuing the study further, I would like to address how the relationship addresses between different stakeholders in the Caiwuwei case, what is the opportunity for developing an engagement section for the future development.

Validity and Reliability of Case Studies

Face Validity	Instrument Validity	Data Validity	Findings Validity	Criterion Validity	Construct Validity	Internal Validity	External Validity
Medium	Medium	High	Medium	High	Medium	High	Low

Table 2:   The Validity and Reliability table

Methodology:

The research is based on a cross sectional study of participatory process for Urban Village redevelopment case. The urban renewal process as an ongoing social, economic, and political movement, my study will be practice and engage with the current social movement. The goal is to bridge the edge between different stakeholders, especially the low income village resident and the others base on the understanding of power structure of the redevelopment process from Caiwuwei case study. The current urban village

redevelopment process as an example of miscommunication between the top down power system and general public, especially urban village renter, which illustrates the gap between what city provides and what is people's need. The lack of participation of the urban development from public level is limiting the improvement of society, which cost the population lost, decentralization of lower income group to the periphery. The research is trying to understand what is the control group from urban village think the importance of living, how to bridge the gap between decision maker and people who use the space the most, and analyze the potential impact of the public engagement to the urban renewal process.

The research will conduct into a mix method study.   It is a long term process for make the changes, or document the movement of impact, as the research goal for this study, I hope it can use as an external conflict point for decision maker to see the needs for considering during the urbanization beside economic growth.

Research Design:

We propose to give a tour through our case study Caiwuwei to explore socio-economic and geopolitical issues from an on-the-ground approach, leading participants through several areas in the urban village and will continue through a local shopping mall to discuss the urban spectrum surrounding ideas toward Urban Village redevelopment. The tour will circle back to a quasi-ambiguous open/public space within the urban village and will culminate into a social mixer serving beverages and locally prepared foods, where the participant pool will expand to include UABB-tour-followers, invited experts, local residents, and passers- by alike to spark conversations in the urban village to freely

speak their mind. The aspiration of the event is to create a relaxing environment between inner and outer edges of the city.

Section one: Prophase stage

The prophase stage will last two weeks before the official event. the purpose for this stage is to organize discussion topic for the event from local resident and owner, and potentially invite local individual to present and discuss with outside visitor during the event day.

- Organizing event and banquet party

- Interviewing local resident

- Invite potential stakeholder (government official, developer, designer, public)

- Hand out material work

Section two: Urban village event: Tour & Banquet Party

Tour

The tour will arranged during the busiest hour between 5 and 7 before the Banquet party. The group of people who is highly related in the redevelopment urban village topic will be invited from outside urban village to experience Caiwuwei life and discuss with the local resident with topics related to the interest. During the tour, the researcher will be facilitating the discussion; the local resident will be presenting the main concept to topic. The documentation of the event will be both video recording and notes taking. The note taking will be function as recording of human interaction.

Potential involvement group

- Government official (PDRC)

- Developer

- Designer, Planner

- Public

- Urban village resident

- Urban village owner

Urban Village Banquet party

The party is open for public, both internal and external from urban village. The goal is to have people set down on the same table to have conversation with a relax environment. the facilitator will be sign up for each table to break the ice at the beginning, the topic will be generalized for daily life at the beginning to create a comfortable feeling for talking. The party will be documented from distance, and a close up quick interview in the end of party will be taken base on the saturation if people feel comfortable doing so.

Section Three: Individual Interview with stakeholder

The Individual interview will be organized after the engagement party with choosing participant from the event. The agenda is to understand how the impact of the engagement event to the stakeholder group

Interview Question:

1. Which topic you find most interesting during the event?

2. Do you think that's possibility to making the improvement base on local needs from urban village?

3. Is the topic could have impact in the future development?

4. Is the local resident's talk make you think different from before?

5. Do you think is relevant to have the engagement event between different groups of stakeholder in the future process of development?

6. What could the current system benefit from the engagement event between different stakeholder or NOT?

7. The recent CRP meeting identify the change of the management of rural collective ownership for future development. In which degree you think the change of regulation will make impact on the redevelopment with the urban village rural owned land

Conducting Case Studies – Data Collection

The research data will be conducted into two sections, one is the quantitative data from the onsite need assessment survey will be organized into table. The other data is collected from the stakeholder interview will be studied by coding analysis method.

Limitation

The limitation of the study is high, because the study is an internal analysis within one case study. The interviewee been involved in the research is all related to the case study from internal and external. The stakeholder relationship can be different in other cases based on the local willingness, redevelop concept difference, government acceptance, power support, and other independent variables.

Chapter 5: The Public Participatory Site Research Analysis

This research was undertaken during the winter of 2013 in Shenzhen. Geographically, Shenzhen is located at the south end of the mainland of China, with a climate slightly above 15oC and with light rain during December. A lot of people moved in and out from Caiwuwei at that time based on an interview with a moving truck business owner. This represents the busyness of population flow on site, and also becomes the biggest challenge for the start of the public participatory engagement for several reasons. First, there is an unstable population with less investment about the physical space, because they can easily change location based on their interest and needs, giving them little incentive to participate in local activism. Secondly, there is a group not included in the legal urban citizen system (HuKou), in which they have little ability to be participating in rights and services that others enjoy. Last but not the least, the flooding migrant population can hardly find belonging and attachment with the local site due to socio-economic segregation and stratification.

Onsite survey and interview

The onsite survey at the first stage is the needs assessment analysis, which is to understand the need from the local tenants from their daily life. The sample size is 20 people, who are all local tenants from Caiwuwei.

The analysis is simple and easy assessment from theoretical point of view. However, it can be difficult applying to the local condition in urban village context because the willingness to participate in research. The issue got better when the time pass by after building up the communication and trust with the local tenants. It is important to

maintain and develop the internal relationship for reasoning related to getting more trustful opinion, further event organized, and research follow up.

Site survey question is What is most needed service from you current situation?

Low income housing/social housing		9
education		2
Public facility		1
Citizenship in Shenzhen		3
Culture reservation		1
Public engagement		2
other	Money	2

Table 3:   Site survey question

The result shows that almost half (9) of the respondents have chosen low income housing, which places it as the highest issue of concern for tenants.   It reflects the urban village's function as low income housing typology for the flooding population in the past 30 years. The participants who chose public engagement as a higher priority were from a younger generation. There were two people that identified the concern for money as the most important factor, which the income level should be raised up based on the increase in the cost of living.

After the site survey, individual interviews were given to locals with the intent to gain an understanding of how the local Caiwuwei owners and tenants regard public participation as well as to ascertain their general methods of daily communication.   The research questions are:

1. What methods do you use to communicate with people besides family, friends, and people who you know? Do you use online apps? Weibo?

2. If you have comment on public issues, how do you process it to tell the others? Did you find difficult to do so? How did you find useful to improving the situation?

3. Is there are group to whom you can make complaints? If so, how do they deal with complaints?

4. If there is an engagement platform for you to participate with, will you be interested in engaging with that platform?

