

The Contemporary Development of Qingdao's Urban Space

The Perspective of Civil Society's Participation in Chinese Urban Planning

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Liu, Chong

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Gutachter:

Prof. Dr. habil. Dieter Hassenpflug
Bauhaus-Universität Weimar, Deutschland

Prof. Dr. Zhang Lingling
Harbin Institute of Technology, China

Prof. Dr. habil. Heinz Schwarzbach
Technische Universität Dresden, Deutschland

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Introduction

This thesis studies the contemporary development of urban space in Qingdao, a coastal city in the P.R. China. Three questions will be answered, namely: How has the city of Qingdao developed its urban space since 1978's reform? Where has it excelled, and what are the deficits of this development? And how can the city improve its urban planning to better cope with the existing problems? There are two main added values of this thesis. Firstly, it focuses on both the progress and the deficiencies in Qingdao's spatial development since the reform of 1978 in diversified aspects, including housing, heritage preservation, public space and urban traffic, which has not yet been systematically done in China or in the West; secondly, it presents an approach for improving Qingdao's planning based on the understanding of civil society from a Chinese perspective.

This study on the contemporary development of Qingdao's Urban Space originated primarily from my personal interest. I spent more than ten years in Qingdao, and have also participated in housing studies and heritage mapping while studying toward my bachelor's degree. Since I started my studies in the cultural city of Weimar, Germany, not only the aesthetic context between Qingdao and Germany, but also contemporary Western planning impresses me deeply. I kept and still keep thinking about the past and future of Qingdao.

The methods utilised in this research include mainly secondary studies and field survey. 1) Secondary studies utilized dissertations, conference contributions, articles in official newspapers and other publications about Qingdao's urban development. Also, the official statistics of Qingdao provide quantitative data in this research. This work was mainly done from 2002 to 2004. My resources were largely taken from in Qingdao Archive, Qingdao Urban Construction Archive, Beijing National Library, Beijing University Library, Shanghai Municipal Library, Koblenz Federal Archive, Munich Bavaria National Library, Thuringia University and National Library (Jena), etc. 2) During the field survey in Qingdao, respectively in 2003 and winter 2004, the author has personally observed the physical form and use of the urban spaces- streets, squares, parks, public buildings and residential blocks, etc., and also made comparative photo studies between the past and present of the same spaces. Some interviews were made with planners, architects, common citizens, and tourists from 2003 to 2005. Through this process, most opinions the author acquired are detailed and in depth. However, most interviewees prefer keeping anonymous, especially in regard to their

criticism. Thus the author only uses the information from the interviews as valuable references but does not quote them as grounds of argument or make particular evaluations.

In the following, the three main objects of this research will be briefly introduced in front of the main contents of the thesis, namely: Qingdao, urban planning and civil society.

a. Qingdao

First appearing in the Jiajing Period (1522-1566) of the Ming Dynasty, "Qingdao" was originally the name of an island in the vicinity of the east wing of the Jiaozhou (Kiaochow) Bay, and this island is called "Small Qingdao" and used as a park today. During the Qing Dynasty, Qingdao was also the name of the village opposite to Qingdao Island under the administration of Jimo Town's Renhua County. On June 14th 1891, the Qing Government started the construction of a military base around Qingdao village, and 6 years later, the whole Jiaozhou Bay was seized by the German Navy on November 14th 1897. By the treaty signed on March 6th 1898, Germany acquired a 99-year lease on Jiaozhou Bay, covering a land acreage of 551.753 sqkm and water acreage of 576.500 sqkm.[1] The construction of a new colonial city was rapidly started, and on October 12th 1899, the German Emperor Wilhelm II named the new urban area of the Jiaozhou Concession "Tsingtau". In 1900's master plan, Qingdao was also the name of the European District in the urban area. From 1899 to 1929, the whole city, including its urban and rural areas, was called either "Tsingtau" or "Kiaochow" in official documents or non-governmental literatures of China, Germany and Japan. In April 1929 the Nationalist Government (Nanjing) officially named the city Qingdao. Remaining until today as "barrio" in the Chinese geographic and politic administration hierarchy, the city covers the land area of 1316.270 sqkm.[2] According to the Basic Rules for Chinese Pinyin Orthography launched in 1958, the writing "Qingdao" replaces "Tsingtau" (German form) or "Tsingtao" (English form) in the P. R. China. In brief, the term Qingdao comprises mainly 4 concepts: 1) Qingdao Island, 2) Qingdao Village, 3) the European District of the former German colonial city in Jiaozhou Region, and 4) the former German colonial city and the city grown from it. This thesis concerns itself with the fourth concept.

b. Urban planning

Generally speaking, the understanding of the term "urban planning" in the West and in China both comprises two major aspects. Firstly, it is a subject, an area of study, which belongs to the 29 major subjects listed by the United Nations in 1974. Secondly, it refers to the governmental or government-led comprehensive activities for arranging the physical

setting of a city encompassing land use; housing; open space and recreation; traffic transportation; public and human services; conservation of environment and heritage resources; etc. To study urban planning in China, the local interpretation of this term is worth paying attention to. Since 1950's there have been diverse definitions of urban planning in China's official documents, claims and textbooks, which reflects "the changing demands for this domain with the time". (Zou, D. C., 2005) In 1999, two decades after the Chinese reform, "Standard for Basic Terminology of Urban Planning" is published by Chinese Construction Ministry, and it defines urban planning as "the comprehensive arrangement, particular organisation, implementation and management of the construction issues for the economic and social development, land use, urban structure and etc." [3] This thesis adopts this definition for the discussion of urban planning in Qingdao. Also, for this research, urban planning includes not only the process of formulating the planning decision in diversified levels from community to the whole city, but also a broad scope of particular practices for improving the urban environment through official and non-official efforts.

c. Civil society

In this thesis, "civil society" includes mainly three sub-spheres: 1) the sphere of the individual, family and household, 2) the sphere of the citizens' organisations, public communications and interactions, as well as 3) the sphere of the non-governmental bodies' involvement for the provision of the public services between the state and the economy. What are the original Western concepts of civil society – including the understandings of Aristotle, Marx, Gramsci, Habermas, Cohen and Arato, and how has the author deduced the definition of civil society for contemporary China will be presented particularly in Chapter 4. Civil society's participation in planning refers to the participation of its three sub-spheres in a broad scope of planning-related issues. This thesis believes that not only citizen involvement in decision-making, but also some kinds of public-private partnerships (PPP) for improving urban environment, which involve individual citizens, citizens' organisations (like residents and their community organisations), or private enterprises offering non-for-profit efforts, also belong to the participation of civil society in planning.

There are two kinds of literature used as reference in this thesis, respectively the research on Qingdao's urban history and the integrated studies of civil society theory and China's urban planning.

T. Warner's doctoral thesis "The Urban Plan and Development of the German founded

Qingdao in China: the Confrontation with the Foreign" (Warner, T., 1996) makes a historic survey of German's construction activity in Qingdao from the aspects of traffic, hygienic, landscape, and housing development. Zhan E. P. 's doctoral thesis "The Emergence, Transformation and Renewal of the Slum Areas in Qingdao: Residential Construction and the Change of the Urban Structure as a Social Problem in the Chinese Coastal Cities" (Zhan, E. P., 2002) reviewed the history of slums in Qingdao and examines the social effects of the governmental intervention on slum renewal. Another doctoral thesis, "Study on the Urban Planning and the Evolution of Qingdao 1897-1937" (Li, D. Q., 2003) focuses on the relationship between urban planning and urban development during Qingdao's early phases, and shows how planning developed from Westerner's transplantation into the practice of the Chinese authorities. Other contributions include "The Aesthetic and Cultural Value of Qingdao's Urban Landscape" (Yang, Z. X., 2000), "The Historical Architecture in Qingdao 1891-1949" (Xu, F. P., 2005) and the author's "The Character of Urban Design in Modern Qingdao" (Liu, C., 2003), "From the Friedrich Street to the May 4th Square – Public spaces in Qingdao" (Liu, C., 2004), etc.

With these works of Qingdao's planning history as important empirical references, the existing integrated studies of civil society theory and Chinese urban planning provide valuable theoretical hints for this thesis. "China's Urban Transition" (Friedmann, J., 2005) offers a trans-cultural understanding of China's civil society and urban planning. Friedmann believes that the autonomous tradition similar to that of Western civil society has already existed in ancient Chinese cities; both traditions and the post-Mao institutions on the base-level are important resource for mobilising the citizen's initiatives in the Chinese modern planning. Besides, the UN Habitat Reports (UNCHS, 1996~2005) provide many insights on public participation and Public-private Partnership in planning-related issues. "The Green Book of the Public-Private Partnership for Public Utilities in China" (Qin, H. and Yu, H., 2004) studies the potential of the participation of non-governmental power for improving urban infrastructure and other public facilities by the means of public-private partnership practices. Chinese scholarly papers on civil society theory as applicable to urban planning have begun appearing in architectural journals and international conferences since the dawn of the new millennium. The most valuable papers for this thesis include "City Plaza – Public Space and Civil Society" (Chen, F., 2003), "The Role of the Chinese Planner and the Coming Thought of Civil Society" (He, D., 2003), and the author's "On Civic-oriented Spatial Development of the Chinese City" (Liu, C., 2005), etc. However, the reflection on China's own cultural tradition and the contemporary civil society discourse are currently still

Introduction

very limited in the planning literature.

Two limits of this thesis need to be noticed. Firstly, it is a contribution in the field of urban planning, thus the discourse of civil society in sociology and political science functions as the basis for planning approaches but not as the target. Secondly, the term "China" refers to the People's Republic of China including the region of Taiwan, however, this thesis only focuses on urban planning of Mainland China. Therefore, the development of civil society of Taiwan, and the law, politics and practice concerning civil society's participation in Taiwan's urban planning are not mentioned.

The improvement of Qingdao's urban planning is the theoretic core of this research. Through observing Qingdao from a perspective of a Chinese architect living in Germany, this work attempts to offer some new insights for this young city. In a broader sense, the city of Qingdao can be seen as a case study for understanding and analysing the on-going Chinese urban transition as a whole; and the author also wishes that this thesis have referential value for other Chinese cities.



Landscape of Badaguan area and the new eastern area



***Part I. The progress and deficit of the development
of Qingdao's urban space***

1. *Historic review of Qingdao's spatial development*

1. Historic review of Qingdao's spatial development

1. The historical review of Qingdao's spatial development

Before discussing the contemporary urban planning and construction of Qingdao, the first chapter of this thesis will present a brief history of Qingdao – how did this city grow from its establishment in the end of the 19th century, and how was its urban space developed and transformed before Deng Xiaoping's reform in 1978.

1.1 The profile of the city

Qingdao is a coastal city lying across the Shandong Peninsula with the Yellow Sea towards the South. The distance between Qingdao and Beijing (to the north) and Shanghai (to the south) are both about 600 km. The city covers a jurisdiction area of 10,654 sqkm, including 7 districts of Shinan, Shibei, Sifang, Licang, Chengyang, Huangdao and Laoshan, as well as the 5 county-level towns of Jiaozhou, Jiaonan, Jimo, Pingdu and Laixi. It has 870-kilometer-coastline (including that of islands in its jurisdiction), totaling one-fourth of the total coastline of Shandong Province. In 2004 it had 7.31 million residents, 686 sqkm per capita in its whole jurisdiction area, with 2.58 million residents, 2,341 sqkm per capita in its 7 urban districts.[4] It is the second most populated city in Shandong Province next to Jinan, the provincial capital.



Fig. 1-1
Qingdao's geographical
location in China

Fig.1-2
Former German Ooccupied
Kiautschou in Shandong

1. *Historic review of Qingdao's spatial development*

Originally "Qingdao" was the name of an island to the southeast of the Jiaozhou Bay, and a village opposite to this island was called "Qingdao Village". In the history, the region of today's Qingdao was mostly under the administration of Jimo county with fishing as the main occupation of inhabitants. Threatened by foreign navies, Qing Government sent 2000 soldiers in 1891 to build a defence base near Qingdao village. In 1897 there were about 60 stores and c.a. 8,000 residents. (Yuan, R. S., 1928, pp.75)

On 14th November 1897, the German Navy occupied Jiaozhou Bay and immediately started constructing a new city as military base and commercial colony. On 12th October 1899 the German Emperor Wilhelm II named the urban area of this city "Tsingtau" after the name of Qingdao Island.[5] The Germans invested greatly in the city's infrastructure, housing and military facilities, and Qingdao became a city strongly impacted by Germany in Asia. In 1911 Qingdao became the sixth largest harbour city in China. From 1899 to 1913, Qingdao's population increased from 84,000 to 187,000.[6]

In October 1914 Qingdao was conquered by the British-Japanese Alliance and became a Japanese colony. The occupation authority attached much importance to expanding industry, while the number of employees of the textile industry reached 18,000, approximately 60% of the sum of industrial employees in Qingdao. In 1919 there were about 245,000 Japanese inhabitants in Qingdao, comprising 25% of the population in the urban area. By 1922 Qingdao had become an influential industrial and commercial city with 289,411 inhabitants in total.[7]

In 1919, shortly after the end of the World War I, the May 4th Youth Movement broke out nationwide aimed at taking back Qingdao from Japanese occupation. In 1922, Japan returned Qingdao to the Chinese Beiyang Government. In April 1929, Qingdao was taken over by the Chinese Nationalistic Government and became one of the four special administrative zones in China. Under the peace circumstances Qingdao became the regional economic center. The imports and exports sum of Qingdao Harbour ranked fifth in 1931 and third in 1934, and textile industry ranked 2nd (under Shanghai) in the whole nation. In 1937, Qingdao's population reached 381,364, with 60,000 added through 1935's territory adjustment.[8]

During World War II Japan reoccupied Qingdao in January 1938. Like many other Chinese cities, the Japanese military invasion hindered Qingdao's urban economy which grew well in the beginning of 1930's. After the surrender of Japan in 1945, Qingdao served

1. *Historic review of Qingdao's spatial development*

as a base for the Western Pacific Fleet of the US Navy. In 1947 Qingdao's population was 759,059, which exceeded the provincial capital city Jinan.[9]

In 1949, the Chinese communist party took over Qingdao. Until 1956, all 1,725 private corporations partly released their ownership to the state and 96.9% of peasants joined in the Agricultural Cooperative Commune.[10] In 1960, the city finished "Public ownership transformation" of all corporations, that is to say, the public acquired the ownership of all corporations' property in the city. In the first half of 1960's the city was effected by China's nation-wide program "Great Leap Forward" (1958-1961) and also by the "Three Years of Natural Disasters" which resulted in a great deal of chaos. During the Culture Revolution from 1966 to 1976, continuous political disturbance seriously destroyed the city's social order and economy. In 1975, shortly before the end of the Culture Revolution, Qingdao began to renormalize its social and economic domains, and it achieved an 80% increase in industrial production compared to that of 1974. In 1978, as Deng Xiaoping's reform started, Qingdao's population amount-ed to 1,060,000.[11] Contemporary, Qingdao is a regional economic centre in Eastern China, one of the cities of sub-provincial administration privilege, it averages more than 15 million tourists a year, and is the site of the fourth largest harbour in China. In 2008, the Olympic Sailing Regatta will be hosted there.



Fig. 1-3
New eastern area
built since 1992

1. *Historic review of Qingdao's spatial development*

1.2 The urban plan and construction before 1978

The first master plan of Qingdao during the German occupation (1897-1914) was comprised of the European district, Dabaodao District, Taidong District and Taixi District. The European District included a commerce area, a governmental area and a villa area. Dabaodao District included a commerce area for the Chinese merchants and a harbour area. These two districts were geographically divided by the existing ridges, and they formed the central area of the new city. The other two districts, respectively to East and West to the centre, were planned for the workers, who were either the peasants from local villages destroyed by the Germans or the working immigrants from the hinterland. The detailed planned area in the first urban plan was only 5 sqkm; while the whole acreage between the planned districts covered about 20 sqkm. The new colonial city was under the administration of the Ministry of the German Navy, with the navy's chancellor stationed in Qingdao as the colony's governor. Rather than a civil planning bureau, the navy was in charge of all affairs of planning and construction.

In 1904, the construction of Qingdao-Jinan (Shandong's provincial capital) Railway, which connected the main coal mines of Shandong Province was finished. It penetrated Qingdao's port and reached the southern seashore area of the European District. While it met the transportation demands of passenger and cargo efficiently, the connection between the workers' District Taixi and the central area of the city was much hindered by the railway, and this problem still exists today. The Qingdao Harbour, situated in the north of Dabaodao District, was constructed according to the most advanced standards of that time.[12]

Qingdao District was intended to express the German character and to build "a place extra suitable for the living of the Europeans".[13] Except for the Tianhou Shrine the Germans destroyed all the existing village constructions. European architecture style was required, while the railway station, bank, post office, club, bathing beach, hippodrome, botanic garden and etc. reflected the open space concepts of the German cities at that time. The height, density and style of the buildings were strictly controlled by the master plan and various regulations; the buildings and their exterior urban space presented high building quality and a well proportioned appearance. Thus, as K. Kunzmann mentions, Qingdao has kept a whole silhouette of the European city in its old centre. (Kunzmann, Klaus R., 2002, pp.98)

1. *Historic review of Qingdao's spatial development*

In the Dabaodao District, the Chinese merchants built many 2-story stores, restaurants and residences, and prosperous markets emerged along the streets. Both the architecture and the social life there were highly influenced by western culture. In the two worker's districts Taidong and Taixi, the Germans planned respectively two central squares functioning as market. Gradually occupied by new stores and houses, the street markets with "living upstairs and trading downstairs" became the main market form in these two districts, which the people were much accustomed to at that time.

In order to compete with other imperial powers in strength and image in the Chinese market, German architecture and urban planning in Qingdao shows a high standard; some buildings even surpass many in their hometown in quality. Besides, the Chinese traditional skills were inevitably mixed in the German-styled buildings by the local craftsmen, which made them also somewhat exotic for the Germans.[14] While the architectural heritage of the era of Wilhelm II was to a large extent destroyed in Germany during World War II, most of the German buildings in Qingdao still exist today.

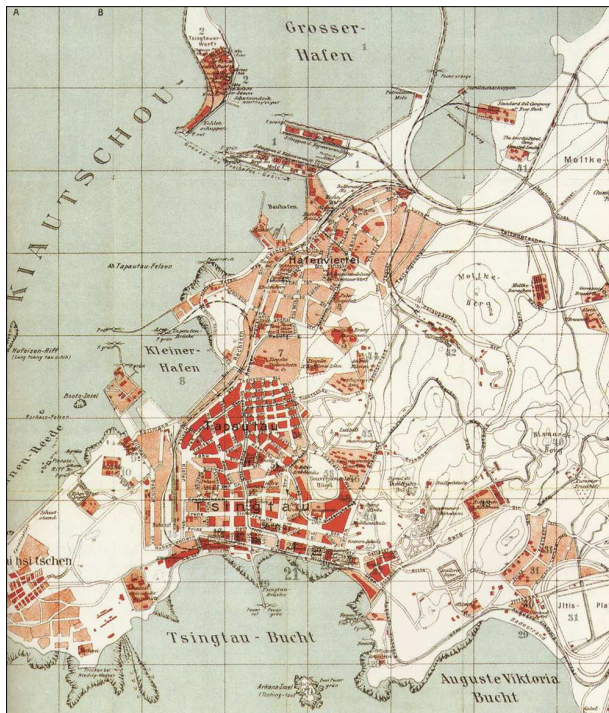


Fig. 1-4 Qingdao's city center in 1913



Fig. 1-5 Qingdao's city center in 2002

1. *Historic review of Qingdao's spatial development*

The social life of most Chinese in Qingdao was highly restrained by the separation of the European and Chinese districts; numerous military fortifications scattered in the city further hindered the mobility of people. With the emphasis of "Culture Policy" in China through Germany from 1906, some education institutes for the Chinese were established in Qingdao. In 1909, the German-Chinese College (Deutsch-Chinesische Hochschule) was founded in Qingdao by Germany and the Chinese Qing government. Due to the end of Germany's colonisation in Qingdao, many teachers and students fled to Shanghai and joined Tongji Medical Institute, which was the predecessor of today's Shanghai Tongji University. [15] After the end of Qing government in 1911, the separation policy was gradually abandoned for the sake of attracting former high officials to Qingdao.



Fig.1-6
Tianhou Shrine
in the 1900's

During the German colonial period, the urban environment of Qingdao also presented the influence of the Chinese inhabitants, which reached its climax in the "Tianhou Shrine Event". For demonstrating a strong German style and reducing the Chinese's activities in the European District, the German authority planned to destroy the Tianhou Shrine in 1913. Since 1487, Tianhou Shrine has been a sacred site for local fishermen's rituals; it was also equipped with a plaque written by China's emperor Yongzheng (1678—1735). After the Germans seized Qingdao in 1897 it still functioned as an vital religious site for the Chinese. The removal plan caused a strong resistance from the Chinese inhabitants and immigrant

1. *Historic review of Qingdao's spatial development*

merchant's organisations, including Lianhu association, Guangdong association, etc.[16] In order to quiet the protest, the German authority had to shelve this plan. As a result, the Tianhou Shrine was the only Chinese-styled building left in the European District except for the Old Yamen (former Chinese military headquarter) , and it still stands until today.

In Qingdao's second master plan released in 1910, the planned urban area amounted to 80 sqkm, four times as much as it was in 1900's master plan. The urban area expanded along the railway to the north, presenting a preliminary belt form. Since most administrative and public buildings, markets and various sorts of private houses were concentrated in the European District and the Dabaodao Districts, these two districts functioned as Qingdao's central urban area for nearly a century until the boom in the new eastern area began in 1990's.

After Japan conquered Qingdao in November 1914, three phases of urban expansion were planned by the Japanese:

1. The first phase was the construction of the so-called "New Urban Area" for the immigrants from Japan, and it was sited between Dabaodao District and the northern coast (around today's Shichang'yi Road, Shichang'er Road, Shichang'san Road, Liaocheng Road and Linyi Road). This new urban area also included a business centre and a financial centre; both were dominated by Japanese investors. The total acreage amounted to 1,630,000 sqm.[17]

2. In the second phase, the authority explored the area between "New Urban Area" and the Taidong District for commerce and storage, and the area west to Taixi District for dwelling. These two areas covered respectively c.a. 400,000 sqm and 260,000 sqm.[18] Besides the villa area in the east of the former European District was expanded towards the eastern wing of the Qingdao Bay.

3. The third phase focused on the area between Taidong District and the harbour's bulwark to its northwest. It covered c.a. 1,980,000 sqm, but was not much developed before the Chinese Beiyang Government took back Qingdao in 1922.[19] Apart of these three phases mentioned above, industry was concentrated in the north of the Great Harbour and in Sifang and Cangkou, which made the city further its expansion to the north.

1. *Historic review of Qingdao's spatial development*

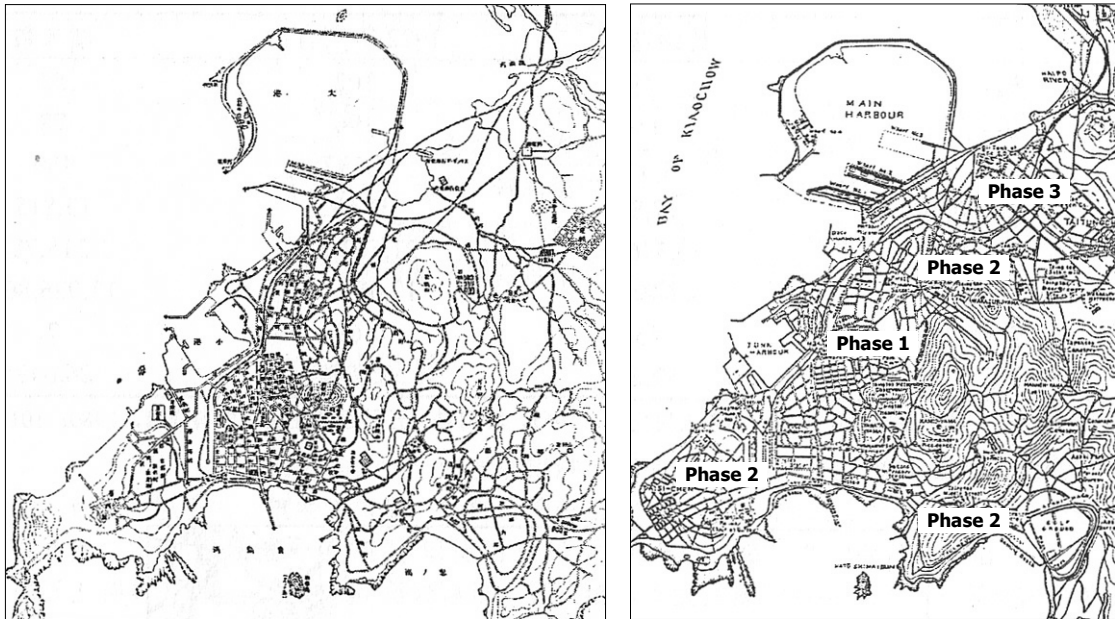


Fig. 1-7 The comparison of Qingdao's City Atlases of 1915 and of 1922

The size of the city grew three times and reached about 20 sqkm during the first Japanese occupation. Similar to the German colonial period, the military headquarter was in charge of all civil affairs, with urban planning as mainly an instrument serving further military and economic purposes of the occupier. Yet the racial separation policy was no longer maintained, and many public buildings, like cinemas, theatres, bathhouses and stock markets which were built were accessible to all inhabitants. With the growth of industry and trade, the power of the citizens, which mainly included workers, merchants, and free professionals, was rapidly enhanced. This stimulated Qingdao's housing market and other service branches.

From 1922 to 1929, under the administration of the Chinese Beiyang Government, Qingdao's construction experienced a relatively stagnant phase due to the unstable political situation. The main construction projects included the reuse of the former Bismarck Barrack for founding the Qingdao University and some streets and bridges restorations. Most construction was limited in the existing urban area. From 1929 on Qingdao was governed by the Chinese Nationalistic Government, with "the Organisation Law of the Special Administrative Cities" guiding its civil affairs. This law empowered the citizen-elected senate to propose and approve responsibilities for urban planning, and it was also the first statute in China stating citizen's rights in monitoring governmental activities in urban construction.

1. *Historic review of Qingdao's spatial development*

During the governing period of Mayor Shen Honglie from 1931 to 1937, Qingdao experienced its second construction boom apart from that during the German occupation. The main projects included:

1. Eight low-income settlements were built replacing the shantytowns with the investment from the government, the citizen's self-aid and charity organisations; the expansion of residential buildings in the north of Taidong District, the southwest of the "New Urban Area" planned by the Japanese, and the Badaguan Villa area to the north of the Huiquan Bay.

2. Many public facilities were enriched or renovated, including the City Auditorium, the Zhanqiao Pier, the Red Cross Complex, the City Stadium, the City Aquarium and Ocean Museum, the Zhanshan Temple and others. Most of them are still landmarks of Qingdao today. Besides, the city made much effort to improve its tourism attractions by expanding the bathing beaches, renovating historic relics in downtown and in Laoshan Mountain, etc. The forested land area was also expanded during this period.

3. The industrial zones north of Taidong District were further developed, and by the 1930's the area for textile industries alone amounted to more than 6 sqkm. Taidong District became a node connecting the downtown area to the industrial zones Sifang and Cangkou, and the belt form of Qingdao was reinforced.

4. The construction of infrastructure and education facilities was highly stressed by the authority. Mayor Shen believed "the material and cultural development in the countryside is as important as that in the urban area". Before 1935, at least one primary school was available in each village and all parents were obliged to get their children educated.[20]

Aside from the governmental effort, the involvement of citizens (mainly employees and employers of industry or commerce, free merchants and free professionals) and non-governmental organisations was also a strong power promoting Qingdao's urban environment. The planning critique of the industry delegates and the building of new religious places were influential examples.

In 1932, delegates of industry and commerce branches presented the government their critique on Qingdao's planning. According to them, the main deficits included: Firstly, many industrial, commercial and residential areas were highly mixed, thus the residents would be easily affected by noise and pollution; secondly, the public-owned markets were over-

1. *Historic review of Qingdao's spatial development*

crowded by too much non-Qingdao merchants, and the private markets were not sufficiently regulated in their building conditions; thirdly, the land sold by the government did not include sports fields and markets, of which there was in great shortage in the city; etc. Raised by the economic elites, these critiques showed discrimination against the urban underclass and non-Qingdao merchants, though they reflected many realistic problems of urban planning and contributed concretely to Qingdao's Master Plan of 1935 in the aspect of public space building.

