

**Regenerating Historic Neighbourhoods:
Everyday Life, Participation and Resistance in
Shaping Urban Governance Networks
A Case Study of Nanjing, China**

By

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Abstract

There has been a growing political, policy and popular interest towards urban regeneration of historic places in China over the past decade. The recent urban regeneration practices generally mean historic places are either destroyed altogether, to be replaced by high-rise living buildings, or turned into tourist attractions or high-class shopping centres thus did not respond to the needs of local residents, maintain or sustain their everyday social and cultural practices. In light of these circumstances, protests emerged from local residents in resisting gentrification and claiming their benefits are normal to observe within these years' urban regeneration in China. The overall aim of this thesis is to address this phenomenon in seeking to diversify the contemporary body of research from the Global South. In doing so, this thesis works at the intersection of theoretical engagement with urban governance, public participation, gentrification and critical thinking of everyday life in cities.

The main arguments of this thesis are as follows. First, the way how the local government regenerated the historic neighbourhood in Nanjing shows evident local government entrepreneurialism features. More than inter-urban competition, intra-urban competition is simultaneously happening at smaller scales. Secondly, grassroots' mobilisation illustrates non-government actors can affect the governing processes. Thirdly, existing limitations of the current public participation system explained why it failed to empower local residents and reduce tensions. Fourthly, the strong sense of place attachment was used by local residents as the powerful weapon to resist gentrification. This thesis firmly situates the role of non-government actors in shaping and influencing governing networks. It adds new ideas in engaging with research of social relations, public participation and resistance to gentrification to the contemporary body of urban studies.

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1. Introduction

Recently, there has been a growing popular and political interest in the contemporary urban regeneration in China, especially around historic urban quarters and neighbourhoods (e.g. Shin, 2007; Shin, 2009b; Shin, 2010; Martínez, 2016; Martínez, 2017; Xie and Heath, 2017; Qian and Li, 2017; Yang and Chang, 2007). Contemporary urban regeneration in China shows that these historic neighbourhoods or urban quarters are either destroyed altogether, are replaced by high-rising residential buildings or skyscrapers, or even become tourist attractions which do not respond to the needs of local residents and maintain or sustain their everyday social and cultural practices. These regeneration projects, in fact, aim to attract and serve higher social class people or consumers (Tian and Wong, 2007; Su, 2015). Under this situation, it is common to find different reports online or on newspapers about how local residents resist this urban regeneration taken place in their living places, especially around the ferocity of conflicts with many violent events happening during the urban regeneration process.

Apart from this, it is widely discussed and complained by the public that these newly regenerated historic neighbourhoods have lost their urban characteristics. Not only mega Chinese cities such as Beijing and Shanghai, but also many other smaller and less developed cities now are regenerating their traditional neighbourhoods into tourist attractions (see Su, 2015), or even redevelop and construct land into ancient-looking streets and blocks only for tourism purposes. Many of the Chinese people call these newly redeveloped buildings and tourist attractions as ‘fake heritage’ because they think these are not real historic places and have no real heritage. At the same time, the public criticises the destruction and demolition of

historic buildings and streets, and Chinese people further blame it for showing disrespect to the Chinese history. However, this situation is inevitable. Many Chinese cities now want to re-image their look, to accelerate urban development and also want to increase economic growth (Wu, 2000). Under this demolition and urban regeneration wave, many historic neighbourhoods are regenerated into tourist attractions to attract more investment and to stimulate economic growth. Why are historic places the focal point to redevelop? Can the conflicts local residents have with government and developers be solved? Bearing these questions in mind, this aroused my motivation to do this research.

At the same time, the city I lived in when I did my undergraduate study called Nanjing had very fierce conflicts towards the urban regeneration in one of its historic neighbourhoods. At that time, social media was not widely spread and used in China, newspapers and magazines were the primary resources I used to know any updates of the urban regeneration in Nanjing. I remember the conflicts were so fierce that it even drew the attention from the Chinese premier. The Chinese premier required the local government to reconsider the urban regeneration of historic neighbourhoods, and also to pay attention to local residents' concerns and opinions. Many high-level central government officials from Beijing even came to Nanjing to visit the historic neighbourhood and urged Nanjing government officials to solve this problem properly. This event raised the attention of the whole Chinese society to reconsider different urban regeneration projects all over China in historic places. Not only Nanjing, but I also noticed that many other cities in China are also experiencing similar problems as Nanjing had. By acknowledging these situations, there is always one question in my mind: why does the government want to redevelop historic neighbourhoods while neglecting what local communities want? This question became the motivational push of my research to solve my queries. Keeping this question in mind, I have been consistently following the news about the

urban regeneration of historic urban quarters and neighbourhoods in China, especially about the social conflicts arose during the urban regeneration process.

This research proposed within the Chinese context is in response to Robinson (2002: 532) about the need to ‘construct (or promote) an alternative urban theory which reflects the experiences of a much wider range of cities.’ This is because the research of urban theories is mostly dominated by cities from North America or Europe, while failing to include more debates from a broader context (Edensor and Jayne, 2012). Apart from this, though there has been much research done in China, a high percentage of them predominantly focus on the big cities such as Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou. Underpinned by Bell and Jayne (2009), research of small cities can contribute more to the existed urban theories and understanding the complexities of cities and urban life, and also, He and Qian (2017: 473) reviewed the research progress of Chinese urban studies and argue ‘Chinese urban scholars need to draw from multiple stands of philosophical thinking, both indigenous and western, instead of taking European-American theories as given.’ In this regard, I follow these arguments by giving more critical attention of research in Chinese cities, and also to destabilise the conventional theories developed under the Global North as well as to enrich the contemporary body of research from smaller cities in the Global South.

1.1 Urban regeneration and public participation in China

Chinese people consider historic neighbourhoods have significant historical meanings, especially their role in representing Chinese culture and intangible cultural heritage. Though many of these historic neighbourhoods still maintain residential functions, they are perceived by the government as no longer suitable for contemporary living due to the lack of modern facilities and poor environment. Apart from this, due to historical and political issues, historic

neighbourhoods in China usually have a complicated background. This phenomenon further contributes to the difficulties of regenerating these historic urban quarters and neighbourhoods. I conclude four reasons contribute to the complexities in regenerating historic neighbourhoods.

First, historical and political issues lead to the complexities of the background of historic neighbourhoods in China. For example, Nanjing, one of the historic Chinese cities in China, served as the capital of China during the Republican period (from 1912-1949) and was invaded and destroyed during World War Two. Many of its historic neighbourhoods have lost their urban prosperity since then (Liu and Wu, 2006). These historic neighbourhoods later gradually became the living places for middle- and low-income residents. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party took power and all houses transformed from private-owned to state-owned houses (Liu and Wu, 2006). At the same time, the land was no longer private-owned and started belonging to the central government. In this regard, government alternation is one of the critical factors that results in future social conflicts. Since houses and land now are owned by the government, local residents can no longer manage their houses or land freely. However, many of the local residents still insist on their traditional thoughts as their houses are inherited from their ancestors, they have the right to manage the land as well as the houses. The negotiation of local residents' property rights, of course, complicates the urban regeneration process.

Secondly, the ten-year Cultural Revolution (from 1966-1976) caused detrimental effects to these historic neighbourhoods. During the Cultural Revolution period, not only many historic buildings were destroyed, but also the *Shangshanxiang* movement, namely the young people go to poor areas movement, complicated the demographic background of historic neighbourhoods. Many young people in developed cities were reallocated by the central

government to impoverished cities' farming areas or villages. At the same time, other people who did not live here before occupied these historic neighbourhoods. Once the Cultural Revolution finished, many people who were used to be city dwellers and reallocated to villages and farming areas, went back to their original living places. However, because other people occupied their former living places, those traditional houses which used to hold only two or three households turned into overcrowded places, and some even hold around ten families in one small courtyard. Therefore, the mobility of people further complicates future urban regeneration. The local government wants to lower population density and also to maintain a certain number of original residents. However, this situation undoubtedly makes it difficult to identify who should be regarded as original residents, since these residents have been living there for many decades.

Thirdly, it has been discussed by many Chinese scholars that these neighbourhoods usually have evident poverty features (Liu and Wu, 2006; Liu et al., 2010; Wu et al., 2010). The evident poverty features made the government need to be more careful when regenerating the neighbourhood. It will cause severe social conflicts if disadvantaged people's benefits were not paid attention to. For example, Liu and Wu (2006: 618) indicate these neighbourhoods as 'a community with a concentration of middle- to low-income retailers and craftsmen' and also the 'concentration of the elderly, the jobless and employees in small, low-ranked unities'. Therefore, historic neighbourhoods in China usually are the concentration of ageing and low-income people. During the socialist economy period, state-led urban development significantly transformed the spatial distribution of these traditional neighbourhoods. Using Nanjing as the example, Wu et al. (2010) described them as:

Many of the historical shanty areas and dilapidated old urban areas in *Chengnan* (southern part of Nanjing city) were redeveloped as worker areas in the 1980s but have been left out of the modern redevelopment boom. Most residents there are tenants of municipal housing, and the area has an over-representation of the aged, the retired, the

jobless, low-income households and employees in low-ranking collective units (Wu et al., 2010: 120).

Many of the historic buildings in these neighbourhoods are old and dilapidated, and lack maintenance because of the people who still live there lack the financial ability to protect them. Some of the local residents try to maintain these historic buildings by themselves, but conversely turned them into shacks and caused severe destruction of the historic appearance (see Figure 1.1).



Figure 1.1 A historic house lack of maintenance

Source: Liu Cao

Because of these poverty features, those who have comparatively better socioeconomic background have already moved out. As a consequence, those who still live in the historic neighbourhood are mostly older people with worse socioeconomic profiles. Because of the historical and political issues, the current living conditions are perceived by the government as no longer suitable for people to live in. The high population density also caused many social problems. At the same time, considering local residents cannot protect these historic buildings

adequately, while the government wants to stop the decline of historic neighbourhoods, it is unavoidable that the government wants to regenerate these places. Therefore, the evident poverty features of historic neighbourhoods push forward the urban redevelopment, which requires the government to lower population density and also to provide better living conditions for local people.

Fourthly, since the Economic Reform was delivered in 1978 in China, the change from a socialist economy to a market-oriented economy stimulated fast urbanisation, and it is also rapidly transforming the cities. During the urbanisation process, it is more evident to see the urban-rural integration of many Chinese cities. According to Enserink and Koppenjan (2007), due to a large number of people from rural area migrated from the countryside to metropolitan areas, every year there will be many more dwellings and accompanying infrastructures have to be built to accommodate these people and sustain their everyday needs. As a consequence, historic neighbourhoods are becoming even denser because of urban-rural integration. Because of the excellent location of these historic neighbourhoods, their surrounding area was developed into a commercial area, which means they are inconsistent with the surrounding urban image. At the same time, many social problems emerged due to the worse living condition, such as ageing residential communities, out of date facilities and amenities. Some of them even became the hidden places for illegal activities such as drugs or prostitution.

Because of the dilapidated situation and the growing social problems of these traditional historic neighbourhoods, urban regeneration was then taken by the Chinese government to push forward urbanisation and change the dilapidated situation. One of the famous urban regeneration projects exerted in China is the so-called *sanjiu* redevelopment in Guangdong province, namely three types of old area regeneration: old factories, old villages and old urban

areas (Wu, 2015). Wu (2015: 165) regards this regeneration as a method to have resettlement housing and also change into ‘office and commercial buildings or housing sold in the market to generate capital for funding the redevelopment project’. Under this situation, many of the urban regeneration projects are regarded as property-led urban regeneration because real estate maintains the dominant role under the background of the market-oriented economy (He and Wu, 2005; He and Wu, 2007). Because of the dilapidated situation and poor living conditions in historic neighbourhoods, property-led urban regeneration is adopted as the primary and practical approach to re-image the city, as well as to promote urban and economic growth (He and Wu, 2007).