The critical feedback received from locals sometimes fell into expectations, but sometimes conflicted with previous assumptions by the principal investigator. Findings show that the preferred communication method is to call from personal cellphones for local Caiwuwei with their long-distance family or friends. Most of the interviewees have daily contact with family and frequent contact with friends. It represents the current technology support for communication. There are still hardline phone stores on site for people who don't have cellphones or need cheaper communication. As the PI expected, smart phone apps and Weibo should be highly active in urban village site, people should collaborate on the topic of redevelopment issue on online discussing method, such as Weibo, Weixin, or any kinds. However, results show from interviews that the local community show little intention to discover what is happening outside their daily patterns. They are more focused on internal or personal communication. "I don't use Weibo, not interested with other people's saying, I am so busy everyday, I will take a nap if I have free time." said by grocery store worker who working 11hours per day. But his friend replied, "I read posts on Weibo, but I never reply to anything, just reading interesting stuff." And also,the use of higher technology is also limited by age demographics, age above 40 have much less user than the younger generation. However,

60% of the current tenants and there is an increasing trend of an influx of white collar who lives in urban village, there are the higher educated middle income population who may apply to device will allow them to access to internet from home. This private data is hard to define and examined from the current research, but it could be a further study and research question to conduct.

The social conflicts and tensions between the power and individual during the redevelopment process of the rural land in the urban context have been issued the lack of public participation for the decision making structure of China. (Bosin Tang and Siuwai Wong, 2007). The Caiwuwei tenant has difficulty to complain for both public and personal issues. "I would not find anyone to complain, I am not even thinking about it because I know it wouldn't change anything." said by a restaurant manager who is working in Shenzhen for 7years. A similar comment came from a soft drink store employee," I will just complain with my friend; talking with the management office would not help on anything." It is clear that there is no local, government, or other institute accessible for local tenants from urban village in this regard. The situation is even worse for the longer-term tenants who have no comment for most of the questions related to complaints because they have been normalized to these conditions for several decades. They show a lack of interest to engage with local issues. "I have no idea; I don't want to think about it, just want to go back to my home" said by an old lady who owns a street front business for the past 15 years. Her best friend says," we don't have the right to say anything; we are not local citizens, so better not to think about those things. It will be different if I have citizenship, because I will have protection from the city for health service, education service, and so on."

There is however, a group of tenants who are highly interested and thinks it is necessary to have the public participatory platform set up for engage to the local

Caiwuwei community. "I think public participation is important, because China is not democracy, all the decision is made by the government," said by the soft drink worker, who is responding the research question actively. "I would want to join the conversation if there is a place for engaging with other and accept complaints," said by local resident. On the other hand, the owner group shows less interest to engage to the public participatory discussion, "I don't know, the township village enterprise is helping up to take care of the Caiwuwei space, I will listen to them, they will talk with developer for compensation for us. It is better to act as group than individual," said by a local owner. Since it is the owner group who will be paid off from the redevelopment process, their only concern is for proper compensation, which includes money, FAR[11] for housing, and commercial usage area. The overall feedback from the site is presenting the segregation from different social groups by their social identification.

The event organization

The lack of communication between stakeholders has created the non-transparent process of the decision making process between the power holder, include government, developer and TVE. The collaboration from the powerless group, who is considering as the low income migrant counted as the majority of the urban village community, has no accessibility to the renewal process. The event is to practice a public engagement concept to invite all stakeholders to collaborate on an active social interaction. The purpose of the event is to build up a platform without constrain of the identity from each stakeholders, and hopefully, achieve the goal of creating a more equitable, sustainable and practical communication in all of society without exclusion (Reason and Bradbury 2006).

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[11] FAR: floor-area ratio

The was organized into two sections: a guided tour with identified redevelopment stakeholders and a traditional urban village food party held on a 4th of Jan, 2014, Saturday between 5pm to 10pm.
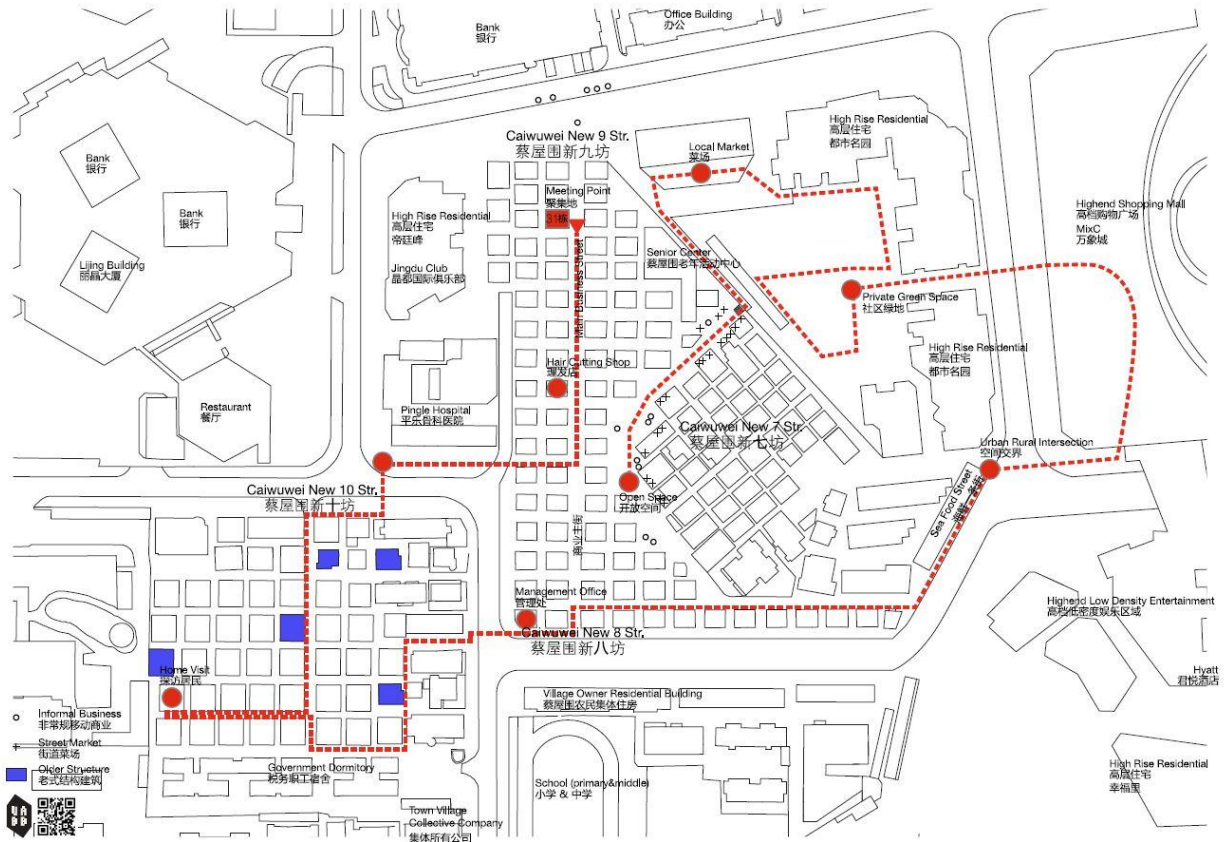
Illustration 1: Caiwuwei guide tour map

The original idea for the party was to use the open space in the middle of the Caiwuwei. However, a lack of interest from the local management system to collaborate with outsiders such as researchers and academics, created great difficulty to formally organize the event without multi-party buy-in.