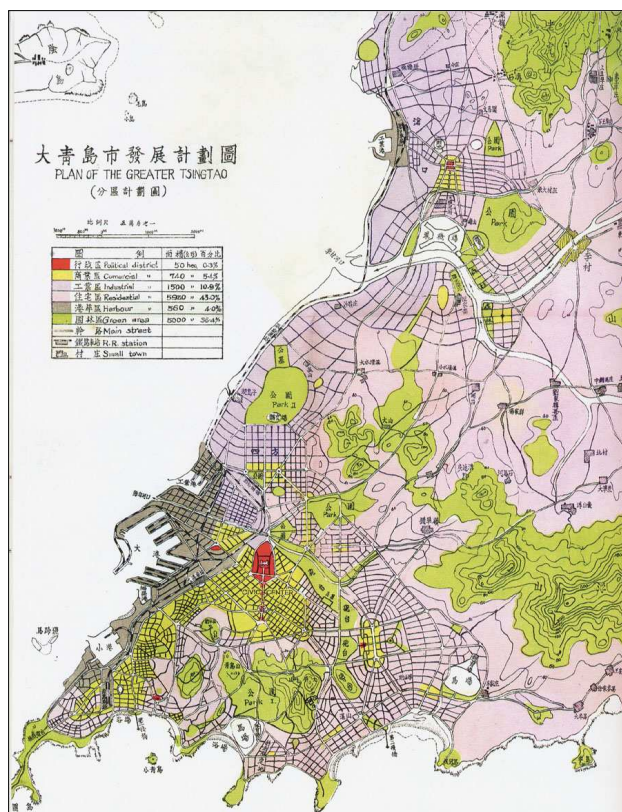


Fig. 1-8 Master Plan of Qingdao in 1935,
integrated opinions of citizen's delegates



Fig. 1-9 Zhanshan Temple built 1932-1944 through citizens' donation

The construction of Zhanshan Temple can be seen as an early attempt of “public-private-partnership” in Qingdao’s history. The 10-ha. land for the temple complex was freely allocated by the government, while the main financial support was provided by the society. Apart from the citizen’s donation, “Zhanshan Futian Stock” was issued publicly for collecting

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private investment. Since the temple's completion in 1944, it enriched Qingdao's cultural identity and made this young city one of the major host cities for Buddhist events.

In 1934, the St. Michael Cathedral was finished through the donation of German religious organisations. "The towers of the cathedral in Qingdao were higher than all other churches in the major cities of Northern China – Tianjin, Beijing, Dalian or Jinan. They dominate the silhouette of Qingdao; they are particularly impressive from a ship entering the harbour." (Warner, T., 1994, pp.248) Except for some internal events, the new sacred sites of Qingdao were accessible for all people; they functioned as unmistakable spaces for various religious adherents of the increasingly diversified city.



Fig. 1-10 Skyline of Qingdao's coast with St. Michael Cathedral in the 1950's

From January 1939 to August 1945, Qingdao was occupied by Japan again. In June 1939, the Japanese colonial authority combined Qingdao with Jimo Town and Jianzhou Town and formed the so-called "Great Qingdao". The purpose of urban planning was to make Qingdao a "Gate to North China; important hub for land transportation, waterway and airlines; important military base for invading North China; industrial base and tourist site".[21] The expansion of the harbour and the iron industry were the main focus of Qingdao's planning in this period. The number of massive iron industrial projects in Qingdao increased from 7 to 20 from 1938 to 1942. Since most of the new projects were sited

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around Shuiqinggou, Liuting to the north of Taidong District, the city grew further to the north, forming a typical belt form 4 to 5 km wide and 25 km long.

With the surrender of Japan on August 15th 1945, World War II ended and the Nationalistic Government took over Qingdao again. Qingdao's government planned to strengthen the functional zoning in the constructed urban area and the Laoshan Mountain's tourism area, but this attempt was hindered by the Chinese Civil War between the Nationalist and the Communist Parties. In 1947, Qingdao was one of the eight largest cities in China.

From the foundation of the P.R.C. in 1949 to the start of the open-door reform 1978, Qingdao's urban construction could be generally divided into the following phases:

1. Phase 1949-1958: During this period urban construction was concentrated in the centre (around Sifang District) and the north (around Cangkou District) focusing on infrastructure, public and residential buildings. Besides, two major parks in the northern districts, Haipo River Park and Cangkou Park were finished, and the specialised "recreational zone" was established around Badaguan Villa Area and its eastern vicinity. Due to the national-wide policy of saving non-productive investment, many residential buildings were constructed with quite low standards, using inferior materials and equipment.

2. Phase 1958-1965: Much affected by the "Great Leap Forward" (1958-1961)[22] and the "Three Years of Natural Disasters"(1959-1961)[23], Qingdao's construction was generally in stagnation except for some measures taken from 1963 to 1965. They include the re-settlement of some factories with improper location, the reduction of industrial projects and the renewal of some slums in Taixi District.

3. Phase 1966-1978: The ten-year Culture Revolution starting in 1966 drove Qingdao's construction into chaos. Urban planning was stopped with many planners and engineers labelled "capitalism's followers". About 500,000 sqm buildings were constructed without technical approval and many industrial projects were inserted in downtown. Placed in the vicinity of the coastal recreation area, the Beihai Dockyard threatened the bath beaches by its pollution.[24] Some temples, churches and houses of famous personalities were heavily damaged by impetuous students. From 1976 to 1978 the city began to recover from the chaos. The government finished the Central Bus Station and renovated the roads and temples in Laoshan Mountain.

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1.3 Summary

Qingdao's urban construction from 1897 to 1978 had always been controlled by "top-down" management; and it is a typical city built in complete accordance with the governmental urban planning in China. Having grown rapidly from small fisherman's villages to influential modern city, Qingdao's planning practices reflects a strong governmental intervention, especially in the periods of the German occupation (1897-1914) , the first Japanese occupation (1914-1921) and the first Nationalistic governance (1929-1937). From 1949 to 1978, although Qingdao's urban construction was frequently interrupted by continuous political movements, government-led planning still played an important role for promoting urban housing, public building and infrastructure provision. In addition, due to being mainly controlled by one exclusive planning authority, Qingdao presents a more harmonious urban landscape than many other cities like Shanghai, Wuhan and Tianjin, which were built under different authorities' simultaneous control.

Apart from the strength of the authority, the non-governmental sphere also contributed much to the development of Qingdao's urban environment. The protection of the Tianhou Shrine from destruction in the 1910's, the joint effort for the construction of Zhanshan Temple, the industry and commerce delegates' critique on planning problems in the 1930's are all representative examples of such contributions. After 1949, since the non-governmental sphere was much weakened in strength, its ability to promote Qingdao's planning faded away.

1. Historic review of Qingdao's spatial development



Fig. 1-11 Qingdao's urban area in 1964, not much changed until the end of the 1970's



Zhongshan Road area in Qingdao's historic inner city



***Part I. The progress and deficit of the development
of Qingdao's urban space***

2. The progress of Qingdao's contemporary spatial development

2. *The progress of Qingdao's contemporary spatial development*

2. The Progress of Qingdao's contemporary spatial development

Since 1978, the urban planning of Qingdao has recovered from the chaos of the Cultural Revolution and entered a stable era. With the increase of governmental financial revenue and the establishment of the building market, Qingdao is experiencing a new construction boom. Qingdao's new improvement of urban housing, heritage protection, public space and traffic system will be discussed in the following.

2.1 Urban housing

The origin of Qingdao's housing problems is largely rooted in the colonial urbanization and industrialization that occurred during the German and Japanese occupations. The villages in the planned urban area were dismantled and the original inhabitants lost their homes. Many of the villagers became coolies of the urban construction together with inland immigrants. Taidong and Taixi districts were planned by Germans for these laborers, and there were also rough self-built shanty areas scattered on the edge of the city. The growth of commerce and industry during the first Japanese occupation (1914-1922) caused massive emigration from inland to Qingdao. Cangkou district and Sifang became new industrial-focused districts with densely built worker settlements, while the population density of the existing laborer districts and shanty areas rapidly increased. In the 1930's, Qingdao's Nationalist government launched the construction of "populace settlements" (Chinese: 民众大院) to ease the serious housing problem, yet this effort was hindered by the second Japanese invasion in Qingdao in 1937. During the Anti-Japanese War (1938-1945) and the Chinese Civil War (1947-1949), the influx of a large quantity of inland refugees and the lack of planning measures greatly worsened the housing situation of the middle and lower inhabitants. Until the founding of P. R. China in 1949, there were a total of 16,127 families living in slum areas, the average acreage per capita was only 2.5 sqm.[25] Except for some new settlements around the northern industrial zones, Qingdao's housing situation was much improved from the 1950's to the 1970's. The Guangrao Road Settlements, once the largest and most densely populated slum towns, covered 5.12 hectares, with more than 1,800 households and 5,400 residents, and the residential acreage of most of the households was less than 20 sqm. Besides this, some low-standard settlements built in the 1950's and the 1960's by the government were in great need of renovation, like Happiness Settlements (Chinese: 幸福楼) near Taixi.

2. *The progress of Qingdao's contemporary spatial development*

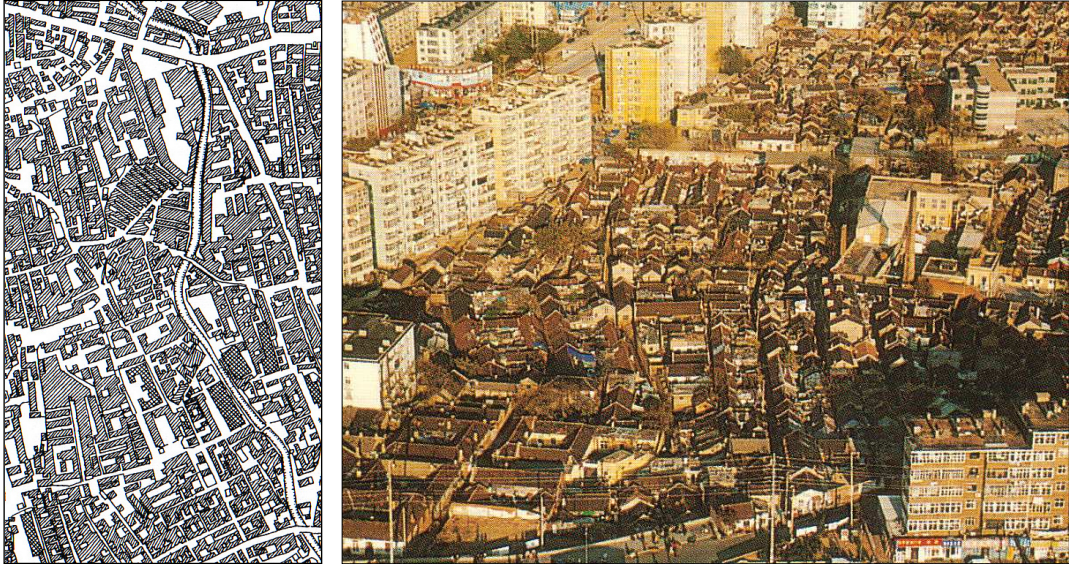


Fig. 2-1 Taidong's neighbourhood before the renewal of the 1980's



Fig. 2-2 Taidong's neighbourhood after the renewal of the 1980's

2. *The progress of Qingdao's contemporary spatial development*

Since the 1980's, the development of Qingdao's urban housing can be generally divided into two phases: the starting of slum renewal accompanied by the building of new residential areas in existing urban area from 1983 to 1993; the large-scale slum renewal and the residential construction along with the new eastern urban area's development from 1994 to the present.

In the first phase, government and the construction enterprises became the main sources of funding, neither of them regarding making profits as their main purpose. The government hoped to solve the housing problem in an efficient way with fiscal support; the construction enterprises, most of which were state-owned, mainly aimed to acquire some residential units for their staff. According to the housing policy in this phase the residents of the slum areas could get a larger residence after the completion of the renewal, and this was welcomed by most residents.

From 1983 onward, the city government launched large-scaled renewal projects in Xing-fu Settlements (in Xijiang Road), Shuanghe Lane (in Shanxi Road), Xinhua Lane, Lijin Road 28', North and South Zhongjiawa (in Taidong), Rigang (in Cangkou), eight Populace Settlements (in Taixi), etc. Also, 241,000 sqm of houses in dangerous condition were renovated. In Taixi, 3 Populace Settlements sited west of the railway station, the renewal in 1987 and 1988 improved the average residential area from 3.82 sqm/Capita to 9.42 sqm/Capita for 802 households and 3,288 residents.[26] Although the situation still had a big gap compared with the new residences constructed after the mid-1990's, it was a great improvement for Taixi's residents at that time. From 1979 to 1985, the newly completed residential acreage and the renovated housing acreage totalled about 2 million sqm, while the annual completed new residential acreage was over 1,000,000 sqm from 1986 to 1990.[27] In 1984 the city began to exploit Huangdao District, which is sited in the western bank of the Jiao-zhou Bay, as a "Economic and Technical Development Zone". This strategy provided much industrial land for the growing investment, and also somewhat eased the housing shortage of the city.[28]

During this phase, playgrounds, kindergartens and schools are integrated in the newly built or renovated residential areas, though many of those in the inner city lack well-organised public green areas. Because of the pursuit of the southern orientation and maximal acreage, most of the residential projects adopted a parallel layout with repeating one or several standard units. For many residents, such mode is apparently better than Qingdao's

2. *The progress of Qingdao's contemporary spatial development*

traditional Liyuan courtyard housing considering the aspect of sunlight (especially for the housing units without central heating in winter), however, the community environment fell into a stereotyped convention. For tackling with this issue, some later projects form a quasi "E" shape by connecting the parallel buildings with the east-west units, thus, a relatively continuous facade interface can be available for the street. This pattern is particularly used along main traffic streets or in commercial areas with service functions in the lower stories of the building. Qingdao's E-type housing can be seen as a mixed model of the industrialized residence pattern and the traditional Liyuan. While guaranteeing the southern orientation for most residents, it meets people's daily needs of shopping and communication. Today this pattern is still seen very often in the new housing projects.

Qingdao entered the second phase in 1994 as the municipal government resolved to develop the eastern area. The eastern area covers an area of 100 sqkm between the old downtown and the Laoshan Mountain, and has the advantage of convenient traffic access and exposure to the coastal landscape. In 1995 and 1996, the finished residences in old and new areas totalled 1,825,000 sqm. Four years after the start of the eastern area's construction, the government set forth the target of "finishing all slum area renewal before the new century". In 1998, 17 slum renewal projects concerning 15,000 households began and about million sqm residences were built; in 1999, the newly-built residences amounted to 4,613,000 sqm. (Qingdao Statistic Bureau, 1990-2000)



Fig. 2-3 and Fig. 2-4 Sifang Neighbourhood and Fushan New Town built in the 1990's

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The official news paper, Qingdao Daily, commented "... with tight financial budgets, it is a rough task to complete the reconstruction of 24,000 households in slum areas within two years.... We broke through the traditional way of thinking and changed the former 'limited property right' to the present 'complete property right'. In addition to getting the original acreage, the residents can buy the new acreage for a low price. While the original residents are resettled in other urban areas, their original area is sold for real estate development through auctions. Through these two measures the government raises the funds for the slum renewal." [29]

Since the beginning of the 1990's, the "welfare housing distribution system" basically ended with the deepening of "joint-stock" reform of many public-owned corporations. The main body of housing investment has no longer been the government but the real estate corporations which aim on maximizing profit from the market. During the 9th "Five-Year-Plan" period (1996-2000), the housing investment totalled 17.24 billion RMB, while the government accounted for only about 10% with the investment of the non-governmental sectors about 90%. From 1983 to 1998, the number of registered "city-level" construction corporations in Qingdao grew from 21 to 175.[30] Though the market-oriented reform of housing has also some negative sides (which will be discussed in the following chapter), it has greatly improved the living standard in the city. By the end of 2003, the residential acreage per capita was 22.96 sqm, 3.5 times of that in 1990.[31]

With the market-oriented reform, housing is no longer welfare distributed to employees of corporations, but a good provided by the market. Besides, many enterprises also purchase residences for renting to their staff. The purchaser's expectation for interior layout and the exterior environment increases; and the developers and design institutions must react well to such expectations in order to ensure their profit. Various competitions provide architects, planners and engineers with many chances to present their offerings. For example, the "Sifang Settlement", finished in the late 1990's, gained the National golden "Luban Prize" for its concepts of communicative spaces and its landscaping. In brief, the interaction of various figures of the building market contributes much to the quality of new housing.

2. *The progress of Qingdao's contemporary spatial development*

2.2 Heritage preservation

Qingdao is a representative Chinese city built according to modern planning from its establishment; it also possesses abundant architectural heritage from China's modern history. Before the founding of P. R. China in 1949, Qingdao had attracted a large quantity of domestic and international immigrants as well as investment. Due to the diversity of people's origin, nationality and taste, the architecture of Qingdao is also highly diversified. There is a large number of European-style buildings left by the Germans, buildings influenced by thoughts such as "China-West mixture" and "tradition renaissance" and some modern "Bauhaus" buildings as well. Until 1949 Qingdao had more than 1000 buildings owned by foreigners from over 20 nations including Germany, Japan, England, America, Russia, etc., in which the German and the Japanese accounted for about 1/3.[32] The urban plan and the architecture of Qingdao's old city are the dominant components endowing Qingdao a nationwide famous image as "green tree, red tile, blue sea and azure sky", which was originally written by the famous reformer Kang Youwei.



Fig. 2-5 The historic inner city of Qingdao

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Though China has set up its legislative system for heritage preservation since the 1950's, the understanding of architectural preservation was generally limited to the essentially meaningful architecture and the sites of the revolutionary events of the Communist Party. Due to lack of recognition of the value of the historical city, many influential architects and scholars, including Liang Sicheng, Chen Zhanxiang, etc. were officially criticized for their preservation efforts. The Culture Revolution caused great damage to China's architectural heritage nation-wide including the city of Qingdao. Many "Red Guards" ransacked many historical buildings, including the very influential ones like Tianhou Shrine, the Zhanshan Temple and the Daoism complex of the Laoshan Mountain; they also burned many valuable construction archives as "the remains of feudalism and capitalism". St. Pauls Church was used as the Revenue Office of Shibei District, with the bethel divided into a two-floor office section. Fortunately, compared to other old cities such as Beijing, Taiyuan, Kaifeng, Qingdao's historic environment as a whole was relatively well preserved. Most of the public buildings like the government building, the police station and the court continued their original functions. Many villas or apartment buildings became the property of government departments or state-owned enterprises, some well-built ones were distributed as residences to leading staff, thus many of them received proper maintenance.

Since the 1980's, Qingdao's heritage preservation has obtained increasing financial, legislative and technical supports for the city's economic and cultural development. Particular preservation objects were formulated in 1984-1994's Master Plan, 1989's Urban Construction and Planning Provisional Measures and its supplement in 1994. In 1995-2010's Master Plan, such objects are listed as "one district" (the old southern downtown area), "nine zones" (the historical street areas) and "eighty-eight spots" (the important buildings or relics).[33] Also, the government has built the City Museum, the Navy museum, the Folk Custom Museum, the Artillery Ruin Museum and the Governor Residence Museum through renovating of the historical buildings and sites, and the surroundings of many historic buildings are renewed so that their facades can be well presented to the public.

Some residences of historic personalities are also opened as museums after renovation. In 2000, the Shandong Provincial Government announced 345 "outstanding historical buildings", 131 of which are located in Qingdao. Nowadays, 6 "national level cultural units", 22 "provincial level cultural units", more than 200 "city level cultural units" and about 20 residences of historical personalities are listed in the official preservation scope.[34] In July

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2000, Qingdao set forth the slogan "Humanity Olympics" after becoming the host city of Olympic Sailing Regatta in 2008. The government plans to renovate more historical buildings and open them to the public as one of the key measures for the Olympics event. Besides, a tourism route connecting some important historic sites and the coastal landscape would also be available. In the "Olympics Series Projects" there is also the first Beer Museum of China sponsored by Tsingtao Brewery Company. It is located in the former site of the German and British joint-venture "Germania Brewery" (built in 1904). In the end of 2004, the city started to renovate the former "Jail for the Europeans" (built in 1900) for the purpose of a special "Jail Museum" with exhibition halls, multimedia cabinets and reading room. With the financial support of the government, Qingdao Achieve organized an expert delegation for visiting Koblenz National Archive, Freiburg Military Archive, Potsdam National Archive and many other institutions in Germany in 2004. This delegation has acquired an entire copy of the archives relating to Qingdao's history, and now Qingdao Archive is working with great effort for their publication.



Fig. 2-6 Regeneration of the St. Michael Cathedral Square



Fig. 2-7, 2-8 Renovation of the Governor's Residence and the Germania Brewery

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In the summer of 2005, Qingdao's "Bagaguan" Villa Area, built from 1920's to 1940's, was listed in "the five Chinese most beautiful places" with Xiamen's Gulang Island, Suzhou's old city, Macau's downtown and Beijing's Shenshahai area. This evaluation by the Chinese Geographic Magazine, some scholars of the National Academy and nearly a hundred experts is a national recognition not only for Qingdao's cultural heritage but also its preservation efforts. However, there is still a great need to protect historic buildings and areas in the ongoing construction boom, which will be discussed in Chapter Three of this thesis.

The vitality of Qingdao's tourism industry shows the importance of heritage preservation for the city's economy. According to the statistics, the number of the domestic and foreign tourists amounted to 3.20 million from in the first quarter and the tourism income amounted to 2.89 billion RMB despite of the chaos caused by SARS in 2003.[35] In the first quarter of 2004, the sum of the tourists reached 3.46 million and the tourism income 3.24 billion. In 2004, the tourism industry accounted for 9.6% of the whole GDP of the city. During the "Golden Week" for the National Day in 2005, the city received approximately 855,000 guests within 7 holidays.[36]

2.3 Public space

In the 1930's, the famous reformer Kang Youwei of the late Qing Dynasty settled down in Qingdao and bought a house built by a German official. He describes Qingdao as a city in "Green mountains and trees, blue sea and sky". However, what people praised about Qingdao was mainly the southern area, which includes the former "European District" and its eastern expansion area along the coast formed before the 1940's. Between this area and the others, there has always been a great difference concerning building density and landscaping. According to the statistic in 1950's, Qingdao's green area totaled 2.346 million sqm, of which 72.55% belongs to the southern area. While the green area per capita amounted to 14.82 sqm in the southern area, the ratio in the former "laborer's district" Taidong was less than 0.01 sqm.[37] From 1949 to 1964, Qingdao made many efforts in renovating the green areas destroyed during the war and constructing new parks and community gardens. But this work ceased almost completely during the Culture Revolution. In 1976, the destroyed green area, parks and gardens amounted to circa 103,000 sqm, and 4.30 million sqm planned green area was occupied for other

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purposes.[38] In the following, the progress of Qingdao's urban public space since 1978's reform will be presented, focusing on green areas, leisure and event facilities as well as shopping and catering places.

Firstly, the quantity of green area, including public parks, gardens, roadside and waterfront greenery and etc. increases largely. From 1986 to 1990, public greenbelt area increased from 3.56 million sqm to 4.51million sqm,[39] with a growth of 26.5%. In the end of 1990, Qingdao's greenery coverage was 24.44% and the average greenery was 3.7 sqm/Capita. These two ratios increased to 35.5% and 9.3 in 1999 and 37.5% and 9.3% in 2001.[40] In 2003, the city started launching "eight green projects" for improving mountain forestry and landscape for waterfront areas. By the end of 2004, the average greenery amounted to circa 10 sqm/Capita, which is similar to cities like Shanghai, Tokyo and Osaka.

Secondly, the daily leisure and event-holding places have been continuously expanded through new construction or renovation projects. Before the 1990's, Qingdao's capacity for holding exhibitions, sports, conference, and other events was quite limited. With the construction of the eastern new area, Qingdao International Exhibition Center, Yizhong Stadium, the Dolphin World, the Beer City and many other public projects were completed, and Qingdao's own events like the Qingdao Beer Festival and Summer Music Festival are gaining increasing attention. In the 1990's, the Donghai Street was the "flagship" project in Qingdao's new eastern area. 12 public parks and about 30,000 sqm greenery as well as many artworks chosen from public competitions are planned along this 12.8-km-long costal street. The May 4th Square, situated in front of the new city hall, is the biggest square in Qingdao's urban area, providing a nice place for flying kites, skating or holding ceremonies. Since 2000, the citizen's event "Happy Weekend" is held in the squares in both new and old urban areas. Communities show their self-organized programs while experts offer free instructions.

Thirdly, the shopping and catering places for citizens are much improved. Before 1978, as the consumption level of the citizens was quite low, most consumption places were furnished simply and displayed difficulty presenting own identities, except for some "old-brand" stores or restaurants in the Zhongshan Road or its neighboring snack alleyway "Pichai Yuan". Since the 1990's, the retailing giants such as Carrefour, Metro and Jusco bring new management concepts into Qingdao. People become fond of experiencing fresh and client-oriented consumption environments; the interior pedestrian streets and fast food

2. *The progress of Qingdao's contemporary spatial development*

stores in shopping malls also provide greater convenience for people's communication. With the growing income of citizens and the development of urban traffic, people get used to choosing restaurants, cafes and tea houses for leisure, entertainment or business conversation. Meanwhile, people's expectation for their service and atmosphere is also rising. Many of these places are made like small "theme parks", presenting special cuisine and regional architecture.[41] Such an attempt makes public space more diversified and vivid.

Also, in the 11th "Five Year Plan" (2006-2010), Qingdao claims to put more efforts in "Creative Economy" through "integrating technology, commerce, creation and culture together to improve the urban competitiveness and change manufacture-based city to creative-based city". As an attempt, "Maidao Culture Street" has invited the world-famous "image expert" Kotler to offer the concept. The government hopes that public places with "Creative Economy" would be a new "highlight" in Qingdao and add a new attractive area for tourists, investors and young professionals.



Fig. 2-9 New event-holding places in Qingdao
a. Beer City b. May 4th Square c. Yizhong Stadium d. Ocean Park

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2. 4 Urban traffic

Due to the colonial urbanisation and the boom in the Nationalist-government's period in the 1930's, Qingdao's urban traffic had a relatively higher "starting point" in comparison to most other Chinese cities after 1949. From the 1950's to the 1990's, the existing urban area remained relatively unexpanded, while most people live in the collective communities, either in the vicinity of their working place or with commuter's vehicles of their corporation. With bicycles and buses as major means of transportation, the traffic in the urban area functioned well, while the far-distance traffic between the urban and rural areas was rather inconvenient. From 1949 to 1978, Qingdao constructed 2,387 km of roads, 61.29% of which was low standard.[42] With the increasing population – the average annual population increase of 2.15% from 1978 to 1998 - the contradiction between the infrastructure and the traffic demands became a serious issue for the city. The construction of the new eastern area eases the traffic pressure of in the old city, also, the government has made great efforts to promote public traffic and its road network.

Firstly, various projects have been launched in order to improve the existing road network and build new traffic arteries. From the year 1999 to 2002, road acreage of Qingdao increased from 17.888 million sqm to 24,159 million sqm with an annual growth of more than 12%.[43] From 1998, the government began to construct the 16.6 km Hong Kong Road and its parallel street, the 12.8 km Donghai Road. The two roads play a vital role in connecting the eastern new area and western old city. The Hong Kong Road project also won the "Golden Cup" of National Infrastructure Projects in 2000. Another traffic artery, "East-West Express Line" was finished in 2003. It is 8 km long with a width of 40 to 60 m. and 9 overhead vehicle junctions. Due to its multi-layers, there are no traffic lights or crossing, and the designated speed is 60 to 80 km/h. In the past, it took nearly 45 minutes to travel from the Municipal Hospital in the west to Yinchuan Road in the east, and now only 8 minutes are needed at the designated speed of 60 km/h through the Express Line. To date, it is the largest and most expensive road project in Qingdao. The investment amounted to 1.14 billion RMB for the first phase and to more than 500 million for the second phase; in other words, each inhabitant of Qingdao would pay about 820 RMB for this project. During the construction there were a lot of citizens watching and discussing around the building site with expectations regarding its future role for the city.

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Fig. 2-10 Hong Kong Road and Donghai Road, two arteries in the south of the city

Secondly, the government addresses “public traffic as precedence”. A series of regulations is set forth, including constraints for private motor vehicle’s driving time and zones and the provision of bus-only lanes in many busily used streets. Although the sum of the public buses and road length are less than many other cities, Qingdao has 22.41 public buses per 10,000 capita. This ratio is higher than Shanghai, Wuhan, Tianjin, and Guangzhou where citizen’s average per capita income is higher than in Qingdao. (Huang, J., 2002) This performance is largely the result of the joint-venture reform of Qingdao’s former Bus Transportation company, which was divided into “Gongjiao Group” and “Jiaoyun Group”, each runs independently from one another. In 2000, the city of Qingdao ceased the financial allowance for the bus service, and in 2001 the government began to earn high profit from the two bus groups – the tax paid by the Gongjiao Group amounted to circa 42 million RMB in this year. In Qingdao’s urban area with 2.4 million inhabitants, the sum of Bus ID Cards surpassed 1 million, which shows people’s high reliance on the city’s bus system. The market competition brings the people the convenience and efficiency which they have never experienced before.