However, this property-led urban regeneration also caused many problems. For example, Chinese people criticise many historic buildings were either destroyed or demolished during the property-led urban regeneration process, which does not show respect to the Chinese history. In Shanghai, the newly redeveloped historic urban quarter Xintiandi became one of the most popular tourist attractions for foreigners. However, it is criticised by the public for the inevitable destruction and demolition of old buildings (Yang and Chang, 2007). People further blames it for appealing to foreigners’ tastes while it does not show respect to the Shanghai history (see Figure 1.2).



Figure 1.2 Shanghai Xintiandi before and after property-led urban regeneration

Source: adapted from Ren (2008)

Figure 1.2 shows a traditional Shanghai neighbourhood redeveloped into a modern shopping centre that appeals to western tourists and high-class consumers' tastes. In this circumstance, Ren (2008) criticises it as only those heritage can be used by the government to represent old Shanghai was preserved, while the others are demolished and destructed. However, despite these criticisms, from the commercial perspective, Xintiandi is considered by the Shanghai local government as a great success. Thus, inspired by the commercial success of Xintiandi, many other Chinese cities started their urban development by redeveloping their historic neighbourhoods. However, similar to what Xintiandi is being criticised for, many newly built buildings were constructed to have the ancient look, which is widely criticised by the public as 'fake' antiques. Many original residents refuse to admit these historic neighbourhoods still contain real heritage due to the huge appearance change of these historic buildings, and also these newly built ancient look streets and buildings are no longer in accordance with what they have in their memories.

Additionally, given that these historic neighbourhoods were residential living places in the past, many local residents have to be displaced to the urban fringe to accommodate the need for urban regeneration. However, historic neighbourhoods usually locate in the city centre, while city-centre living provides great convenience for residents. In China, good education resources are very important to one family, while city-centre living means the family can get access to good education resources easily. More importantly, city centre residential places usually have much higher housing price. The displacement no doubt caused conflicts because many local residents complain about being unfairly compensated, which further caused their resistance to be displaced. It is frequently reported by media that violent events happened during the

redevelopment and reallocation process, due to the developer wants to finish the regeneration projects on time while neglecting what local residents required.

As local residents are completely displaced due to the ongoing urban regeneration of historic neighbourhoods, many scholars who do Chinese research started to criticise the loss of urban characteristics, and also blame the over-commodification of heritage (e.g. Martínez, 2016; Shin, 2010; Zhu, 2015; Su, 2015). Especially, they condemn the government for showing disrespect to local culture and intangible heritage. For instance, many historic places were redeveloped for tourism purposes, which means it is hard to see any local residents still live there. Further criticisms are made by Chinese scholars for the over commercialisation of heritage and the absence of local residents' role with the urban regeneration process. In light of these problems, my curiosity is aroused as public participation is a popular topic in the West for solving public concerns. Can public participation be used to solve these problems in China? This is because I consider historic neighbourhoods as the place to live, it has a relatively stable and homogenous community due to its unique housing structure and also the long-time history. John Friedmann (2007: 260) describes urban places that 'like people who inhabit them, genuine urban places have a distinctive character, something unique, because - like a house -they are shaped by being lived in' and 'what is important is that the form, the built environment, must be inhabited for some considerable period of time until it acquires its own embedded patterns and rhythms of life.' In this argument, he stresses the importance of people who live in these urban places to structure the urban patterns. I question, can public participation help to preserve local residents and maintain the original urban patterns?

Some scholars regard public participation still in its infancy in China (Enserink and Koppenjan, 2007; Wu, 2015). Public participation is used as the method to ensure planning legitimacy in

many Western countries, while in China it is more considered as a ‘political career award’ which many government officials aim to achieve (Wu, 2015). Wu (2015) describes public participation in China as a lack of consultation of the general public, and also not as a channel for the public to participate as there is actually no need to do so. Due to the large population in China, opinions are usually represented by the representatives of their communities, which means, only selective opinions will be listened to during the governing process. Stubbs (2009) indicates that public participation concerning urban governance of historic sites originates from the United States and Europe, with many countries around the world viewing public participation as an essential method in heritage planning and policy.

In this regard, focusing on the contemporary popular discussion of urban regeneration of historic places in China, would public participation be useful to solve the common phenomenon of the ignorance of residents’ life? Furthermore, do the causes of social conflicts only because of inadequate compensation? Some newspaper reports also indicated that local residents’ requirements for loss of urban memory due to most of these original residents have been living here for many generations. For example, in Guozijian, a historic neighbourhood in Beijing, it is criticised by the public for its vanishment of *hutongs* (traditional corridors) and the destruction to traditional family structure (Martínez, 2016). The continuing urban regeneration not only caused inconvenience but also greatly affected local residents’ daily life. As a consequence, it is common to see local residents’ resistance and violence during these redevelopment projects all over China. These discussions about urban regeneration of historic neighbourhoods further awaken my curiosity in doing this research to unpack the geographies and complexities of social conflicts happened within urban regeneration processes, and also my questions about the government’s potential reasons to choose historic neighbourhoods to redevelop.

1.2 Unravelling the complexities of urban regeneration in China

Over the past decades, there has been a growing body of literature on urban regeneration in China, which have provided a robust research background for this study (see He and Wu, 2005; Shin, 2010; He and Wu, 2007; Tian and Wong, 2007; Liu et al., 2019). For example, He and Wu (2007) point out property-led urban regeneration has negative outcomes, such as lack of residents' participation during the redevelopment process, no adequate compensation was provided, the shortage of sufficient replacement housing and the impossibility for local residents to return to the redeveloped area. Western scholars also criticise this property-led urban regeneration has detrimental effects to urban diversity and vibrancy (Hartman, 1964; Gans, 1969). Building upon their arguments, Wu and He (2005) highlight the importance of social interaction for marginal residents under the urban regeneration process. In another similar research in Beijing, Shin (2010) criticises the regeneration as benefits are shared disproportionately by local residents. Furthermore, many scholars who research the property-led urban regeneration criticise the lack of public participation and encourage to use public participation to solve conflicts emerged within the regeneration process (See Shin, 2010; Yung et al., 2014; Yung and Chan, 2011).

One significant strand of this research is studying how local residents are neglected within the urban regeneration process, together with the analysis of social conflicts in response to the urban regeneration of their places. The following discussion of public participation in this research also helps with the justification of the public participation policies in China, and also to explore the recent urban regeneration in China from the sociocultural perspectives. By studying the urban regeneration in China, I consider that local residents their everyday social and cultural practices are an important factor which should be paid attention to within the urban

regeneration process. Moreover, according to Jayne and Leung (2014), the engagement with the everyday social and cultural theory is marginalised compared to economic, political and spatial analysis of Chinese cities. In doing so, I aim at drawing a critical analysis of complex social and cultural attitudes, voices, opinions, values and ideas to account for everyday urban life. Of particular relevance to this research is what De Certeau (1984) and Lefebvre (2017) argue that everyday social and cultural practices and processes are significant within the city struggles. The implications of this research can be seen from other similar studies that urban regeneration can cause devastating effects on urban diversity and vibrancy (Gans, 1969; Hartman, 1964; Jacobs, 1961). Zhu et al. (2011) examined whether the change of a place name will affect local residents' sense of place identity also shows that local residents have strong connections between their identities and the name of the place, and Lu et al. (2018) point out that gated communities have high sense of place attachment due to the homogenous living forms. According to what Friedmann (2007: 217) indicates:

For many inhabitants, the rituals of daily life are a source of comfort to people, offering a sense of security and stability, as neighbours encounter each other, exchange greetings, strike up friendships, pass along gossip or deal with emergencies. They are a source of their attachment to place.

By acknowledging these arguments, similarly, whether the communities living in historic neighbourhoods and their daily life or rituals can be considered as an important factor to affect urban regeneration? Does the urban regeneration affect their sense of comfort, security and also their attachment to place? Bearing these questions in mind, this research aims to situate in the recent urban regeneration studies of historic urban quarters and neighbourhoods, to give more understanding from the local residents' perspective, and also aims to analyse the social conflicts happened during the urban regeneration process, about their structure and network, and also how they affect the urban regeneration process.

By further working at the theory intersection of urban governance and public participation, are residents empowered within the regeneration process? What kind of power structure and networks were formed within the regeneration process? Why are historic places the focal point for government to regenerate places, does it have certain advantages in comparison with other urban forms? By asking these questions, I aim to understand the popular debate of social conflicts within the redevelopment, and also explains the importance of the role of original residents. In doing so, this research diversifies the understandings of urban governance and public participation within historic urban quarters and neighbourhoods in China, together with the critical engagement in analysing everyday social and cultural activities to contribute to a more diverse and cosmopolitan urban theory.

Through the engagement of empirical data analysis and critical literature, this research aims to approach the contemporary urban regeneration in China through three different ways. First, this research investigates the governing mechanisms of urban regeneration in China. To analyse how the government push forward the urban regeneration activities, I draw a critical analysis upon Harvey's (1989) urban entrepreneurialism theory, and further contributes to its theory adaptations in smaller Chinese cities. Furthermore, building upon the urban regime theories (Stoker and Mossberger, 1994; Stone, 1993; Elkin, 1985), I examine the role of local residents and other stakeholders in order to analyse how they affect or control each other, and also how they assist with or resist this urban regeneration activity proposed by the local government. By doing so, I integrate different stakeholders involved within the planning process, and further illustrate its adaptations in China. I explore how different stakeholder in shaping the urban governance networks, and also how local residents succeeded in resisting urban generation and gentrification.

Secondly, I examine the delivery of public participation which is regarded by some scholars as a method to bridge the communication gap between local residents and government and developers (e.g. Shin, 2010; Yung and Chan, 2011). Building upon Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation, I demonstrate the characteristics of Chinese public participation system. By considering the suggestions of public participation within the urban regeneration process to involve powerless people and to solve social conflicts, I argue we should acknowledge its drawbacks and barriers in reality, especially within the Chinese context. Another important strand of public participation investigation in this research is the contemporary excitement of using technological participatory approaches (Slotterback, 2011; Evans-Cowley and Hollander, 2010). I question the limitations of using technology and further analyse the failure of urban regeneration. In doing so, I explore the difficulties in solving resistance to urban regeneration and also suggest adjusting the public participation policies to take care of local residents.

Thirdly, this thesis investigates the effects of urban regeneration on local residents. By focusing on one small neighbourhood, I highlight the importance of paying attention to local residents' voices, concerns and attitudes. Such argument depends on Putnam's (1993) example of a group of mah-jong-playing friends in China, he argues '*guanxi*', namely the social interaction and close-knit relationships between friends is vital to the Chinese. Building upon his argument, I discuss the recent urban regeneration projects in China by pointing out the drawbacks in neglecting local residents' life. Through a critical investigation of the urban regeneration of historic neighbourhoods in China, this helps to understand, what the significant difference of historic neighbourhoods to other urban forms is, and also the influential role of a homogenous neighbourhood can make to impact the governing processes.