The central open space in the middle of Caiwuwei has been recognize as the most effective location to interact with the local resident, because of the current activity has

brought the density and attention to it. The space is currently used as car parking, informal business gathering, food markets, and seating space for surrounding restaurants. The locals come here for food frequently. The activities are mostly informal beside car parking and food market, from which the management office charges monthly fees. The difficulty for using the open space is that it is managed by both the local and the city management office during this time of heightened sensitivity towards an impending redevelopment. The event concept was accepted by individual officers when it was presented initially, but it was soon rejected after it reached a higher level decision-maker, who stated that "they are afraid that the event will create an impact on the current movement of the site. They don't want to deal with any incident that could happen during the event time". It is indeed a sensitive time for Caiwuwei both because of the known redevelopment process underway, and also because of intensifying attention for the relationship of the management between the local, city, and private power systems. After the PI had talked with all of the required service departments, it remained unclear as to who could make a decision, and instead the questions got pushed around from one department to the next.

The lack of clarity from the site management impacted the local site where the individual business provider in the open space for our event who were friendly but not cooperating with the idea of using their space for the dinner party because they simply didn't believe that the management office will allow the event happening in the space. There are 6 small restaurants around the central open space; none showed interest to provide the food for the dinner party. "We can't do that, the city management officer comes by every hour, they don't allow us to use the open space, I don't want to argue with them", said by a small restaurant owner. The backup plan for the dinner party was to be

hosted in an indoor restaurant space on the main business street. This plan went smoothly because it is within commercial usage, which the management could not deny.

During this process of applying for public event space, it is clear that the management of urban village is to maintain status quo; no additional activity can be accepted. The space is regulated as what it is: the open space is for open activity, and the commercial is for business. Existing informal businesses have been minimized and monitored by the management offices.

Service provider on site:

The urban village provides space to grow small scale businesses such as printing shops, home furniture shops, beauty shops and so on. The business survey from Caiwuwei urban village has shown that over 40 different business types are inside a space in less than two acres. Local businesses support the surrounding needs for most services. "Most of our orders come from the (local) office buildings," said an owner of printing shop, "we are cheaper, faster than the big printing shop located at outside central city". The event took advantage of the service providers on site, of which most of the products were made locally, such as the food for the party, printing for posters, signs, maps, and tee-shirts, and so on.

Who to invite?

The target for the event is to bring stakeholders to the discussion table, which is to invite as many as people who are interested in the urban villages to engage inside of Caiwuwei. The Stakeholders included but were not limited to local land-owners, local tenants, developers, government officials, designers, independent researchers, activists, and the general public.

Private invitations for outside stakeholders were sent out to developers, government officials, designers, urban village researchers, and related members of the public who interacted with the Caiwuwei urban village redevelopment process. A public announcement was posted both on Weibo, an online reporting method, and an event posting on the Hong Kong Biennial website (uabb.hk).

The onsite invitation for locals in Caiwuwei was constructed by 3 different methods. First is targeted the local landowners because they are the hardest group of people to engage on site.   The event schedule and invitation were sent out at the same time during the process of individual interviews with the local owners so that they could have time to process the information. The official printed invitation was placed in the owners' home mailing boxes, which was a confirmation of the event. According to the traditional life style, which all family have close relationship with each other, the news would be sent out to a wider family group as the PI expected. Second was the identified resident group who also invited their local friends to attend the party with the only requirement being to either live or work in Caiwuwei. By this method, the researcher is be able to intentionally include the target group more specifically, such us the old lady from Chaozhou, who would invite her long-term tenant friends to the party. Third were invitations handed out on site to the population who had used the urban village space, where the researcher invited locals in Caiwuwei during the onsite observation.

After conducting interviews, inviting people to the event, and then having to explain thoroughly the intentions of the event, it became evident to the researcher that the interviewees neither comprehended nor considered the concept of public participation as a viable option for their community. The theoretical understanding of public participation are understand as the tool for the powerless group to gaining their voice to be speak up and listened, and potentially making change to the existing issues. However, the generic

term of public participatory have not been educated to the general public in China, which the researcher sometimes had to re-explain in simpler terms, such as, it is a platform for public to tell what they want and need, or communicate with bigger group of population about what they think the issues is.

The Event Observation

The people who attended to the event broadly covered the stakeholder list, including government officials, designers, general publics, researchers, local owners, and local tenants. It should noted that the Kingkey developer, the primary developer stakeholder, had originally agreed to attend, but changed their decision right before the event happened. This developer is the hardest stakeholder to engage with from the researcher's perspective because they want to have the control of the redevelopment process. The threat of additional voices onto the discussion table could destabilize their agenda. "The current redevelopment model is a stable and transparent structure, which is also functioning", said by the developer official. And also, the redevelopment process attempts to segregate each group from communicating with one another. Both the developer and government is afraid of public voice from chapter 3 power structure analysis.

The first section of the event is the guided tour in the Caiwuwei area, which included in the tour group a government planner, university students and professors, designers, general public, researchers and international participants. Some of the local tenants followed us during the tour because of their own interest, they became curious why we are there and what we are talking about. One of the urban researchers told me, "the urban village community is more active than the urban community, people are not

afraid to engage with stranger on the street". The invited group were the people who had been involved in the urban village redevelopment projects, they are planners from government planning bureau, planner from local university, researchers from worldwide, designer who involved in the redevelopment issue related to urban village topic. A conversation between the different stakeholders started during the tour where people shared ideas and asked diverse questions, such as, why and how the local owner decides to build the urban village house? Why the urban village housing don't have balcony? What the current illegal urban village development is? . It was a highly interactive group in which some of the people were more interested with main street business activity whereas some were more familiar with illegal redevelopment topics, and some were from architecture or spatial contextual perspectives, and so on. The further discussion can be formed base on this identified group.

Illustration 2: Caiwuwei Dinner party

The dinner party has planned for around 50 to 80 participator. There were more than 120 participants, which included around 80 local Caiwuwei, both owner and tenants group; more than 20 outside stakeholder, from designer, government official, general public and researcher; and around 20 international participants from designer and reporter. The number cannot be clearly counted, but the space is overwhelmed by all the people who is willing to come and by part of the conversation. The event has created a relaxed environment for different group of people to share and communicate freely. Even the PI, who organized the event from bottom up with a lot of help from UABB, research partner, and volunteer, it is still show difficulties for fully observation and collaboration with the event because the emergency and extra participant during the event. Celebratory food as the connection can bring people together in an easier form both for outsider and local Caiwuwei. Is not any food but really special food from urban village tradition, which contents the memory and highly connected to the village culture of sharing. It also shows a success that there are more than 80 people from the local community came to the event both from the local owner and local tenants group. However, it has to be recognized that the event was the very first stage for people to sit down and start sharing. The conversation that started was valuable, but how to continue the conversation and how to explore the network that has been created needs to be further considered. This may suggest that more systematic social-coalition structures may apply in the future towards public participatory event organizing.