2. The progress of Qingdao's contemporary spatial development

Name of the city	Population of the city (Million)	Sum of public buses	Length of bus-network (km)	Driven length (10,000 bus km)	Sum of passengers (100,000)	Average sum per 100,000 inhabitants
Beijing	747	13,183	2,662	52,526	351,900	23.98
Dalian	270	3,530	266	12,810	109,101	18.11
Shanghai	970	16,369	1,972	102,695	246,434	19.46
Wuhan	434	5,706	716	37,970	86,980	17.19
Guangzhou	425	4,451	806	33,653	113,518	16.94
Nanjing	287	2,666	775	14,019	92,633	12.09
Chongqing	635	3,250	1,757	18,607	66,380	9.60
Tianjin	529	4,361	1,876	21,292	55,061	9.81
Jinan	229	1,611	1,060	6,213	40,519	9.29
Qingdao	260	2,844	771	11,001	45,966	22.41

Tab. 2-1 Bus Traffic Statistic of Several Chinese Major Cities (Year 2000)

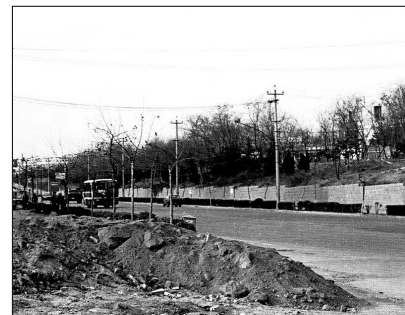


Fig. 2-11
Present and past of
the Hong Kong Road

2. *The progress of Qingdao's contemporary spatial development*

2.5 Summary

The on-going development of Qingdao's urban space is largely a result of the strong economic growth of the city. Firstly, being one of the 14 officially chosen "coastal open cities" since 1984, foreign investment and the success of local enterprises (such as Haier Electronics and Qingdao Beer, etc.) have strongly promoted the city's economy; the GDP increased more than 10% on average annually since the end of the 1980's. Thus, the city has much more financial capacity for urban construction. In addition, the government also attempts to improve its urban competitiveness through appealing urban environments, especially through "flagship projects" – like the landscaping of Donghai Road, the building of the "East-West Express Line", etc. Secondly, the market-oriented reform in housing, traffic, etc. has improved both efficiency and creativity in urban construction and management; and the leasing system of urban land - the government sells the using-rights of land through auction - brings new financial resources to infrastructure and public facility construction. For example, with such resources the government was able to adequately finance the infrastructure of the new eastern area of about 100 sqkm in the 1990's. Besides the economic factor, Qingdao's urban construction has also been promoted by the special cultural factor: the high aesthetic quality of Qingdao's old downtown and the new cultural influences in this coastal city provide citizens with high expectations and enthusiasm towards their living environment.

In brief, the government and the market have been the major promoters of Qingdao's urban environment since 1978. The "government - market mechanism" of planning, which can be briefly described as "the government formulates the target and realize it with the market", has shown its great capacity.

The following chapter will discuss the questions, namely, does this mechanism also has problems? And which deficiencies have manifested in Qingdao's urban environment?

2. The progress of Qingdao's contemporary spatial development



Fig. 2-12 Master Plan of Qingdao 1995-2010



Centre of the new eastern area and the May 4th Square



***Part I. The progress and deficit of the development
of Qingdao's urban space***

3. The deficit of Qingdao's contemporary spatial development

3. *The deficit of Qingdao's contemporary spatial development*

3. The deficit of Qingdao's contemporary spatial development

This chapter presents the four deficiencies of Qingdao's spatial development: housing, heritage protection, public space, and urban traffic, though in reality these aspects are often interwoven. Henri Lefebvre argues, "Space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations, but it is also producing and produced by social relations." (Lefebvre, H., 1979, pp.295) In the following, the spatial phenomena as well as the related social processes in Qingdao since the market-oriented reform will be discussed.

3.1 Urban housing

Resolving the housing pressure in modern Chinese cities, especially in the mega cities in the eastern region, is a lengthy and highly complicated process. The experience of China and many other countries shows that the housing problems can not be easily resolved only through governmental supply. In Qingdao, the housing market has contributed much in improving the housing situation, however, contradictions are emerging during this process, which mainly concern the resettlement conflict and the spatial differentiation. Such contradictions have been continuously deepening since the 1990's.

3.1.1 Resettlement conflict

The resettlement conflict means the conflicts between the renewal-concerned residents and the housing developer - either the independent real estate company or the governmental institutions. Such problems have accompanied the "monetary compensation policy" since the beginning of 1990's in Qingdao. In the 1980's, with the "Residence Compensation Policy", most of the residents acquired new residences after their renewal, thus the renewal-related conflicts were very limited. Whereas after the 1980's, as mentioned before, the main body of the developing companies is no more the public-owned but market-oriented corporations, while the original residents get monetary compensation instead of residence. They are advocated to purchase housing themselves. Meanwhile, the market price of housing has been rapidly rising, especially those sited in favorite places in the old city or in the new eastern area. On one hand, the government hopes to increase the housing supply and eliminate slums by means of large-scaled renewal in the old city and by constructing new housing areas; on the other hand, through leasing the using-rights of urban land to real estate developers, the city acquires an important resource of revenue.

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Many residents in the areas to be demolished have feelings of both expectation and fear regarding removal. For many, the update of the governmental compensation standard is rather low and there is a huge gap between the compensation price and the booming market price. It is very difficult for many low-income households to afford the sale or rent price for a new residence at their former site, and they have to resettle in marginal areas of the city. That means that they might lose their favorite access to work, be subject to increased traffic costs and abandon certain place-related "social capital" (Bourdieu, P.), which built up over decades. Both in urban and suburban areas of Qingdao, the conflicts between the renewal-concerned residents and the developers are getting serious.

Take the renewal of "Block No. 18" north of St. Michael Cathedral for instance. With an area of 18,936 sqm it had several European-styled villas and Courtyard houses with stores and depots. The approved renewal plan of Zhongshan Road's neighborhood would be completely reconstructed into a part of the future "Cultural Recreation Zone". According to the official compensation standard, the residents were paid 3,450 RMB/sqm for their original housing acreage, while the market price for a residence built before 1999 was over 5,000 RMB/sqm, and for a residence built in 1990's was 6,000 to 8,000 RMB/sqm. In other words, if the residents of this area wanted to buy new houses of the same size at the former place, they had to pay an additional 3,000 to 4,000 RMB for each sqm. In this situation many residents refused to cooperate with the renewal, but they had not enough strength to stop the developer or make a more favorite compromise. Starting from the beginning of the renewal in 2003, the original residents have not ceased their protest.

Another case concerns a project in Xiaobaodao area. The renewal area covers 46,115 sqm and the right of use was sold through auction in 2002. For the new plan of 180,000 sqm housing and commercial acreage, 2000 original households must be resettled and 400 households living from facade stores had to fend for themselves in other ways. This plan led to protests in the street and in front of the city hall.

In the formal industrial-oriented districts in the north of Qingdao, there have also been similar cases. According to China Economic Weekly, in summer 2003 many residents of Si-fang suddenly found their residences pulled down when came home from work, while the developers had no kind of agreement with these residents.[45]

Let's switch our focus to the suburb. In the former rural parts of Qingdao's new eastern

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area, the peasants who lost their land due to new development projects are not the minority. For example, most land of Jinjialing village was relocated for real estate purposes. The villager Mawanqi has 2 sons; both of them work temporarily in the city, and their wives stay at home jobless. He mentions, "People over 55 years of age get 300 RMB living allowance every month and people over 60 have social labor insurance of 600 RMB per month. Having lost land, villagers can only arrange for limited jobs such as caring for the greenery or cleaning the streets. Villagers under 55 years of age have to make a new living. Without land, we lose the foundation of our subsistence. Now I am 50 and do not need to worry about my future. But how about our next generations? There are already so many jobless people in the city, where can our people find jobs there?" [46] After losing the land, a woman of the Wangbu village of Licang District committed suicide due to psychological stress, and left her 4-year-old son behind. A villager from Nanzhai village told the journalist: "After the land was taken away by developers, peasants have to climb to the mountain and smash stones to make a living. Then to protect the environment, such work is forbidden by the government and the peasants lost their monetary resource again. Then the only way for us is to look for some chances in the city... We were fed by our land from generation to generation. Though we can get from one Mu of land only several hundred RMB each year, the land is our lifeline. Now, all land has been confiscated, how can we live in the future? Is this the right way of sacrificing the peasants for the developing of the society? " [47]

Most of the land along the seashore in Laoshan district was developed into a villa area, and some of them are quite welcome on the market. However, some developers, who care exclusively for their profit, make the building density in such communities so high that they cannot sell them at all. In the new eastern area it is not difficult to find the "dead real estates" - some bankrupt investors try to sell the land with all completed villas to the new developers, some have even fled abroad. The finished buildings are either demolished or staying there like ghost houses for years. (Liu, C., 2003, pp.53) Prof. Xu of Technological University of Qingdao argues that the large amount of vacant villas result from the exorbitant profit pursuit by both the developers and the government.[48] In 2004, over hundred villas of "Blue Sea", "Eastern Pearl" and "Edinburgh Garden" are pulled down and replaced by multi-layer apartment by a new developer, attracting great attention from citizens and media. As Prof. Xu also mentions, with the dramatic rise of costal land and housing price due to the Water Regatta of Olympic Games in Qingdao in 2008, not only the real estate company who bought the land and dismantled the old housing, but also the company who built such villas will make great profit from the market.

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Those who lost most during the housing construction fever in the formerly rural area are original peasants, who work outside or stay jobless at home. According to a report of Xinhua Agency, the official news agency of China's central government, up to 2005 the peasants who lost their land amounted to 397,000 in Qingdao's administrative area.[49]



Fig. 3-1 Destruction of gated communities in Qingdao's southern costal area

3.1.2 Spatial differentiation

At present, the differentiation of people's economic status increasingly influences the geographic distribution of their housing in Qingdao. Before the end of the 1980's the government or the public-owned enterprises "Dan Wei" (Chinese: 单位) were the only institutions which distributed urban housing. Most urban communities consisted of members who worked in the same enterprise although the social or political status of the residents might vary. Since the 1990's the real estate development companies, which were mostly public-owned but have recently become economically independent, are now the main institu-

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tions supplying housing on the market. The residents of the new communities, as the result, are no more from the same "Dan Wei" but generally have similar economic status. Through housing consumption and relocation of residents due to renewal projects, the economic differentiation of urban inhabitants is gradually shown by the geographical allocation of housing. In Qingdao, the increasing differentiation of the urban environment seems to have been part of the daily experience, and numerous gated communities are formed in the areas where people with middle income and higher income are concentrated.

The gated communities first started to appear in Qingdao in the early 1990's, along with the development of the new eastern area. At that time most of these were villa projects with only a few stories, and packed densely along the seashore. Today they are easily to be found in many urban areas, covering a broad variety of housing types. In the eastern new area, they have even formed an approximately continuous interface along the coast with a length of several kilometers. The gated community is not only the choice of people who are of high income, but also favored by middle-income consumers. Also, the purchasers of these projects are not only from Qingdao but also from other cities.

The phenomenon of "gated communities" today is not only a return to China's housing tradition. Firstly, with the increase of unemployment in the city and the enormous gap between the rich and the poor, people's fear of social tensions and criminality grows. Secondly, people need a reliable neighborhood somewhat similar to that the old "Dan Wei" communities provided before. Thirdly, the quality of residential environments has deteriorated largely due to rapid growth of urban traffic and population, so well-designed gated housing areas are very welcome on market. Last but not least, the culture influence of the USA has played a demonstrative role in the public consciousness of being "fashionable" or being "modern". (Hassenpflug, D., 2004, pp.36)

The spread of gated communities has already shown huge negative effects in Qingdao. While the security situation of communities' internal space is improved, streets between communities often turn into "residual spaces". The streets around the villa areas in Qingdao's east have very limited pedestrians in the day time, while at night some turn into "scary" spaces for many people. According to Jane Jacobs, when the street loses its social life, the monitoring functions of the surrounding buildings and people – she called it "eyes on the street" – are blocked thus the chances for crime and people's feeling of insecurity would grow. (Jacobs, J., 2000, pp.114-125) Due to the separation of space, the freedom of

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pedestrians is highly restricted, and it is often inconvenient for residents both inside and outside of the communities to use public traffic. As a result, the gated communities stimulate the growth of private vehicles and increase the pressure on the existing traffic infrastructure of Qingdao.

With the establishment of the housing market, Qingdao's government has also made many efforts in constructing a large amount of economical residences with real estate developers in its north districts and the periphery areas of the city, especially since the second half of 1990's. In 2004, more than 7,000 families were resettled into 634,000 sqm finished "economical housing".[50] On one hand, this measure helps improve the "hard" housing conditions like the residential acreage, the sanitary infrastructure and so on for many people with middle or low income; on the other hand, it has also greatly deepened the spatial differentiation of social members, together with the increase of the gated communities. Beyond that, although the "economical housing" is sold for a relatively lower price due to governmental subsidy, the price is still too high for many of the low-income or unemployed city inhabitants.



Fig.3-2 Gated communities and the street space in Qingdao's suburb

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In brief, Qingdao's prevailing housing supply mode, in which the government leases the land and the market provides commercial housing, leads to increasing resettlement-related conflicts and spatial differentiation despite its positive performances. This mode does not contribute much to the majority of the lower social stratum to get the housing that they expect, and in many cases, it would even worsen the living situation of the disadvantaged, and impose negative effects on the integration of the urban society.

3.2 Heritage Preservation

Historic buildings and districts contribute much to people's perception of a city and make it unmistakable. (Lynch, K., 1967, pp.10) In the era of globalization, the historical environment is an important factor for attracting professionals, investors, tourists and consumers to a city, thus plays an important role for the urban competitiveness. Since the construction boom in Qingdao, many projects have not properly noticed such context, and many "barriers" of the collective memory of citizens have been removed or strongly destroyed.

3.2.1. Historic building

In 1988, Qingdao's railway station building along with its "Jugendstil" platform, which was constructed in the German colonial period, was removed and a new station with the same form but a larger dimension was built on the same site. This has seriously destroyed the authenticity of the traditional environment. Such kind of reconstruction has also happened in the renewal projects of the Kang Youwei Museum (former Adjutant's House, finished in 1900), the Jiangsu Lu Primary School (former German School for Boys, finished in 1901) and Qingdao Food Store (former Hamburg-America Line Premises building, finished in 1904).

Besides the "replacement with fakes", many more historic buildings were completely removed for new real estate projects, of which the influential ones are:

The Sommer Hotel, one of the representative buildings in Zhongshan Road (former Friedrich Street), finished in 1912 and removed in 2004;

The Qingdao Middle School for Girls, donated by the Businessman Liu Zishan, finished in 1920 and removed in 1992;

The Small Harbor's Custom Office Building, the tower of which was the landmark for the neighboring area, finished in the 1920's and removed in 2004;

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Qingdao Civil Stadium, one of the earliest concrete-steel-structure stadiums in China, finished in 1933 and removed in 2002;

Huaqiao Hotel, one of the few modern-style architectures on the list of the most important historic buildings of the Shandong Province, finished in 1936 and removed in 2005.



Fig.3-3 The well-preserved old Railway Station(inset right) relaced by this fake (above)

Also, the traditional “Liyuan” houses are also increasingly endangered by the construction boom in the inner city. First, a brief introduction of “Liyuan” is necessary. Liyuan is a local architectural type combined from the traditional Chinese yard house and the European block residence in Qingdao. While the facade adopts both the European and the Chinese decorations, the orientation, the entrance and the spatial hierarchy reflect the strong influence of the cultural identity of north China. The Liyuan houses, which were built by the former elites of China’s Qing Dynasty, show high aesthetic and historic value. The Liyuan housing provides various spatial possibilities for neighborhood communications; the inner yards, which were traditionally reserved for family life, have turned into the “living room” for all residents and the made a community unmistakable from the others. The numerous Liyuan houses, like the “Linong” in Shanghai or “Lifang” in Tianjin, are an

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adaptation of the Chinese residential culture in a European-styled urban structure. (Liu, C., 2004, pp.144) They are a special component of Qingdao's pluralized architectural culture; and they also contribute strongly to the "collective identity" of Qingdao's inhabitants. Since the beginning of the 21st century, the old Liyuan houses in Xiaobaodao area and the Small Harbour area have been completely replaced by commercial projects.

During the remove of the Liyuan houses of the Xiaobaodao area, an anonymous citizen wrote in an internet forum, "...it is all looks like an ancient warehouse, leaving an old but wonderful picture for you to find when you wipe off the thick dust left by years, but finally you have to give it up. The workers waved their heavy hammers, and smashed all of this into pieces...Maybe their existence is intolerable when the history progressed and life developed?" [51] During the demolition of Liyuan houses in the Small Harbor area, citizens initiated a process of documenting the old housing through photographs. They put up the picture series on the internet titled: "watch small harbour wordless" and "collect the historical memories of small harbour", etc.



Fig.3-4 Remaining Liyuan housing faces challenges from real estate development

3.2.2 Historic area

Besides the replacement of historic buildings, many renewal projects have also destroyed the dimension, texture, skyline, etc., of Qingdao's historic areas.

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a. Scale

From the end of 19th century until the Cultural Revolution in 1966, the architecture of inner city includes diversified styles, but the architects and planners well controlled the scale of the buildings well and maintained the harmonious city landscape. During the recent two decades, although some new commercial buildings attempt to communicate with the existing architecture through some details, their huge volume has strongly impacted the traditional scale of the historic quarters. Such a phenomenon is especially serious in the south of Qingdao's old central street Zhongshan Road (Liu, C., 2003, pp.54)



Fig.3-5
High-rise in Qingdao's
historic inner city

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b. Texture

The layout of a building in context with its neighboring architecture, natural environment, and citizen's behavior are often the key elements forming a city's unmistakable texture. The texture of Qingdao's old downtown area was well formed due to the respect to the surrounding environment in architectural design as well as the density and height control through the governmental planning in the past. However, increasing numbers of new giants dramatically changes the existing context between buildings, the external space and the daily function. The new situation puts forward the new demands for transportation, sanitation and parking, which are far beyond the environmental capacity possessed by the old structure. The pursuit of high commercial acreage has resulted in the deterioration of the whole external space of Qingdao's downtown area.



Fig.3-6 The historic inner city dramatically changed by new giants

c. Skyline

During the construction of old Qingdao, the planners and architects had respected the silhouette of the coastline, combining them into the characteristic skyline of the city. Before 1970's, as five landmarks, the St. Michael Cathedral, the Catholic Church, the St. Paul Church, the Police Office Building and the Observatory Tower stood out of this curvilinear skyline and identified different quarters. They bring people both aesthetics and orientation,

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and they are still the essential element of the city's image. Until the beginning of 1980's, the five-stored "Wu Qi Lou" (Chinese: 五起楼) built in 1930's was the highest building permitted to be constructed in the Qingdao's commercial center, the Zhongshan Road area. But now, many new buildings are designed to compete with each other in height or to be the "new symbols" of a certain institution, and they have destroyed the aesthetics of the traditional skyline and usually block the well-designed visual connections among the old landmarks and the natural landscape.

d. Colour

Red from the tiles, yellow from the facades, green from the trees and blue from the sea form the dominant colors of Qingdao, which brings a delightful atmosphere to people. Compared to the color of many cities in Germany, especially the cities rebuilt on the ruins of World War II in a "modern" way, the color of Qingdao's old city have an even stronger artistic appeal. However, this characteristic is being endangered by the planning of the new constructions. The copy of one or two housing units makes many residential areas a "machine-made" appearance, although Qingdao's government has advocated the red roof for housing since 1990's. Also, the increase of building density in the old city reduces or blocks the limited green areas in the landscape. At the beginning of the 1990's, the sidewalk trees along the Zhongshan Road about one hundred years old were felled for the sake of a so-called "image project", which make it difficult for the citizens and visitors to find shade in the fervent summer. Besides, some traditional greenbelts along the street and in the parks are replaced by pavements, thus the "green" in the historic quarters became even scarcer.

Though the great achievement has been attained in the work on heritage preservation in Qingdao, at present the strength for preventing the historic environment from being destroyed is still not sufficient. Actually many preservation attempts made by Qingdao's government were not realized for financing or organization reasons. For instance, the government invited several prominent architectural offices including Fritz Hubert Architektur + Stadtplanung from Germany and Commonwealth/ICSC from Canada for the preservation and revitalization of the Zhongshan Road area. Their concepts for carefully maintaining the existing old architecture and social structure were not realized largely due to the lack of stable governmental investment. The increase of economic benefit is easily established in a short term through the cooperation of the developers and government, but the lost cultural value could be hardly regained for the city's future.

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3.3 Public Space

The necessary functions of urban public spaces regardless of cultural differences are to serve people's leisure and communication, to facilitate the integration of the urban society, as well as to enhance people's access to public resources, etc. While Qingdao's public space has been highly promoted with regard to its quality and quantity, some deficiencies, including the restriction of access and the deterioration of the natural environment, have affected its value for people's everyday life.

3.3.1 Access restriction

Public spaces should be freely accessible for the public regardless of people's traits, origins, and economic or social status. In China, they are often the places where many low-income urban inhabitants or labor immigrants make a living through open-air retail. However, restrictions due to entrance fees for parks, gated communities, etc. exclude many citizens from Qingdao's public spaces.

Zhongshan Park and Zhushui Park, the two major urban parks with respectively 20.18 ha and 18.54 ha area, charge tickets on a regular basis for their maintenance. The Luxun Park and the Zhanqiao Pier Park, the two large open spaces along the southern coastal area, are surrounded with fences and charge fees for entering seasonally. The ticket for the Zhongshan Park costs 10 RMB in midseason, and during the cherry's blossom period it is increased to 12 RMB. Such a price might equal a half day's salary or one day's living costs for many labor immigrants in Qingdao. A resort sited to the west of the national-famous No.1 Bathing Beach, Luxun Park has few visitors because most people choose to make a detour rather than to pay admission and walk through.

While the fee charged by many urban parks before the 1980's was only "symbolic" for most people, it has turned into an obstacle for the low-income or unemployed citizens in this city. Statistics show that the unemployed of Qingdao totalled 68,534 by the end of 2002, with a 9.0% increase compared with that in 2001, and there were 27,965 inhabitants living under extreme poverty. Also, the sum of temporarily working immigrants amounted to 795,400 by the end of 2002, with a 20.1% increase compared with that in 2001.[52] In reality, most of the labor immigrants are faced with the problems of lacking leisure life apart from their hard working conditions, insufficient health insurance, and insufficient education access for their kids, etc. The entrance fee which is not expensive for the middle-income

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might be unaffordable for the unemployed and the labor immigrants. If some parks become "gentrified" places, filtering out the lower social stratum, they would also lose their integrative value for the urban society.



Fig. 3-7
Fenced Zhanqiao Pier Park and
its underground entrance

For the past few years, Shanghai has made many efforts to expand accessibility to its parks and other public spaces. The Xujiahui Park, the Yanzhong Greenbelt and the People's Square all have become freely accessible places without fences. In these parks, people from diverse backgrounds walk, communicate, relax, or read. These parks have become an important part of many citizens' daily lives.

Since 1949, public taxation has been the only economic resource for the construction and management of urban public space in China. Thus, the possessors of public space are all the citizens, and they also include rural inhabitants who have always supported the urban development due to the city-priority distribution policy of the nation. Similar to Shanghai, Qingdao has also made some efforts for increasing accessibility to parks in recent years. The Cangkou Park has canceled its entrance fee, which it charged in the past. Moreover, new sport equipment has been installed and a "children's fairyland" has been added. In 2004, the Shibei District Government built the Cuobuling Leisure Park of 4,000 sqm opening for free. If all Qingdao's major parks and resorts "lower their thresholds", they will be better able to present their value.

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Besides the entrance fee of some parks, the spreading of gated communities is another important factor restricting the public accessibility of the urban environment. While almost each traditional villa area is accessible for people in the old city, many newly-built communities occupy the environment within their fences as their own. With the growth of such spatial exclusion, the daily communication between different social strata would be much reduced. Misunderstanding due to lack of daily communication might lead to prejudice and instability of the society. Having realized the problems caused by the gated communities, Shanghai's government is financing a research project at the Tongji University to find a realistic solution.[53]

Badaguan Villa area, a residential area formerly for high officials, successful businessmen and professionals in 1930's and 1930's, presents a quite different concept of urban public space. Out of the yard of houses, all places – the streets, the green area, the woods and the beaches are open to all people, forming a continuous belt of open space along the coast. In the 1930's, the building regulation of the Nationalist government also requires that all houses must have 40% green area, and that yard fences shall enable the visual relationship between houses and public environment. Now, it has already been a local custom in Qingdao that people come to Badaguan to enjoy the cherry blossoms with their families during the May 1st holiday. Such an open space concept is originated in Europe. In the European cities, many well-known public spaces are sited inside or around the historically "gentrified" residential areas, like Heidelberg's northern Neckar bank which is especially liked by the university students. The poem of Fritz Löhner-Beda and Ernst Neubach, "I'd lost my heart in Heidelberg forever. My heart still beats on Neckar's shore" has been spread worldwide; it is also interpreted by the pop star Elvis Presley.

3.3.2 Ecologic function

From an ecological standpoint, the natural water system, greenbelt, wetland, etc. are of essential value for the living quality of a city. The existence of the natural landscape among the cement and steel can not only balance people's strain, but also offer children chances of touching nature and acquiring biological knowledge. Nowadays, Qingdao's has lost many opportunities in restoring and improving its natural environment.

Since the 1990's, Qingdao has made many efforts towards revitalizing the natural water system, of which parts have been badly polluted by industrial or waste drainage, and it is

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a major measure to cover the watercourse with concrete, stone or cement. The revitalization projects are usually very costly, and the result as indicated by the water quality and the ecosystem are not satisfying. Take the Habo River Park as an example. Since the riverbank and riverbed are covered by hard surfaces, most animals and plants cannot live in the river any more. The river does not have the self-purification capacity and clean water deteriorates again. In addition, the planning of the Haipo River Park has not effectively coped with the waste water management of the neighboring chemical plant, market and communities. After the completion of this project the contamination is poured into the river again.



Fig.3-8 The concrete bank of the Haipo Park

In 1938, Alwin Seifert set forth the nature-oriented approach “*Naturnäherer Wasserbau*” for repairing and regulating the water system affected by urbanization and industrialization (Seifert. A., 1938). In 1989, William J. Mitsch addressed “*Ecological Engineering*” and proposed mutually beneficial co-existence of humans with nature through the construction of nature-like wetlands, watercourses, etc. (Mitsch, W. J., 1989) Mitsch has also established the 12-ha Olentangy River Wetland Research Park for wetland research and education, and was awarded the “*Stockholm water prize*” in 2004. Over the last two decades, various

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nature-oriented measures have been widely adopted in the renovation and leisure development of lakes, rivers, marshes, mines, forests, land and sea banks in many developed countries. In the 1990's, Germany renovated Emscher river region, formerly a highly polluted area by, into a park with natural landscape and a modern art venue. The joint efforts of the public and the private sectors with the coordination of IBA made this possible. (IBA, 1999; Hassenpflug, D., 2005)

In contemporary Western Europe, the nature-oriented approach is widely adopted in the planning of man-made rivers or streams too. The "pastoral stream" in Kirschsteigfeld of Potsdam (Architect: Krier&Kohl) completely utilizes natural soil as a watercourse, so that the plants and small animals like frog and cricket living along the stream offer rich natural appeal. The nature-oriented approach of natural renovation and development is a multi-functional measure. It helps provide living conditions for propagation, improve the natural self-cleaning and anti-flood mechanism, and offers pleasant leisure space for all the people. It is a valuable instrument for the improvement of Qingdao's natural environment, and will contribute to the living quality of the city in the long run.

In short, although the planning in Qingdao is efficient in expanding public space, there is still much to improve concerning the diversity and daily needs of the people. While the actual planning focuses well on the "hard targets" like green area ratio, particular function and so on, it needs to promote the capacity for serving the "soft targets", like the accessibility, experiential value, and natural affinity, etc.

3.4 Urban traffic

It is a grand project for the rapid growing Chinese cities to establish an efficient traffic system, and this project is also highly related to a large variety of issues such as energy, land use, safety, justice and so on. Over the last two decades, although the government of Qingdao has given many efforts in improving urban traffic infrastructures and management, the lack of sufficient road capacity and public transportation is still experienced by many people in daily life.

3.4.1 Road system

In 2005, the construction land per capita in Qingdao was about 88 sqm and the road

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area per capita was 15 sqm, which occupied 17% of the construction land. This number is much higher than most Chinese cities including Beijing (which has a ratio of 10.4%). However, compared to the developed countries, this level is rather low. The data provided by Qian Shaohua from the Shanghai Urban Planning and Design Institute indicated that the average ratio of urban roads occupying the land was 32.8% in the U.S.A., - in New York 35%, in Washington D. C. 43% and in Los Angeles even up to 50%. The average level in Europe is around 21%, with London 23%, Berlin 26% and Paris 25%. The level in Asian cities is comparatively much lower than that in the U.S.A or in Europe, for example, Tokyo has 15.2% and Osaka has 17.2%. (Qian S. H., 2004)

In Qingdao, the reason why urban traffic has been a lasting problem is much related to the constant emphasis on zoning in urban planning by the city government. After the 1990's, it was further strengthened by the city's expansion to the new eastern area. Some scholars believe that the reasonable distribution of urban functions has been an important reason for the fast development of Qingdao's economy in the last century.[54] However, zoning has also let many urban residents spend much longer time on the road, and made the northern part of the city lose its attractiveness to citizens and investments due to the inconvenience of the traffic system. As early as in the 1930's, the government had already put forward an idea that the centre of the city and its railway station should be moved to the Lotus Mountain (Chinese: 芙蓉山) in Sifang district, which is located in the geographic center of the city. Today this thinking is still valuable: because it could not only shorten the average traffic distance for the citizens, but also relieve the heavy traffic burden, and most importantly, it could help change the long-term laggard situation of the formerly industry-oriented northern part of the city.