To sum up, this research is developed in one historic neighbourhood from a smaller Chinese city. By doing this research, I aim to depict a vivid Chinese society from a small neighbourhood, to diversify the contemporary research of urban studies from China. By analysing how the government regenerates the neighbourhood to stimulate the local economy, and how local residents respond to this regeneration, I aim to unpack the story of the contemporary Chinese urban regeneration, and also how the local residents' role in the regeneration process plays in restricting the power expansion of the government. Furthermore, my analysis of public participation points out its contemporary drawbacks, which reiterates the failure of urban regeneration in this small neighbourhood. To summarise, this research, in the end, aims to enrich the current study of urban regeneration but focus on the role of local residents, about how they influence the regeneration process as well as how they became affected during the regeneration.

1.2.1 Research objectives and questions

The overall aim of this research is to enhance the understandings of urban regeneration in China, linking with the widespread discussion of the destruction of heritage as well as the strong social conflicts, by integrating the utilisation of public participation to solve this situation. This research also investigates the changes of the social and cultural status of local residents to diversify the studies of urban regeneration from sociocultural perspectives. These considerations are to be addressed in light of the following research objectives and questions throughout the study:

- To offer new theoretical and empirical insights into relationships between urban governance, public participation and everyday social and cultural practices in urban China.
 - 1) What role is the government playing during the urban regeneration process?

- 2) What networks or power structures arise in response to the resistance to gentrification?
 - 3) What is the contemporary situation of public participation in China?
- To explore the role and perceptions of local residents in experiencing the regeneration of historic neighbourhoods in China.
 - 1) Using a sociocultural perspective, how does urban regeneration change the historic neighbourhoods?
 - 2) What role do local residents play in resisting the urban regeneration?

To specify, the designed research questions aim at unpacking the complexities of urban regeneration in China are threefold: everyday life of local residents of historic places; the role of public voices and collaboration between stakeholders in the urban regeneration; and the contemporary urban governance model shaped by public participation and non-government actors. By doing so, I hope to contribute to the existing literature in three ways. Firstly, to testify the theories emerged in the west their applicability in China. I follow what Roy (2009) argues to look distinctive experiences of non-Western cities. Does China conform to what happened in the West? Secondly, to diversify the contemporary literature of Chinese social and cultural studies, as Jayne and Leung (2014) argue social and cultural research are marginalised in China. Thirdly, to enrich the contemporary anti-gentrification studies from the Global South. This is a response to Lees's (2017: 143) call for 'we must start to learn from successful resistance to gentrification in cities of the Global South'.

To solve the questions and achieve the objectives of this research, I mull over appropriate research methods to design a suitable research framework. In doing so, I aim to enrich the existing literature of knowledge from the Chinese background. This research unpacks the role of local residents and the governing mechanisms of urban regeneration in China by

investigating how the local government tries to push forward the urban regeneration, how social conflicts emerged and how can resistance and conflict influence the urban regeneration process. Furthermore, it also extends the contemporary discussion from the economic, political and spatial analysis of Chinese cities to the social and cultural investigations. As John Friedmann describes Chinese cities:

Place-making in urban China, results from the intersection of the state with the everyday life of the people. The state not only decides on the physical form of the city- its layout and planning – but also on the rules and regulations that govern its life..... Thus, throughout history, place-making has always been a social process fraught with reluctant obedience to authority, popular resistance and displacement (Friedmann, 2007: 272).

By following John Friedmann's argument, this research will clarify the place-making process through urban regeneration by discussing the reluctant obedience, resistance and displacement.

1.2.2 Methodologies and case study framework

Appropriate and suitable research methods can further add competency and robustness to this study. To unpack the complexities of urban regeneration in China, I choose qualitative mixed research methods to answer the research questions I listed above. Research methods such as in-depth semi-structured interviews, textual analysis as well as participant observation are adopted. These qualitative research methods allow me to get access to participants and interviewees directly, and also balance other methods to eliminate potential research errors. I decide case study approach for this research is because Yin (2013) states it allows social science researchers to investigate contextual effects upon social phenomena. Furthermore, a single case study is chosen because I aim to do an in-depth and detailed case study to answer my research questions.

By following the suggestions made by Bell and Jayne (2009) that small cities can contribute to diverse urban theories, I select a smaller Chinese city called Nanjing as my case study. I define

Nanjing as a smaller Chinese city because it is unlike those flagship Chinese cities such as Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou, which has less influence from the central government. This justification does not come from its population but because of its role in comparison with other mega Chinese cities. A historic neighbourhood from Nanjing called Pingshijie is selected as the case study due to its unique characteristics, especially typical regeneration and resistance events once happened in this neighbourhood. The selection of the case study as well as the research design further add strength to this study of urban regeneration in China. As a young female student educated in a foreign country, this gave me the advantage to get access to the interviewees. I recruited my interviewees randomly in various locations of Pingshijie neighbourhood to ensure the data diversity. Furthermore, appropriate research ethics were decided in advance to ensure the privacy, confidentiality and security of the whole study process.

1.3 Thesis structure

The remaining part of this thesis contains seven chapters. In Chapter 2 and 3 I draw the extensive and critical literature review of relevant research of urban governance and public participation, especially focus on the background of historic places. Chapter 2 reviews the meaning and importance of historic urban quarters and neighbourhoods. It also evaluates common strategies such as urban conservation and regeneration in conserving and regenerating the historic places. These examinations of relevant literature in this chapter helps to situate this research within a broad background. By supporting historic places should be conserved as a place to live (Orbasli, 2002), I highlight the importance of local communities and suggest we should focus on the influence of the regeneration brought on local residents' life. The following review of resistance to gentrification and displacement further opens the gaps for my research.

Chapter 3 is the literature review of relevant urban governance and public participation research. By doing so, it explains different power structures and networks formed under the urban transformation process, as well as related theories adapted under the Chinese context. By reviewing existing research of urban governance, I choose specific research theories such as urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989) and urban regime theory (Stone, 1989) to help with the investigation of the government's motivation to regenerate historic places. I further evaluate existing public participation research to understand its advantages and limitations. By reviewing urban governance and public participation together, this assists with my analysis of the power structure and networks within the urban regeneration process, about how government utilise their power in response to the social conflicts arouse by local residents.

In Chapter 4, I clarify the research methodologies that are adopted in this research. I choose a suitable philosophical perspective to investigate the research questions. To ensure this research will be delivered rigorously, I decide mixed usage of both qualitative and ethnographic methods to answer the questions. The selection of the case study area further adds competency and robustness to this research based on the famous resistance events happened in the past. By explaining my research ethics and positionality, I describe how I collected and organised my data, and further addressed the difficulties in researching in a non-English speaking country.

Chapters 5, chapter 6 and 7 are the empirical analysis chapters, which include the research findings and analysis of this research. In chapter 5, building upon David Harvey's (1989) urban entrepreneurialism theory, I argue it is local government entrepreneurialism that the local government in managing the historic neighbourhood. I further argue the local government is utilising the historic value to succeed within the inter/intra-urban competition. This chapter also answers the questions of the social conflicts arising within the urban regeneration process.

I highlight there are two coalitions formed within the urban regeneration process, while public participation is regarded as a vital strategy used by the government to push forward urban regeneration. By analysing the role of public participation, it further helped with later detailed examination of public participation system in Nanjing.

Chapter 6 presents the research findings of public participation. I clarify the reasons for the failure of public participation because of its tokenism and elite-leading features. This analysis helps to address the questions of whether public participation can help with the social conflict that emerged during the urban regeneration process. By analysing the reasons why local residents participate or not and other different stakeholders involved in the urban regeneration process, also how government officials organise the public participation events, I conclude by outlining the drawbacks of contemporary public participation system in China. In doing so, I integrate recent popular debates of collaborative participation in the west and hypothesise its delivery in reality within the Chinese context.

In chapter 7, I present my findings of how the government tried to regenerate the historic neighbourhood and what are the outcomes of the urban regeneration. In this case, I find the way government regenerated the historic neighbourhood without incorporating local residents led to the failure of regeneration, and also local residents in historic neighbourhoods have a strong sense of place identity and attachment which help them succeed the resistance.

Chapter 8 is the conclusion of the whole thesis. In chapter 8, I review what I have done in this research and conclude the main research findings in response to the research questions I have listed. I further conclude my research findings and analysis throughout analysis chapters and conclude local residents' resistance to urban regeneration in shaping the urban governance

networks. I argue money compensation could complicate the urban regeneration process, and local residents' voices should not be neglected by the government. This is because the continuing ignorance of their voices makes the redevelopment of Pingshijie rather unclear. I demonstrate my contribution to the existing research literature, and also points out the future research agenda. Finally, I comment on the current urban regeneration in China, and conclude this whole research by suggesting more attention should be paid to local communities, and special attention should be made when research in China due to the political difference.

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the foundation by emphasising the need to do empirical research of urban regeneration in China, in relation to the popular debate of local residents' resistance as well as the ignorance to their everyday social and cultural practices. In terms of this phenomenon, two main theoretical objectives are established. One is to assess the role of the government and different stakeholders, about how they shaped the urban governance networks, and what kind of power structures are established when public participation is utilised within the resistance process. Another objective is to research how local residents are affected during the urban regeneration process by evaluating their daily activities, and why local residents' voices should not be neglected by the government. In doing so, I hope to provide more diversity from smaller cities in the Global South to the current body of urban studies. The following chapters about the existing literature of urban regeneration, governance and public participation in both western countries and China have provided evidence in supporting and locating this research.

2. Conservation, regeneration and gentrification

Over the last few decades, the large scale and extensive redevelopment of historic places in China have widely drawn public attention. These years' fast urbanisation in China caused different degrees of urban regeneration which further led to the displacement of local residents. In this respect, this chapter reviews the relevant literature of historic places critically to structure a research background for the later detailed analysis of urban regeneration in China. In doing so, I aim at understanding the value of historic urban quarters, the effects of urban regeneration and conservation, especially about property-led and culture-led urban regeneration. Moreover, the post-regeneration circumstance is further examined to investigate the impacts to local residents. This chapter consists of five sections. First, I review the background of the historic urban neighbourhoods, about what is historic neighbourhood or urban quarter, their value and importance to our human society. This section illustrates the common circumstances of historic neighbourhoods and clarifies what leads to the decline. In this section, I highlight the importance of local residents' daily activities to interpret everyday social, cultural and political practices as well as the heritage identities (Graham, 2002). Secondly, I examine relevant measures such as urban conservation intensively to find out what are the impacts of urban conservation and what is considered to be conserved by the public. In this section, I advocate the argument that urban conservation should prolong historic neighbourhoods and as a place to in (Orbasli, 2002). Thirdly, this chapter further talks about

the measures that adopted widely around the world to utilise historic neighbourhoods, and several urban regeneration measures that relate to this research. I assert these points are important as they help to understand the value and meaning of historic urban quarters or neighbourhoods to local residents and governments. It also assists with my later analysis and discussion of urban governance and public participation. In this section, I highlight the importance to engage local residents within culture-led urban regeneration (Miles and Paddison, 2005) as well as the negative effects to local residents under property-led urban regeneration (Turok, 1992; He and Wu, 2007). The fourth section, I point out the fall behind research area, i.e. resistance to displacement and gentrification emerged during urban regeneration. The last section is about the relevant research adapted in the Chinese context. In this section, I review the literature and also the theories adaptations in China. In this section I highlight the common poverty features of Chinese historic neighbourhoods, and I further point out urban conservation and urban regeneration in fact play the similar role in China (Shin, 2010; Su, 2010). In the end, I further identify the research gaps and relate them with the contemporary urban regeneration of historic neighbourhoods in China.