The willingness of sharing conversation has showed as a positive impact after the event has been recognized at post event stage, which the local community starts showing more trust and acceptance with the term "public engagement" from talking with locals.

Post event analysis with outside stakeholder

The individual interviews with outside stakeholders were organized immediately after the event when the fresh memory of the event can be applied clearly. A wide range of participants were contacted from all Caiwuwei urban village redevelopment stakeholder group which includes Kingkey developer, Government planning official, Caiwuwei project designer, researcher, and general public. The following set of questions sought to understand the event engagement to the outside stakeholders.

Outside stakeholder interview questions:

Q1: What is the public participatory is in the context of urbanization process of Shenzhen?

Q2: Is Public Participatory concept is necessary for develop in the current context?

Q3: What can be seen from the Caiwuwei event? What is it means?

Q4: What is possible to make the public participatory event effective for the future development? Or How it can be implement in a wide scale?

Q5: What is been missing during the redevelopment?

The Post Event Data is been Collected and direct translated into the cross response style by topics for further study. The data structure is presented as show in Table 4. And flowing by a qualitative cross response analysis from each stakeholder for the questions will be studied and compared during the analysis. The findings will construct and support further discussion for the public participatory issues during the final chapter.

The Post Event Outside Stakeholder Data Collection

Category	Content	Role
Meaning of the public participatory event		
Acceptance	It create a change to gathering together, it is very important to see happen. The event is already showing the willingness of participation and trust of the community that so many people show up.	Designer
	the event is one time chance to participate, how it can become an opportunity for them to communicate in a longer team	Planner
	The event is a learning process, i think we just have to keep moving forward	Designer
Theory	the Caiwuwei event is referring to the social community theory. What we can do to related that theory into the urban village context is to use the identified social group to guide the voice from general public	Designer
Current Public Participatory process		
What is now?	If we are talking about public participation, i think Shenzhen is doing a much better job than other city from a planning perspective. We learned a lot from Hongkong, and people have been educated how to claim their rights	Planner
	the current public engagement in China is not a real public participatory process	Planner
Issues	The urban village issue is social issues related to housing, education, public service and so on. We want to transfer this basic understanding as a widely apply agreement to work on from a wider range of population. So it will become the continuing social movement	Researcher
	the process would hopefully give more time to the redevelop different strategy for the redevelopment model	Designer
Necessary for engagement		
Negatives	There is one issue for the public engagement process related to urban village context i see from the Baishizhou village case i am working on. the population you are talking about has been recognized as flooding population who easily move from one location to the other, based on the current redevelopment process for urban village, it can take at least over 5 to 10 year for the site to be reconstructed. So, the tenants can be changing over time during the process because of the personal reasons	Designer
	Of cause that public participation can be applied to the redevelopment process, but how to engage? And how to deal with the feedback? The feedback is not professional and is personal from the local tenants related to the redevelopment issue	Developer

The impact from public participation		
limitation	it is clear that the developer is trying to limit the communication between different group of people, they want them to be isolated, it is really sensitive topic, we all know what kind problem will appeal	Planner
strategies	we can't organized base on the total population of 17millions, we are relay on the small group to speak out for bigger group. diversification means more sub groups, such the farmer group, the school group, the mother group and so on	Researcher
	We have a nonprofit group who have join as independence, we need this kind of organization	Planner
	it is important to make the after effect base on the event for creating a network of communication platform	Designer
	I think one of the possibility is from the legislation, the ownership is been respected, so should we respect the residency? How can we draw the line on the residency? What kind of right they should have? we have public participatory stage in the official redevelopment process for the land owner. so can the resident be include in this process to enlarge the conversation?	Planner
	a guiding process for public participatory for the urban village local tenants may have to apply	Developer
Function Missing in social service		
Social structure	The physical social layer has missing the social worker, professional institute who have ability to discuss issues publicly, and research funding	Designer
	The most important topic and issue for the next 30 years in China is that the political and social system can support the social movement like public participatory? We talk about social housing, to college a pretty image of proposal doesn't mean anything, we need to have a structure. The social housing is a social model, it can be public private partnership model or other thing, but we have to have a social model.	Designer
Systematic issues	we have to restructure the system, which department is related to what kind of issues, such as the urban village residency issue, how can they be accepted in the current legislature structure	Planner

Table 4:   The Post Event Outside Stakeholder Data Collection

Q1: the current public participatory is in the context of urbanization process of Shenzhen.

To understand the public participatory is in the context of urbanization process of Shenzhen, the interviews that been taken are from government planning officials, designers, and urban village researchers. The interviews from two government planning officials have argued the existence of a public engagement process for the current statute. The director of architecture department from planning bureau said, "If we are talking about public participation, I think Shenzhen is doing a much better job than other city from a planning perspective. We learned a lot from Hong Kong, and people have been educated how to claim their rights". However, the population that they kept mentioning did not include rural migrants, which the interviewee admitted later in the interview. And the same time, the other government officials from the planning bureau claim that, "the current public engagement in China is not a real public participatory process". It is clear that there is different understanding of what is public participation, how it functions, and how is practiced on site. But the base agreement from the participant for this topic is recognizing there are issues for public engagement. There are outcomes that different stakeholders are looking for based on their background knowledge. "The urban village issue is social issues related to housing, education, public service and so on. We want to transfer this basic understanding as a widely apply agreement to work on from a wider range of population. So it will become the continuing social movement", said by Mary Ann O'Donnel during the post event independent interview. The other outcome that designers suggest what public participatory can do is, "the process would hopefully give more time to the redevelop different strategy for the redevelopment model".

The interviews show that public participation are the secondary impacts to the current urbanization process from outside stakeholders and that there is limited direct

response of what public participation could mean to the urban village tenants issues from the current redevelopment process. It represents the difficult situation of figuring out the direct and practical strategies related to the topic of redevelopment. "We don't have good solutions to the issue we are facing, maybe what we can do is just slow down the process of development", said by a designer.