The increasing number of automobiles in Qingdao is a major reason for traffic jams apart from the low ratio of road per capita. A group of official statistics follows:

The total number of automobiles in 2005 was up to more than 1 million, 170,000 of which were private cars, which increased by 30% compared to in 2004.

In late 2004, the number of private cars was up to 53,000 in Qingdao's urban area, which increased by 47.2% compared to in 2003.

Nowadays, there are over 300 citizens on average registering everyday their new cars and nearly every 6th citizen owns a driver's license. The number of automobiles in Qingdao is averagely climbing at a ratio of 13.5% every year from 1996 to 2005.[55]

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In 2005, nearly one out of eleven households in Qingdao owned a private car, while in Hong Kong, where people's average income about 12 times as much as that in Qingdao, only one eighth of the families own private cars, and the annual increase of private cars was 3.8% on average during the last ten years due to the restriction measures taken by the city government. (Wang, G. C.,2004, pp.35)

For many of the high-income citizens, "time is money", thus the increase of parking fees and traffic control cannot prevent them from driving their cars. In addition, more and more suburban communities adopt enclosed-management, and their residents have to walk a long distance to access existing bus traffic system, which forms an important factor stimulating the consumption of private cars.

In order to reduce the frequency of traffic jams and enhance the speed of vehicle flow, Qingdao's government requires that 70% of all vehicles should be "high standard" vehicles by the 2008 Olympic Games. This means that many automobiles in still good condition but outdated appearance will not be allowed in the near future. Such measure would very possibly cause the waste of resources and tension between the government and the citizens, while contributing little to the traffic efficiency if the amount of private cars continues to increase as fast as it did in the last years.

The frequency of traffic accidents is also rapidly growing. In Qingdao from 1999 to 2002, the number of traffic accident related fatalities was 5,321 and the average number was 1,774 per year, which makes up 0.025% of the urban population. However, in Japan in 2005, the traffic accident related fatalities was 0.005% of its whole urban population, about one fifth of that of Qingdao.[56]

Without control of the local authority, it can be foreseen that the number of private-owned automobiles in Qingdao will have another big jump due to the increase of people's income and decrease of car prices. Thus the contradiction between the number of automobiles and capacity of the roads will also be further expanded. Additionally, the limitation of space in the city prohibits unlimited expansion of the road construction. To relieve the tension between cars and roads and enhance the efficiency of the city, any measures taken by the city should be based on an understanding of the citizens, as well as further improvement of its public traffic system.

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3.4.2 Public traffic

As early as Qingdao's Nationalistic government period from 1931 to 1937, people had started considering utilizing rail transit to improve the quality of traffic. Qingdao's Master Plan of 1935 proposed moving the Qingdao Central Railway Station from the south of the city to the Main Harbour area and changing the function of the original station into the tram terminal. After the 1930's, the plan of tram was abandoned for a long time. Nowadays, as a city with more than 7 million inhabitants in its jurisdiction area, Qingdao still does not have a rail-based urban transportation system, with public buses carrying about 81% of the traffic volume.[57]

At present, a large gap still exists between the efficiency of public transport and the actual needs of the citizens. There are altogether 135 public bus lines in Qingdao's urban area, most of which are concentrated on the main roads. In the densely populated old districts like Taidong and Shibei, where each main road is covered by 6 to 10 public bus lines, the buses can only run at a speed of less than 15km/h, even slower than bicycles.

With the expansion of the urban area, many citizens living in the newly-developed districts have to spend much time in traffic. For example, the distance from the new northern sub center of Chengyang to Qingdao's new city government totals 44km and it takes 60-70 minutes by car without traffic jam; from the west end of old downtown to eastern Shazikou (Chinese: 沙子口) respectively 28.3km and 50-60 minutes. (Wang, G. C., 2000) Qingdao News interviewed the resident Mr. Hu, who lives in the Loushanhou area (Chinese: 娄山后) in the north and works near the Central Railway Station in the south. He spends almost 2 hours in the morning and in the evening respectively for commuting between his residence and his work place.[58] The "pendulum effect" of commuting between the new suburban residential areas and the working places increases the energy consumption and the traffic pressure. Also, during the day time, many residential areas empty of citizens, resulting in fear of criminality.

The newly finished "East-West Express Line" is an important measure for enhancing the traffic between the new eastern area and the old downtown, however, public buses are not allowed to use it for the reason that buses can not reach similar speeds of the other vehicles and would hinder the traffic efficiency. As a project financed by the public budget, it excludes numerous people who mostly use public buses for commuting. The Lincoln Tunnel in New York presents a different concept: since 1971, it established an Exclusive Bus Lane

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(XBL), which averagely shortens all bus-passengers' commuting time by 15 to 20 minutes during the morning rush hour. (Port Authority of New York & New Jersey, 2005)

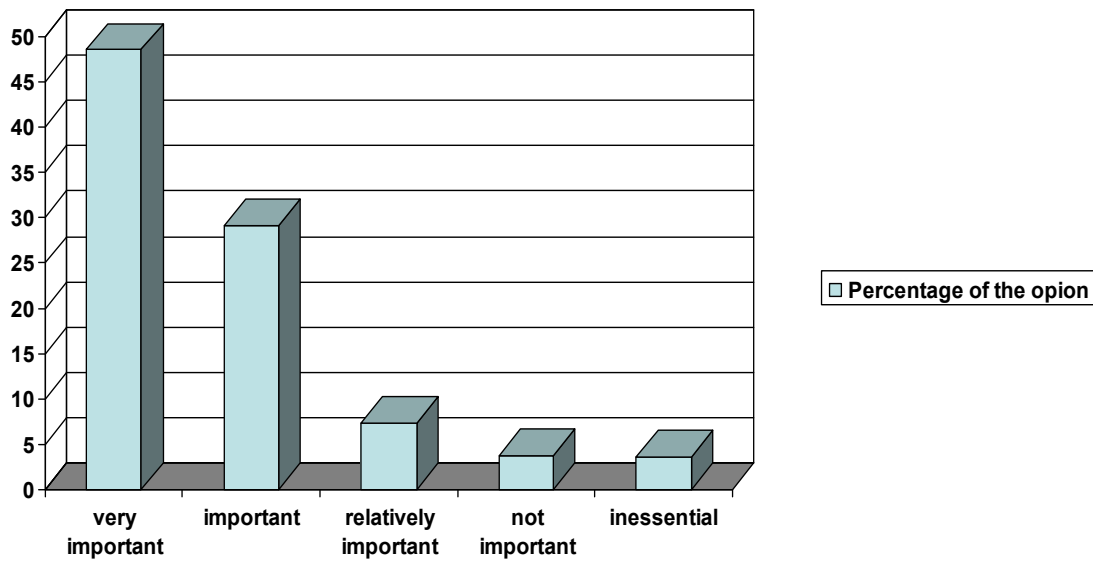


Fig. 3-9 East-West Express Line is not open to bus traffic

Back to rail transit planning. In 1987, Qingdao's government reactivated the subway planning. In 1994, Qingdao finished the expansion project of the Central Rail Station, transforming it into a railway-subway dual terminal for the future. The first experimental section of the subway was completed in 1997, and it cost 270 million RMB/km, lower than the average level of subway projects in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Shenzhen. (Wang, G. C., 2000) In Qingdao's Master Plan 1995~2010, the length of the subway network totals 114km, and the government has also planned on developing a 16-km long section connecting the northern and the southern districts of the city. Also, in China's 10th Five-Year-Plan (2001 - 2005), urban rail-based mass transit belongs to the "key projects" for improving the urban infrastructure of the major Chinese cities.[59] However, Qingdao's subway project has been in standstill since the end of the 1990's, as the massive renewal of slums and the development of the new eastern area were the major planning targets of the city government.

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A survey with 749 questionnaires shows that about 84.4% of the participants think that a subway is "very important" or "important" for the living quality of Qingdao's citizens, and only 6.1% of them regard it as "unimportant" or "inessential". (Qingdao Social Science Institute, 2003)



Tab. 1 Survey with 749 questionnaires on public opinion of subway in Qingdao in 2003

Until now, funding is still a main problem puzzling Qingdao's government. Since the mass rail transit belongs to local public utility, the city government can hardly obtain sufficient funding appropriated from China's central government. Except for Beijing and Shanghai, the subway projects which are completely invested by the local government are only the No.1 Line in Shenzhen and the No. 2 Line in Guangzhou. Raising personal and enterprise capital to construct railway transportation is unprecedented in Mainland China, while Hong Kong has gathered valuable experiences. In September 2000, the Rapid Transit Railway Corporation, owned by both the government and the private investors, was established for building and operating the city's subway. On the first day of selling the stock to raise funding, citizens signed 2.2 million application forms. In 2005, the profits for managing the subway and exploring the business involved was a total sum of 1.1 billion USD, which increased by 29% over that in 2001.[60]

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Fig. 3-10 Expansion project of the Central Rail-Metro Station,
used as underground shopping street at present

In brief, the traffic problems in Qingdao include mainly the overload of the road system and the insufficiency of the public transportation capacity. With the expansion of the city and the increase of private cars, these two problems will deteriorate further. Due to the high building density in most urban areas, the possibility of improving the road system is very limited, thus an effective approach for optimizing the traffic efficiency in Qingdao should be to build rail-based mass transportation. However, because of the lack of funding the city has to postpone its mass transit plan.

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3.5 Summary

From the deficiencies in urban housing, historic preservation, public space and urban traffic in Qingdao, we can identify four key issues for promoting Qingdao's planning results:

- a. better care for the diversified interest of the social groups;
- b. stronger supervision of cultural and ecological effects of development;
- c. more flexibility for the complex and rapid-changing situation;
- d. more public budget for improving public facilities and infrastructure.

The present planning mechanism – the government formulates the planning target and decides the means of development with the market – has shown the insufficiency in the planning practice of Qingdao since the implementation of the reform in China in 1978. The improvement of the strength and the discipline of both the government and the market will help overcome such insufficiency and strengthen the city's capacity in tackling the urban challenges it faces.

Apart from the government and the market, is there a "third power", which can be mobilised and facilitated to improve the urban environment in this city? Qingdao's urban history has shown that the "bottom-up" efforts have positively influenced urban planning in different periods of the city's development, as the thesis mentioned in the cases of the protection of Tianhou Shrine (1912), the revision of the city's master plan (1932-1935) and the building of the Zhanshan Temple (1933-1942). The following chapters will verify the hypothesis of this thesis; that the participation of civil society is able to improve the planning performance in the city of Qingdao under present circumstances.



Labour migrants in Qingdao



***Part II. Civil society's participation in planning theory
and its potential for Qingdao's planning***

***4. Civil society's participation in planning theory and in China's law
and political statements***

4. *Civil society's participation in planning theory and in China's law and political statements*

4. Civil society's participation in planning theory and in China's law and political statements

What does the term "civil society" mean in the West, how should civil society be understood in the Chinese context? What is civil society's participation in planning theory, and what are the chances for the political acceptance of such participation in China's urban planning? This chapter will give the answers.

4.1 The review of the concepts of civil society

The term "civil society" does not exist in the traditional glossary of Chinese language. In the West, the concept of civil society can be traced back to the Greece philosopher Aristotle. According to him, the civil society refers to the city state "polis" or the political state. (Aristotle, 1965). For the Roman philosopher Cicero, the notion of civil society is related not only to the state, but to the conditions in a civilized political community with legal systems and citizens' participation in social life (Black, A., 1987). Like Aristotle, Cicero also believes that the supreme responsibility of citizens in a civil society is to participate in social affairs. Up to the 18th century, aside from the original Greco-Roman idea of civil society, there were also various formulations of the thinkers of the Middle Age and the Age of Enlightenment, although civil society always held the meaning as the political society which is based on the republican system while opposite to the "natural society".

Since the 18th century, the idea of civil society has been strongly altered from what it was before and it also varies in literature (Cohen, J. L. and Arato, A., 1994; Keane, J., 1998). Generally there are five major representative models of a civil society concept in this period: the "private interest" model of Marx, the "cultural hegemony" model of Gramsci, the "associate democracy" model of Tocqueville, the "autonomous communication" model of Habermas, as well as the "social interaction" model of Cohen and Arato. In the following they will be introduced briefly.

1. The "Private interest" model of Marx. For Marx, civil society is the summation of all private interests' relationships, including the systems, structures and processes in all non-governmental spheres. In other words, it refers to the "non-political society". In order to meet individual demands, people build up certain economic relationships, social relationships and

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cultural-ideological relationships among one another, and these relationships form the basic structure of the civil society. Through these relationships, the material production, the social integration and the cultural reproduction would function in favour of the interest of the ruling class (Marx, K. and Engels. F., 1846). In Europe, civil society, in a modern sense, is based on the social associations' independence from the state which first emerged in the seventeenth century. Marx believes that these social organisations are always the foundation of the state and all ideological superstructures.

The civil society concept of Marx has the following major features: Firstly, the modern political state is based on civil society; civil society determines and regulates the state. Secondly, each individual has two roles – he or she is both a member of the political society and a member of the civil society. Thirdly, civil society is an outcome of the class society and the differentiation of public interest and the private interest within the class society. He believes, in the bourgeois society the working class is the carrier of civility. According to the utopian theory of Marx, the struggle of the working class will lead to a real civil society – the classless communist society.

2. The "Cultural hegemony" model of Gramsci. Based on Marx' research of political economy, Gramsci argues that the capitalistic state can be divided into two spheres: the political society and the civil society. The political society refers to the sphere controlled by the political institutions and the legal constitution; while the civil society refers to the commonly "private" or "non-state" sphere including both the economy and various private institutions like churches, schools, public media, cultural or academic organisations, political parties and so on. For Gramsci, the political society is a realm of force and the civil society is a realm of consent. It helps more or less manipulate people's minds and behaviour and functions as the reigning instrument for the existing power systems. Also, civil society is where the revolution party could enable the working class to deprive the old regime of ideological support and establish an "alternative hegemony". He also confesses that the division of political and civil society is a conceptual model and that the two often overlap in reality. (Gramsci A., 1971) Gramsci believes that promoting the self-regulating ability of the civil society and defining the "withering away of the state" is the historical task of the proletariat.

3. The "Associate democracy" model of Tocqueville. During the visit of numerous citizens' associations throughout metropolitan as well as small cities in the United States in the middle of the 19th century, he was impressed by the country's rich and prosperous civil

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associations, which were not appreciated by European society at that time. He argues in his "Democracy in America" (Tocqueville, A., 1998) that civil society refers to the "intermediate" sphere of organizations between the state and the individual. These organisations may include churches, charities, clubs, communities and so on, through which the citizens voluntarily participate in social affairs. Citizens' organisations reinforce the spirit of the collaboration in public life; such collaboration also enhances people's habits for non-political forms of co-operation. Also, he believes that freedom alone is not sufficient to secure the individual's social and political rights. According to him, an independent and autonomous civil society is an inseparable condition for enabling equality and democracy. A strong social infrastructure of voluntary organisations, which are not under the direct control of the state institutions would enable group engagement for political ends and play an essential role in restricting autarchy.

4. The "Autonomous communication" model of Habermas. In "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society", Habermas regards civil society as a "private autonomous sphere" independent from the state, and it encompasses the public and the private spheres. The private sphere refers to the market system formed in the private-owned market economy, and the public sphere is a realm for public communication where the state can not intervene. From the study on the social spaces where individuals gathered to discuss their common public affairs in Britain, France, and Germany in the late 18th and 19th century, Habermas formulates a model of the "bourgeois public sphere" and argues, "it provided a training ground for a critical public reflection still preoccupied with itself- a process of self-clarification of private people focusing on the genuine experiences of their novel privateness" (Habermas, J., 1993, pp.29) For him, this public sphere, including citizen's organisations, clubs, public media and other non-governmental socio-cultural institutions, is grown from and always belongs to the private sphere. (Ibid., pp.33) It gives voice to social problems, builds common concerns, articulates public interests, counteracts arbitrary and oppressive forms of social and public power, thus influencing the political process of the state. He states, "Our investigation presents a stylized picture of the liberal elements of the bourgeois public sphere and of their transformation in the social-welfare state" (Habermas, 1989, xix). The theory of Habermas helps build a "binary structure" (state - civil society) for societal discussions.

In "The Theory of Communicative Action", Habermas argues that instrumental action takes place within a rational system, including the state, the economy, or any organizational

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apparatus, while the lifeworld provides a context in which people can reach a consensus through autonomous communication. The lifeworld consists of the realm of families, hobbies, and social gatherings. The system refers itself only to the instrumental rationality with the medium of currency and power. Civil society is highly interrelated with the lifeworld that follows civil logic of unconstrained discourse. Habermas believes that in the Western society the intrusion of instrumental action leads to "the colonization of the lifeworld" by the system, and the autonomous communication is fading. A kind of procedural rationality, in which people participate in public affairs, equality and discourse are only influenced by the strength of arguments rather than political controls, and can bring about change in the public sphere. Five key requirements would ensure the vitality and truth of discourse: generality, autonomy, ideal role taking, power neutrality and transparency. (Habermas, J., 1984)

5. The "Social interaction" model of Cohen and Arato. According to Cohen and Arato, civil society is "a sphere of social interaction between economy and state, composed above all of the intimate sphere (especially the family), the sphere of associations (especially voluntary associations), social movements, and forms of public communication. Modern civil society is created through forms of self-constitution and self-mobilization. It is institutionalized and generalized through laws and especially subjective rights that stabilize social differentiation." (Cohen, J. L. & Arato, A., 1994, ix). Also, Cohen and Arato believe that the concept of civil society would contribute the global discourse of political science. They write, "Even if cultural modernity itself is just one tradition among many, its universal thrust is the reflexive, non-authoritarian relation toward tradition - an orientation that can be applied to itself and that implies autonomy ... rather than heteronomy." (Ibid., pp.25)

Cohen and Arato see their idea as a further development of Habermas' concept. (Ibid., pp.84) Based on the "system – life world" discourse in Habermas' "The Theory of Communicative Action" and other works, Cohen and Arato argue that in the contemporary capitalistic society the economic system has already been detached from the civil society and turned into an independent sphere. Civil society belongs to the "life world" where public consensus is made through communication and dialogue. In the reality of Western world, the state and the economy have the tendency of composing intervention upon the autonomy of the "life world" though mediums like power or money. While in Habermas' "Private autonomous sphere" model civil society includes not only the citizens' organisations and movements but also the market system based on private economy, Cohen and Arato propose a "tripartite structure" which differentiates between state, economy and civil society.

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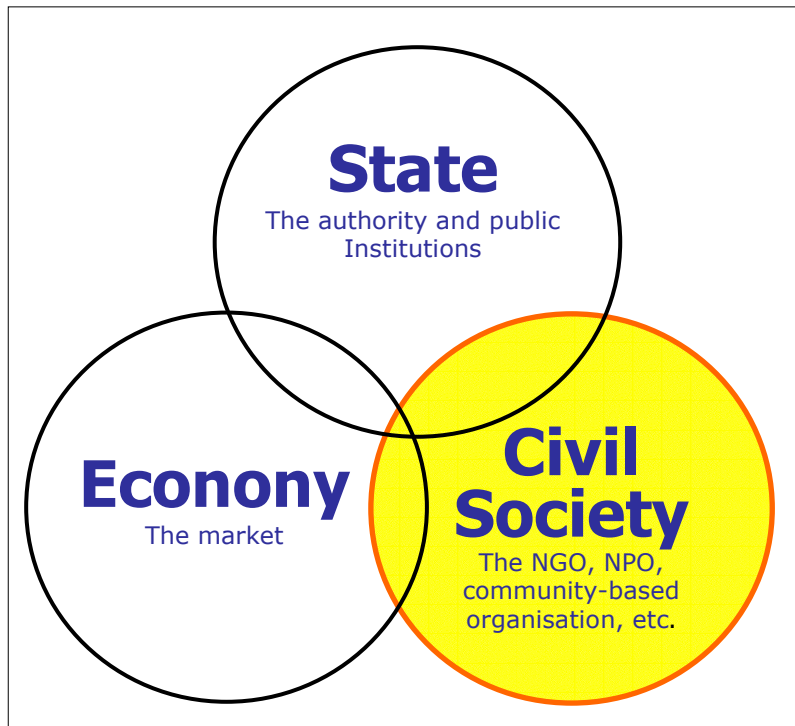


Fig. 4-1
The Tripartite Structure
of Cohen and Arato

Following the introduction of the five major models of civil society by Western scholars, I would like to address three points:

First of all, all these are theoretical models – in practice, the boundaries between the state, the market, the citizens' organisations, and public media and so on are often complex, blurred and even negotiated. Nevertheless, these theoretic models function as instruments for social and political analysis, and have already shown a deep influence in the academia of the Western world.

Secondly, these five models, though differing much from each other, are highly related to the history and reality of western society. In other words, they are the local but not the universal knowledge. None of these models touches or concerns Eastern and Chinese culture. As evidence, the influential philosopher on civil society, Jürgen Habermas mentions in his speech at the Central Academy of Chinese Communist Party "the communication between us is not symmetrical. You know very much about us, but we know very little about you".[64]

The next, what about the civil society in China?

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4.2 The understanding of civil society in the Chinese context

Since the Chinese government started to reduce the intensity and scope of its former all-around administrative intervention in the end of the 1970's, the relationship between "the state" and "the society" has been an important theme for the Chinese academia. Under such circumstances, the fields of sociology, politics, as well as urban planning in China began to pay more attention to the idea of "civil society".

4.2.1 The emergence of the term "civil society" in contemporary China

Generally, the article "The constituting of China's Civil Society" by Deng Zhenglai and Jing Yuejin, published in 1992, is the first influential article of civil society research of Chinese academia. Some other related literature includes "The State and the Society - A Study on the Chinese Civil society" (Deng, Z. L., 1997), "The Civil Society and the Third Sector" (He, Z. K., 2000), "The State and the Society in Chinese Modernisation" (Sun X. L., 2001) and "Right and Freedom – A Survey on Civil Society" (Yuan Z. S., 2003). Many of them are also published through the cooperation between scholars from Chinese official institutes and scholars from the West, like "The State and the Civil Society – A New Approach for Studying Social Issues" edited by Deng Zhenglai and Jeffery C. Alexander (1998), and "The Emerging of China's Civil Society and its Significance for Governance" edited by Yu Keping and Nora Sausmikat (2002), etc.

In addition, important Western literature about civil society, for example Habermas' "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society" (Habermas, J., 1962), "The Theory of Communicative Action" (Habermas, J., 1984) and John Keane's "Public Life and Late Capitalism: Towards a Socialist Theory of Democracy" (Keane, J., 1984) were translated and published in China in the 1990's. Invited by Chinese Social Science Institute and Goethe Institute in Beijing, the German scholar Jürgen Habermas visited China in April 2001. He was welcomed by many high officials including Li Tieying, member of China's Central Political Committee. During the 14-day-visit he made speeches at 6 famous institutes and universities. According to the comment in the website on The Chinese Social Science Institute, "the level of Habermas' visit could be compared to those by the British philosopher Bertrand Russell in 1919 and by the American philosopher John Dewey in 1920" [65]. In brief, the time from the beginning of the 1990's up to now is the prosperous period of civil society research in China, and this strongly reflects the will of China's government to "use the positive elements from world culture for reference". (Li T. Y.)

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Fig. 4-2
Habermas welcomed
by Political Committee
of the CCP in 2001

Influenced by this situation, the relationship between “civil society” and spatial development in China has also gained growing attention. Relevant literature includes “The City Image and the Spatial Rights of the Civil Society– the Analysis of the Chinese Urban Design” (Yang, Y., 2000), “The Role of the Chinese Planner and the Coming Thought of Civil Society” (He, D, 2003), “City Plaza – Public Space and Civil Society” by (Chen F., 2003) and more. Besides, the concepts closely related to civil society ideas like “citizen participation”, “community-based cooperation” and “civil rights”, which were rarely visible in Chinese planning literature before, started to appear in the contemporary planning discussions. In the article “The Transformation of China’s Modern Administrative Building” published in the magazine “T+A” (Zhang L. X., and Yang Y. L., 2004), three of the six key words are “public space”, “civil right idea” and “openness”. Since 1990, the Chinese Construction Ministry and State Environmental Protection Bureau have been putting forward new laws and policies for promoting citizen participation, and their main principals often address the issue of transparency and public involvement of administration in their public speeches.

Both the Chinese academia and authority have begun to value the idea of civil society as a supports of China’s society and culture development in the new era.

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4.2.2 The mode of civil society in contemporary China

To discuss how civil society in contemporary China should be understood, a brief review of the on-going societal change concerning the relationship between the governmental and non-governmental spheres is necessary. In general, such change has at least four major aspects:

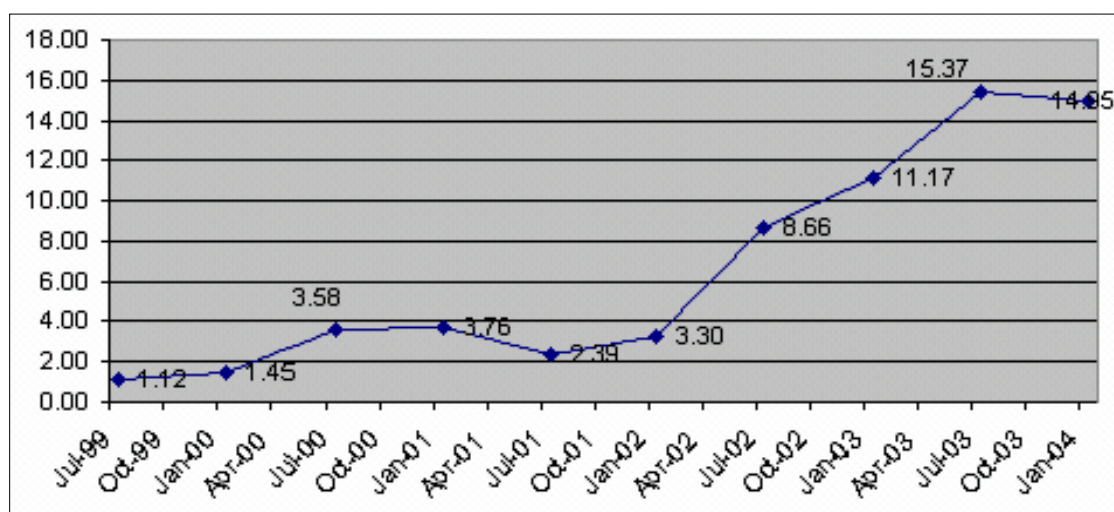
Firstly, with the implementation of the market-oriented reform, the boundary between the state and the individual is getting clearer. From the 1950's to 1970's, the state monopolised the economic sector, and all citizens must rely on the state for necessary economic resources. Also, the authority's intervention with systems like "Hukou" (urban and rural household registration), "Danwei" (urban work unit), etc. strongly constrained the freedom of people's individual choice. Since the implementation of Deng Xiaoping's reform, the scope and the extent of government control have been much reduced, laws and contracts are becoming the main measure for regulating the behaviour between the state and the citizens.

Nowadays, the citizens rely more and more on the market for acquiring working places, income, social status, service, etc., and the market has already been a main resource for the individuals apart from the state. With the increase of social and economic freedom of the individual, the citizens' self-organising and self-deciding realm is expanding. According to the research of Sun, this process is also strongly promoted by the rapid growth of the economic strength of the individual. By the end of 1990's, the savings of the individuals accounted about 3,000 billion RMB (c.a. 300 billion Euro), almost reached the sum of all state-owned assets. (Sun, L. P., 2004, pp.148) Also, the freedom of opinion and religion are growing, too. People can easily find plural voices on social and political affairs in daily life, and the amount of religion adherents raised from 1,727 million in the beginning of the 1950's to 3,218 million in 1991.[66]

The second aspect, which is closely related to the first one, is that the number and influence of registered and non-registered organisations is growing. There were only less than 6,000 social organisations in the 1950's, while by late 1993, there were already 1,460 at national level, 19,600 at the provincial and 160,000 at the county level.[67] The number of BBS (internet-based Bulletin Board System) increased from 11,200 in July 1999 to 153,700 in January 2004.[68] In China, many influential citizens' organisations are built due to the reform of the state departments and institutions, so they are still strongly influenced by the

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government. Besides, due to lack of voluntary finance, most social organisations rely more or less on the funds appropriated by the government. In contemporary China, the development of the social organisations is dependent on both the "bottom-up" initiatives of themselves and the "top-down" support of the state. Yet their influence is obvious by now; and they are increasingly gaining "power of speech" in the society. As John Friedmann also writes in his "China's Urban Transition" : "Urban China currently displays a remarkable capacity for self-organisation, reflected in the large number of civil organisations that are nominally under the super-vision of the party-state but are beginning to act with a growing sense of autonomy." (Friedmann, J., 2005, pp.121)



Tab. 4-1 Sum of BBS (Internet-based Bulletin Board System) members in China 1999-2004

As the third aspect, the cooperation between the government and non-governmental powers for providing the services, which have been traditionally offered by the government since 1949, has been continuously expanded. Such cooperation concerns a broad scope of domains such as consumers' rights, academic exchange, environmental protection, rescuing people in disaster areas, and care for the disadvantaged, and so on. The non-governmental participators include not only private firms and citizen's organisations, but also many individuals. Since of mid-1990's, private capital and management have been increasingly encouraged to enter the domain of constructing and running the municipal public utilities, which will be further discussed in the following part of this chapter.