2.1 Theorising historic neighbourhoods

According to Tiesdell et al. (1996), we can look through five elements to define historic places, such as boundaries, character and identity, functions and economic linkages. Building upon his argument, I highlight ‘character’ and ‘identity’ to define a historic neighbourhood. Like Zahirovic-Herbert and Chatterjee (2012: 369) argue, ‘the cultural and historical resources of a community tell the story of its past and create a degree of uniqueness that separates its identity from communities.’ According to Doratli et al. (2004), we need to consider the value of historic neighbourhoods as a part of cultural heritage, and the continuity of the memory of communities. I contend historic neighbourhoods comprise human activity, it is a symbol of what people had

done in the past during specific times. In this regard, I argue it is insufficient to only focus on their physical structure to define a historic neighbourhood. To specify, a historic neighbourhood comprises not only the historic buildings, landscapes and other physical features of the past but also contains the history of the all the communities who have made them home in a country (Vehbi and Hoskara, 2009).

While Graham (2002) is correct to argue that heritage interprets meanings that attached in the past together with its social, political and cultural contexts. Intangible cultural heritage keeps changing and evolving all the time. It is continuously being interpreted by people's daily lives and is the continuity of culture (Wesener, 2017). If as Zukin (2011) argues culture distinctiveness and authenticity build upon the right of individuals can decide freely where they can live, and local history is a must, I argue local residents and their activities are inseparable to carry on local history and highlight local distinctiveness. While Tiesdell et al. (1996) listed several values of historic urban quarters, namely aesthetic value, value for architectural, environmental and functional diversity, resource value, and also its value for cultural memory continuity and economic and commercial value, it is noteworthy to highlight the importance of cultural memory continuity. This is because historic urban quarters are the witnesses of the past civilisations and accumulation of creativeness, thus it is questionable whether the traditional acknowledgement of historic urban quarters such as old buildings with historic walls or churches are still applicable. For example, it excludes the existence of community living and culture in historic residential areas (Steinberg, 1996). Intangible cultural heritage in historic urban neighbourhoods are not the items that can be placed in the museum. I emphasise that historic neighbourhoods have its specific place in the cultural and historical heritage of any country, due to their coherent entities, and they are identified by their traditional character and architectural value (Doratli et al., 2004).

To reiterate, the historic neighbourhood is a representation of human activities by showing the trace of city development and people's activities. The historical buildings which were built by our ancestors, the urban display and the heritage, all are the representation of human activities. It contains a mix of assets that provide many possibilities for defining its identity and definition in its buildings, streets, squares and people (Doratli et al., 2004). In this regard, historic places have their importance to embrace cultural identity, to fulfil different economic and cultural usages in order to highlight the importance of heritage in representing the places (Doratli et al., 2004; Graham, 2002).

2.2 Conserving historic neighbourhoods

According to Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000), a historic neighbourhood is the outcome of a dialectical interplay between the government and local resident's everyday activities. Thus, urban conservation is used by many countries as one of the key strategies to protect and prolong historic places. As Tiesdell et al. (1996) demonstrate, conservation policies are concerned with groups of historic buildings, townscape and the space between buildings. To highlight the importance of intangible cultural heritage as well as local residents' everyday activities, I argue Tiesdell et al. (1996) failed to incorporate the conservation of intangible value of historic neighbourhoods, like what Orbasli (2002: 1) indicates 'the aim of urban conservation must be to enhance the environment and ensure its continuity as a place to live', urban conservation does not simply mean preservation of one individual building of historical significance or the wholesome preservation of something is old, but represents the creative use and re-use the city as a whole, together with its cultural practices (Steinberg, 1996; Zancheti and Jokilehto, 1997).

According to Listokin et al. (1998), urban conservation should be utilised especially for historic places because heritage tourism is a multibillion-dollar industry which can help to revitalise the local community. Cohen (2001) also indicates that suitable urban conservation strategies can transform historic cities into hubs of cultural activity instead of merely for residential usages. However, this is questionable, as Orbasli (2002) argues the importance of urban conservation of historic places to prolong and enhance its continuity as a place to live, Listokin et al. (1998) and Cohen (2001) no doubt neglected people as the significant entity that to structure the urban characteristics. In this regard, it is reasonable that Listokin et al. (1998) suggest using tourism to help with the revitalisation of the local community might be rather challenging to realise and can even cause gentrification, that is to say, low-income residents' benefits could be sacrificed if tourism development was prioritised under urban conservation.

For example, Larkham (1996) argues urban conservation is proposed mostly by middle-class residents, which aim to keep communities intact to help to resist the further advancement of profit-seeking investors and developers. Larkham's (1996) argument shows the limitation of urban conservation to care all the residents' benefits. Similarly, it is argued by Smith (1998) in his response to Listokin et al. (1998), historic preservation usually will cause gentrification and drive away low-income residents due to the rising rents and housing price, and these areas will be targeted by profit-seeking capital investment. While Neil Smith (1998) is correct that historic preservation could cause negative impacts to low-income residents due to their inability to afford normal everyday life as they were before the urban conservation has taken place. As he highlights, urban conservation mainly protects middle-class people's benefits (Smith, 1998). Furthermore, Zukin (1982) examined the historic preservation in New York and indicates that middle-class property-owners joined the preservation movement to protect the existing social amenities from large scale redevelopment. Leichenko et al. (2001) investigated

the historic preservation in Texas and found it is associated with property value improvement. However, these historic preservation examples controversially contributed to the proliferation of gentrification. These circumstances echo what Smith (1998) indicates urban conservation might drive away low-income residents.

In light of these considerations, I argue not only physical structures but many intangible resources or heritage, should also be paid attention to during the urban conservation process. Thus, as Rodwell (2008) argues that cultural identity embedded in many ways, I argue whatever it is tangible or intangible, the continuity of cultural identity and diversity should be respected. According to Hubbard (1993), conservation can act as an essential factor to maintain individual and group identities in response to the globalisation of culture. For example, in Singapore, where urban conservation plays the important role of preserving its Asian roots to prevent complete westernisation (Lee, 1996). Moreover, Steinberg (1996) argues that there exists an urgent need to sustain the typical and essential qualities of historic city areas, together with the life of indigenous residential communities. Moreover, they also need to adapt to the change of physical structures and economic activities, the potential conflict between continuity, the change in the urban structures and their elements should be further considered (Zancheti and Jokilehto, 1997). In this way these arguments support what Orbasli (2002) argues to prolong historic neighbourhoods as a place to live. However, it is questionable, how to define indigenous residential communities? Should we decide from their birthplace, residential time or their contribution to the community?

2.3 Regenerating historic neighbourhoods

Urban regeneration is one of the major strategies that used to reverse the continuous urban decline and change the dilapidated living conditions. This is because historic urban quarters

cannot avoid degeneration due to different factors, such as the demographic change, time change, or economic change. Merely urban conservation cannot maximise what Tiesdell et al. (1996) indicate the economic value of historic places. Especially, urban decline of these old districts and neighbourhoods represents not only physical deterioration but also structural and functional decline (He and Wu, 2005). Therefore, urban regeneration is widely applied in many countries as the effective strategy to reverse urban decline. According to Tallon (2013), urban regeneration is not only about the rehabilitation or improvement of physical appearance, but also about the reconstruction of the social and economic environment, about bringing the new life mode and improved living environment to local people. Therefore, I highlight Tallon's (2013) argument of urban regeneration in reconstructing the social environment and redevelop it as a place to live, to further highlight urban conservation of historic neighbourhoods should prolong it as place to live (Orbasli, 2002).

Urban regeneration was first adopted in the United States for slum clearance and large-scale redevelopment, and then the UK and the other European countries (Carmon, 1999; McGuirk, 2000). Now it is widely applied in other non-Western cities such as Seoul, Shanghai and Hong Kong (Shin, 2009a; He and Wu, 2007; Ng, 2002). As Roberts (2000) indicates, urban regeneration can be viewed as the outcome and response to the opportunities and challenges presented by urban degeneration in particular time and specific places. Tallon (2013) also points out urban regeneration not only aims to enhance people's skills, capacities and confidence to enable them to participate in the activities and benefit from the opportunities, but also aims to improve and upgrade the general appeal of the place. Of particular relevance to this study is the contemporary literature of urban regeneration from two strands: property-led and culture-led urban regeneration. According to Turok (1992: 362), 'property development can be defined as the assembly of finance, land, building materials, and labour to produce or

improve buildings or occupation and investment purposes', it is the approach to generate growth and sustain all-round development, which has been widely used to restructure the city.

For example, Turok (1992) argues there are five ways to generate positive economic effects through property-led urban regeneration: construction activity, indigenous growth, inward investment, neighbourhood revitalisation and local economic restructuring. While it is correct to highlight that property-led urban regeneration supports neighbourhood revitalisation, it is criticised by some UK based scholars for its inability of providing long-time jobs. For instance, property-led urban regeneration is principally used in the UK to reverse post-industrial the economic and population, such as Manchester, Glasgow and Newcastle (Quilley, 1999; Jones, 1996; Usher and Davoudi, 1992). Despite its success in physical regeneration, property-led urban regeneration is criticised by many scholars for the lack of long-time job creation and the short-term perspectives of immediate physical redevelopment (Jones and Watkins, 1996; Law, 1992; Usher and Davoudi, 1992). In other places, such as small 'city-states' like Singapore and Hong Kong, property-led urban regeneration is utilised because of the scarce land value that real estate has become the significant role in economic development, where it is criticised for little room was left for the community (Haila, 2000; Ng, 2002), and further caused serious outcomes of social polarisation and community sustainability such as Seoul in South Korea (Shin, 2009a). Thus, this phenomenon testified what Turok (1992: 361) criticises the lack of 'embody concerns for people lived in deprived areas' and the quality of local residents' life.

Culture-led urban regeneration is principally proposed to re-image the city and change the decline look. Paddison (1993) argues city marketing is used to rebuild and redefine the city image. Some scholars indicate culture is regarded as a critical method to bolster economy and city development to deal with declined urban sites (Wang, 2009; Evans, 2005). However,

merely property-led urban regeneration could cause negative effects such as no long-time jobs created and lack of concerns for people living in deprived areas (Turok, 1992; Imrie and Thomas, 1993). While in supporting Orbasli's (2002) argument that urban conservation focuses not only on physical structures but also on conserving and reconstructing the intangible items, maintaining the continuity of cultural practices, I highlight what Graham (2002: 1,003) indicates that 'heritage itself is attached in the present to the past and is regarded as knowledge defined within social, political and cultural contexts' is essential to acknowledge. I argue that though urban regeneration can re-image the city look, cultural practices and residents are also critical elements that must be preserved. Unlike property-led regeneration is mostly interest-driven, Bassett (1993) points out culture-led regeneration is more concerned with community self-development and self-expression, which in response to what Tallon (2013) argues, successful urban regeneration should recognised the linked nature economic, physical environmental problems and socio-cultural circumstances in the context of local geographies.

Hall and Hubbard (1998) indicate that culture-led urban regeneration is driven by urban entrepreneurialism to maintain a key position within global inter-urban competition. This is because culture can be served as a competitive driver for economic growth when cities seek to enhance their competitiveness (Miles and Paddison, 2005). While Evans (2005) is correct to argue that the evidence shows daily live cultural practices and experiences can better present culture-led urban regeneration, I argue it further stresses the importance of people's everyday activities to structure culture uniqueness. Moreover, I highlight the importance to engage with local communities. As what Bailey et al. (2004) assert, there is no need to create an elitist urban culture through culture-led urban regeneration, it is more about engaging the lives of local communities who live in the city rather than regenerating the city itself.