Q2: Necessity of public participation

There are 7 responses for the necessity of public participation from developers, designers, government planning officials, and researchers. The general feedback is that public participatory process is very important to include or be considered for the further development. There are strategies have been suggested from the interview that educating basic knowledge, organizing events and setting up program would help create an agreement on the engagement topic. However, there are different voices raised from one of the designers and the developers. "There is one issue for the public engagement process related to urban village context I see from the Baishizhou village case I am working on", said by the designer, "the population you are talking about has been recognized as flooding population who easily move from one location to the other, based on the current redevelopment process for urban village, it can take at least over 5 to 10 years for the site to be reconstructed. So, the tenants can be changing over time during the process because of the personal reasons". It is a reality of the site condition the designer has mentioned in the interview for the short team tenants, in which the individuals move based on their need for their own reasons. Even so, their opinion can still be valuable and be applied to a larger group based on similar conditions. And also, the onsite survey and interviews have identified that there are longer tenant groups who live in same location inside of urban village for over a 10-year period, in which a social network and local

community has been created over time. The interview from the designer can be easily argued, but it is representing the attitude from design institute that they have been paid by the developer to finish the job of making the story prettier. These attitudes also apply to the developer, who mentioned, "Of course that public participation can be applied to the redevelopment process, but how to engage? And how to deal with the feedback? The feedback is not professional and is personal from the local tenants related to the redevelopment issue". There is no formal process currently for developer to engage with the local tenants, so it is difficult to say where the impression is coming from for developer. But it is clear that they are less competitive than the other stakeholder in the public participatory discussion.

Q3: The meaning of the Caiwuwei event

The response is coming from outside stakeholders who participated the Caiwuwei event, which includes designers, government planning officials, and researchers. Positive feedback are generally applied from the interviewees, and it is been recognized as a very first step. "It creates a change to gathering together, it is very important to see happen. The event is already showing the willingness of participation and trust of the community that so many people show up", the designer who has participated the Caiwuwei redevelopment design workshop. The limitation of the event has been suggested by the government planning official that," the event is one time chance to participate, how it can become an opportunity for them to communicate in a longer term". "The event is a learning process, I think we just have to keep moving forward", said by an urban village researcher. The current discussion related to redevelopment issue has been organized by outside identified stakeholder groups which include government officials, designer and individual researchers. They are the engine for pushing the conversation further. "The

Caiwuwei event is referring to the social community theory. What we can do to related that theory into the urban village context is to use the identified social group to guide the voice from general public", said by the director of design research institute. The event was able to connect a network of people interested in participating with urban village issues. The researcher received people who are from online groups, general public who interested in the urban village culture, or had interaction with urban village site from past experiment. At the same time, the local community showed more trust and started talking more easily with the researcher after the event related to the issues on urban villages.

Q4: the public participatory impact to the future

The further discussion on the possible public engagement impact to the future urbanization is based on the agreement on the importance of public participation. The suggestions has made from designers, researchers, and government official planners.

1.   Public participation is aimed to empower a marginalized group of community stakeholders but the difficulty is the willingness with the small migrant social groups in Shenzhen to engage. "We can't organize based on the total population of 17millions, we are relaying on the small group to speak out for bigger group," said by the researcher from Baishizhou project, "diversification means more sub groups, such the farmer group, the school group, the mother group and so on".

2.   The process is to increase the transparency of the redevelopment process for the general population. The boundary between stakeholders has made the current urbanization process limited for wider communication both from political and economic propose. "it is clear that the developer is trying to limit the communication between different groups of people, they want them to be isolated," said by a government land

redevelopment planner, " it is really a sensitive topic, we all know what kind problem will appear".

3.   It is an opportunity to form the independent nonprofit institute within the identified interest group. The social service has shown lack of support, which is not been value as important component for the current social issue for governance. It will become one of the key topics during future public engagement event.   "We have a nonprofit group who have joined as independents, we need this kind of organization", said by a planner from government.

4.   Identify the general public group based on the public engagement event has been organized in Caiwuwei engagement party, and create the network of supporting group. "It is important to make the after effect base on the event for creating a network of communication platform," said by a designer, who tried to give out name card and ask contact in the Caiwuwei event.

5.   The impact on the policy and regulation making for the related topic, such as, land ownership, and the redevelopment proposal approval process. One of the government planning officials has suggest the possibility from the governmental perspective, "I think one of the possibilities is from the legislation, the ownership is been respected, so should we respect the residence right?   How can we draw the line on the residency? What kind of right they should have?", the question is been raised, "we have public participatory stage in the official redevelopment process for the land owner. so can the resident be included in this process to enlarge the conversation?"

The comment has formed unified for the social concern from all participant stakeholders, except the comment from the developer, who is looking at site scale related

to the urban village redevelopment, he is suggesting, "a guiding process for public participatory for the urban village local tenants may have to apply".

Q5: The missing layers in social service

The missing social facility has been suggested and recognized both from the outside stakeholder interview and the local Caiwuwei site survey. The result are supporting each other for necessity start the conversation on the discussion for those identified issues, such as, affordable rental housing, public service, and public participation. The difference with the outside stakeholder interview is the suggestion of structure formation discussion between the individual stakeholders has leaded the conversation to how we can make things happen.

"The physical social layer has missing the social worker, professional institute who have ability to discuss issues publicly, and research funding," said by one of the designer from Hong Kong Institute of Architecture. Those items have not been accepted in the current China culture. "The most important topic and issue for the next 30 years in China is that the political and social system can support the social movement like public participation?" said by the director of design institute, "we talk about social housing, to collage a pretty image of proposals don't mean anything, we need to have a structure. The social housing is a social model, it can be a public-private partnership model or other thing, but we have to have a social model." The issues have to be recognized and accepted by a general public, and the legislature also has to be comprehensively considered. "We have to restructure the system, which department is related to what kind of issues, such as the urban village residency issue, how can they be accepted in the current legislature structure", said by the government official.

The conversation is focused on management strategies related to social issues, which represent a typical top down model. However, the research finds the concept of the importance for the bottom up impact to the current structure is generally accepted. The further movement has been encouraged by most of the stakeholder groups.

Chapter 6:   Conclusion

The paper seeks an internal case study intent on presenting a largely debated issue between different stakeholders in the urbanization process. The issues focus on relating social concern and rethinking the functionality of power relations during China's rapid economic growth over the past thirty years. The process of empowering lower income groups through application of the public participatory theory throughout this research has identified challenges and possibilities in the urban context of China.

The urban village exemplifies an extreme renewal case through the mixture of poverty communities within rural-urban property ownership land. Urban villages are facing gentrification due to government projection for the needs of developed areas. Urban village tenants are powerless groups who have little to no rights to speak up for what they want during the process of being relocated without compensation. There is no accessibility to the current decision making process for the tenant groups in relation to the social community that has been built up over the past thirty years. The lack of consideration for social service support of the low income immigrant population is creating what is called the new urban poor. The existing public financial model has not been recognizing the importance of the value of the existing urban village social community. The non-transparent development process is segregating the urban village tenants and general public and is generating the unstableness of society.

The examination of the aforementioned case study has provided an opportunity to address the problem for the future. Empowering the urban village tenant group would lead to the reformation of legislature recognition on the issues of hukou and land use rights. It will potentially transform the fundamental understanding of rights related to individuals. The collaboration between all stakeholders could create a platform towards a

more creative and practical model for all of the community. The process of reconstruction for the renewal method would provide an opportunity for creating a more equal society.