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Fig. 4-3 The "Sun" schools built through the joint efforts of the government and the society

Last but not least, the state and economic life are highly intertwined, but are also being increasingly separated. In other words, the economic life in China is still greatly influenced by the state at present though people have gained more freedom than before. On one hand, many of the most important corporations in the market are state-owned or partly state-owned, while many others also have strong governmental ties. On the other hand, the governmental institutions often directly participate in the management of certain corporations, or influence the market processes with a broad scope of administrative interventions. Many influential Chinese scholars, including Wu Jinglian, one of the earliest advocates of China's market economy, argue that the excessive intervention of the local authority has greatly hindered the vitality of the market.[69] According to the present circumstances, it is not difficult to predict that the economy of China will not transform into a highly self-organising realm in the near future.

The emerging civil society in China is arousing the attention of the international media. For example, a recent article in *Der SPIEGEL*, a leading news magazine in Germany, discusses the interaction between state and diversified voluntary engagement of the citizens in China;(See Lorenz, A., 2006) Deutsche Welle published an article titled "The Seedling of China's Civil Society" on its Chinese internet site in September, 2006.

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With the new social change in China, the Chinese and overseas scholars start to argue that the concept of civil society – although it is rooted in the Western culture – is able to contribute to the discourse of the Chinese society and politics. Many scholars, including Yuan Zushe, Deng Zhenglai and Jing Yuejin, who belong to the initiators of civil society's study in China, support Cohen and Arato's "tripartite structure" (state- civil society- economy). (Deng, Z. L. and Jing, Y. J., 1992; Deng, Z. L., 1997; Yuan, Z. S., 2003) While another influential scholar Yu Keping regards civil society as "the realm of all non-governmental organisations and relationships". (Yu, K. P., 2002)

For the different understanding of civil society in China, Yu Keping argues:

"The concept of civil society defined according to political science emphasizes its 'civil' nature: civil society mainly consists of civil organizations which protect citizens' rights and political participation or civic engagement. The concept of civil society defined according to sociology emphasizes its 'intermediate' nature: civil society is the intermediate sector between the state and business enterprises." (Yu, K. P., 2002, pp.190)

The author attempts to formulate the definition of civil society from a more sociological perspective. **Chinese civil society, in this research, refers to the sphere of individuals, families and households, of citizen's organisations and public communications, and of the non-governmental body's non-for-profit involvement for the provision of public services between the state and the market.** It can be regarded as a Chinese interpretation of the concept of Cohen and Arato.

The "local" features of the Chinese civil society include: First, its rapid growth is largely due to the initial reduction of governmental control by the state. The civil society's sphere in China is gaining growing independence; however, in comparison with the reality of the Western civil societies defined by Habermas or Cohen and Arato, it is much more interwoven with the state institutions. Second, an "empowerment interaction" has already existed between the Chinese civil society and the government: the development of Chinese civil society is highly related with the support of the government, and in turn, the governmental capacity of managing public affairs is strongly promoted by the support of the civil society.

Based on the definition we deduced, we can find rich resources of civil society throughout the history of China.

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4.2.3 The resources of civil society in Chinese history

In the "the Empire of the Middle", although the whole nation was strictly under the strong control of the imperial court, emerging evidences shows that the quasi self-organising sphere between the state and the market also contributed strongly to the social order and public welfare. Before the founding of P. R. C. in 1949, such effort can at least be seen from the following five aspects:

1. The social order in counties during China's imperial era was usually conducted by both governmental officials and respected local squires, and this reflects a high sense of autonomy. The fundamental unit of the traditional Chinese administrative system was the county government "Yamen" (Chinese: 衙门), representing the court. However, the head of the Yamen, the magisters, usually stayed in the county centre and seldom went out to the countryside. Tax and security issues were the Yamen's main tasks; while the local squires (Chinese: 乡绅), who did not belong to the governmental institutions, were usually in charge of a large variety of local affairs, from intermediating family conflicts to mobilising people for building necessary infrastructure. For John Friedmann, this reflects the autonomy tradition in China's own culture. (Friedmann J., 2005, pp.98)

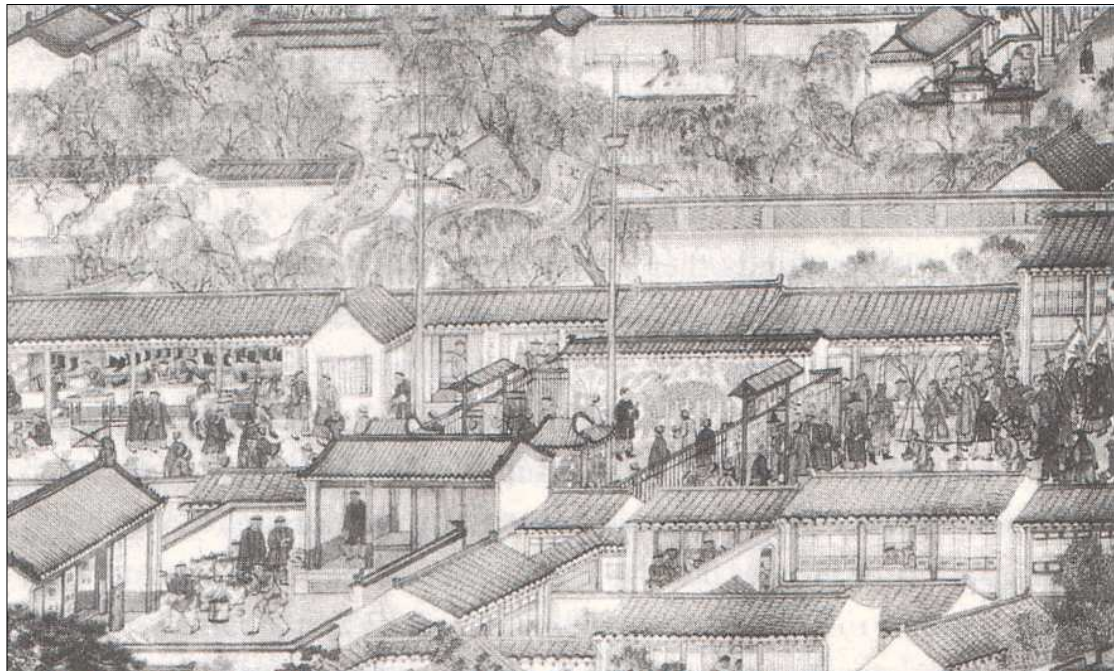


Fig. 4-4 Yamen, county government in ancient China

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2. In each dynasty of China's history, there wasn't a lack of the citizen's efforts for helping the poor or the disadvantaged. According to the recent study of M. S. Niu, The "village contracts" (Chinese: 乡约), brought forward by Lu Dajun during the Song Dynasty (960-1279AD), offered various aids for the truthfully poor and permitted them to pay back in the following years. Zhu Xi, one of the most influential Confucian scholars in ancient China, established the "county warehouses" (Chinese: 社仓) system, which not only provided the poor with help, but also offered entire villages, even the whole county a sense of economic security during years of natural calamity. (Niu, M. S., 2003). In the Republic of China (1912-1949), the Nationalistic government attempted to launch a "Cooperative Community" system, influenced by Germany, for redeveloping the rural economy, which was highly stricken by Imperialism's invasion and the lasting inland conflicts. A shared feature of the mentioned systems is that all were based on civilian's autonomous agreements.



Fig. 4-5
Zhu Xi, founder of
"county warehouse"
in Ming Dynasty

3. In ancient China, private academies (Chinese: 私学) played an important role in promoting education and research. Before the Qin dynasty (221–206BC), private academies built by civilians already existed besides the education institutions built by government. Confucius (551-479BC), also an initiator of private academy, insists "equal education regardless of origin". In the Song dynasty, the private academy almost achieved similar influence to the governmental academy.[70] Many scholars in famous academies of the Song and

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Ming Dynasty (1368-1644AD) set forth strong criticism on public affairs, which sometimes functioned as a "soft" restriction to the imperial authority. It is also apparent that officials took the scholars' advice or showed some self-restraint thanks to the academy's criticism. The debates between the scholars held at academies had a deep impact on Chinese Confucianism School and the political system of the Chinese Empire. Among them a famous one was the 3-day-debate between Zhu Xi and Zhang Shi and their students at the Yue Lu Academy in 1167, which had an attendance of more than 1,000 scholars from all over the nation. From the development the private academy we can also find some preliminary democratic practice. For example, there were regulations for election and the limited term of the master, as well as for students' participation in academy's management.



Fig. 4-6 "Yue Lu" academy founded by civilians during the Song Dynasty

4. From the end of 19th century to the 1930's, intellectuals in the Chinese cities often gathered to freely express their opinions on a broad range of political issues, with the Zhang Garden in Shanghai as one of the well-known places for holding such events. Usually being accessible for everyone and announced beforehand, the speeches in Zhang Garden often had broad participation. Many opinions set forth here were also published in Shanghai's new papers and spread nation-wide. In 1900, after knowing that the Empress Dowger Tz'u-Hsi (Chinese: 慈禧) was planning the abdication of the emperor Guang Xu, citizens in a total of

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1,231 gathered in Zhang Garden, signing together to inform Beijing that they opposed to choosing another heir. They claimed if Tz'u-Hsi went her own way, they would propose a nation-wide business and industrial strike. Eventually, Tz'u-Hsi was pressed to abolish the abrogation plan.[71] Zhang Garden can be seen as a model for "public sphere" (Habermas, J.) in China's own cultural history.

5. Throughout Chinese history, one can see a lot of voluntary efforts of successful businessmen in public affairs, such as education, rescuing victims of natural calamities, etc. From 1913, the entrepreneur Chen Jiageng invested in building institutions including county schools, kindergartens, hospitals, and libraries in Fujian Province. In 1924, he founded a "Department for Popularizing Education", which played a great role for constructing and maintaining 70 primary and middle schools in the whole province. In 1920, Chen initiated to build the Xiamen University, the first university in Fujian, and also the first university that accepted female students [72]. Chen maintained Xiamen University with his own money for 16 years and donated it to the government in the spring of 1937. Besides Chen's contributions, the "People Education Movement" by Tao in Jiangsu Province, "Village Construction Movement" by Liang in Shandong Province, the "Populace Education Movement" by Yan in Henan Province, etc. also gained high reputation.



Fig. 4-7 Xiamen University donated by Chen Jiageng

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This is only a brief review of five aspects on the civil participation in social affairs in China before the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. From 1949 to 1978, however, the influence of the civil society in China shrank greatly. Former independent social associations were disbanded or clamped down; many autonomous institutions or charity organisations were incorporated into governmental institutions. Through turning industry, agriculture, trade and handicraft branches into the public-owned system, the state became almost the only resource providing financial, working and educational opportunities for the citizen. Free market behaviour was forbidden, the economic status of citizens was designedly made average while property of many "capitalist" families was taken by the government. With the planned economy and ideological education, China established a system with a strong capability of "top-down" mobilisation. However, the citizen's own initiatives, unless supported by the government, faded mostly due to lack of necessary resource – in some sense, this also led to the decrease of people's autonomous consciousness.

Let's take an example from China's capital Beijing. A survey taken in the 1950's shows that only 5% of the old residences in Beijing could be categorised as "endangered building". Before 1978's reform the government's investment in housing renovation was far less than necessary and Beijing had only finished several mini-type template projects like the "Longxugou Reconstruction". Besides, individual households were lacking necessary funds and technical support for self-aiding maintenance. A storm in 1974 caused the collapse of more than 4,000 residences (see Fang, K., 1999, pp.138), showing how serious the problem of Beijing's aging housing was at that time.

During this period of time, efforts for seeking self-organising and autonomy by civil society were also visible. In 1972, the well-known Italian left-wing director Michelangelo Antonioni, invited by Jiang Qing, Mao's wife and a major figure of the Culture Revolution, filmed a temporary market in his famous work "Chung Kuo" (China), where people took poultry and home-made food to exchange with each other secretly with uneasiness. Such trade behaviour was almost illegal then, but people organized it all around the country. Antonioni's "Chung Kuo" belongs to the few existing film records focusing on citizen's daily life in China during the Cultural Revolution.

In December 1978, 13 farmers were determined to "risk their lives" for cultivating the land independent to "the People's Commune" in Xiaogang Village, Fengyang county of Anhui province. "If the trial fails," they wrote in the contract, "we cadres are prepared for death or

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prison punishments, and other commune members pledge to raise our children until they are 18 years old, becoming adults." Their brave action was given high attention by the central government, and later Deng Xiaoping pushed such measures nation-wide, lifting the curtain for a great reform of Chinese agriculture. Today, the contract signed with the peasants' bloody finger print is on display at the Chinese Revolution Museum, and CCTV, the official channel of China's central government, praises it as "cradle of China's household contract responsibility system".[73] This event shows that the citizen's creativity and initiative do have the power to promote the development both of themselves and the state.

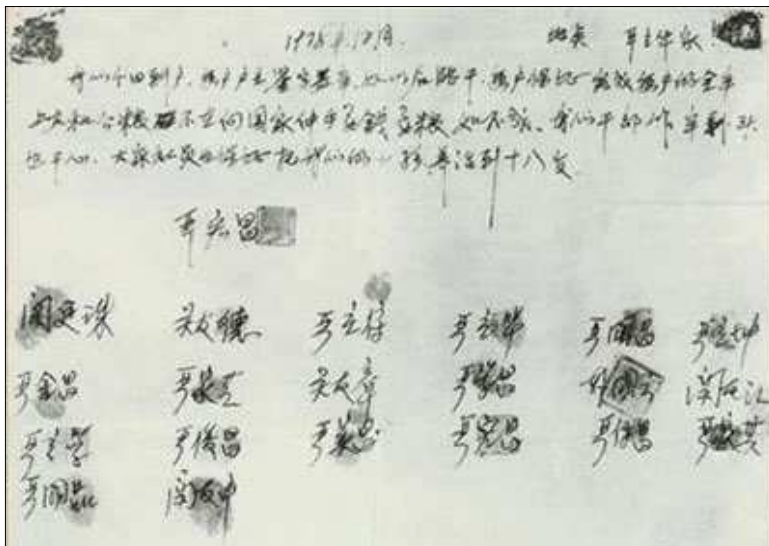


Fig. 4-8
Contract signed by the
peasants of Xiaogang
village in 1978



Fig. 4-9
Yan Juncang (left),
initiator of the
Xiaogang event

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There is plenty of evidence that the autonomous tradition of the citizens has never vanished in China. Although it was often concealed by the seemingly all-encompassing interventions of the state. The study on China's own culture and resources of civil society is able to enrich the depth of the global civil society dialog, and more important, they help promote citizen's self-consciousness for the "renaissance" of the civil society in contemporary China.

4.3 Civil society's participation in planning theory

Back to urban planning. According to the "China-oriented" definition formulated by this thesis, there are three main "sub-spheres" of the civil society: 1) the sphere of the individual, family and household, 2) the sphere of the citizens' organisations, public communications and social movements, as well as 3) the sphere of the non-governmental bodies' involvement for the provision of public services. Civil society's participation in planning, in this research, refers to the participation of these three sub-spheres in a broad scope of planning-related issues. Generally, such participation can be observed in two categories in planning Theory in two categories:

- a. citizen involvement for decision-making of planning
- b. public-private partnership for funding and managing

It is necessary to point out that the public-private partnerships without the involvement of the non-for-profit efforts of private bodies do not belong to civil society's participation mentioned in this thesis.

What are the main distinctions between these two categories? On one hand, the scope of civil society's input is different. For the first category, the input is usually limited to immaterial resources – information, knowledge, etc.; while for the second category, the input also includes material resources, especially monetary and facility investment. On the other hand, the former usually happens during the formulation of planning, while the latter can happen during each phase of planning – from formulation, to facilitation, to realisation. In reality, however, these two categories of participation can also overlap with each other.

As planning practices world-wide have shown, the particular planning knowledge of a certain region often has instructive or referential value for other regions. It makes sense for this research work to review the relevant studies of planning theory, although some of them "grow" from a much different social and political background as that of China.

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4.3.1 Citizen involvement for decision-making

Before the 1940's, the Modern Movement of architecture did not support the participation of citizens in the practice of architectural design or urban planning. The Athens Charter (Le Corbusier, 1941) states that "the ruthless violence of private interest provokes a disastrous upset between the thrust of economic forces... and the powerlessness of social solidarity" (Principle 73). And, it also argues that "private interest will be subordinate to the collective interest" (Principle 95). Since the 1950's, Western planning theory has placed increasing importance on citizen participation for the decision-making of planning.



Fig. 4-10 Lisa VeneKlasen and Valerie Miller's cartoon
on Advocacy Planning

In 1962, Davidoff and Reiner published "A Choice Theory of Planning". They argue that planners should not make the choice for the public, since the value and judgement of planners can not represent that of the public. The target of planning should be to expand the choice of the public but not restrain it. (Davidoff P. and Reiner T., 1962) Based on this concept, Davidoff published "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning" in 1965 and states that diversified demands, wills and values of citizens should be integrated in urban planning. The urban plan must be made through the communication and negotiation among different social groups. For him, planning is a political process for resolving a broad scope of social problems, and the participation of the disadvantaged should be especially promoted. The involvement

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of citizens' organisations would improve both the quality of planning decision and the effectiveness of planning institutions. In the planning process, planners should function as "advocators", "defenders" and "representatives" of the interests of diversified social groups, like lawyers. (Davidoff, P., 1965)

In 1969, Arnstein published "The Ladder of Citizen Participation". She defines citizen participation as "the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future". (Arnstein, S. R., 1969, pp.351) For her, citizen participation can be analysed in eight rungs and three levels like a ladder, with each rung representing the extent of the citizens' power in determining the end planning result.

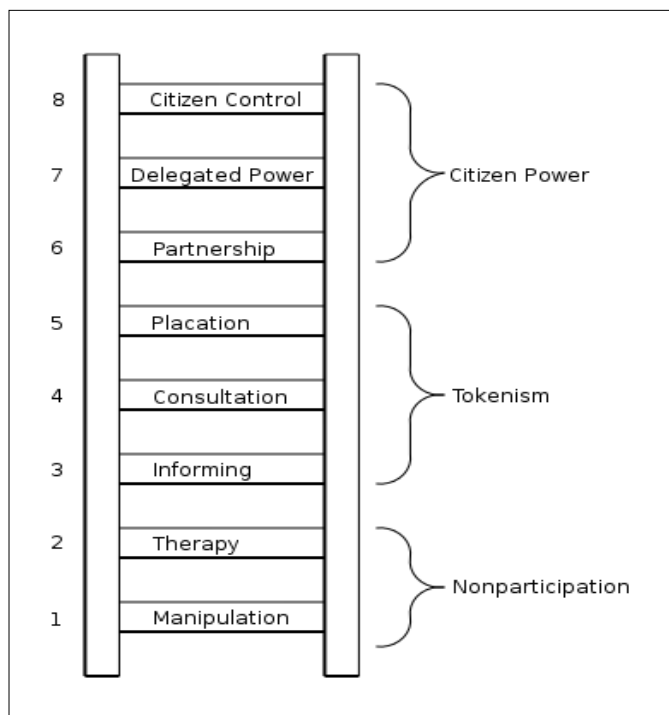


Fig. 4-11
Arnstein's Ladder of
Citizen Participation

The first two rungs of the ladder are the levels "Manipulation" and "Therapy" in the category of Non-participation. The real objectives of these two levels "are not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting programs, but to enable power holders to 'educate' or 'cure' the participants". (pp.360) Two levels above are "Informing" and "Consultation" of the level of "tokenism", through which the citizens can symbolically get planning information

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and present their opinion, but they can not influence how their opinions are accepted by the powerful. The fifth level, "Placation", means that the powerholders allow the public to produce advice, but still hold the right of decision-making. The highest category is "Citizen Power", which includes 3 levels, namely Partnership, Delegated Power and Citizen Control. Partnership enables the public to make negotiations and build consensus with traditional power holders. Through Delegated Power and Citizen Control, the have-not citizens "obtain the majority of decision-making seats, or full managerial power". (Arnstein, S. R., 1969, pp.361)

Arnstein's study also shows that different levels of citizen participation are closely related to the democratic process of political life, and that the reallocation of power plays an important role in the practice of citizen participation in planning. The contributions of Davidoff and Arnstein laid a very important foundation for the further discussion of citizen participation in planning theory.

In 1977, some influential architects, planners and scholars from both developed and developing countries met in an international conference in Peru and approved the "Charter of Machu Picchu". This charter states: "The objective of planning in general, including economic planning, urban planning and design, and architecture, is ultimately the interpretation of human needs and the realisation of appreciated urban forms and service for people in a context of opportunity. Such planning requires a continuous and systematic process of interaction among the design professions, the people of the cities and their common political leadership." [74]

Since the end of the 20th century, planning theory has been strongly influenced by the progress of social and political ideas, including those of Habermas, Castells, Lefebvre, Giddens, etc. Highly inspired by Habermas' "The Theory of Communication Action", John Forester states in his "Planning in the Face of Power" (Forester, J., 1980, pp.277):

"By recognizing planning practice as normatively role-structured communication action which distorts, covers up, or reveals to the public the prospects and possibilities they face, a critical theory of planning aids us practically and ethically as well. This is the contribution of critical theory to planning: pragmatics with version – to reveal true alternatives, to correct false expectations, to counter cynicism, to foster inquiry, to spread political responsibility, engagement, and action. Critical planning practice, technically skilled and politically sensitive, is an organising and democratizing practice."

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Scholars including Forester, Healy, Sager, Innes, etc. set forth a new theory of "Communicative Planning" through their rich contributions in the 1980's and 1990's. They believe planning as a "communicative action and interactive practice". The main idea of the "Communicative Planning" include:

a. Planning is best understood as a communicative action rather than analysis for power holders, and it should be based on the consensus of a broad scope of participants. An essential object of planning is to enable efficient dialog between people on planning-related issues. (Sager, T., 1994, Innes, J. E., 1995) Besides routine planning instruments, people's value, experience, tradition and customs can also contribute to planning results through communicative processes. (Forester, J., 1993)

b. Communication in planning is a learning process of all participants. It helps participants adjust or clarify their former ideas, and conceive joint concepts. The dialog and interaction between the participants can not only articulate different interest and make compromises, but also improve participants' understanding and build realistic and mutually beneficial planning decisions. (Forester, J., 1993; Innes, J. E., 1998)

c. Planners should shift from the former role as "elite" for the power holders to the role as experts serving for all planning participants. To enable efficient communication in planning, planners should function to organise dialog, facilitate consensus-building, mediate conflicts and negotiate different values; they have the duty to protect the interests of all groups in the society, including the less powerful ones (Forester, J., 1989; Healy, P., 1997)

Recently, the theory of "collaborative Planning" has been addressed by some former theorists of communicative planning. (Healy, P., 1997; Innes, J. E. and Booher, D. E., 2000) Innes and Booher argue:

"...three conditions govern the relationship of agents in a collaborative network: diversity, interdependence, and authentic dialogue (DIAD). When these conditions are met, the participants in the network can develop adaptive innovations that were not apparent or even open to them as individual agents. Like a complex adaptive system, the DIAD network as a whole is more capable of learning and adaptation in the face of fragmentation and rapid change than a set of disconnected agents... As a result, they are enabled to act both independently and cooperatively for mutual benefit without central direction." (Innes, J. E. and Booher, D. E., 2000, pp.3)

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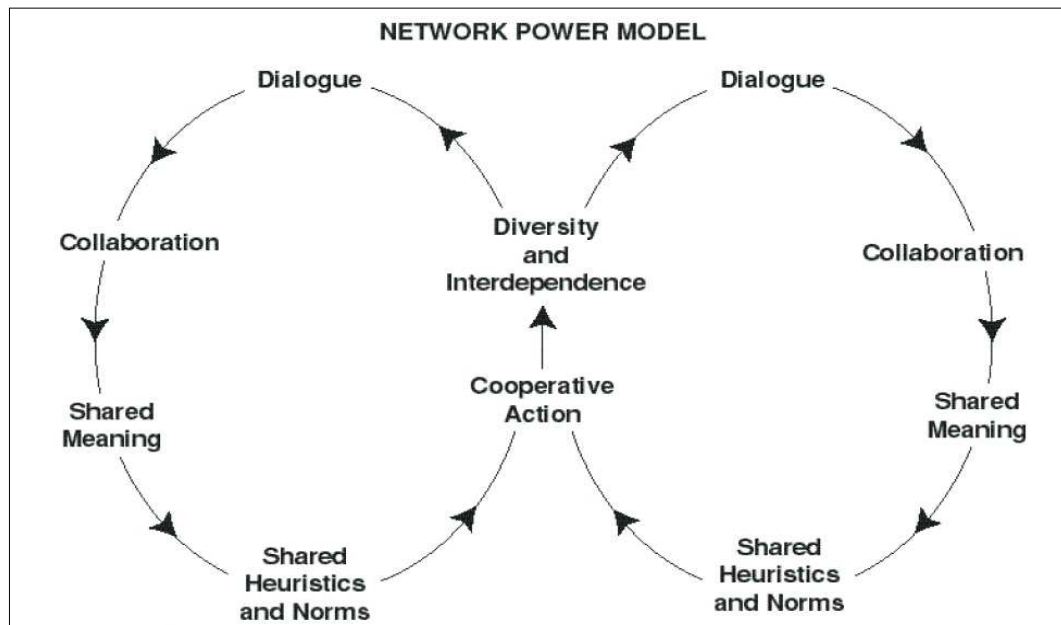


Fig. 4-12 Innes and Booher's model of "Collaborative Planning"

For Innes and Booher, the precondition of efficient collaboration is that participants have become aware that their interests are dependent on the behaviours of others and there is a kind of reciprocity among them. Based on the principle of reciprocity, the diversity of participants provides a wide range of resources, information, personalities, experiences, and opinions as materials for improving planning. Through dialog and self-organising in a sense of authenticity, people can develop cooperative actions and reach the objectives of both the collective and the individual. (Innes, J. E. and Booher, D. E., 2000, pp.17)

Why has there been a productive development of participative planning theory since the 1950's? At least two reasons should be mentioned. Firstly, the left-wing criticism of state intervention, the rise of liberalism ideology and the growth of civil rights movements in the west have impacted many aspects of the society including the planning domain. Secondly, since the massive urban renewal had induced severe social and economic problems and continuous protest of the citizens, many planners and scholars rejected the technocratic ideas and "top-down" planning mode, and turned to cooperating with the citizens.[75]

With such theoretical developments and also with the continuous promotion of planners, politicians, social workers as well as citizen participants since the 1950's, following ideas have become shared consciousness in planning practice of many developed countries:

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a. Planning should enable broad communicative and cooperative activity between the "stakeholders" including government, planners, investors, citizen groups and the residents who might be influenced by the planning result, and planning decision should be based on the consensus of people, and respect the diversity of people's interests.

b. The value and judgement of planners can not represent all people. For providing a consensus-building platform of all involved, planners should act as mediators, coordinators or facilitators of the involved parties. They should not only function as technical specialists but also as experts solving conflicts of different interests and opinions.

For citizen participation in the decision-making process of planning, the potential of improving planning performance include:

a. It enables urban planning to obtain the information and knowledge of the civil society to better identifying the targets and raising solutions;

b. It helps the citizens of diversified social groups, including the less powerful ones, to influence the planning result by their own efforts thus promoting social justice;

c. It provides the opportunities for the interactive learning between the government and the citizens thus expanding the capacities and the motivation of each involved and of the whole;

d. It promotes the local identity and people's responsibility to their urban space; etc.

The following will discuss the public-private partnership with the involvement of voluntary efforts of the private bodies as the other category of civil society's participation in urban planning.

4.3.2 Public-private partnership for funding and managing

The PPP practice for improving urban environment has already a long tradition in many European nations, and for some scholars, it is even recognised as the "quintessential vehicle" to implement and deliver urban regeneration. (Berry, J. S.) In "Public-Private Partnerships: Improving Urban Life", Perry Davis argues the concept of PPP is generally utilized in three levels. First, broadly speaking, any arrangements involving public and private sectors for the provision of public utilities and services; second, the multilateral and partly privatized infrastructure projects; third, the cooperation between enterprises, individuals and the local government for improving urban conditions (Davis, P., 1986).