However, inappropriate application of culture within culture-led urban regeneration such as the change of symbolic representation may cause conflicts (Gainza, 2016). One key criticism is use culture to brand a city usually left its own identity, and the process should base on the local identity as the artificial narratives are not effective (Paddison, 1993; Rius Ulldemolins, 2014). Building upon these arguments, I argue using culture as a strategy to brand the city should in accordance with its own identity, while local people play the critical role within the culture-led urban regeneration to build local identity. Like Lin and Hsing (2009) suggest avoiding the loss and absence of local communities is essential, as the culture which local people create is unique. It is hard to be replaced and can further contribute more to the urban competitiveness.

2.4 Gentrification, displacement and resistance

Though urban regeneration can help with changing urban decline and boosting city economy development, the extensive displacement of local residents is inevitable within the process of urban regeneration, which further caused gentrification (He and Wu, 2007). Gentrification was first coined by a British sociologist Ruth Glass (see Lees et al., 2008), which referred to the ‘invasion’ of middle-class people into a previously working class neighbourhood. It is further defined by Lees et al. (2008: xv) as ‘the transformation of working-class or vacant area of the central city into middle-class residential or commercial use.’ I divide the contemporary literature about the emergences of gentrification into two major strands: the consumption side, such as the emergence of gentrifiers and their consumption tastes (Hamnett, 1991; Ley, 2003); while the production side, talks about the gentrifiable properties and describes the early forms of gentrification as the ‘back to the city movement’ (Smith, 1996; Shin, 2009a).

However, research about gentrification was principally developed upon New York or London-centred western cities while fall short of diversities. Ironically, though as outlined by Atkinson

and Bridge (2005) the need of global view of gentrification, only transferred attention from New York and London to Toronto and Kyoto (e.g. Fujitsuka, 2004; Ley, 2003), and so remained limited to Global North cities. If gentrification really is as Smith (2002) argues a global urban strategy, we no doubt need more empirical evidence from the Global South to destabilise the hegemony of the western established gentrification theories. Early stage arguments of gentrification mostly focus on the topic 'going global' but reveal little about the specialities of different countries. The literature uncritically assumes gentrification in other countries has a similar trajectory as Western countries (Lees, 2012). In light of these considerations, Lees et al. (2016) advance contemporary understanding of gentrification as 'planetary'. The major contention of planetary gentrification is that it now is happening at a global scale but not simply copies of those in the West (Lees et al., 2016). Planetary gentrification emphasises we cannot simply take the Anglo-American theories to the Global South but instead need to push forward indigenous conceptualisations of gentrification (Lees et al., 2016). In this way, planetary gentrification advances traditional considerations and argues more attention should be paid to the Global South, instead of limiting analysis to the Euro-American heartland (Lees et al., 2016). Moreover, contemporary literature also reminds us of the need to pursue 'comparative urbanism (see Robinson, 2002)'. Global urbanism, of course, represents diversities and informalities, that not all the countries simply conform to what happened in the West, which means western developed theories do not mean they are applicable globally. In unpacking 'global gentrification', the concept of planetary gentrification shows us the need to conceptualise western notions of gentrification critically in the Global South. In light of these considerations, research gentrification in China provides the opportunity to enrich the contemporary gentrification studies in response to the call of comparative urbanism.

Eviction and displacement are inevitable within the gentrification process and have long been at the centre of gentrification issues (Newman and Wyly, 2006; Marcuse, 2013). To define displacement, I borrow the argument from Hartman et. al (1982, p.3 cited in Slater, 2009: 295) that it describes ‘what happens when forces outside the household make living there impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable.’ Displacement is the primary strategy in gentrification that changes the socioeconomic profile of the neighbourhood (Freeman and Braconi, 2004). Freeman and Braconi (2004) further argue that the displacement process could be slowed when low-income and less-educated households are involved. Displacement made during urban regeneration is described by Atkinson (2000) as either violence and threats or softer forms of displacement such as the rise in the price.

While displacement has long been at the heart of gentrification studies (e.g. Newman and Wyly, 2006; Marcuse, 2013; Freeman, 2005), there is limited recent research has been done about the resistance to displacement, eviction or gentrification, especially successful examples that conceptualise resistance to gentrification (Lees et al., 2018; Shin, 2009a). Anti-gentrification research, is sidelined by studies of the emergence and causes of gentrification. Slater (2006) argues resistance emerges when gentrification is not considered as the solution to urban decline and blight. Contemporary literature about resistance to gentrification shows it takes many forms, range from small yet everyday acts of resistance (see Newman and Wyly, 2006) to highly visible community protests (Smith, 1996). I further argue that existing literature predominantly focus on the forms of resistance while lack of detailed analysis of its mechanisms or impacts to gentrification. In this regard, we yet know little about what contributed to the success of resistance to gentrification, especially in Global South countries.

Contemporary literature on the Global North sheds light on the resistance to gentrification research. For instance, little resistance was met from 1950s to 1970s during the sporadic and state-led redevelopment where the government purported to prevent urban decline (Hackworth and Smith, 2001). However, later rapidly expanding gentrification in late 1980s attracted media attention, such as the grassroots ‘Tenderloin’ activists resisting the gentrification of one disadvantaged neighbourhood in 1990s San Francisco (Robinson, 1995). According to Newman and Wyly’s (2006) study of gentrification and displacement in New York City, everyday smaller acts of resistance do not halt or slow gentrification but allow residents to become more resilient. Recent research regarding resistance to gentrification as a form of inconsistency to the public’s interests. For example, Lees and Ferreri (2016) examined the resistance of residents to state-led gentrification in London, which is regarded as a ‘slum-cleansing’ activity of low-income tenants, reveal that though protesters failed in saving the estate from demolition, it further proved that regeneration is not in accordance with the ‘public interest’ and discredited local authority. Pearsall (2013) described an interesting case study in resisting gentrification in New York City. According to traditional consumption side gentrification theories, middle-class people and professionals are more likely to support developer-driven gentrification, while in his case the newer middle-class people as well as the low-income residents resisted the proposed development. Pearsall’s (2013) case shows middle-class people and professionals will stand up with low-income residents to resist developer-led redevelopment when it is inconsistent with local needs.

Hubbard and Lees (2018) further argue that faced with displacement tenants would be compensated financially for the loss of property, the loss of their home cannot be compensated adequately. This argument may contribute to one of the factors that explain why resistance emerged: the loss of feeling of security. In Rotterdam, Uitermark et al. (2007) found that

people's resistance to gentrification will change and depends on what kind of requirements they need. For example, if the house they live in is in decline and needs improvement, people involved in gentrification can get better houses will reduce the intensity of resistance. In Seoul, South Korea, Shin (2009a) examined gentrification effects and concludes tenant residents are excluded within the urban renewal process, while they have no right to resist due to property rights belonging to dwelling owners.

Recently, there has been renewed interest towards the mobilisation of grassroots claiming for the right to stay put and housing issues (Holm and Kuhn, 2011). Significantly, I bring the attention to the Global South where more informalities exist compared to the countries in the west. In comparison to Western countries, Lees (2017) argues that middle-class people in East Asian countries are more unlikely to stand up against gentrification because they are nurtured by the state. This is because of the many of these middle-class people work or have affiliation to the government. While in other parts of the world such as Turkey, or South Asian countries, the middle classes are involved in intra-class battles to resist gentrification. Recent research about resistance to gentrification has been done in Lagos (Nwanna, 2015) and South Africa (Lees, 2014). Meanwhile, in Istanbul, Turkey, the renewal projects made many local residents move out because they were not given enough options to displacement. Furthermore, they cannot afford to go back to the area they used to live in. Therefore, a social network based organisation is formed between the property owners to stand up against the gentrification in order to protect their collective benefits (Islam and Sakizlioglu, 2015). However, in the end, the municipality won by either set pressure on local residents or threaten them. In this situation, resistance weakened and the redevelopment can be pushed forward (Islam and Sakizlioglu, 2015). From the Istanbul case, resistance weakened because power holders, i.e. the municipality is much more powerful which can ensure the delivery of redevelopment projects.

Though residents are the group of people will be most affected, Islam and Sakizlioglu (2015) argue that the involvement of government in contemporary urban process is still violent and harsh, which means, the role of state should be noticed in gentrification studies. In this regard, research resistance to gentrification provides us the opportunities to understand more details about gentrification. Like Lees (2012) asserts, only truly comparative urbanism of gentrification shows us why conflicts happened in some countries while others are not, and also why gentrification now is happening globally.

2.5 Conservation, regeneration and gentrification in China

Through the discussions and debates of urban conservation, regeneration and resistance to gentrification in most Western countries, this section aims to highlight the unique differences of Chinese historic neighbourhoods, as well as the theory adaptations in China. Historic neighbourhoods in China, however, are regarded by many Chinese scholars as village style concentrations in the city centre (Liu et al., 2010; Liu and Wu, 2006; Wu et al., 2010). Chinese urban villages and Western ones separately represent two completely different meanings. In most of the Western countries, it is recognised that they should have particular features such as to be small, neighbourhood size; combine residential areas with work, retail and leisure units; aim to be self-sustaining; mix different social and economic groups; have efficient transport and be well designed; and be well managed (Aldous, 1992). They usually have high degree of community involvement in its design and management, and also maximum possible self-sufficiency (Murray, 2004; Aldous, 1992). Therefore, in most of the Western countries, it refers to a place that can increase social interaction and provide balanced community, and also it is a place that exists different relationships based on people's needs and has specific environmental impacts and urban governance (Liu et al., 2010).

However, urban villages in China have completely different meanings. According to Liu et al. (2010), different from Western countries, urban village in China usually refers to village-style neighbourhood. Most of them developed from rural settlements and become transitional neighbourhood under fast urbanisation (Liu et al., 2010). Therefore, urban villages generally have a very high population density and have unhealthy living environment, and also different kinds of social problems which may cause potential safety issues. Zhang et al. (2003) also indicate that urban village in China usually associates with improper land use, poor housing construction and deteriorated urban environment. Therefore, urban villages are characterised with evident poverty characteristics in China (Liu and Wu, 2006).

In China, historic neighbourhoods are considered by scholars sharing the similarities with urban villages (Liu et al., 2010; Liu and Wu, 2006; Wu et al., 2010). Due to many of them have existed a number of years, mismatch between past usages and modern everyday living needs are normal to see (Lichfield, 2017). Specially, historic neighbourhoods in China also have demographic problems. Because of the historical and political issues, many historic neighbourhoods in China now become populated living places with high concentration of disadvantaged people (Wu and He, 2005). Many of them are elderly, laid-off workers in low-ranked units, as well as those people who cannot afford high housing price. For example, migrants from villages started to rent houses in historic neighbourhoods due to its good location and low renting price (Liu and Wu, 2006; Liu et al., 2010). Historic neighbourhoods have concentrated low quality and dilapidated houses, and also with residents have comparatively lower socio-economic status (He and Wu, 2007). In light of these circumstances, historic neighbourhoods in China actually represent one of the urban poverty types (Liu and Wu, 2006). Due to these evident poverty features, historic neighbourhoods gradually become the place for illegal activities, such as drugs dealing and sexual activities.

However, comparing with urban villages, historic neighbourhoods contain important historic value, people who live in these historic neighbourhoods are the live carriers to represent its meanings within social and cultural contexts. Therefore, I argue not only its historic value but also the local people who still live there should be considered as the significant factor to distinguish from urban villages. Like Zahirovic-Herbert and Chatterjee (2012) state, the cultural and historical resources of a community tell the story of its past and create a degree of uniqueness that separates its identity from other communities. Furthermore, historic neighbourhood is an important place to interpret people's everyday activities and lives, and also the heritage meanings are embedded within the social, cultural and political contexts (Graham, 2002). Therefore, I highlight more attention should be paid to people who live in these historic neighbourhoods because of their contribution to the social, cultural and political background of historic places, which help with shaping the characteristics and uniqueness of historic neighbourhoods.