From this research, four suggestions are being given to improve the agenda.

1) A financial model set up to support the creative purposes which is currently managed by the legislative body with a public and private financing partnership;

2) Reconsideration of the existing renewal model to approach a more collective and collaborative structure;

3) Allowance and support of institutionalized the social group from the government. The groups include local community organizations, nonprofits, and other institutional entities, which could construct, manage, monitor, and analyze transformation of the social movement for creating a better system;

4) Creation of a public participatory platform by the public sector for collaboration and idea exchange in an effort to provide grounding for the discussion of social issues in the making of space, and to create more opportunities to balance power-dynamics between all stakeholders.

The exclusion of the urban village tenants has a significant impact on current demographic patterns in an already unstable low-income migrant community. The major implications to the existing community are the loss of their living space, access to jobs, and social networks. Urban village renewal in the city center gentrifies and displaces existing village tenants into the periphery. It puts pressures on the urban infrastructure and creates a less cost-efficient model. The urban village is an irreplaceable affordable living community space intrinsic to China's economic and spatial growth. The relocation

of the existing village neighborhood would increase the living, transportation, and social service cost for the city. However, recognition of urban village value has not been agreed upon from various stakeholders, especially the investors who are trying to clean up the urban village typology for urban construction. The transparency of renewal process to the existing living network has impact on the wider scale problem related to safety, energy consumption, and so on. The renewal process will be better by including both spatial and social relocation programs, so that all related populations can have access to such programs to slow down urban gentrification. The program structure is necessary to be managed by the government-led action with monitoring and evaluation support. The existing public-private development model could be applied and further exploded for the need of the public in general.

There is no avenue for the urban village tenant to gain their rights due to the legislative policies in China. The process of empowering local social groups could reconstruct fundamental understanding of the hukou and land use right topics through legislative power. There are two group populations that have been recognized as the local community, including the local urban village owner and the village tenants. The local village owners have power to exercise limited rights and participation in deciding the future development of their land; the only remaining negotiable issue is compensation for the release of their ownership rights. On the other hand, the rural migrants and low-income tenants who are systematically uninvolved from the urbanization process have no power for two political factors.

First, disengagement caused by the constitutional recognition of the rights-use of space has not been thoroughly evaluated by current policies in China. The land ownership is recognized as being both urban ownership and rural collective ownership. However, the rights of a tenant who is operating the space have not been evaluated for land use by

the legislative structure. It has become the fundamental issue for the collaboration and communication among stakeholders due to the imbalance of rights. The tenants could have the right for their leasing during the renewal case.

Second, the current classification of the citizenship is problematically excluding the rural population from the urban social benefiting structure. The reconsideration of the citizenship structure could provide more equitable society for the entire community, which will increase the feeling of belonging. The rural migrants who have no urban citizenship but still work in the city are by law excluded from receiving social benefits in the dual-level hukou citizenship system. Through the rural-to-urban immigrant movement during late 1970s, social and spatial segregation of rural populations have increasingly put pressure on the city government to create an equally distributed urban structure for future urban expansion. The rural migrant should be legally registered under the social benefit structure in the city. The concern of empowering the public may endanger the unquestioned authority based on the top down structure in China established by government institutes. The non-transparent decision making process has been functioning as the government managing method to keep the general population outside of the conversation for the past thirty years. The lack of communication between the government and public has created fear that collaboration whit the public will decrease government authority of further collaboration between government and public population in topics related to social, political, and urbanization issues.

The extremely limited accessibility to the urban village decision making process for the tenants group has segregated social communities and created distrust between the power holders and the powerless. The open platform between all stakeholders, which is supervised by the governmental structure, will encourage the creational impact of the

existing collaboration model. The open discussion could also increase the transparency of the decision process thereby gaining the trust of the local community. The current power relation between stakeholders presents an isolated system of closed-communication without any opportunity for open collaboration. This closed process includes only stakeholders such as investors, government, and TVE's, while excluding urban village tenants and the general public. The government has administrative authority to clean-up the off-grid urban village fabric in the city by setting up the official renewal process. Investors compensate local land owners far beyond perceived market rates, and they invest in development only for future predictable direct-investment-benefit payoff from each project, without any consideration of the populations currently using the site or the urban village typology.

The lack of consideration for social service support to the low income immigrant population is creating the new urban poor. The equally distributed resources to all social groups are the goal to achieve the social harmony in the theoretical understanding of social equity. The exclusion of the majority group during the urbanization process limits the creation of social equalization. The urban village renewal process is a case to visit the existing collaboration through renewal model. The lack of communication has increasingly enlarged the social separation and spatial segregation between different income levels and urban/rural citizenship. This equalization can be precipitated through the practice of both top-down and bottom-up decisions, providing a feedback loop in the context of urban village renewal. The information transformation structure would increase the social balance in a long run.

The following suggestion is given for reconsideration of the existing structure towards a more collaborative method of managing.

1. *Financial model:* An additional public financial model would support sustainable development without concentrating on economic growth. This public financial model would apply funding for research to support future community plans, small-scale implementation, recreational capacity, and all the other related projects from a public and private financial structure. An open-collaboration platform for researchers could increase based on further collaboration between stakeholders. This movement should be highly integrated into the local community, such as the urban village tenants, in order to gain the public and tenant's support, trust, and most importantly, input. By doing so, it will reduce the current argument on the agenda difference and communication shortage between the powerful and the powerless. The collaboration would impact the future redevelopment model to a more mixed-use social community and increase the cost efficiency on the site and city scale.

2. *Redevelopment model:* The study suggests a reinvention of the current urban village redevelopment model from a close discussion making process between the government, investors, and TVE to a more transparent communication platform including but not limited to, the traditional stakeholders, urban village tenants, and general public. The suggested redevelopment model can be hard to accept from a powerful group because the existing governance understanding and cost-benefit model. However, the positive impact from the

public participatory movement will benefit a more power balanced collaboration in the long term. (Figure 6)
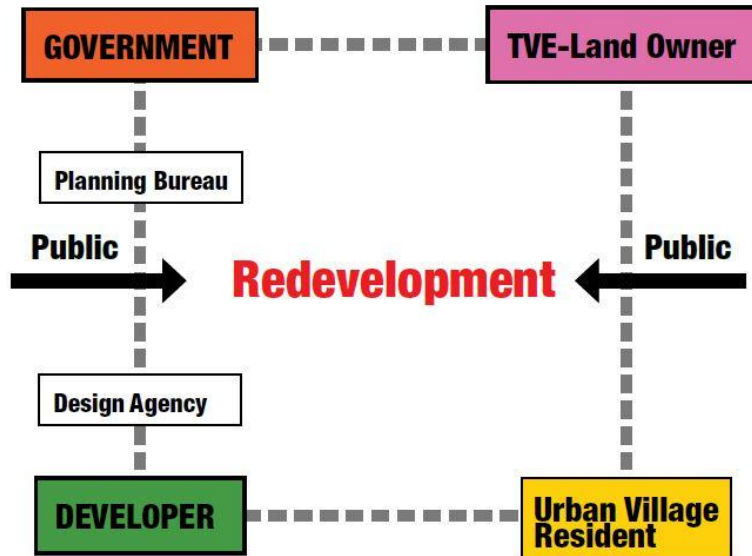