Although the definition of PPP varies much in literatures and official statements,[76] PPP

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programs share some common features, including:

- a. They contain more than two partners, one from the public and one from the private sphere at least. (NHS, 1999)
- b. Each participant is a principle capable of bargaining on behalf of itself. The right of decision-making is shared by all participants rather than monopolized by the powerful. (Bennett, R. J. and Krebs, G., 1991)
- c. Each participant shares the responsibilities, and must make its own contributions to the cooperative project through transferring material or immaterial resources into it. (Colin, K., 1998)

The public participants in the PPP program often encompass the central or local authority, various other public institutions like state-owned transportation companies, museums, universities and so on. The private participants include both the profit motivated and the non-for-profit bodies - private enterprises, voluntary associations, public-interest groups, community-based organisations and individual citizens. The particular operation of the PPP is closely associated with the consensus built by the public sector, the market and the civil society.

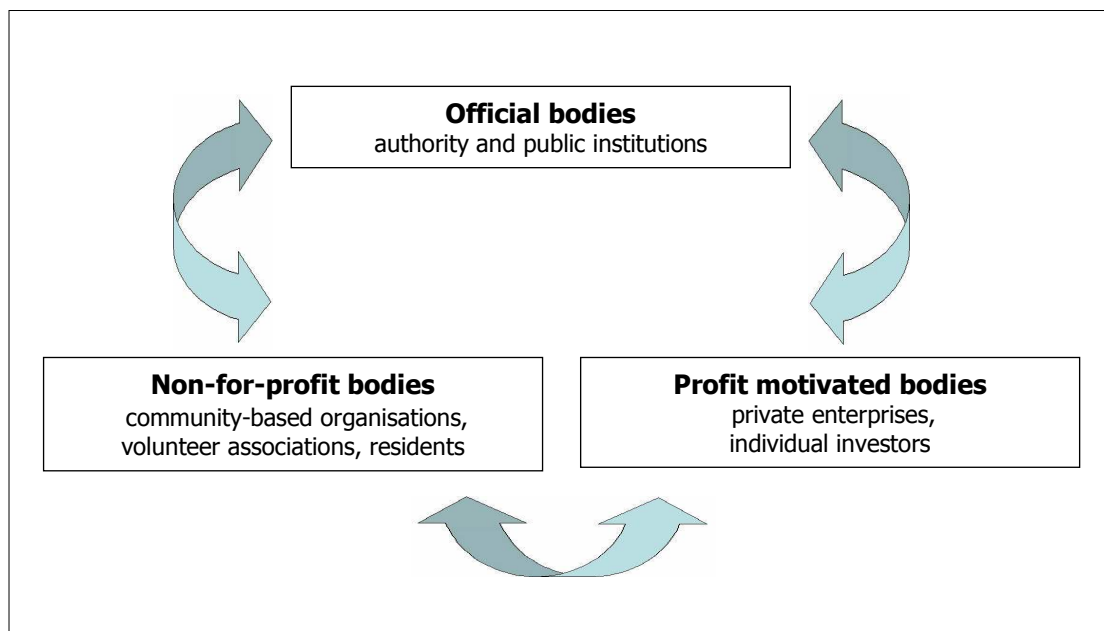


Fig. 4-13 Main bodies of the PPP with civil society's participation

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The PPP practices represent a category of participation of civil society in planning issues, and refers to those that involve non-for-profit efforts of the individual citizens, citizens' organisations and private enterprises. The PPPs only formed by the government and private enterprises, who pursue commercial profit from the market, do not include the participation of civil society.

The following will discuss those PPPs as the participation of civil society in the planning domain in two categories, one on the community level and another above the community level.

4.3.2.1. PPP on the community level

A precondition of such PPP program is that the government offers resources, such as monetary investment, credit, technical guidance and training, etc., to the "end users" - the community and the residents - for promoting their self-helping capacity. Although PPP is an imported term for China's modern planning, comparable concepts have already existed in the Chinese culture. As mentioned before, with the coordination of local elites, many infrastructure projects in old Chinese towns and villages were built through the joint efforts of the local "Yamen" authority and the populace. (See pp.94)

Since the end of World War II, the community level PPP has gained growing attention by the United Nations. In 1976, the Vancouver Declaration of the First United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (UNCHS, 1976) stated, "Adequate shelter and services are a basic human right which places an obligation on governments to ensure their attainment by all people, beginning with direct assistance to the least advantaged through guided programmes of self-help and community action" (General Principle 8). In 1996, the Istanbul Declaration Settlements of the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements stated, "we adopt the enabling strategy and the principles of partnership and participation as the most democratic and effective approach for the realization of our commitments" (UNCHS, 1996). Through the efforts of UN, self-help practices have been widely promoted to improve the community's living conditions in many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Then, how have the community-based PPP's functioned for improving the residents' environment?

Let's first look at the disadvantages of the conventional government-led housing renewal. In developed countries like the USA, as Jane Jacobs' study shows, the large-scale housing renewal dominated by the government presents a series of problems: it costs much

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and contributes little; it actually never reduces slums but moves the slums to other places, usually causing new slums on a larger scale; capital flows into the speculative estate market more easily, which negatively influences the urban economy. Moreover, such housing renewal in inner city often greatly threatens the existing economic vitality and the cultural identity. (Jacobs, J., 1964) Christopher Alexander claims, while a great amount of capital flows into large-scaled housing projects, other areas are often faced with continuous deterioration due to the lack of stable investment (Alexander, C., 1975). For many developing countries, "The first attempts to solve the housing problem... particularly in the 1960's and 1970's, were to copy Europe and begin to build public housing. This rapidly stalled as it became clear it would not provide a hundredth of what was needed. It is estimated that no more than a hundred thousand dwellings were built in developing countries, and most of those went to government employees, such as police or teachers." (UNCHS, 1999) Many other studies since 1950's also show that government-led housing initiatives are often insufficient, and even lead to high social costs. (Abrams, C., 1955; Wates, N., 1976; Fang, K., 2000)

Centre for Minimum Cost Housing of McGill University (CMCH), Canada argues, the real effect of a renewal project is usually highly related to how the funds are used rather than how much the sum of the funds is; and the most effective way for improving the community's housing condition is to let the residents decide how to use the funds and participate in the project themselves [77].

Let's shift to infrastructure. In the city Karachi, the Pakistani social scientist Akhtar Hameed Khan established a training program "Orangi Pilot Project" helping citizens to lay community drainage pipelines on their own with the cooperation of the government. Inspiring effects were shown quickly and the local residents acknowledged that their own contribution make a better community environment possible. As a result, this program is welcomed by the whole city, and many small companies and experts for sewer construction emerge. From 1980 to 1992, the local residents built a sewer system connecting 72,000 households and made a contribution of over 2 million USD to the city.[78] Meanwhile, the "Orangi Pilot Project" also extends the domains to family planning, credit and savings for small enterprises, upgrading of physical and academic conditions of local schools, and women's participation in development.[79]

From the aspect of housing and infrastructure we can see that community-based re-

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newal is able to prolong the existing urban texture and neighbourhood life, help preserve the city's identity and prevents many social problems like marginalising the poor or destroying the existing economic vitality, social structure, and cultural livelihood, which large-scaled renewal projects often produce.

Also, for two reasons the community-based PPP model is an instrument for improving the urban economy. Firstly, it helps the city provide cheap rent for the labour force, thus reducing the production cost for enterprises and enhancing the urban competitiveness; secondly, community-based renewal in historical areas help the government save the preservation budget, and create new attractions for both the "creative class" (Florida, R.) and the tourism industry.

4.3.2.2 PPP above community level

Usually, the construction and maintenance of public utilities above community level are provided by "public enterprises", in other words, the government is the direct producer of such services. People have already recognised that this mode often has the disadvantages like lack of sufficient coverage, low efficiency, rarely bringing back the high investments, etc. However, the operation of public utilities through the private sector might reduce the service quality, result in the "gentrification" of some services, and minimize innovations for saving the costs or maximizing the profit. Through the PPP program, planning service of the city can be strengthened by the initiatives of the society, including the efforts of private enterprises or investors as well as various citizen's organizations, voluntary groups and individuals. In practice, the public-private-partnership in public utilities has covered a broad domain of planning, including water and gas supply, garbage and sewerage disposals, public transportation and communication utilities, etc.

Among diversified forms of the PPP, Lease-build-operate/buy-build-operate (LBO/BBO) and build-transfer-operate (BTO) are two usual forms in developed countries for providing infrastructure. The LBO/BBO form means that private bodies – some times including individuals through issuing stock - lease or buy infrastructures from the government and then restructure, expand and operate the infrastructure via franchise; it can charge the users and meanwhile, pay franchise fees to the government. The BTO form determines that private bodies invest in building new infrastructure while the ownership belongs to the public. The private constructors have a period of operating right (usually about 20 to 40 years) for the utilities and they can charge the users during this period.[80] Although measures like LBO/

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BBO and BTO often means "partly privatization" in practice, the related utilities keep their nature of public use and they must run according the consensus between the public and the private partners.[81]

Besides the provision of physical infrastructures through LBO/BBO, BTO, etc., the PPP above community level also includes the cooperation between the public institutions and citizen organizations for providing various profit or non-for-profit services, including monitoring the environment, traffic problems, assisting the handicapped in public spaces and so on. For unpredictable or emergent events in cities, voluntary groups' involvements are usually as effective as the actions taken alone by the governmental, and this has been observed in Osaka-Kobe Earth-quake in Japan, the 9.11. Terror Attack in the USA, and the recent Tsunami in South-east Asia, etc.

The advocacy of PPP is one of the key issues of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). UNDP encourages the private-owned institutions with public functions and principles to establish new partnerships with public sectors, and enhance their operational transparency and reliability. (UNDP, 2002) In the West, Toledo's Riverfront Developments in the USA and IBA Emscher Park in Germany are two recent prominent examples for the PPP programs in urban planning.

In the first project, the government employed flexible financing methods for investment of a total of more than 1 billion USD from private sectors and of about 12 million from the state. The public private investment ratio reaches 10:1. The government, private enterprises and non-profit organizations co-founded a leadership institution and encouraged the common citizens to participate in making the development policy. Through the joint efforts, the former parking lots and wasted construction areas have been restructured to a pedestrian park and multi-functional area of 15 acres. This project has not only protected the natural environment, enhanced the leisure function of the area, but also created many employment opportunities for local residents and brought sustainable financial incomes for the government.[82]

In Germany, "International Construction Exhibition" (IBA) is an influential semi-public and semi-private agency, and involves not only the city governments but also many private enterprises and non-government organizations. Since the 1990's, IBA has put much effort into the integration and coordination of the official and non-official participation for the

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spatial revitalization on a regional level, as Hassenpflug mentions, "...the directory of IBA acts as a broker and facilitator in a multi-stakeholder development process in order to balance different interests by focussing them on jointly agreed projects" (Hassenpflug, D., 2005). During the IBA Emscher Park project from 1989 to 1999, over 17 German municipal governments participated in the planning as cooperative partners. In the whole Ruhr Area, approximately 120 projects of different scales were implemented, and the former industrial landscape of the Emscher River valley turned into a vivid gallery presenting modern design and art. Promoted by IBA, people rediscover the aesthetics and functional value of industrial heritages in the Ruhr Area. (Sieverts, T., 1991) The IBA Emscher Park project has not only contributed much to the regional image, but also stimulates the tourism industry, as well as meeting the rising demands of the "creative class" (Florida, R.) for urban space.

Also, since the planning of IBA Emscher Park, many informal planning elements, i.e. the participation of the society are integrated in constitutional governmental planning, and the traditional distinction between the "functional planning" and "flexible planning" in Germany has been weakening.

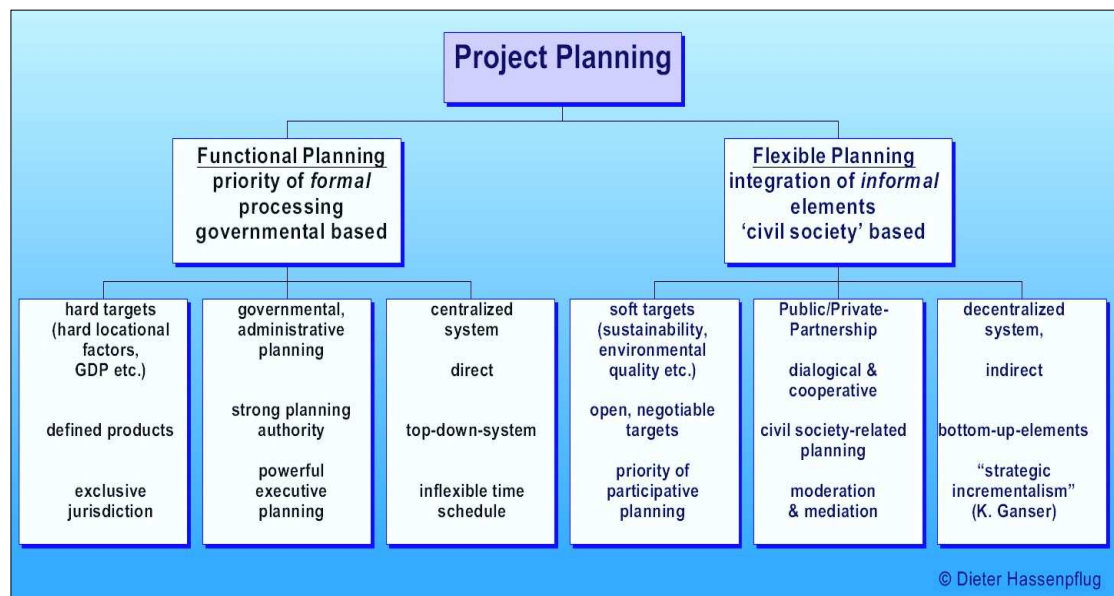


Fig. 4-14 The difference between functional planning and flexible planning (Hassenpflug, D., 2005)

On the difference of the two forms of planning in the West, Hassenpflug argues, functional planning tends to interpret public goods as prior concessions for more quantitative

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development; flexible planning, in contrast, aims at promoting soft location factors like environmental quality, cultural services and all that is indispensable for improving living conditions beyond things like income, infrastructure etc. "While functional planning answers the question 'what do we need?' in an administrative manner for the collective, flexible planning answers the question 'what do we like?' in a participatory manner by cooperating with elements of civil society." (Hassenpflug, D., 2005, pp.8)

Generally, the PPP mode, either on community level or above the community level, has the following advantage:

- a. It is able to release the financial pressure of the public sector, widens the scope and quality of governmental service;
- b. It is able to integrate the knowledge of the non-governmental sphere thus reducing the risks of investment and management which are traditionally taken by public sectors;
- c. It is able to spread technical training for personnel through all participants, thus strengthening both public sector's governance and society's self-organising ability;
- d. It is able to strengthen the responsibility of the involved people to the space or the project that they contribute to; etc.

Both of these two categories of the participation of the "third power" in planning, namely citizen participation in decision-making and PPP in funding and managing, can also be the constructive instruments for experimental planning programmes. Private enterprises and voluntary organizations are able to be proper partners for the government to carrying out such efforts. Successful experiments can benefit, and failed experiments won't harm the whole society. This has a special practical meaning for cities under population and employment pressure in developing countries like China.

Are Chinese political and legal environments open to civil society's participation in planning practice? This will be discussed in the following section.

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4.4 Civil society's participation in China's law and political statements

Among the great changes occurring on all levels of the country since 1978's reform, one important change is that the government gradually reduced the scope and degree of its intervention in public affairs, thus expanding the self-organising capacity of the non-governmental spheres, which is officially called "societal sphere" (Chinese: 社会领域). Already in the mid-80's, the central government started the so-called "small government, large society" effort aimed toward mobilizing the strength outside the government to participate in the management of the economy and social life. Following this, the politics of China have continuously made progress for civil society's participation in the planning-related issues.

4.4.1 Citizen participation in the decision-making of planning

The Law on Urban Planning of P. R. China (1990 version) regulates that "the municipal government shall proclaim the urban planning once it has been approved" (Rule 28). This is the first national planning law mentioning public informing since 1949.[83]

"The Methods of Shandong Province Implementing the Law on Urban Planning of P. R. China", which has been put in practice since 1991, states: "The government shall widely consult the citizens and experts for compiling urban plan, different planning proposals shall be compared, and economy and technique issues shall be openly examined." (Rule 12) This statement extended public involvement from informing to compiling procedure in urban planning, presenting an earlier example of participation in local law.[84]

On the Beijing Planning Conference hold on September 11th, 2000, Yu Zhengsheng (Minister of Chinese Construction Ministry 1998-2001 and former mayor of Qingdao 1989-1994) argued:

"Urban planning is related to public interests. If only relied on the minority handling urban planning, planning can easily deviate from the right direction and may cause damages to the environment, natural scenery and cultural heritage. Without public involvement it will be hard to protect the substantial public interests. Thus, public involvement in compiling and implementing process of planning must be strengthened, which also includes supervising the municipal government and the mayor".[85]

In 2000, the Chinese Construction Ministry issued application and selection method for National Living Environment Awards, and "community management and public involvement"

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was one of the 18 selecting criteria.

In April 2006, the Chinese Construction Ministry amended "Compiling Methods for Urban Planning" issued in September 1991, regulating that urban planning should adhere to the rule of "governmental organization, professional leading, departmental cooperation, public participation, and scientific decisions".[86] This was the first appearance of the term "participation" in national law on urban planning in the P. R. China.

To expand the degree of public participation on Legislation, on April 22nd, 2004, the Chinese State Council issued "Implementation Program for Promoting Legal Administration". It regulates:

"Administrative departments should openly and attentively collect opinions from citizens, judicial persons and other organizations except for confidential national information, business secrets and privacy information; legal process should be strictly followed; citizen's rights of knowing-how should be protected... The governmental administrative system should integrate public involvement and professional examination to ensure the quality of decision-making." [87]

This "Implementation Program" issued by the Chinese State Council put forward requests for public involvement on national and local legislation, and it is an important law for enhancing participation-related legislation in urban planning.

At the National Construction Conference hold in September 2005, Wang Guangtao, present Minister of Chinese Construction Ministry, states:

"The content and method of formulating urban master plan need improvement; planning requires wide consultation of relevant departments, expansion of public participation and enhancement of transparency. Every province should establish planning consultation system including expert meeting and citizen involvement in its cities and counties. Those cities whose urban master plan are approved by the State Council should expand their scope of transparent planning administration on the internet, make the planning information available for the citizens, and build effective channels for public supervision. Other cities should also gradually start this work." [88]

The China Council for International Cooperation on Environment and Development, which was established in 1992 by the State Council of the Government of China to support the cooperation between China and the international community in the fields of environment

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and development, stated in its Fourth Meeting of the Third Phase hold in November, 2005: "As China makes the transition to a market economy, it needs to choose what to control and what to leave to the markets to address; it also needs to build platforms for public participation and for addressing human rights. Transparency and public involvement are the best watchdogs against bribery and corruption", and, "A revision of the Law on Urban Planning is recommended whereby there is support for the concerted development of big, medium and small cities and towns, there is added stipulation for public participation in urban planning, and there is no contradiction with other relevant laws... Public participation in decision-making for urban planning, as well as for transportation infrastructures should be promoted." [89] These arguments show that the Chinese central government is aware of the role of public participation as the "watch dog" for planning administration and the necessity to enhance it through the planning laws.

On February 14th, 2006, the State Council published "Decisions on Scientific Development of Enhancing Environmental Protection". It states that "(the authority) should implement the publishing system of the environmental quality, regularly publish the environmental protection index of each province and city... inform environmental accidents in time and create a public participation mechanism." [90]

The State Environmental Protection Administration of China (SEPAC) officially published "Temporary Public Involvement Measures for Environmental Evaluation" on March 14th, 2006. This requires that the public's right of knowing the information should be protected, and the participation of every stakeholder should be mobilized. Firstly, it particularly regulates that the construction institution and environmental protection department are obliged to make the environmental information available to the public and consult the public. The forms of public participation - public survey, professional consultations, hearings and demonstration meetings should be implemented. Secondly, it defines the requirements for the 3 stages of information publication: at the beginning stage of the Environmental Evaluation (EE), the construction institution should publish the name of the project and relevant information; at the developing stage of the EE, the construction institution should publish the information of scope, degree and main precautionary measures of possible influences to the environment; at the final stage of Examination and Approval (EA), it requires that the construction institutions should attach the explanations about either admissions or rejections of the public opinions to the EA report. Vice Minister of the SEPAC, Pan Yue, proclaimed that it is the first official document on public participation in the Chinese environmental protection

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field, which abides by the rule of publicity, equality, wide range, and convenience.[91]

In brief, since the 1990's, China's government has started to attach importance to the involvement of the citizens in planning-related administration, and the main purposes of this new change include enhancing the transparency of the administration and ensuring the channel of public advice and supervision. Although such progress has not yet started to enable the citizens "share the power" with the authority, the citizens are getting more power of speaking in the planning.

4.4.2 PPP for funding and managing

Since the mid-1990's, some local governments have been trying a cooperative model of using non-governmental investment to develop public utilities in order to overcome the long-time difficulties of governmental investment of public facilities. Since 2000, the central government, especially those administrative departments mainly in charge of investment and urban construction, took a further step by publishing policies and regulations, and encouraged non-public-owned capital to be used for the construction, exercise and management of the municipal public utilities.

Wang Guangtao, present minister of the Chinese Construction Ministry, spoke at the national construction conference in February, 2002, that "in order to implement the policy of expanding domestic demand and accelerating development of construction work, management reform of urban infrastructure and municipal public facilities should be enhanced... (the city should) mobilize urban infrastructure assets to raise funds for financing urban construction." [92]

Later, the Chinese Ministry of Construction officially published "Concessionary Administration Measures of Municipal Public Projects" on May 1st, 2004. It regulates that the government has the right to select investors and administrators for municipal public utilities through competition, defines the rules of administrating a product of municipal public utilities or providing a service, including water, gas, heating supply, public traffic, sewage treatment and waste disposal in the city. An evaluation committee should be organized; examinations and approvals should be done legally; the receiver of the concessionary right should be selected through inquiries and competitive examinations. The results of the bid should be shown to the public for at least 20 days. It regulates that enterprises are not allowed to abuse the concessionary right to administrate by transferring or leasing, and are also not allowed to abuse the public assets by disposing or mortgaging. It is stipulated that the time

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limitation of concessionary right to administrate should not exceed 30 years.[93]

In October, 2003, the Plenary of the Communist Party of China approved "Decisions on Several Issues about Improving the Socialist Market Economic System", which addresses:

- a. The access of non-state capital to unrestricted infrastructure facilities, public utilities and other fields should be supported.
- b. The reform of state-monopolized industries should be accelerated; market access to such industries should be enabled, and competition mechanism should be established.
- c. The railway, postal and urban public utilities reform should be sped up and be supervised effectively.[94]

The Government Work Report given by China's present Premier Wen Jiabao at the Second Session of the 10th National People's Congress on March 5th, 2004, stated: "Market-oriented reform of municipal public utilities must be promoted... further studies should be made for the realistic methods to encourage non-state-owned enterprises to join reorganization and reconstruction processes of state-owned enterprises and to enter the field of infrastructure, public utilities and other industries." [95]

A State Council's document, "Supporting and Guiding the Development of Non-public Economy", issued in February 2005, states:

"Non-public capitals are allowed access to the public utilities and infrastructure field. (The authority should) accelerate the franchising system of the government, regulate bidding behaviors, support non-public capitals to invest in the municipal public utilities and infrastructures, encourage non-public enterprises to participate in the reform of municipal public enterprises and institutions... allow non-public capital access to the social utilities field, support, guide and regulate non-public investment in the non-for-profit and profit-oriented social utilities, such as education, science research, health, culture, sports and etc. Liberalize the market access, strengthen the governmental and social supervisions and safeguard public interests. Support non-public economy to participate in the restructuring and reorganizing of the public-owned enterprises." [96]

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Fig. 4-15
China's Premiere Wen Jiabao
encourages private bodies
to enter infrastructure building

In September, 2005, "Chinese Urban Public Utilities Green Book 1— Chinese Trial of Public-Private Cooperation Systems", co-edited by Yu Hui, researcher in the Industry and Economy Research Centre of the Social Science Institute of China and Qin Hong, deputy director in the Policy Research Centre of the Ministry of Construction, was published by Shanghai People's Publishing House. It is the first official report about China's domestic public utilities development. With the review of the experiences and lessons from the ten-year progress of public-private cooperation, it forecasts perspectives for municipal public utilities development and offers suggestions on policy. (Yu, H. and Qin, H., 2005)

Another document of the State Council, "Opinions on Strengthening and Improving Community Service (2006)", states in Rule 14, "(The authority should) support the strengths of all levels of the society, utilize vacant facilities, houses and other resources to initiate trade, cater to business, employment, medical treatment, recycle waste, and service network relevant to the people's livelihood, and protect their rights and interests." [97]

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The Chinese "11th Five-Year-Plan of National Economic and Social Development", approved in March, 2006, states in Chapter 42: "(The authority should) develop and support industrial associations, institutions, public charities and citizen organizations, exert their functions of providing services, reflecting people's demands and regulating social behaviours. The self-disciplined mechanism of non-governmental organization should be improved." [98]

In short, similar to the issue of citizen participation, the public-private partnership concerning urban environment has also been strongly advocated by the Chinese authority since the 1990's. This new development shows both the great social demands on public service, and the pragmatic style of the Chinese authority on tackling with the role of the non-governmental participants in the traditionally state-dominated service domains.

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4.5 Summary

In this chapter, the analysis of the Western concept of civil society and the on-going Chinese social transition deduces the understanding of civil society in the Chinese context: it refers to the sphere of individuals, families and households, of citizen's organisations and public communications, and of the non-governmental body's non-for-profit involvement for the provision of the public services between the state and the market.

The studies of the autonomy-related traditions in Chinese history shows that civil society is rooted in the own culture of China; the reality of the Chinese contemporary society indicates that the modern civil society of China is growing.

The review of citizen participation in decision-making and public-private partnership with civil society's efforts in planning theory shows the importance of integrating the "third power" in improving planning performance.

There has been plenty evidence showing, that the Chinese government has realised the significance of civil society's participation in planning and has started to promote it. The major measures include empowering the citizens in planning decisions and mobilize the strength of private bodies to improve the efficiency of planning-related service. Although it is still at the an early phase, the efforts of the authority aiming at integrating the "bottom-up" strength in planning is getting stronger. Many participatory elements, which can not be found in China before the 1980's, has been becoming formal components of urban planning in the unprecedented urban transition in China. This new development provides necessary legitimacy of the main hypothesis of this research, that civil society's participation could promote the planning result in Qingdao of the contemporary age.

Johann W. Goethe writes:

"Gray, my friend, is every theory,
and green alone life's golden tree." [99]

Does civil society's participation function for achieving better planning performance in the Chinese cities? The following attempts to answer it with particular case studies.



Communication in the park



***Part II. Civil society's participation in planning theory
and its potential for Qingdao's planning***

***5. Civil society's participation in China's planning practice:
three case studies***

5. *Civil society's participation in China's planning practice: three case studies*

5. Civil society's participation in China's planning practice: three case studies

In contemporary China, the planning practices with civil participation are also emerging, and Kai Tak Project in Hong Kong, the Resource Recovery Project in Shenyang and the Taidong Project in Qingdao are three representative cases.

5.1 Hong Kong's Kai Tak Project

Until the end of 1990's, the decision-making in Hong Kong's planning had a strong elite-oriented feature like that on the mainland. The Town Planning Board was the supreme institute for the formulation of urban planning, and its members were mainly officials from the government and some economic or social elites. Before reunification the dominant figures were mostly from Britain. People used to criticise that the transparency in planning was insufficient, planning decision usually benefited to developers more than the public, the government had done little to improve social welfare, etc. Planning in Hong Kong before 1997 proved Deng Xiaoping's famous argument "(old) Hong Kong's political system is neither that of the Britain nor that of the United States". During the years shortly after the reunification, citizen participation in Hong Kong was usually limited to the level of public hearing. In order to prevent new projects from destroying historic heritage, natural environment, community interests, etc., people often launched demonstrations. In such context, the Kai Tak Project started in 2004 belongs to the initial planning practice with broad citizen participation in the city's history.

Located in the north bank of Kowloon Bay, the land of Kai Tak was originally used as the airport for the British Royal Air Force of the U.K., later for Hong Kong's civil airport after World War II. Since the completion of Hong Kong's New International Airport at Chek Lap Kok in 1998, Kai Tak Airport became a part of Hong Kong's memory, and the economic vitality of the neighbouring area is largely decreased. In the 1990's, the government put forwards several programmes, an influential one of which was to make Kai Tak into a new town covering 505 ha with 240,000 to 340,000 residents by massively filling the sea surface. All the governmental proposals were opposed by the citizens and eventually abandoned. Many citizens and more than 100 private corporations appealed to the government to strictly control the commercial development of the coastal area strictly and provide a more convenient,

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more accessible public space.