2.5.1 Conserving historic neighbourhoods in China

Though historic neighbourhood in China is regarded as the place with evident poverty features, its historic value is something that needs to preserve. Different from most Western countries, in China, urban conservation shares the similar functions as urban regeneration to improve urban competitiveness and increase economic development (Su, 2010). Therefore, many of these historic neighbourhoods are conserved and redeveloped for tourism purposes, such as Nanluoguxiang in Beijing (Shin, 2010) and Xintiandi in Shanghai (He and Wu, 2005). Given the fact urban conservation is strongly associated with tourism industries, I argue in China urban conservation is more than served as the method to conserve heritage but to better serve local economic growth such as tourism industry development. Similar like Orbasli (2002)

indicates, a historic town has tourist potential and historic quality to achieve market value. This, of course, is treated as an effective strategy to change historic neighbourhoods' dilapidated situation and further to stimulate local economic growth. This is because tourism can help with securing financial support (Su, 2010), due to 'cultural tourism is seen as a significant economic alternative and the attached commercial value' (Orbasli, 2002: 38).

While it is correct to highlight that urban conservation should be used to prolong historic urban quarters and as a place to live (Orbasli, 2002), scholars based in the west argue that heritage and identity are tightly connected. For example, Russell (2010: 33) argues 'heritage and identity are not essences within any person' but 'are manifested and performed through interpersonal relationships and behaviour', neither of them is a priori but are mutually enmeshed (Russell, 2010). Hall (1997: 3) supports the culture representation is 'by our use of things and what we say, think and feel about them-how we represent them-that we give them a meaning.' Graham (2002: 1005) advocates this argument by extending it into 'meaning is marked out by identity and is produced and exchanged through social interaction in a variety of media and also produced through consumption' to relate with the meaning of heritage. However, urban conservation in China is criticised for the exclusion of local residents and merely serve for local elites (Su, 2010; Shin, 2010). It failed in conserving local residents thus could further lead to the loss of its individual cultural representations. In light of these considerations, what kind of results emerged due to the exclusion of local residents? This shall be discussed throughout the research.

2.5.2 Regenerating historic neighbourhoods in China

Since China's integration into the global neoliberalism, property-led urban regeneration has dominated most of the regeneration projects of historic neighbourhoods in China. Scholars who

do research in China point out Chinese urban regeneration is more characterised with the property-led process (He and Wu, 2005; He and Wu, 2007; Shin, 2009b) due to the tendency of a more market-oriented economy of the whole country (Wu, 2002). In order to have a new life from both the outside and inside, many old historic neighbourhoods have to attract investment to fund their redevelopment projects. However, many scholars criticise that under the property-led urban regeneration process, local residents lack opportunities to voice out (e.g. Shin, 2010; Ng, 2002), and can cause harmful effects to the sustainable urban society (Wu and He, 2005). The contemporary literature of property-led urban regeneration in China consider it is based on the expense of social improvement (He and Wu, 2005; Shin, 2009b), which means local residents' benefits are greatly ignored. Similarly like Turok (1992) concerns, property-led urban regeneration caused negative impacts on social polarisation and community vitality, which further caused gentrification (Tian and Wong, 2007). While property-led urban regeneration has now been a national strategy as Wu (2002) points out Chinese local governments are working in partnership with business interests to promote economic growth, while real estate dominates urban regeneration, i.e. property-led urban regeneration can significantly help with the economic growth. This phenomenon corresponds to what Harding (1992) argues that property interests are key factors that contributing the formation of growth coalitions.

Different from the property-led urban regeneration in the West, it has its own specialities in China. Specifically, property-led urban regeneration in China is characterised with prominent state roles to achieve local revenue raising, in order to develop housing markets and change urban functions (He and Wu, 2005). It is used as a strategy to re-image the property and promote urban and economic growth (He and Wu, 2005). In China, property-led urban regeneration projects are more likely to happen in dilapidated areas caused by long-time

inappropriate maintenance to promote tourism (e.g Shin, 2010), attract investment and stimulate economic growth (He and Wu, 2005), or simply to exploit its potential tourism value (Su, 2015). In this regard, the recent ongoing property-led redevelopment in China is a growth-seeking action with the change of land use and their functions (He and Wu, 2007). Therefore, property-led urban redevelopment in China is actually property-interest-driven and greatly neglect local inhabitants' interests. Under these circumstances, property-led urban regeneration means that most of the redeveloped areas have to be replaced by people with higher socioeconomic profiles (Tian and Wong, 2007), which further caused gentrification.

Most of the property-led urban regeneration projects in China have been adopting the 'rent gap' theory (Smith, 1987), as Neil Smith (1987) indicates, when the rent gap is wide enough, the investors will see the potential value of the land, reinvest the properties and redevelop it for new inhabitants. This redevelopment will in the end close the rent gap and contributes to higher rent price and lease rates. Thus, property-led urban regeneration in China corresponds to the rent gap theory and further shows it is actually a value-added activity. For example, Shin (2010) considers property-led urban regeneration in Beijing is the key method to enable the intervention of the local state to release dilapidated courtyard houses on real estate market. According to Harding (1992), in Western countries, to push forward urban development, property interests are recognised as the central element to the formation of growth coalitions within the redevelopment process. Similarly in China, property-led urban regeneration is also recognised as the process of rent-seeking coalitions formation between governments and developers in regions like Yangtze River and Pearl River delta (Ye, 2011). By identifying property-led urban regeneration as a value-added activity, it is widely adopted in China especially in some old dilapidated areas, like historic neighbourhoods and urban quarters to push forward urban (re)development.

Culture-led urban regeneration shares some similarities as property-led urban regeneration in China. Due to the poverty features of historic neighbourhoods, culture becomes one of key strategies to reverse the dilapidated situation. Su (2015) argues that most of them are redeveloped for tourism purposes to attract great value from tourism industries and ‘act as an important financial resource to support urban conservation’ (Su, 2010: 165). According to Lin and Hsing (2009), during the culture-led urban regeneration, local culture festivals and community mobilisation could play an important role to revitalise the local communities and also their traditional culture. Furthermore, culture-led regeneration project should involve local communities and also focus on the existing resources of local cultures to avoid the absence and loss of local identities and particularities (Lin and Hsing, 2009). They highlight the importance of the social meaning of cultural festivals and place-based cultural resources inherent in the community mobilisation to the process of culture-led urban regeneration (Lin and Hsing, 2009).

It is noteworthy to mention the place-based cultural resources based on Lin and Hsing’s (2009) arguments. Many of the culture-led urban regeneration projects in China are more controlled by the government while local resident cannot exert their influences on it. For example, in Shanghai, Zhong (2016) finds that arts production and urban regeneration, which both of them are tightly controlled by the state, are increasingly linked with each other through capital circulation and conversion, while local elite artist is the critical media to connect these two fields. Wang (2009) examined one culture-led project called Red Town in Shanghai, which was regenerated to reverse the decaying urban site look, and criticises it as a project seems to prioritise the authenticity of heritage conservation, but in reality it detached from mundane living and aims to appeal to artists’ use.

Building upon these examples, to emphasise, the success factors of culture-led urban regeneration should engage people's sense of belonging, and the local government should not underestimate the degree which local communities can engage with (Miles and Paddison, 2005). In this way I highlight the criteria of assessing success of culture-led urban regeneration need to engage with its local culture. This is because in order to shape local particularities, local government should focus on traditional local cultures and identities which tightly engage with local residents (Lin and Hsing, 2009). Moreover, Florida (2003) also indicates the urban regeneration should depend on the renewal of residents. However, in China, culture-led urban regeneration shows the strong power from the state, that not all the authentic heritage got preserved, but only those can be used were protected (Ren, 2008), which means, culture-led urban regeneration is arbitrarily used to serve elites (Su, 2015).

2.5.3 Gentrification, displacement and resistance in China

As has been discussed, property-led urban regeneration in China caused gentrification, which people with higher socioeconomic profiles replaced the original residents (Tian and Wong, 2007). Western scholars have long been claiming that gentrification is going global (e.g. Atkinson and Bridge, 2005; Lees et al., 2015), but ironically, most of them transferred their focus from London to New York, then to Tokyo or Toronto, that mostly focus on cities in developed countries. To reiterate, if gentrification really is as Smith (2002) argues a 'global urban strategy', we need to have more empirical studies about gentrification from the Global South. In this regard, research in China provide the opportunities to enrich the contemporary global urbanism studies. Waley (2016) points out, existing literature on gentrification in China showed it differs to what happened in the West. Since the last two decades expansion of real estate, property-led urban redevelopment has dominated the Chinese cities (Shin, 2009b; He and Wu, 2005), large scale displacement is inevitable together with complex money

compensation and property rights issues. Struggles, conflicts and protests are normal to observe in many Chinese cities in resisting the gentrification. As Lees (2017) highlights adding information of successful resistance from the Global South to enrich urban theories is important, this section shall unpack gentrification within the Chinese context to situate it in a broader picture of ‘planetary gentrification (Lees et al., 2016)’.

He (2019) demonstrates there are three waves of gentrification in China. It started sporadically in the wake of land reform and reintroduction of housing markets into China, then became widespread because of China’s integration into the global neoliberal economy and now is reactivating due to the redevelopment of shanty towns. In light of these circumstances, He (2019) argues gentrification in China has gone beyond class succession, culture preference, landscape upgrading and capital accumulation as traditional gentrification theories argued (e.g. Ley, 1994; Smith, 1996). Similarly, Ren (2015) highlights the specialities of gentrification in China due to Chinese urbanism has its own parochial frame. Under this circumstance, scholars regard gentrification in China as state-led (He, 2007; Wu, 2016b; Shin, 2016). As Lees et al. (2015) indicate, East Asian gentrification is characterised by a more prominent role for the state than elsewhere. For example, gentrification in China is triggered because of the dispossession of land from the government, that dilapidated spaces being exploited by the government to transform into commodities (Shin, 2016). Thus, debates and discussions of state-led gentrification is a popular topic to explore in China (e.g. Shin, 2009a; Shin, 2007; He, 2007; He, 2010; Wu, 2018).

Focusing on the role of the state, one of the common studies regarding gentrification in China has been adopting what Neil Smith’s (1987) ‘rent gap’ theory, that local states in exploiting the potential land values in order to generate and maintain intense capital investment in housing

markets over the past few decades (see Tian and Wong, 2007). In parallel, with such discussion and analysis, gentrification in China is strongly associated with housing markets, such as ‘jiaoyufication’, namely good education resources initiated gentrification that well-off parents seek to move to good schools for their children (Wu et al., 2016); residents are actually ‘active actors’ that initiated gentrification because their central area houses can make considerable renting income for them (Arkaraprasertkul, 2018). In this regard, most of recent Chinese gentrification cases go from large scale to small and old which are different to the West (Lees et al., 2016), in order to appeal to the growing needs of housing markets.

Like He (2019) argues, recent years’ gentrification happened in China with many of them focus on small shanty towns. Many of them are historic neighbourhoods which become the focal point for redevelopment due to new middle-class people emerging in China are looking back to the traditional architecture (Lees, 2014). While it is inevitable that the group of new middle classes in China is emerging, this of course prepare the ground for the future gentrification. For example, the first wave of gentrification caused because of the large scale of city betterment (He, 2012), many historic buildings or alleys were destroyed to appeal to the western housing styles. More recently, it is now more likely to be gentrified by regeneration or rehabilitation rather than demolition (e.g. Shin, 2010). While rapid urbanisation has meant many downtown historic residential places are no longer able to accommodate modern living standards. Property-led urban regeneration thus takes place at these historic areas due to the opportunities of urban re-image with a large degree of displacement of local residents. In light of these circumstances, gentrification is inseparable with urbanisation in China, and even suburbanisation (He, 2019). This is because the displacement of residents to the urban fringe further stimulated suburbanisation (e.g. Zhou and Ma, 2000). In this regard, gentrification in

China corresponds to what Lees et al. (2016) calls ‘planetary gentrification’; that it does not simply copy the west but has its own trajectories.