Figure 6:   Objective development model suggested by this study

3. *Institutionalize:* The Caiwuwei case study presents an unpredictable result because of the power relationships related to the renewal process between decision makers who have less consideration of the powerless group. The imbalance of power relations between the decision makers and the community has impacted urban gentrification by encouraging its renewal. The low income migrant tenants who have been relocate without compensation, and the affordable area for them to move to is located outside of the urban boundary. An independent institutional structure for balancing the constraint between the two power ends could benefit the future social harmony. As the Caiwuwei case presents, the social and non-profit institutional entity is not allowed under

the Chinese governmental structure. The same applies to the design and TVE sectors as well where the individual social worker or researcher is not legally accepted by the existing government structure. Allowance of institutionalized power becomes a communication tool for collaborating on different ideas and creating a news feeding loop. In order to establish these pathways, a bottom up institutional platform is necessary for monitoring, maintaining and organizing public feedback. The institutional structure does not stand against the idea of redevelopment, but rather provides an opportunity for creating a socially balanced environment for all.

4. *Public participatory:* Furthermore, the public participatory structure can be organized from both top-down and bottom-up scales. As the leader, the government will instigate and oversee the programs structure by setting up legislative regulation, suppling funding and institutionalizing the active group. The onsite active group would be included with the social group, as an onsite community organized group, along with nonprofits for organizing a collaborative community network. Missing services, such as education, childcare, learning centers and public space should be programmed on the local scale.   Current interest from developers can be analyzed and valued for collaboration in future public participatory processes. The value of public voice should be recognized in China's urbanization process.

   Recognition of the local resident group for engagement in the public participatory platform is the most challenging urban village renewal issue because of reasons under the history of governing. First, it is difficult to find a willing group from the local community for collaboration with the powerful

group because of the lack of trust between the two. Second, those who are less powerful is lack knowledge and education of their right to speak up for their needs. Third, there is legislative power that increases the influence of the general public to participate in the decision making process.   Last but not the least, the urban village tenant population has less appreciation of or sense of belonging to the urban village space.

The Caiwuwei event has been organized for research and can be understood as the testing stage for engaging different stakeholder groups. The research shows the possibility of networking with the local community to build the for further collaboration. The younger generation is more willing to engage in the exchange process for opinions and ideas. The next step is to take practices from both the top and on the ground level to push the public engagement concept. The new redevelopment model should be regulated from the government body. At the same time, research groups should be continuously on site for education, networking, and gaining trust from the local community. A transparent process would be reported to the general public for interested groups from various media sites, such as Weibo, Weixin, and general news report. An examination and measurement process should be created along with the study to monitor the impact of the public participatory movement as it relates to the urban village redevelopment process.

This paper has sought to explore a public participatory theory in the context of urban village redevelopment case to understand, evaluate, and create a platform for conversation to start involvement between all stakeholders. The exclusion of lower income migrants who lead the majority of the total population in Shenzhen, is paramount

for reconsidering the social value of the existing mix functional urban structure during the redevelopment process. Local urban village tenants suffer from systemic disempowerment because of problematic rights-use of space and identity classification (hukou) policies creating a gap in social service benefits. There exists no platform between all stakeholders for providing input, feedback, or collaboration that feeds to decision-making action. It represents social inequality which is enlarged by the unbalanced power relationship. I suggest that the project finance model of a public-private partnership could be structured around this collaborative process of renewal, in order to develop a platform for ongoing public participation, particularly in the provision of social services and institutions within the urban village community. Such an arrangement for urban redevelopment will facilitate the balancing of influence among disparate income groups.

Appendix

A personal story with a shoes repairman from Jiangxi in Caiwuwei

I like the city, and been here for more than 16 years. Before coming to Shenzhen, I was a farmer and bike repairmen. This is the location I started with for the repair shoes business (on the sidewalk at the entrance of the Caiwuwei urban village) after move to Shenzhen. This is my spot, everyone knows me around this area, and they will find me here every day. This is my business strategy, I will not change the location, event I have no longer living in Caiwuwei area for more 5 years. I have to travel half of an hour to come here, but this is my spot I been here for 16 years. People know where to go if they need to fix their shoes. There is a lot of memory about Caiwuwei, when I first got here, the building inside was just 3 floors. At around the year 2000, the villager decides to build higher block to 6 or 7 floors. I was here event during the construction phase. I have to move out because the rent here is getting too expensive during the past 10 year, we can't afford the price anymore, so my family found another room in another urban village close by. There were three families sharing a tow bedroom apartment with 6 adults and 5 children. The space is not enough but it was better than what we had in Caiwuwei. After my family move back to Jiangxi (our hometown), I also move out from the family style apartment to a sharing bad room, it is cheaper than have your own room, but i have to stay with 3 other peoples. Most of us are here by our own, just looking for the cheapest place, some people like me are more stable, but people move around a lot.   I had things been stolen before, but that's happening every day. I have to send money back to my family every month to support the living and education for my children. It is hard to find job in my hometown for my age now. I don't know how to work in a factory. But in Shenzhen, i can work for repairing shoes because there are a lot of office worker in this