Under such circumstances, the government decided to involve the public into the decision-making of urban planning. The Harbour-front Enhancement Committee (HEC) was established the delegates including planning and environment experts, local residents, corporations and non-governmental groups. Its function is to provide the platform for citizen participation in the planning of Kai Tak (HEC, 2004). The Kai Tak Project consists of 3 phases, namely the Inception Phase, the Review Phase and the Plan Preparation Phase, and each integrates particular content from citizen participation. As a precondition for the participation, the government opened all relevant technical materials and existing feasibility studies to the public.

The Inception Phase started in July 2004, aiming at 1) collaborating planning information and data and 2) identifying constraints, opportunities and key issues. The organiser attempted to engage the public in determining the vision and the key issues. More than 500 citizens took part in this phase personally, and the government received about 240 written opinions. During the 2-month public participation programme, very extensive public comments were received, and all of them were collected and published by the organiser for the next planning phase.

Citizens who participated in the first phase established most items of the Planning Principles, which include: people-oriented planning concept; integrated land use, environment and transport planning approach; bringing harbour to the people; protection of views to ridgeline; gradation of building heights at the waterfront; retain local culture and historical past. Also, the governmental experts reinforced the principals with the following: turning Kai Tak into Hong Kong's showcase for good landscaping and urban design; promoting Kai Tak as a hub for sports, recreation, tourism, entertainment and quality housing; integrating Kai Tak with the surrounding areas; providing opportunities for revitalizing the surrounding districts.

Following this, the Review Phase aimed at reviewing current proposals, considering alternative concepts advanced by the citizen groups and formulating outline concept plans. The purpose of citizen participation was to "engage the public in determining visions and key issues" (HEC). One city-level and three district-level public forums were organised besides three subject-oriented forums, and after that the City Planning Board held an open conference to consolidate the forum results. In the following, three "planning teams" were

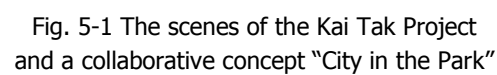
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built by the Citizens who supported a similar scheme. With the cooperation of governmental planners, each team worked on providing professional plan results. This process was quite similar to a competition between various architectural offices, with the difference being that the planners consist of both the citizens who well understand Kai Tak through their own experience and the experts who helped enhance the citizen's strength and turn it into professional results. The three main concepts contributed by the citizen-expert teams were:

- a. City in the Park, which emphasises the development of a high quality living district in a park-like environment;
- b. Kai Tak Glamour, which emphasises the enhancement of an iconic and vivid metropolitan waterfront district;
- c. Sports by the Harbour, which emphasises the promotion of sports and recreation as the highlight of this area.

The planning schemes combining the creativity of citizens and experts through "competition" presents high quality, and its exhibition became a very popular event for the whole city.

The "Plan Preparation Phase", which follows the "the Review Phase", focused on the formulation of the "preliminary outline development plan" based on the public opinion on the three planning concepts mentioned above. In the spring of 2006, as this paper is shortly before its completion, this phase is still going on.



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5.2 Shenyang's Resource Recovery Project

Let's shift our perspective from Hong Kong to the mainland. The following 'Research Project on Resource Recovery and Utilisation of Bioorganic Municipal Waste (RRU-BMW) in Shenyang, Liaoning Province, is a pilot project based on Sino-German cooperation, and meanwhile it is also a public-private partnership practice. The participants include not only the public-owned Shenyang Institute of Aeronautical Engineering, the Liaoning Science & Research Programme, Bauhaus-University Weimar and Schaefer Company and Brendebach Consultants of Germany, RAB Engineering of Austria, but also the residents and the Green Liaoning, a Volunteer Environmental Protection Association of China.

In China, most municipal solid waste (MSW) is tipped into landfill sites or dumping places without prior treatment. People have realised, that through proper measures not only will environmental threats caused by biodegradable materials contained in MSW be reduced, but also renewable energy source and fertilizers can be produced. The RRU-BMW is just initiated from this context, and its target is to "assess the possibilities to apply the approach of biotechnological processing of source separated BMW within a Chinese integrated waste management concept" (Raninger, B., Bidlingmaier, W. and Li, R. D., 2006).

To engage the public, a series of communication strategies are established, including:

Information meetings for public institutions and each of the pilot areas involved, distribution of paper and E-version handouts;

Information leaflets showing how to carry out source separation and to use the new tools ;

Opinion surveys during the information meetings, with the general public not involved in the project and with project participants after project completion;

Authorisation document signed by the Shenyang Institute of Aeronautics and the local residential communities to enable the students to assist the households;

Mass media coverage of 6 major local TV channels, radio channels and new papers,

Telephone help line to the public research institutions and Green Liaoning,

Follow up communication with those households which do not participate properly;

Exhibition of project results in the pilot areas and awarding of most successful households in with events sponsored by 5 public and private institutions; etc. (Ibid., pp.3)

5. Civil society's participation in China's planning practice: three case studies



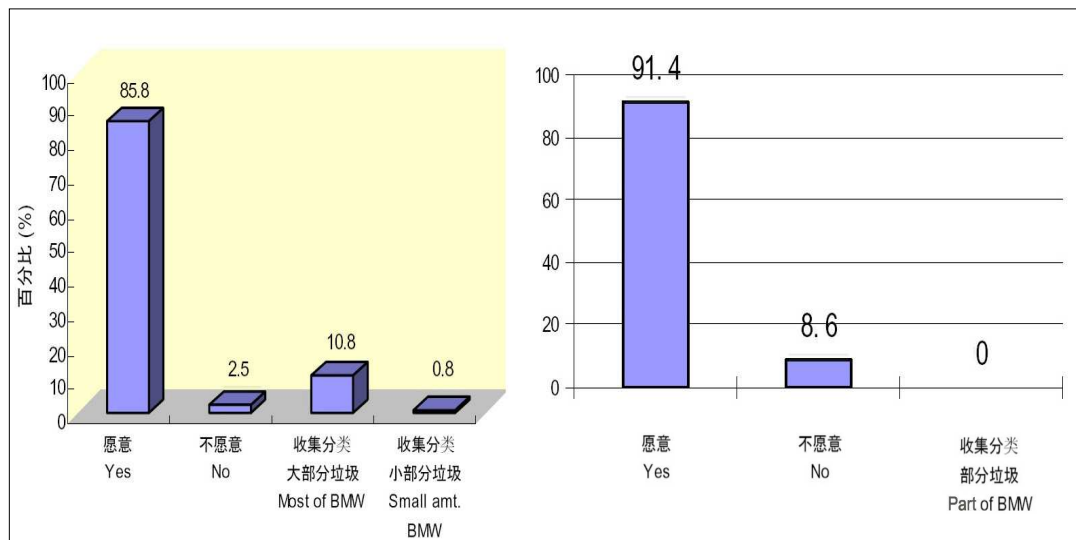
Fig. 5-2 Public information, mass media coverage as part of comprehensive Communication strategy in Shenyang's resource recovery Project

With the joint advocacy of the local government and the international team of experts, 5 pilot areas in Huanggu and Dongling districts, and approximately 600 residents have participated in the BMW collection. Statistics show they are highly motivated, and their communicative strategies are successful: the willingness to participate actively in source separation was increased from 86% in 2005 to 97% in 2006. BMW collected via primary source separation (PSS) during one year from 595 persons (97 % participation) amounts to about 84 kg/ca. on average, much more than the 61 kg/ca. measured in 2004 during a pre-test with 10. families. (Ibid., pp.8) Based on the broad engagement of citizens, the experts are able to acquire accurate data to assess the quantity and quality of BMW generated by different ways of collection methods, making recommendations for a most appropriate BMW treatment technology, and an proposal of the economic and financial implications.

Since the beginning of the project in 2004, the local residents and citizen organisation Green Liaoning have been offering great cooperation and support to the experts; meanwhile, both scientific strength and the environmental consciousness in Shenyang are

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promoted by the experts' contribution. "Actually, many tasks are not difficult", the Austrian expert Bernhard Raninger says, "What is difficult is how to establish the contact with the residents. We need communication. When communication is good, we are sure to achieve success". (Northeast News, 2005)



Tab.3 The residents' answer to "are you willing to participate in the recycling project?" before and after the first phase

The partnership between Austrian, German and Chinese experts, diversified institutions, local authority, residents and students has achieved satisfying results, and the RRU-BMW project is increasingly gaining attention both in China and abroad. Also, motivated by the positive feedback from the participating households the local government and the resident communities have expressed their wish to expand the project in the future.

5. *Civil society's participation in China's planning practice: three case studies*

5.3 Qingdao's Taidong Project

Next, let's shift from Shenyang to Qingdao for a local PPP example, the facade renewal project of Taidong.

Taidong area, as mentioned in the introduction of Qingdao's history, was originally one of the two worker's districts planned by the Germans. With the continuous urban expansion along the railway to the north Taidong has become a connection node between the south and the north. This geographical advantage brings a massive flux of people and enhances the prosperity of trade, shopping and other services. Among the four commercial centres in Qingdao (also Zhongshan Road, centre of the new eastern area and Licun Commercial Area), Taidong is the most attractive one for many old Qingdaoers.

The facade renewal project of Taidong is one of the governmental beautification projects in the context of the Water Sports of 2008's Olympic Games, held in Qingdao. Before the 1980's several large-scaled slums were scattered in Taidong, and most of them were replaced by "box-like" industrialised houses with 6 or 7 stories through the housing renewal in the 1980's and the 1990's. The parallel houses are often connected with vertical units on the side, which creates a "semi-block" structure and supports the trade along the streets. Like in the Zhongshan Road area, "living upstairs and shopping downstairs" is also quite popular here. However, the facades of many houses along the main pedestrian street turned shabby quickly because of the cheap materials used.

For the district government, time and finance were both very limited. How to do a good job? According to the routine of architectural competition, much time is needed for both design and evaluation. Besides, a massive renewal might affect the daily life and the commercial function of the Taidong area. Thus, the experts of Chinese Construction Science Institute were invited to Qingdao for advice. Chief Architect and Artist Gu Yunrui believes that using mural painting to renew the facades along the main street is a sound solution. (Gu, Y. R. and Xu, X. M., 2004)

Mural painting for the beautification of the urban environment has a long tradition. In the 20th century, countries like Mexico, the USA and France had many practices of mural painting on public buildings based on government – artist partnership, and the mural art in the French city Lyon has gained great reputation for its creativity. However, for a 1-km central street with 60,000 sqm facade, the whole project costs would be about 100 million

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RMB concerning the market price, and this was not affordable using the district budget. After a careful study together with the experts, the government decided to launch the project with the joint efforts of the government and the voluntary artists.

After publishing the project information, more than 30 professors and teachers from the art schools of 7 universities gathered in Qingdao and formed a volunteer team. The district government provided all services and materials needed by the artists, and the artists were enabled to have full freedom on styles, motifs and working methods. In this team there was also a retired professor from Shandong Fine Art institute, who also painted for hours on the scaffolding under the summer sun.



Fig. 5-3 The mural project of Taidong commercial area

5. *Civil society's participation in China's planning practice: three case studies*

Not only did the artists invest great efforts in designing, they also treated the residents' opinions seriously. Gu mentioned: "On the facade of a building we planned on painting a lovely cat. A resident went to us and said, if we paint a cat on her house her son would be scared, because the boy was born in the Chinese 'Mouse' Year. After hearing this our team had a discussion immediately. Since we all believe public art should carefully respect people's various customs and taboos, the motive was changed to a sunflower... We try our best to interact with citizens. What we attach great importance to is not only our own creativity but also the people's feelings". (Gu, Y. R., Xu, X. M., 2004, pp.32)

The citizens had a heated discussion on this project in newspapers, TV and internet. One citizen states: "I find my white floor wall very nice. Why should the city paint such doodle along the street?" (Hu, J. H, 2004). Some worried that the rain could scour the paintings into miserable bands. Nevertheless, most comments support this project. Many citizens were attracted to Taidong to see the development of this project, and many of them tried to exchange their opinions with the artists. The dedication of the volunteer artists had impressed the public very much. Until today, when asked by the visitors about how the artists painted, many residents can still tell a lot of what they saw and what they heard.

The project has become a giant experiment for public art, and also for PPP practice in urban regeneration. While this cooperation between the governments and the volunteer artists was broadly recognised, the government has saved much time and money. Since its competition on July 7th, 2004, it has been the largest mural painting project in China and attracted the attention of various newspapers, TV channels and magazines. It was reported that some other cities, including Beijing, also attempt to launch similar projects referring to Taidong's experience. This project is now in the application process for a Guinness World Record. With its new look, Taidong become a more attractive commercial area. Through opening the "night market", the district government creates new opportunities for working and leisure. Taidong's pedestrian street has also turned into another tourist highlight besides those mostly in Qingdao's southern districts.

5. *Civil society's participation in China's planning practice: three case studies*

5.4 Summary

In brief, these three case studies— from the “developed city” Hong Kong to the “developing city” Shenyang and Qingdao— are able to verify that civil society's participation is a realistic measure to reinforce the Chinese planning performance under present conditions. Common experiences consist of:

a. Sufficient governmental facilitation is the precondition of a successful participatory practice. At present the government is still playing the dominant role in the construction and management of the Chinese cities, and this makes a strong push possible for the integration of “bottom-up” efforts in the planning domain through the governmental initiatives. The government is the essential enabler for the participatory practice in China.

b. To combine the strength of the government and civil society in planning, planners should play the role as the moderators and mediators apart from as technical experts. The moderation of planning experts is a key factor for activating civil society in planning practice, who has already a high motivation for improving the urban environment through their efforts.

In the next chapter, the author will put forward recommendations for promoting Qingdao's planning performance through participatory measures.



Taidong commercial area



***Part II. Civil society's participation in planning theory
and its potential for Qingdao's planning***

***6. Recommendation for Civil Society's participation in Qingdao's
urban planning: "Foundation of Collaborative Urban Solutions"***

6. Recommendation for Civil Society's participation in Qingdao's urban planning: "Foundation of Collaborative Urban Solutions"

Civil society's participation in planning processes is new in China. Although Chinese politicians have started to stress it recently, there is still insufficient practical experience and academic research in Chinese planning. For a better quality of planning, the Chinese cities need more initiatives to mobilize civil society's strength in the planning practice, as well as more support to enrich the related research.

Therefore, this thesis proposes that Qingdao's authority and civil initiatives establish the "Foundation of Collaborative Urban Solutions". The foundation itself is a partnership between the government and civil society, and is sponsored both by governmental subsidy and the donation of individual citizens, citizens' groups and private enterprises. As a non-for-profit foundation its particular target is: 1) to moderate and facilitate the strength of civil society in Qingdao to improve the city's capacity to cope with urban problems, as well as 2) to promote the academic research of civil society's participation in the planning domain of China.

The planning moderators and the advisory board are the two major components of the foundation. The planning moderators are built up mainly from planners - also influential senior planners - and volunteer architectural students, and activists from the citizens who are trained with necessary planning knowledge. The advisory board is made up of prominent professors and experts from the fields of urban planning, architecture, sociology, humanity, who are willing to dedicate his (or her) strengths to the promotion of Qingdao's urban environment. The planning moderators are in charge of organising participatory events and moderating activities. Besides this, they will arrange site visits or project-related excursions led by experts, as well as casual cultural or entertainment events helping people socialize and also build trust and familiarity with others involved. While the advisory board, like its name, offers supervision, particular know-how, and comments and critiques on the participatory practice of the foundation. Both the advisory board and planning moderators are responsible for offering training programmes for the voluntary citizens and students, and lectures or seminars to the public for improving the knowledge and consciousness of the participatory planning. Besides this, through dialogue, design of the meeting space, interactive service, etc., the foundation provides a comfortable, home-like person-to-person and person-to-space atmosphere for each participant.

6. *Civil society's participation in the planning practice*

6.1 The principles

To enable the foundation to efficiently and confidently advocate for the participation of civil society in planning, the following principles need to be set up.

a. Transparent management

The foundation runs under the supervision of the public, which prevents the participation of civil society from turning into superficial actions manipulated by economic or political powers. It is responsible for publishing its activities and budget status thorough periodical working reports, and all forums and workshops are accessible for citizens, citizen organisation, and public media. Also, the members of the advisory boards, moderators and other key personnel are chosen through transparent procedures and open to the critique of the citizens.

b. Equal dialogue

All planning proposals or actions of the foundation are based on equality of each individual participant. The foundation provides the stage for all involved governmental, civil society or market bodies to express their opinion regardless of the power they hold. The solutions are not made through a "Top-down" mechanism according to certain administrative hierarchies, nor are they made through the control of the market. Mutual understanding, interaction and collaboration of the participants penetrate all planning processes.

c. Professional support

Professional support is the precondition for equal dialogue. It means to offer professional information, moderation, facilitation and technical aid for all participants in the public forums, workshops and other forms of participation organised by the foundation. Moderators of, or those invited by the foundation should have both knowledge and personal experience in conflict-management of planning-related issues. For efficient moderation the foundation is responsible to make all necessary plans, data, governmental documents and existing evaluations accessible for all participants.

d. Mutually beneficial

The foundation aims at achieving a mutually-beneficial consensus for planning actions, which means, the interests of all involved bodies are taken seriously. Each citizen whose interests are affected by the planning has the ability to influence planning through their own participation, and heuristic methods are adopted to find shared interests and negotiations

6. *Civil society's participation in the planning practice*

among the individual and collective bodies in an efficient way. No participants, regardless of their social, economic, or political standing can make his interest surpass those shared by the majority.

e. Non-for-profit

It is a foundation serving the public interest; it does not aim at maximizing profit for itself. Its operation will be funded by governmental subsidy and donation from civil society. Meanwhile, it does not exclude offering income-related services to the market or to the public sector. Besides covering for its personnel and organisational costs, the income of the foundation is used for financing its programs of improving public facilities, social utilities, and the living environment of the disadvantaged, etc.

6.2 The pilot projects and its approaches

According to the deficits in Qingdao's spatial development, which are discussed in Chapter 3, this thesis suggests the following four pilot projects for the near future.

6.2.1 The Community-based Housing Workshop

Community-based housing renewal is able to reduce the resettlement conflict and ease the social tension due to increasing spatial differentiation. The first pilot project of the foundation, the Community-based Housing Workshop, aims at regenerating the living environment of a run-down community, where the residents wish to cooperate with the foundation with the input of labour and investments. Besides the planning experts of the foundation, the involved bodies of this workshop include the community members, delegates of the governmental agencies, potential private investors, voluntary planners and experts, as well as voluntary citizen activists and students.

In the initiating phase, the foundation

a. Establishes efficient contact between the foundation and the community members (if possible, sets up the site office), identifies the particular problems of the community through technical examination and conversations, interviews and questionnaires, respecting local people's "story-telling" about the community's history and character.

b. Informs the public of the progress of the workshop through newspapers, TV and radio reports, internet forum, etc., to arouse the social and governmental attention on com-

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munity-based renewal, as well as to arouse the interest of potential private investors.

c. Mobilises the community members' enthusiasm to improve their own environment with their own efforts, presents them the successful community-based renewal projects in easy-to-understand terms, and acquires necessary political supports from the authority.

The facilitating phase, the foundation

a. Develops both the preliminary architectural plan focusing on the improvement of the functional and environmental quality of the building, and the preliminary budget concept for finance the project in a realistic way together with the community members,

b. Arranges the dialogs among the community members, the potential private investors and the foundation on the preliminary plans, and develops further concepts to integrate external capital by offering certain existing or added areas of the housing block for commercial purposes of the external investors (sufficient negotiation with the local residents are necessary).

c. Presents the architectural scheme and the budget scheme, which have been agreed by the community members, to the advisory board of the foundation, improves the schemes with the reference of the feedback and comments, and then offers them to the authority for implementation.

d. In the case when the planning scheme is approved, the foundation is in charge of the construction activity in the community providing stable technical supports. All internal and external participants are able to be the builders during the reshaping and building of their own space.

6.2.2 The Heritage Preservation Workshop

The main deficits of Qingdao's heritage preservation include the destruction of historic buildings and the deterioration of historic districts. The second pilot project of the foundation, the Heritage Preservation Workshop aims at suggesting an efficient supervision mechanism through joint-efforts of the government and the civil society which protects the historical heritage from being destroyed in the urban construction. The involved bodies of this workshop encompass planners and architects (including retired senior planners), governmental officials of related departments, voluntary citizens and citizens' organisations, as well as judicial experts, scholars, and volunteer students.

In the initiating phase, the foundation

a. Utilizes various measures to stress the cultural and economic value of Qingdao's his-

6. *Civil society's participation in the planning practice*

toric heritage, and make information of historical buildings and districts easily accessible to the public.

b. Shows the challenge that Qingdao's heritage has been facing since the 1980's, explains the national and local policies and laws concerning heritage preservation, and presents the experiences in other cities through lectures, TV programmes, information brochures, leaflets, online data banks, etc.

c. Carries on surveys through interview, questionnaires and informal meetings with the local citizens, citizens' organisations, and government officials, tourists, for people's opinions on the supervision mechanism and also for more attention towards heritage preservation.

In the facilitating phase, the foundation

a. Invites the related governmental officials (especially from Qingdao's Urban Planning Bureau, Qingdao's Cultural Bureau, etc.), citizen activists, architectural and planning experts, delegates of citizens' organisations, and so on, to take part in open dialogs and offers professional moderation to synthesis the opinions.

b. Develops the main opinions raised in the open dialogs into well-formulated suggestions through facilitating the joint efforts of the foundation and other involved parties.

c. Presents the suggestions to the advisory board of the foundation and also to all citizens through public media, modifies them with sound critiques, and then offers them to the government for the approval for a political action.

6.2.3 The Public Space Forum

The restriction of accessibility and the declination of the ecologic function have been the main deficits of the development of public space in Qingdao. The foundation's third pilot project, the "public space forum", is aiming at tackle with such deficit with the creativity of both the civil society and the government. Which parks or districts are the target spaces is to be decided through the suggestion of the citizens or the government. Since the quality of public space is an essential issue for the quality of everyone's daily life thus to the productivity and vitality of the city, the forum participants include not only the ones from the space users— the citizens of all social groups in Qingdao, but also the delegates of the governmental agencies and various state-owned or private enterprises.

In the initiating phase, the foundation

a. Provides related information of the chosen place - plans, data, historic materials, published articles, governmental documents accessible for all participants through information

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brochures, leaflets, online data banks, etc.

b. Makes the information and necessary planning knowledge, participation regulations understandable for the participants through information-meetings, internet BBS forums, telephone hotlines, lectures, and the aids of the voluntary students.

c. Identifies the main concerns of the participants through interviews, questionnaires and informal meetings with the citizens - especially those who have more relations with the chosen place in their daily life, tourists, and citizens' organisations.

In the facilitating phase, the foundation

a. Invites both the governmental officials who are in charge of the management or construction with the chosen place, and users (and also potential users) from various social backgrounds, to take part in the open forums, and offers professional moderation to synthesize the opinions.

b. Provides equal opportunity for all participants to address their opinion the main concerns, which are raised from the Initiating Phase. Special attention is given to ask the edge groups - the unemployed, the labour immigrants, the handicapped and also the youngsters – to give their voice.

c. Develops the main opinions into professional planning schemes through facilitating the joint efforts of the citizens and planners, or of the citizens and the voluntary planning students (which can be combined with student planning competition).

d. Presents the planning schemes of the chosen space both to the public and to the advisory board of the foundation, improves them with the reference of the feedback and comments, and then offers them to the authority for planning actions or political approaches.

6.2.4 The Mass Transit Forum

The deficits of the urban transportation of Qingdao lie on the overload of the road system and the insufficiency of the public transportation capacity, and the building of the mass transit system is an expectation of both the government and the civil society for improving Qingdao's traffic. The fourth pilot project of the foundation, the "Mass Transit Forum", aims at raising realistic strategy for funding the rail-based traffic system. The strength of the civil society - "the third power" between the state and the market - should and is able to play an essential role in the funding, and this helps to reduce the risk of excessive control of public service through the market. Thus, the direction of the funding concept is to mobilise the individual citizens and their households – to invest through purchasing stocks, like the MTR project for Hong Kong's Subway.

6. *Civil society's participation in the planning practice*

In the initiating phase, the foundation

- a. Offers the existing governmental proposals, technical and financial feasibility studies, and the published articles on the construction of metro and the light rail in Qingdao for all participants through information brochures, leaflets and online data banks.
- b. Enhance the citizens' knowledge about mass transit through forums in local newspapers or internet, telephone hotlines, lectures, and the voluntary assistance of the architectural and engineering students.
- c. Makes public surveys through interviews, traditional or internet-based questionnaires with the citizens, governmental officials, planning experts, private enterprises, etc. for identifying the main concerns of the people for the stock funding concept.

In the facilitating phase, the foundation

- a. Enables the base-level government agency – the street office to acquire the opinions of the communities in its administrative area with moderation supports.
- b. Invites the governmental officials and planners who are in charge of traffic planning, citizen delegates, economic experts to take part in open discussions for their opinions on the particular principles, regulations, time schedule, etc., for raising funds from the civil society.
- c. Develops the main opinions into one or several well-formulated stock funding proposals through facilitating the collaboration of the experts and the citizen delegates.
- d. Presents the stock funding proposal(s) of the mass urban transit to all citizens and the advisory board of the foundation, improves the schemes with the reference of the feedback and comments, and then offers them to the authority for implementation or political approaches.

Although the manner of the foundation's involvement can vary strongly according to particular situations, its practice has the following common features: the government is no more the "almighty figure", but acts as promoter and participant of the collaboration; the civil society is no more the passive "bystander", but acts as the city's builder through its own efforts and contributions; while the planners are no more the "technocratic elites" but act as experts moderating and synthesizing the strength of the government and civil society. The "Foundation of Collaborative Urban Solutions" is able to improve Qingdao's planning to cope with the urban problems the city are facing in its contemporary development, as well as to provide valuable reference for the further research of civil society's participation in Chinese urban planning.



Citizen participation in Kai Tak Project



Summary.

Summary

The main hypothesis of this thesis is that civil society's participation is able to improve the planning results in the Chinese city of Qingdao in the contemporary age.

Having grown rapidly from small fishermen's villages to a modern metropolis, Qingdao's planning history reflect a strong governmental influence. From 1897 to 1978, Qingdao's urban construction had always been structured with a strong "top-down" system, which offered high efficiency, especially in the periods of the German occupation (1897-1914), the first Japanese occupation (1914-1921) and the first Nationalistic government (1929-1937). Apart from the power of the authority, the non-governmental sphere, including citizens' organisations and business associations, also contributed much to the spatial development of Qingdao with the efforts for the protection of the Tianhou Shrine in the 1910's, the criticism on the planning situation in the 1930's, and the building of the Zhanshan Temple from the 1930's to 1940's, etc.

Since 1978's reform Qingdao has greatly improved its of urban housing, historic preservation, public space and urban traffic. Not only the quantity but also the quality of the city's urban space has been rapidly improving. This new improvement results from the increasing strength of both the government and the market, while the government has always been the dominant promoting power for urban construction.

Meanwhile, Qingdao is also confronted with many problems in its urban environment:

- a. Conflicts between original residents and developers are being intensified; spatial differentiation is growing.
- b. Many historic buildings are destroyed; the image of the inner city is fading.
- c. Some major open spaces lack sufficient accessibility, the ecological environment is being rapidly weakened.
- d. The existing road system and public traffic shows an obvious shortage of capacity.

These problems show that the actual planning mechanism – i.e. the government formulating "what to do" itself and deciding "how to do" with the market – is limited in serving diversified interests of social groups, supervising cultural and ecological effect of development, reacting to the rapidly changing situation and raising sufficient funds for the city's public facilities and infrastructure. Searching for new development strategies based on the understanding of civil society in the Chinese context can provide a promising perspective on the studies of Qingdao's urban planning.

Since the reform of 1978, the “third power” besides the government and the market has grown steadily in China, and the amount of attention paid to the relationship between China’s urban planning and civil society is increasing. In the West, generally there are five major representative models of a civil society concept since the 18th century, namely: the “private interest” model of Marx, the “associate democracy” model of Tocqueville, the “cultural hegemony” model of Gramsci, the “Autonomous communication” model of Habermas, as well as “Social interaction” model of Cohen and Arato. In this thesis, the Chinese civil society is defined as the intermediate sphere of individuals, households, citizen’s organisations, public communications, and of the non-governmental body’s non-for-profit involvement for the provision of public services between the state and the market. Plenty evidences show that China has rich resource of civil society in its own culture.

The participatory studies in existing planning theory can be generally divided into two categories: citizen involvement in decision-making of planning and public-private partnership (PPP) with non-for-profit efforts of the private bodies, while the latter can be classified into PPP on community level and above community level. Generally, the civil society’s participation has the following advantages:

- a. It is able to obtain the knowledge of the civil society to better identify the targets and means of urban planning;
- b. It is able to help citizens influence the planning result by their own initiatives thus promoting social justice;
- c. It is able to expand both the capacities and the motivation of each involved party and of the whole;
- d. It is able to finance improvements of the scope and quality of the planning-related public service;
- e. It is able to enhance the local identity and people’s responsibility to the urban environment; etc.