To reiterate, historic neighbourhoods in China are high density residential places, thus large scale of displacement and regeneration could cause strong conflicts and struggles. Compared to the call for more understanding of resistance to gentrification research in the West, studies of resistance are rather limited within the Chinese context. This is interesting because China may contribute one of the largest numbers of resistance to gentrification studies. Contemporary literature on Chinese urban regeneration and gentrification have shed light on different forms of resistance. For example, Zhai and Ng (2013) examined the urban regeneration of Muslim district in Xi’an, China, and reveal that the strong religious and ethnic social capital of Muslim residents helped them sustain the right to the place, which finally forced the government to incorporate the retention of their ways of living in the revised redevelopment plan. This case shows strong place attachment, and cohesive religious lives helped the minority Muslim enclave to succeed in urban regeneration, and fight for a right to voice out in the absence of participatory channels (Zhai and Ng, 2013).

In other cases, such as ‘nail house dwellers’, which Shin (2013: 1167) describes these houses are occupied by person who ‘stubbornly refuse to vacate their houses, hindering the progress of urban development projects like nails sticking out and hard to be removed’, shows the form of resistance and urban struggles is an attempt to defend their ownership rights. In this condition, the government may make some concessions because of the resistance. However, this concession is considered by Perry (2008: 46) as ‘state-conferred privilege than as a natural or inalienable prerogative.’ Su (2015) argues residents are not simply subservient to the commodification of their living places but also engage in everyday practices of power relations

to fight for their benefits. However, his research lacks detailed description about how residents are engaging with power relations. While another case in Tianzifang, Shanghai, where public participation was used as a critical strategy, sustained local residents' right to stay put, associated with the transformation of their living places into a tourist attraction. This is because the local government wanted to highlight Tianzifang as a tourism attraction with residential functions to show the traditional Shanghai residents' lifestyles, in order to attract western visitors (Yung et al., 2014)

Other common phenomenon to observe in China is forced displacement with monetary compensation. Grassroots' resistance and protests, such as *Weiquan* (defending rights) movements, are frequently happening in China as residents claim for their rights to stay put and housing compensation (Lees et al., 2016). Shin (2007) also examined the compensation practice within redevelopment process in Beijing and points out not all the displaced residents are able to get monetary compensation and also have rehousing difficulties, which further caused the suburbanisation of displaced residents. Thus, the resistance in China shows a strong relation to money compensation, and also a homogenous group's perceived benefits and emotional requirements. However, those who failed in resisting gentrification, have to bear passive negotiations and accept unfair monetary compensation, and also to tolerate illegalities that caused by forced displacement (Qian and Li, 2017). Consequently, negotiation of compensation has long been a complicated issue in resisting the gentrification in China.

2.6 Conclusion

The chapter reviewed the nature of historic places and acknowledged that intangible elements such as local customs and reliefs should also be regarded as part of heritage. Because they have existed for a very long time, historic urban forms are experiencing urban decay and decline at

different degrees. However, their great historic value cannot be recreated as it is impossible to possess once it got disappeared or destroyed. Thus, urban conservation and regeneration are widely utilised in different countries to preserve and prolong their valuable historic resources. It is noteworthy to mention that historic neighbourhoods in China share the similar characteristics of urban villages. In this research, historic neighbourhoods under the Chinese background shows its apparent poverty features (Liu and Wu, 2006). At the same time, as has been reviewed about its tremendous value of historic urban quarters, the Chinese government usually takes measures to conserve them or redevelop them for tourism industries, which is regarded by Chinese scholars that urban conservation almost works as the same function as urban regeneration does in China for historic places (Su, 2010; Su, 2015; Su, 2011).

Under the context of urban conservation, it is widely suggested by various scholars that social benefits might be neglected and there should be considerable attention paid to local residential communities (Shin, 2010). Furthermore, scholars who do Chinese research point out urban conservation in China is tightly associated with urban regeneration (see Su, 2010; Su, 2015; Shin, 2010) while local residents' life get greatly affected and have to be replaced by people with higher socioeconomic status (Shin, 2007; He and Wu, 2007). However, contemporary literature focuses on the changing of socio-economic profiles of the historic urban quarters and neighbourhood, while lack sufficient recent examination of the impacts focus on local residents' life. The contemporary existing literature argue that urban conservation should also focus on the intangible urban elements and ensure its continuity as a place to live (Orbasli, 2002). As has been discussed in this chapter, the continuity of culture and people's life are considered as the key elements to keep the authenticity of historic neighbourhoods, and residents' everyday activities can help with interpreting social, political and cultural meanings. In this regard, to assess the sociocultural change of local residents' life under urban regeneration and

conservation, what are the outcomes of the loss of local residents and their daily activities within urban regeneration? Many existing literature merely focuses on the changes of socioeconomic status of local residents, while rarely discusses the impacts on local residents' everyday lives. What kind of findings revealed from the post-urban regeneration and conservation situation?

Apart from this, the displacement or gentrification emerged during urban regeneration process caused strong resistance and conflicts, while the resistance to urban regeneration is still an under researched area both in Western and Chinese background. Loretta Lees (2017: 143) suggests that 'to take charge of comparative urbanism seriously then we must start to learn from the successful resistance to gentrification in cities of the Global South.....Cross-planetary learning on gentrification should be the goal of the twenty-first century.' It is interesting that these years' everywhere happening urban regeneration in China caused a number of events that resist the gentrification, while rarely any research has been done about it. In light of this consideration, it is questionable, instead of showing discontent to urban regeneration, is there anything else contribute to the reasons for resistance?

Moreover, contemporary literature suggests paying more attention to local residents and their lives, while local residents lack sufficient chances to voice out their opinions, this phenomenon has been regarded by various scholars as lack of public participation within both the urban conservation and regeneration processes (Ng, 2002; Shin, 2010). It is widely discussed that local residents' voices and opinions got ignored, which many researchers have proposed to deliver public participation to ensure local residents' benefits and to solve social conflicts and resistance emerged within the urban regeneration process. How does the government use public participation within the urban regeneration process? What power structure or networks

are formed to in response to the social conflicts? Can public participation help to solve the problems? Additionally, what are the hidden mechanisms that enable government to regenerate these historic neighbourhoods? These considerations showed the need to acknowledge the relevant research of urban governance and public participation. In this regard, urban governance and public participation research will be further examined in the following chapters to see the possible effects to local communities under the urban regeneration process.

3. Urban governance and public participation

China's changing urban landscapes and development in the transition to a more market-oriented economy has been researched extensively (see Shin, 2016; Leaf, 1995). Under this situation, how the government utilise their power has become a research focus. Many scholars illustrated their understandings of the structure of social, political and economic relations from their local-territorial preconditions (Brenner, 1999), and most of the countries developed their own governance mode through the contact with their rulers and background of their history, customs and society (Hewitt de Alcántara, 1998). Under this circumstance, the shift from government to governance in Western capitalist countries has given the institutional space for the emergence of public participation (Taylor, 2007; Wu, 2015). In this regard, public participation has been put back on agenda to balance different groups and communities' benefits. By acknowledging these arguments, this chapter examines the way governments exert their power within urban development process. This chapter also further reviews the characteristics of public participation, and whether the delivery of public participation will affect internal power networks. In doing so, this chapter aims at providing the insight of urban governance research when public participation is involved in shaping the urban governance networks.

This chapter contains four sections. The first section aims to highlight relevant debates *vis-à-vis* the concept of urban governance. In this section, the shift from government to governance opens the gap for further research. By reviewing different concepts of urban governance, especially urban entrepreneurialism, I highlight to use urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989)

in this research to unravel the complexities of Chinese urban regeneration. Due to the need of assessing different roles of stakeholders within the regeneration process, I further reviewed relevant governance research about growth machine (Molotch, 1976) and urban regime (Elkin, 1985; Stoker and Mossberger, 1994). Overall, the first section analyses the urban governance strategies, especially relating to the networks between governments, stakeholders and local residents. In doing so, I aim to provide insight into how different actors shape the urban governance networks within the regeneration process. In this regard, I highlight the importance to adopt urban regime theory for the later research discussion and analysis of social conflicts during urban regeneration process.

The second section is about the popular debate of increasing social cohesion within the governing process. In this section, I highlight the shift from urban government to urban governance is no longer suitable for the contemporary governing mode (Healey et al., 1995), and it has also given the institutional space for the emergence of public participation (Taylor, 2007; Wu, 2015). In this section, I point out the utilisation of public participation to increase social cohesion. This is because people play a crucial role in urban governance, while pursuing benefits should always be put at the first place by the government (Pierre, 1999; Healey, 1997). By doing so, this section further signposts to the next discussion of public participation throughout the whole study.

The third section of this chapter is to review public participation with its recent theory development to collaborative planning. This review aims to detect the possibilities to resolve conflicts between local residents and other stakeholders. I consider to first use Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation to assess the public participation degree in China. The recent popular theory development to collaborative planning is also investigated and aims to test the

possibility of collaborative participation to solve mutual conflicts as what Innes and Booher (2004) argue collaborative participation can help to solve problems and achieve consensus.

The fourth section is the previous three sections' theories applications in China. In doing so, I identify the research similarities and differences between China and Western countries. This section first describes the uniqueness of Chinese political systems (Wu, 2015; Wu, 2016a) and also the applications of urban entrepreneurialism in China (see Su, 2015; He and Wu, 2007). This section further focuses on the research of public participation from different perspectives and identifies the differences between China and other countries. In the end, I discuss the potential dilemmas of delivering public participation in practice. By focusing on these discussions of urban governance and public participation, possible research gaps are pointed out in the conclusion.

3.1 Theorising the shift from urban government to governance

The traditional use of governance and its definition in the dictionary is treated as the synonyms of government. Its epistemology can be traced back to Latin or Greek, which originally referred to the steering of boats and overlapped with 'government' (Jessop, 1998). While the growing work showed that recently governance represents not only about governing a city but also refers to a wider context. It directs at the attention of power at both internal and external level to the state by focusing on social and economic challenges. The shift from government to governance shows the trend of government is not always playing the leading role in working arrangements (Hendriks, 2014). As Rhodes (1996: 653) indicates, governance cannot be regarded as the synonym for government due to it signifies the change in the meaning of government, which refers to 'a new process of governing, or a changed condition of ordered rule, or the new

method by which the society is governed.’ Moreover, Wu (2002) states that governance refers to the mechanism that embodies the coordination of relationship between state and society.

Building upon these arguments, I highlight governance represents more diversity and has more capacities than the government does. For example, Stoker (1998a: 17) asserts governance has a matter of difference in process compared to government, while governance is more concerned with ‘creating the conditions for ordered rule and collective action.’ Similarly, Newman (2001) argues the traditional ideas of the capacity of government are no longer suitable to accommodate contemporary needs of analysis such as complex social issues. The requirement of shifting government to governance is to get greater access to information or to solve different tasks of social tasks. Accordingly, I argue governance is used to adapt new strategies to shape and influence others. To emphasise, governance is about governmental and non-governmental organisations working together (Stoker, 1998b). Thus, different kinds of managing and developing place qualities are used to deal with the challenges of sharing a place with others (Healey, 2010).