area. My client is mostly working in the high tower, some of them are banker, some of them are working in the book store, and people from urban village also comes to me. It is cheaper to fix shoes here than the formal shoes repairing store. For most of the day, I can earn over RMB30-40 (US$7-8) a day, that's enough for daily cost. I will help people move home during the night when I off work from here. It is getting harder and harder to stay here for us, because the living cost is increasing too fast, a lot of people are thinking moving back to their hometown. It is still working fine for me, but we will see. Shenzhen is not my home in the end.
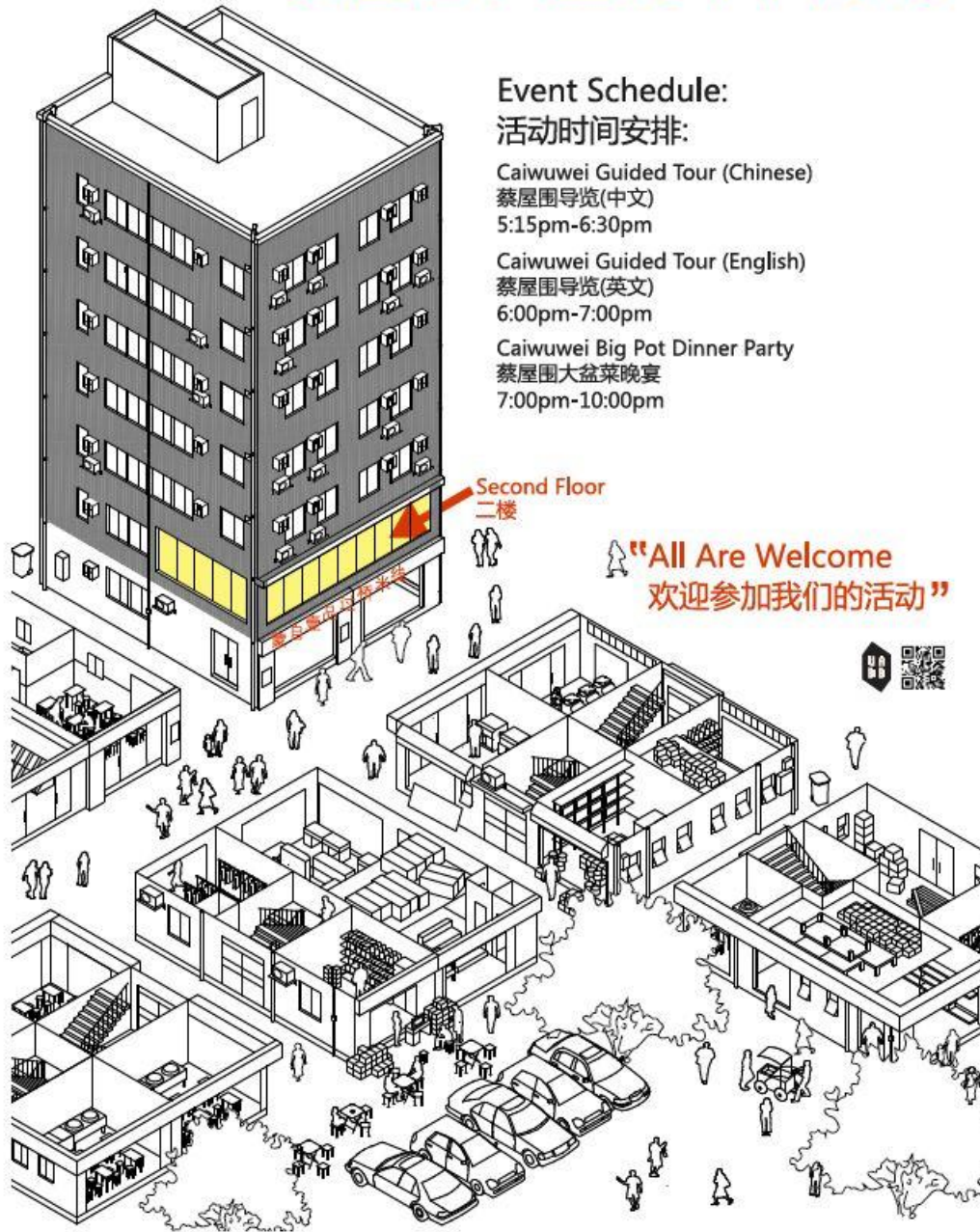
Illustration 3: Caiwuwei Event_Big Pot Party, 1/4/2014

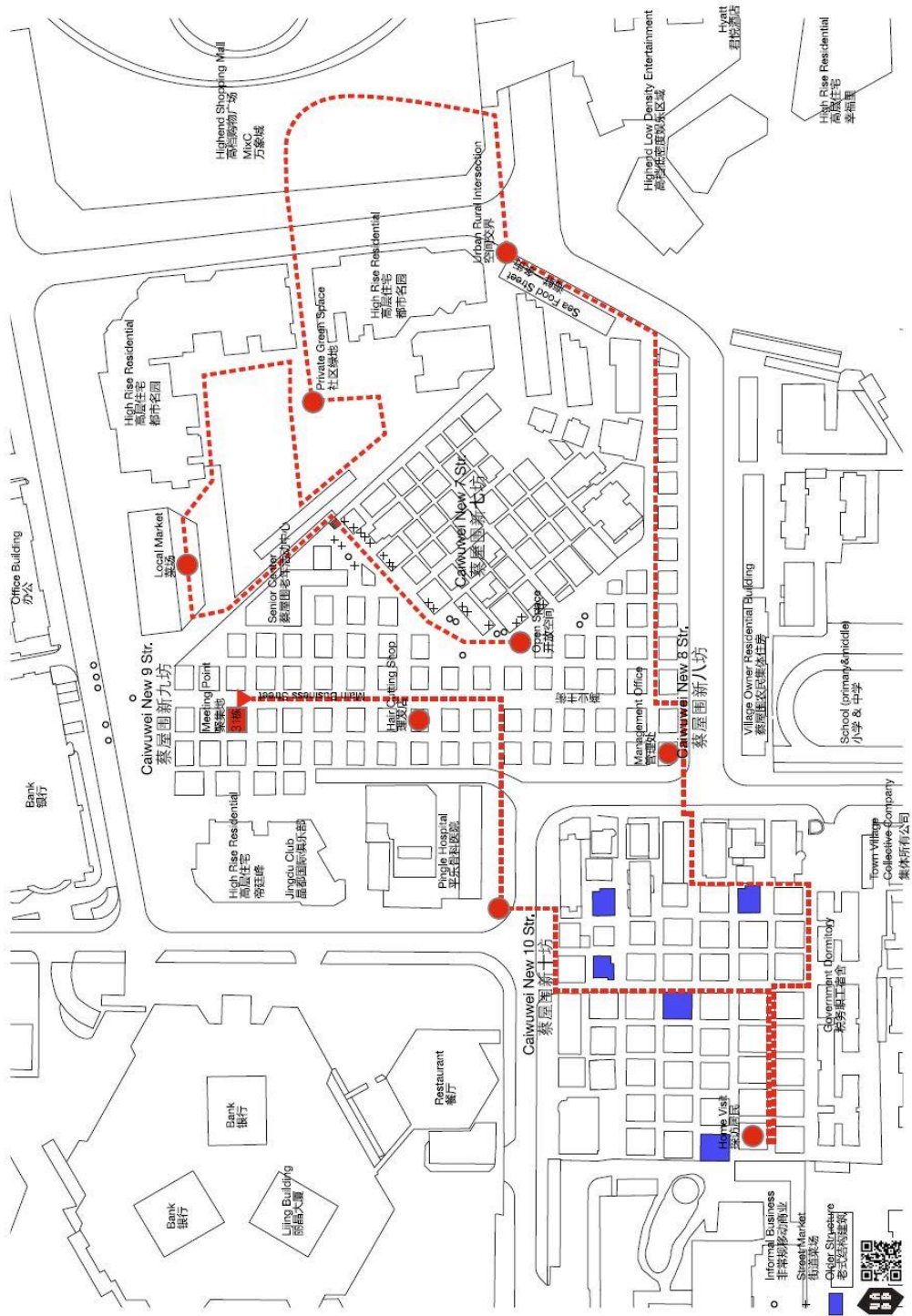Figure 7:   Caiwuwei Event_Guild Tour Map, 1/4/2014

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Vita

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