The relationship between the governmental planning and civil society’s participation can evolve. Many successful methods for civil participation have been integrated into planning laws and regulations and become the official elements of urban planning.

The Chinese government has also started to advocate for civil society’s participation by encouraging the “bottom-up” mechanism in planning-related issues since the 1990’s. For example, some participative measures are becoming statutory components in planning pro-

cess; additionally, the government is initialising the involvement of the private bodies in improving urban infrastructure and other public utilities through laws and statements.

In contemporary China, planning practices incorporating civil participation are also emerging, such as Kai Tak Project in Hong Kong, the Resource Recovery Project in Shenyang and the Taidong Project in Qingdao.

a. In the Kai Tak Project in Hong Kong, public involvement with expert support has formed, principals and particular concepts combining the collective will of planning targets the people. Through civil participation, various interests of the highly diversified society are better integrated in the planning result, and planning helps people realise “what they need” and “what they like” in the urban environment.

b. In the Resource Recovery Project in Shenyang, about 600 inhabitants in two districts are highly motivated by the communication strategy of Austrian, German and Chinese experts in the separation and utilisation of bioorganic garbage. Satisfying scientific and social results have been achieved, and both the experts and the district governments are encouraged to further expand this project.

c. In the city of Qingdao, the public-private partnership between the government and the voluntary artists’ organisation has effectively completed the facade renewal project of the Taidong commercial area, increased the social vitality and made Taidong’s Pedestrian Street a new tourism highlight of the city.

The existing planning practice in China is able to demonstrate that civil society’s participation helps improve the quality of Chinese urban planning realistically under present conditions, and that moderation by planning experts and the push of the authority are the two key factors for successfully integrating the strength of civil society in planning.

However, the power of civil society is not yet sufficiently discovered. For better planning results, the city of Qingdao needs more initiatives to mobilize civil society in the planning practice, as well as more support to enrich the related studies. This thesis recommends that Qingdao establishes the “Foundation of Collaborative Urban Solutions” through the joint efforts of the authority and civil initiatives, which aims at moderating and facilitating the strength of civil society. The suggested pilot projects include:

a. The Community-based Housing Workshop for regenerating the living environment of the run-down communities, where the residents are willing to collaborate with the foundation with own efforts.

b. The Heritage Preservation Workshop for suggesting an efficient supervision mechanism involving civil society which protects the historic heritage from being destroyed in the urban construction.

c. The Public Space Forum for improving accessibility, quantity and ecologic function in the development of Qingdao's urban public space with the knowledge and creativity of both the government and the citizens.

d. The Mass Transit Forum for a realistic strategy for funding the rail-based traffic system in Qingdao through enabling the civil society - especially the individual citizens and their households to invest.

Through the efforts of the "Foundation of Collaborative Urban Solutions", the government and the civil society are able to join their desires and capacities together to improve urban spaces and create better lives for citizens. At present, the Chinese city government has strong control over urban construction and management, and is also able to effectively push the integration of civil society in planning practices. Although the particular manner of civil society's involvement can vary strongly according to realistic situations, the efficiency of the planning practice will strongly depend on the moderation capacity of planning experts. This thesis proposes further studies on the techniques of planning moderation as well as its education in colleges in the context of contemporary China. For such research the practice of the "Foundation of Collaborative Urban Solutions" in the city of Qingdao will provide valuable reference.

In the "City's era" of China, the participation of civil society is a reinforcement of the current planning system; it is an realistic planning instrument which strengthens the Chinese city's capacity to tackle broad urban issues.

Die Haupthypothese dieser Arbeit ist, dass durch Beteiligung der Zivilgesellschaft am Planungsprozess die Planungsergebnisse in der chinesischen Stadt Qingdao in der gegenwärtigen Zeit verbessert werden können.

Durch das schnelle Wachstum vom kleinen Fischerdorf zu modernen Metropole, sind die stadtplanerischen Erfahrungen in Qingdao stark an die Adaption moderner Planungsideen einerseits und an die dominierende städtische Planungsbehörde andererseits geknüpft. Zwischen 1897 und 1978 war die Stadtentwicklungsplanung Qingdaos durchwegs von einer starken top-down-Planung geprägt, welche besonders während den Perioden der Deutschen Besatzung (1897 bis 1914), der ersten Japanischen Besatzung (1914 bis 1921) und der ersten Kuomintang Regierung (1929 bis 1937) mit hoher Effizienz verbunden war. Abgesehen vom Einfluss der Zentralmacht trug auch die nicht-staatliche Seite, dazu zählen die Bürgerbewegungen und die Wirtschaftsverbände, zur räumlichen Entwicklung Qingdaos bei, wie beim Schutz des Tianshou Schreins in den 1910er Jahren, bei der Kritik gegen die herrschende Planungssituation in den 1930er Jahren oder den Bau des Zhanshan Tempels zwischen den 1930er und 1940er Jahren, usw.

Seit der „Reform 1978“ hat Qingdao große Fortschritte beim städtischen Wohnungswesen, beim Denkmalschutz, beim öffentlichen Raum und städtischen Verkehr gemacht. Nicht nur der Umfang, sondern auch die Qualität des städtischen Raumes hat sich erheblich verbessert. Die beachtlichen Leistungen sind das Ergebnis zunehmender gemeinsamer Anstrengungen der Regierung und des Marktes, wenngleich die staatliche Seite immer die treibende Kraft der städtebaulichen Entwicklung war.

Inzwischen ist die städtische Umwelt Qingdaos auch mit vielerlei Problemen konfrontiert:

- a. Die Konflikte zwischen den alteingesessenen Bewohnern und den Investoren haben sich infolge der massiven baulichen Aktivitäten im Stadtzentrum sowie den Randbereichen verschärft. Räumliche Segregationsprozesse sind im Wachsen begriffen.
- b. Viele der historischen Gebäude wurden abgerissen. Die ursprüngliche ästhetische Qualität und somit das Bild der Innenstadt verschwindet immer mehr.
- c. Einige bedeutende öffentliche Plätze leiden unter einer mangelnden Zugänglichkeit; die natürliche Umwelt geht zunehmend zurück.
- d. Das bestehende Straßennetz und der öffentliche Verkehr zeigen offensichtliche Mängel bei der Kapazität.

Die angesprochenen Probleme zeigen, dass der gegenwärtige Planungsvollzug – bei dem die Regierung selbst vorgibt „was zu tun ist“ und gemeinsam mit dem Markt entschei-

det „wie dies zu tun ist“ – enge Grenzen besitzt, wenn es gilt, auf schnell verändernde Situationen zu reagieren, unterschiedliche soziale Interessen zu bedienen oder ausreichend finanzielle Mittel für dringende städtische Probleme zur Verfügung zu stellen. Die Suche nach neuen Entwicklungsstrategien, die auf einem Verständnis der Zivilgesellschaft im Kontext Chinas basieren, kann eine aussichtsreiche Perspektive für stadtplanerische Untersuchungen Qingdaos bieten.

Seit der „Reform 1978“ hat die Zivilgesellschaft in China an Bedeutung gewonnen. Im Westen gibt es seit dem 18. Jahrhundert fünf repräsentative Modelle der Zivilgesellschaft: das Modell des „privaten Interesses“ von Marx, das Modell der „assoziativen Demokratie“ von Tocqueville, das Modell der „kulturellen Hegemonie“ von Gramsci, das Modell der „autonomen Kommunikation“ von Habermas sowie das Modell der „sozialen Interaktion“ von Cohen und Arato. Im einem Verständnis des sozialen Wandels in China, definiert sich die Zivilgesellschaft aus einer Sphäre von Individuen, Familien, Bürgerorganisationen, sozialen Bewegungen, öffentlichen Kommunikation heraus und aus den nichtstaatlichen Institutionen des „non-for-profit Involvements“ zur Einrichtung öffentlicher Dienstleistungen zwischen Staat und Markt. Es gibt ausreichend Beweise dafür, dass China in seiner eigenen Kultur über viele Quellen einer Zivilgesellschaft verfügt.

Die Übernahme von zivilgesellschaftlichen Elementen in die gegenwärtige Planungstheorie kann grundsätzlich in zwei Kategorien eingeteilt werden: erstens öffentliche Beteiligung im Entscheidungsprozess von Planungen und zweitens Private Public Partnerships bei selbst gesteuerten Erneuerungsprozessen sowie bei öffentlichen Einrichtungen wobei hierbei Private Public Partnership sowohl auf Community-Ebene wie auch oberhalb der Community-Ebene unterschieden werden kann. Sie leistet folgende zentrale Beiträge:

- a. Sie ermöglicht der Stadtplanung das Wissen und die Ideen der Zivilgesellschaft zu erhalten, um Ziele und Meinungen besser identifizieren zu können.
 - b. Sie ermöglicht dem Bürger Planungen mit ihren eigenen Initiativen zu beeinflussen und so die soziale Gerechtigkeit zu stärken.
 - c. Sie ermöglicht beides, die Erhöhung der Leistungsfähigkeit und die Stärkung der Motivation von jeder der involvierten Parteien sowie von beiden als ein Ganzes.
 - d. Sie ermöglicht die Erhöhung der finanziellen Mittel, um den Spielraum und die Qualität der mit der Planung verbundenen Servicestellen zu verbessern.
 - e. Sie ermöglicht eine Aufwertung der lokalen Identität und der Verantwortung der Menschen gegenüber ihrem städtischen Umfeld, usw.
-

Die Grenze zwischen staatlicher Planung und zivilgesellschaftlicher Beteiligung ist nicht immer unveränderbar. Eine Vielzahl erfolgreicher Formen von Bürgerbeteiligung sind in die gesetzlichen Regelungen integriert worden und werden so zu einem Teil des offiziellen städtischen Planungsregulativs.

Die Chinesische Regierung unterstützt seit 1990 Bürgerbeteiligungen, um bottom-up Prozesse in Planungsbelangen zu ermutigen. Auf der einen Seite werden Ansätze der Bürgerbeteiligung zu gesetzlich verpflichtenden Teilen im Planungsprozess; auf der anderen Seite unterstützt die Regierung das Engagement der privaten Seite bei der Verbesserung der städtischen Infrastruktur und anderen öffentlichen Einrichtungen durch Gesetze und Verlautbarungen.

Im gegenwärtigen China nehmen Planungsprozesse mit Bürgerbeteiligung also zu, beispielsweise das Kai Tak Projekt in Hong Kong oder das Resource Recovery Projekt in Shenyang.

a. Im Kai Tak Projekt haben die Bürger mit Unterstützung von Experten die Planungsziele, die Grundprinzipien der Planung und Teile der Konzepte formuliert. Durch die Bürgerbeteiligung werden die verschiedenen Interessen einer inzwischen hoch differenzierten Gesellschaft besser in das Ergebnis der Planung integriert; zudem hilft die Planung der Bevölkerung zu erkennen „was sie in ihrer städtischen Umwelt brauchen“ und „was sie dort wollen“.

b. Im Resource Recovery Projekt in Shenyang wurden rund 600 Bewohner in zwei Bezirken durch die Kommunikationsstrategie von Österreichischen, Deutschen und Chinesischen Experten zur Trennung und Wiedernutzung von Biomüll motiviert. Es wurden sowohl in wissenschaftlicher als auch in sozialer Hinsicht befriedigende Ergebnisse erzielt und beide, sowohl die Experten als auch die Bezirksregierung sind ermutigt, das Projekt weiter auszubauen.

c. In der Stadt Qingdao hat ein „Public-Private Partnership“ aus Regierung und „Voluntary Artists' Organisation“ in wirksamer Weise ein Projekt zur Erneuerung der Fassade? des Tadoing Gewerbegebietes fertig gestellt, die soziale Vitalität ausgebaut und aus der Fußgängerzone in Tadoing einen neuen touristischen Glanzpunkt der Stadt gemacht.

Die vorhandene stadtplanerische Praxis in China kann auf ihre Weise zeigen, dass Bürgerbeteiligung dabei hilft, die Qualität der Stadtplanung unter gegebenen Bedingungen in realistischer Weise zu verbessern. Außerdem sind Moderation im Planungsprozess und der

Antrieb durch die Regierung, zwei wichtige Schlüsselfaktoren, zur erfolgreichen Einbindung des Einflusses bürgerlicher Beteiligung im Planungsprozess.

Allerdings wurde die Bedeutung der zivilgesellschaft bisher noch nicht ausreichend untersucht. Um bessere Ergebnisse im Planungsprozess zu erzielen, braucht die Stadt Qingdao mehr Initiativen, die die Gesellschaft im Planungsprozess mobilisieren und auch mehr Unterstützung dabei, ähnliche Studien mit Erkenntnissen anzureichern. Diese These befürwortet, dass Qingdao eine "Foundation of Collaborative Urban Solutions" für gemeinsame Bemühungen der Regierung und bürgerlicher Initiativen einrichten sollte, die auf einen erleichterten und angemessenen Einfluss der Zivilgesellschaft in Planungen zielt. Die vorgeschlagenen Pilotprojekte beinhalten:

a. Ein "Community-based Housing Workshop" um das Lebensumfeld in den heruntergekommenen Gemeinden zu regenerieren, wo ortsansässige Willens sind, durch eigene Anstrengungen mit der Stiftung zusammenzuarbeiten.

b. Den "Heritage Preservation Workshop" um einen effizienten Supervisionsprozess unter Einbeziehung der Zivilgesellschaft anzuregen, der das historische Erbe vor Zerstörung im städtischen Aufbau beschützt.

c. Ein "Public Space Forum" um Zugänglichkeit, Ausmaß und ökologische Funktion bei der Entwicklung des öffentlichen Raumes in Qingdao zu verbessern, mit dem Wissen und der Kreativität sowohl der Regierung als auch der Bürger.

d. Das "Mass Transit Forum" für eine realistische Strategie zur Förderung eines schienenbasierten Verkehrssystems in Qingdao, die der Gesellschaft, speziell auch dem einzelnen Bürger ermöglichen soll sich zu beteiligen.

Einer "Foundation of Collaborative Urban Solutions" ist es möglich, Qingdaos Planungen zu unterstützen und die städtebaulichen Schwierigkeiten - denen die Stadt in der gegenwärtigen Entwicklung gegenübersteht - zu bewältigen. Ebenso ist sie fähig, wertvolle Hinweise für weitergehende Untersuchungen, zu Bürgerbeteiligung in der Stadtplanung Chinas, zu liefern.

Die Art und Weise der Miteinbeziehung der Zivilgesellschaft kann in Abhängigkeit von der lokalen Situation variieren, für die praktische Umsetzung besteht aber folgendes gemeinsames Merkmal: die Regierung ist nicht länger der „allmächtige Schöpfer“, sondern erleichtert als einer der Teilnehmer die Kooperationsprozesse. Die Zivilgesellschaft ist nicht mehr

rein der „Zuschauer“, sondern agiert durch eigene Anstrengungen und Beiträge als Förderer der Stadt. Während die Planer nicht mehr als die „technische Elite“ anzusehen sind, sondern als Experten, die der Regierung und der Zivilgesellschaft zur Verfügung stehen. In der Praxis ist das Mitwirken der Zivilgesellschaft auch ein „lernender Prozess“, während dem alle Teilnehmer neues Wissen erwerben und ihre Fähigkeiten verbessern. Die Beteiligung der Zivilgesellschaft erreicht eine Bestärkung des gegenwärtigen chinesischen Planungssystems. Zu Zeiten der „City's Era“ in China ist sie ein wichtiges Planungsinstrument um das Vermögen chinesischer Städte auszubauen, die gegenwärtigen städtische Probleme umfassend anzugehen.

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[1]~ [3] See Qingdao Historical Record Office, *Qingdao Public On-line Databank of Historic Record*. <http://202.110.193.6/shizhi.nsf>

[4] See Qingdao Statistic Bureau, *Public On-line Databank of Statistics, 2000~2005*. <http://www.stats-qd.gov.cn>

[5] In 1888 the German Emperor Wilhelm II came into power and Germany started to compete with the old imperialist powers worldwide. Based on the investigations of geographer Ferdinand von Richthofen, naval commander Alfred von Tirpitz, harbour engineer Geoge Franzius, etc., Germany had decided to seize Jiaozhou Bay in June, 1897. On 01 November 1897, two German missionaries were murdered in Jüye County of Shandong Province, China, and that provided an excuse that Wilhelm II was waiting for. Also see Hinz, H.-M. (ed.), 1998.

[6] Among the former concessions established from the end of the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895 to the establishment of P. R. China in 1949, Qingdao and Dalian are the two cities whose urban development are most strongly influenced by the colonial planning and construction. Also see Yang, B. D., 1982.

[7]~ [11] See Qingdao Historical Record Office, *Qingdao Public On-line Databank of Historic Record*, <http://202.110.193.6/shizhi.nsf>

[12] Also see Li, D. Q., 2003, pp.63-5

[13] See Maercker, G., 1902, pp.23

[14] See also Warner, T., 1994, pp.14

[15] See also Liu, C., 2004, pp.140

[16] During the German occupation in Qingdao, the influential merchant's associations were the Lianghu Association, Qiyan Association, Sanjiang Association and Guangdong Association. They had also built their assembly halls, those of Lianghu and Qiyan Association has been well kept until today. Also see Xu, F. P. (ed.), 2004, pp.255-256

[17]~[19] See Qingdao Historical Record Office, *Qingdao Public On-line Databank of Historic Record*. <http://202.110.193.6/shizhi.nsf>

[20] See also Li D. Q. and Xu F. P., 2003, pp.37-44

[21] See Xu, F. P. (ed.), 2005, pp.43

[22] "In an attempt to break with the Russian model of Communism and to catch up with more advanced nations, Mao proposed that China should make a 'great leap forward' into modernisation... Labour-intensive methods were introduced and farming collectivised on a massive scale. The campaign created about 23,500 communes, each controlling its own

means of production. But former farmers had no idea how to actually use the new factories and what was once fertile crop land went to waste on a disastrous scale. The Great Leap Forward was held responsible for famine in 1960 and 1961." In BBC, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/special_report/1999/09/99/china_50/great.htm

[23] The Three Years of Natural Disasters refers to the period in the People's Republic of China between 1959 and 1961, in which a combination of poor economic policies and rounds of natural disasters caused widespread famine all over the nation.

[24] The Beihai Dockyard was moved to the west bank of the Jiaozhou Bay in 2004 for the construction of 2008's Olympic Regatta projects in its site.

[25]~ [27] See Qingdao Historical Record Office, *Qingdao Public On-line Databank of Historic Record*. <http://202.110.193.6/shizhi.nsf>

[28] In 1984 the city began to exploit Huangdao District, which is sited in the western bank of the Jiaozhou Bay, as a "Economic and Technical Development Zone". This strategy provided much industrial land for the growing investment, and began to change the "belt" pattern of the city. The linear distance between Huangdao and the old downtown is only 2.6 sea miles (4.5 kilometres), but actually the traffic could only rely on the ferry that was largely affected by the weather, and the 120-Kilometer highway along Jiaozhou Bay, as the costly flyover bridge was only in blueprint. Due to inconvenient traffic condition Huangdao District developed mainly as a mono-functional industrial area and could not exist as an organic component of the city. Also see Li D. Q. and Xu F. P. , 2003, pp.39

[29] See Duan D., 2002. http://aoyun.qingdaonews.com/gb/content/2002-07/01/content_750925.htm

[30] Qingdao Statistic Bureau, *Public On-line Databank of Statistics*. www.stats-qd.gov.cn/fxzl/contents/ndgb/tjgbcx.asp?nf=2003

[31] Qingdao Statistic Bureau, *Qingdao Public On-line Databank of Statistics 2000-2005*. www.stats-qd.gov.cn/fxzl/contents/ndgb/tjgbcx.asp?nf=2004

[32] Qingdao Urban Planning Bureau, 1999, pp.43

[33], [34] Ibid., pp.66-69

[35] ~ [40] Qingdao Statistic Bureau, *Qingdao Public On-line Databank of Statistics 2000-2005*. <http://www.stats-qd.gov.cn>

[41] Also see Hassenflug, D., 2000

[42] See Qingdao Historical Record Office, *Qingdao Public On-line Databank of Historic Record*. <http://202.110.193.6/shizhi.nsf>

[43] Qingdao Statistic Bureau, *Qingdao Public On-line Databank of Statistics 2000-2005*
<http://www.stats-qd.gov.cn>

[44] See People's Daily, 2002. 5. 7.

[45]~ [47] Chinese Economic Weekly, 2004.1.2

[43] Qingdao Statistic Bureau, *Qingdao Public On-line Databank of Statistics 2000-2005*.
<http://www.stats-qd.gov.cn>

[44] People's Daily, Qingdao guojian bianjie chengshi gongjiao wang (Qingdao Building Convenient Public Traffic). 2002. 5. 7.

[45]~ [47] Chinese Economic Weekly, 2004.1.2

[48] See Zhu, L. Y., 2003

[49] See Xinhua Agency, 2005.11.1

[50] See Qingdao Statistic Bureau, *Public Online Databank of Statistics, 2000~2005*.
<http://www.stats-qd.gov.cn>

[51] See Internet Forum of Qingdao City Achieve. <http://club.qingdaonews.com>

[52] See Qingdao Statistic Bureau, *Public On-line Databank of Statistics, 2000~2005*.
<http://www.stats-qd.gov.cn>

[53] See also Hassenpflug, D., 2004, pp.36

[54] See also Li, D.Q., 2003

[55] Own calculation based on Qingdao Statistic Bureau, *Public On-line Databank of Statistics, 2000~2005*. <http://www.stats-qd.gov.cn>

[56] Own calculation based on Qingdao Statistic Bureau, *Public On-line Databank of Statistics, 2000~2005* and Xinhua Agency, 2006.1.2.

[57] Qingdao Statistic Bureau, *Public On-line Databank of Statistics, 2000~2005*.

[58] See Qingdao News. 2006.2.10.
http://www.shm.com.cn/newscenter/2006-02/28/content_1368116.htm

[59] See State Council of P. R. C., 2001

[60] See Hong Kong MTR Co., On-line Information.
http://www.mtr.com.hk/chi/Investrelation/financialinfo_c.php#02

[61] See <http://philosophy.cass.cn/suozhi/huiyilu/08.htm>

[62] National Bureau of Statistics of China, *Official Journals of Domestic Economic and Social Development of China 1990~2005*. <http://www.stats.gov.cn/tj>

[63] In China, the citizen's associations, regardless its independency to the state institutions, are officially called "social organisations". There are four categories for the registered social organisations, namely the academy, trade, profession and united organisation.

[64] See Chinese National Internet Information Centre, 2004.

[65] See Chinese Social Science Institute, 2001.

[66], [67] See National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2004.

[68] Chinese National Internet Information Centre, 2004.

[69] See www.cctv.com/news/china/20060308/100001.shtml

[70] See <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,2144,2168678,00.html>

[71] See also Xu, J. L., 2004

[72] For more information on Chen J. G. see www.fjql.org/qszt/xsyj45.htm

[73] See www.cctv.com/news/china/20060308/100001.shtml

[74] See Charter of Machu Picchu, 1977

[75] See also Taylor, N., 1998.

[76] For example, Planning Commission of India defines PPP as "a mode of implementing government programmes/schemes in partnership with the private sector... PPP, moreover, subsumes all the objectives of the service being provided earlier by the government, and is not intended to compromise on them" (www.planningcommission.nic.in/reports). Public-Private-Partnership Council of Canada defines PPP as "cooperate venture between the public and private sectors, built on the experience of each partner, that best meets clearly defined public needs through the appropriate allocation of resource, risks and rewards" (www.pppcouncil.ca/pdf/awards05.pdf) For Development Programme of UN, "PPPs include informal dialogues between government officials and local community-based organisations, to longterm concession arrangements with private business, but not privatisation" (www3.undp.org/pppue/prog.html). See also Akintoye, A., Beck, M., and Hardcastle, C., 2003

[77] For more information see <http://www.mcgill.ca/mchg/>

[78], [79] For more information on OPP in Karachi, see also <http://casestudies.lead.org/index.php?cscid=142>

[80] See also Colin, S., 1998

[81] See also Akintoye, A., Beck, M., and Hardcastle, C., 2003

[82] For more information on the Toledo development see www.lisc.org/toledo/partners/cdcs_7300/revitalization_7258.shtml

[83] For "the Law on Urban Planning of P. R. China" see www.cin.gov.cn/law/main/law023.htm

[84] For "The Methods of Shandong Province Implementing the Law on Urban Planning of P. R. China", see www.zbcg.gov.cn/Article/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=30

[85] For the content of the speech see <http://www.cin.gov.cn/city/speech/2000091201.htm>

[86] For "Compiling Methods for Urban Planning" see http://www.chinajsb.cn/gb/content/2006-03/14/content_166386.htm

[87] For "Implementation Program for Promoting Legal Administration" see www.china.org.cn/chinese/PI-c/549128.htm

[88] For the content of the speech see www.politics.people.com.cn/GB/1027/3975474.html

[89] For the content of the declaration see <http://www.harbour.sfu.ca/dlam/summary%20record%2005.htm>

[90] For "Decisions on Scientific Development of Enhancing Environmental Protection" see <http://www.china.org.cn/chinese/news/1122847.htm>

[91] For the "Temporary Measures for Evaluating Public Involvement Influenced by the Environment" see http://news.xinhuanet.com/legal/2006-02/22/content_4213064.htm

[92] For the content of the speech see www.cin.gov.cn/INDUS/speech/2002011001.htm

[93] For "Concessionary Administration Measures of Municipal Public Projects" see <http://www.china.org.cn/chinese/PI-c/531821.htm>

[94] For "Decisions on A Numbers of Issues about Improving the Socialist Market Economic System" see www.news.xinhuanet.com/newscenter/2003-10/21/content_1135402.htm

[95] For the content of the speech see www.cin.gov.cn/indus/speech/2004051002.htm

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[96] For "Supporting and Guiding the Development of Non-public Economy", see www.china.org.cn/chinese/PI-c/795128.htm

[97] For "Observations on Strengthening and Improving Community Service 2006", see www.gov.cn/zwgk/2006-04/21/content_259996.htm

[98] For "The 11th Five-Year-Plan of National Economic and Social Development" see www.china.org.cn/chinese/2006/Mar/1156685.htm

[99] "Grau, teurer Freund, ist alle Theorie und grün des Lebens goldner Baum." Johann W. Goethe, Faust I

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Zukin, S., *Landscapes of Power*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991

Curriculum Vitae

Liu, Chong

Geboren am 24. Juni 1975 in Heilongjiang, China

■ Bildung

- 09/1987 - 07/1993 Highschool-Bildung
 Qingdao 2. Schule, China
- 09/1993 - 07/1997 Bachelor-Studium der Architektur
 Qingdao Institut für Architektur und Bauwesen, China
- 09/1997- 07/2000 Master-Studium der Architektur
 Technische Universität Harbin, China
- 04/2002 – 07/2006 Promotion an der Fakultät Architektur der Bauhaus-Universität
 Weimar im Internationalen Promotionsprogramm (IPP) des Institut
 für Europäische Urbanistik (IfEU)

■ Praktikum & Tätigkeiten

- 06/1999 - 09/1999 Praktikum bei China Nordost Architektur & Planung Co. Ltd. (Qingdao)
- 11/2001 - 12/2001 Tätigkeit bei Nitschke + Donath Architekten GmbH, Weimar
- 05/2002 - 10/2002 Tätigkeit bei HENN Architekten, München

■ Publikationen (ausgewählt)

- The Character of Urban Design in Modern Qingdao. In Christ W. & Hassenpflug D. (Hrsg.),
Jahrbuch der Modellprojekte 2002, Weimar: BUW, 2003
- Von der Friedrichstrasse zum Platz des 4. Mai – Öffentlicher Raum in Qingdao. In
Hassenpflug D. (Hrsg.), Die aufgeschlossene Stadt, Weimar: VDG & Shanghai: Tongji,
2004
- Globalisation and the Public Space in China, (mit Xue, B. X.). In Chinesische
Architekturgesellschaft (Hrsg.), Jahrbuch der Chinesischen Architekturgesellschaft,
Beijing: Construction Press, 2005
- On Civic-Orientated Urban Development in China, präsentiert auf Konferenz "Harvard Project
for Asia and International Relations" (HPAIR), Tokio, 2005

■ Soziale Aktivitäten

- seit 01/2000 Mitglied in der Sektion für "Achitektur & Umwelt" in der Chinesischen
 Architekturgesellschaft
- Seit 02/2001 Mitglied im Alumni der Europäischen Urbanistik der BUW

■ Förderungen

- 10/2002-01/2005 Graduiertenförderung des Freistaat Thüringen

Ehrenwörtliche Erklärung

Ich erkläre hiermit ehrenwörtlich, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit ohne unzulässige Hilfe Dritter und ohne Benutzung anderer als der angegebenen Hilfsmittel angefertigt habe. Die aus anderen Quellen direkt oder indirekt übernommenen Daten, Methoden und Konzepte sind unter Angabe der Quellen gekennzeichnet.

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Ich versichere ehrenwörtlich, dass ich nach bestem Wissen die reine Wahrheit gesagt und nichts verschwiegen habe.

Liu Chong

Weimar, dem 12. September 2006