Different scholars usually have various understandings of governance. Pierre (1998) points out governance can be defined as the process which political authorities implement their programmes relate to civil society and agencies, to gain potential influence over urban politics. Stoker (1998) states that governance refers to the action, manner, or systems of governing when the relationships between organisations and public and private partnerships have become permeable, which means governance is wider than the ability of governments. Healey (1997) indicates governance involves the articulation for collective affairs, to reallocate resources among communities and to stimulate economic growth as well as to provide welfare for the entire society. Jessop (1998) points out the common use of governance refers to the mode of

conduction of specific organisations or institutions that have various stakeholders with multiple purposes, the role of public-private partnerships and many other different kinds of strategic alliances among autonomous but interdependent organisations. To summarise, these scholars define governance as the process that different stakeholders can have an impact on and has more capacities than government does. However, governance is not always fixed. It keeps changing and reshaping the landscape of urban governance, and changes constantly exist all the time (Pierre, 2015). It is the results of evolution between citizens and state and usually happen within the visible macron-arenas (Healey, 2010). It keeps changing due to both internal and external forces. Externally, such as the political changes or the new publication of national policies or documents (Healey, 2010). Internally, such as the social or cultural changes, or the transformation of relationships between residents (Healey, 2010).

To summarise, the primary issue about governance throughout the debates is the relationship among formal government, broader governance processes and political communities (Healey, 2010). With the development of the society, together with the rise of middle class, the concept of governance changed from focusing on middle-class and lower-class people's life to criticise corruption and spending taxes on grand projects. It aims at providing sufficient welfare services healthcare, housing for all the residents in twentieth century, and now the focus is more on finding ways of paying more attention to citizens' needs, initiatives and voice, as well as maintaining the capacity to initiate and manage complex development programmes to achieve collective purposes (Healey, 2010). As illustrated by Healey (2006), governance can be regarded as the strategy that connects the rules of behaviours and with respect to the collective affairs of a political community: to allocate the resources among community members. Therefore, the rise of governance is not coincidence. It reflects the limitation of governments and rises concerns to broader areas. Therefore, urban governance should put in a broader

context instead of representing only one single object but should as a set of relations (Wu, 2002).

Of particular relevance to this research is that urban governance primarily refers to a process blending and coordinating public and private interests (Pierre, 1999). It is a process in concert with individual interests and seeks to enhance collective goals and shaped by political, social and economic values which urban regimes derive from its legitimacy (Pierre, 1999). To understand urban governance, it is essential to understand the capabilities of local government organisations. They are one of the key players in urban governance and present in different ways (Pierre, 1999). However, I argue urban governance is more than relating to government and management. It is to analyse the relationships between government and public and private partnerships (Stoker, 1998a). In this regard, I highlight the importance of researching urban governance from a social perspective, to relate more with non-government actors. This is because urban governance is under a rapidly emerging paradigm (Jessop, 1998), it is a process shaped by political, social and economic values which urban regimes derive from its legitimacy (Pierre, 1999). The changes in urban governance reflect three parallel trends in all advanced Western nations. First, politics has been viewed as the focus for proactive development strategies. Secondly, the increasing mobilisation of local politics in support of economic development and subordination to economic and labour markets shows the need for more space of government. Thirdly, the trend in urban governance indicates the expansion of local political action to involve not only the local government but also a number of private and semi-public actors (Pierre, 1999).

Pierre (1999) argues the tendency of incorporation of social actors and the government within the governance process in order to manage the city, while under the global neoliberal

background, I argue the need for 'less government' becomes evident and calls for the practices of privatisation and deregulation (Healey et. al, 2003). For example, Brenner (1999) argues that under the background of relatively fixed and immobile forms of territorial organisation upon the situation of globalisation, different dimensions of urban governance in contemporary Europe are analysed as politics of scale. The role of national governance has to be redefined due to the round of capitalist globalisation (Brenner, 1999). Brenner (1999) also states that urban governance can no longer be treated on the urban scale, but should be analysed on the national, supranational and global scales of state territorial power. Therefore, I advocate what Jessop (1998) demonstrates that the understanding of urban governance should be the mode of conduct of specific organisation or institutions that have various purposes and together involved with multiple stakeholders. I further support what Healey (2010) indicates that governance is now paying more attention to improve citizens' life and manage complicated problems. This is because Stoker (2005) states that urban governance can be viewed as a mode of organising policy around place-based intervention, it requires horizontal integration instead of organised silos and sectors that prevail at high levels of governance. Furthermore, in urban studies, the arguments shift from rationalist, analytical policy processes to a more interactive, collaborative and deliberative mode (Coaffee and Healey, 2003; Healey, 1997; Innes, 1992; Innes, 1995).

According to Brenner (1999: 443), the new geographies of urban governance are constantly crystallising at the multiscale interface between the processes of urban structuring and state territorial restructuring, and Swyngedouw (1996) reflects in his research about the emerging forms of governance involves the replacement of 'citizen state' was replaced by a 'technocratic-managerial-entrepreneurial' one and threatened urban and regional cohesion. By acknowledging both Brenner (1999) and Swyngedouw's (1996) research, I argue the

complexity and multi-level of governance keeps changing and displaying under the contemporary circumstance. From the contemporary discussion of urban governance, it shows the changing relations between the overlapping spheres of different factors from political, social, economic life, and many recent debates of governance are motivated by the machinery of collective action which has strong relationships in the organisation of the formal politics and formal government (Coaffee and Healey, 2003). Instead of only the government officials manage the city, I argue the shift to governance also empowers the right to the civil society, which is different from the traditional urban management, civil society plays one of the most important roles in the governance perspective.

To reiterate, governance is changing constantly. Because of the specific context to invent the concept of urban governance, under the capitalist state background, Harvey (1989) points out the significant shift of urban governance from managerialism to entrepreneurialism, which he argues:

The new entrepreneurialism has the notion of a ‘public-private partnership’ in which a traditional local boosterism is integrated with the use of local governmental powers to try and attract external sources of funding, new direct investments, or new employment sources (Harvey, 1989: 7).

He illustrates the entrepreneurial turn of government starts to manage the city as enterprises to lure capital and stimulates economic growth, it further aims to succeed within the inter-urban competition (Harvey, 1989). There are three main points of Harvey’s (1989) work: First, the new urban political arena now is more embedded with the influence of powerful business, especially the public-private partnerships. Secondly, it concerns more about the ‘enabling’ of economic enterprise than the wealth distribution and welfare. Thirdly, it is more driven by the political economy of place instead of merely territory (MacLeod, 2002). Moreover, Cox (1993) characterises urban entrepreneurialism as the environment occupied with increasing footloose capital, and the investment and consumption competition between places.

This Marxian approach developed by David Harvey about the entrepreneurial development of cities is testified globally to be influential. For example, under the UK background, the emergence of entrepreneurial modes in the 1980s showed the private sector became the key actor in city rebuilding and with the private-public partnerships presented as the way forward (Hall and Hubbard, 1996). Urban entrepreneurialism then is greatly used in the UK to reverse its post-industrial cities' urban decline. In 1990s, Boyle and Hughes (1994) examined the development process in Glasgow and point out the clear difference between American cities and British cities that the left controlled local council dominates the transition to entrepreneurialism, and it is unlike American cities that formed the coalition between local state and capital. Furthermore, in Manchester, which is a typical entrepreneurial city, different ways are used to highlight its urban competitiveness to reverse its decline situation in post-industrial era (Quilley, 2000). For instance, diverse social and ethnic groups, such as the Chinese and other Asian communities' restaurants in Chinatown, the burgeoning gay community and also leisure development in Gay Village (Quilley, 1999; Quilley, 2000). While as being criticised by different scholars, urban entrepreneurialism may deepen the deprivation in cities instead of address the social consequences of economic decline (Harvey, 1989; Cox and Mair, 1988).

Under the urban entrepreneurialism theoretical framework, Pierre (2015) argues that in contemporary society, urban governance is largely characterised by three features: inter-city competition, increasing self-reliance in economic terms and a strong emphasis on innovation in governance and service delivery. Under the background of urban entrepreneurialism, Kearns and Paddison (2000) categorise the new challenges into four varieties. First, interurban competition has become fiercer as cities compete for better investment for progressive

development. Secondly, accompanied by this competition, similar urban culture has now developed its own distinctive characteristics in order to attract business investment. Thirdly, the national government to cities has been regarded as less important and relevant to cities' fortunes. Thus, cities are trying to delink themselves from the national state and outperform each other. Fourthly, cities have been attempting to move towards an international arena through cross-border cooperation and trans-frontier networking. In this regard, I agree with what Kearns and Paddison (2000) suggest the utilisation of a distinctive culture under urban entrepreneurialism to succeed within inter-urban competition. To reiterate, distinctive urban culture has now been viewed as one of the formats of urban entrepreneurialism (Hall and Hubbard, 1998).

The utilisation of culture reflects what Harvey (1989) argues is the fierce competition between different cities and countries to lure capital into its space, to exploit a city's particular advantage to increase its competitiveness. While there is one interesting point about the contemporary urban entrepreneurialism, that the national government is becoming less helpful compares to cities' fortunes (Harvey, 1989). A significant drive of contemporary governance innovation from its national configurations of policy agendas and relations to local and regional arenas, towards decentralising and 'area-based' integration (Healey et al., 2003; Kearns and Paddison, 2000). Rethinking urban entrepreneurialism in the contemporary society, as the advent of digital technologies is expanding in the late neo-liberalism age. Michel Foucault's (2008) pioneering diagnosis of neoliberal governmentality has identified the strategic role obtained by 'human capital' under the contemporary capitalism. To specify, we need to bring together Marx and Foucault to understand the contemporary urban entrepreneurialism (Brown, 2019). Moreover, classic entrepreneurial studies principally focus on growth (Harvey, 1989; Hall and Hubbard, 1996), while recent scholarship indicates that an entrepreneurial city no longer

simply represents a growth machine (e.g. Weber, 2010), but with the trend of questioning the natures of municipal states of the entrepreneurial city (Lauermann, 2018). Research about urban entrepreneurialism also highlights the need to know more about the effects of social networks (Raco and Gilliam, 2012). In light of the debates of urban entrepreneurialism, I question to what extent culture now has become an important factor to apply within urban entrepreneurialism. Moreover, considering this argument within the Chinese context, due to the decentralisation from the national government (He and Wu, 2009), how will urban entrepreneurialism adapt within the Chinese context from the municipal level? What are the specialities of urban entrepreneurialism in China? How is urban entrepreneurialism reshaping the urban structures? These questions will be further discussed in the section 3.4.

The previous discussion of urban governance has shown the recent arguments and research of governance are to shape the thinking of urban politics in many capitalist countries (see Harvey, 1989; Hall and Hubbard, 1996). It has been widely used in political areas and has commonly regarded as a strong relationship with the government or political actions (Kearns and Paddison, 2000; MacLeod, 2002). This situation appears due to the political change in advanced Western countries and appeals to the trending claim of democracy. Therefore, how different power structures and networks are further explored in this section. The power structure and networks are usually represented by two groups: elitism (see Hunter, 2017) and pluralism (see Dahl, 2005). Different from elite and pluralism theories, Molotch (1976) argues common interests are shared by different land-based elites, and he indicates the city is working as a growth machine, that the growth-inducing resources are exploited to invest within its area which aims to compete with others. Though the pro-growth coalition is formed by manipulating real estate development, its value is consuming the local community's use value. Molotch (1976: 310) further argues the nature of growth machine is:

The means of achieving this growth, of setting off this chain of phenomena, constitute the central issue for those serious people who care about their locality and who have the resources to make their caring felt as a political force. The city is, for those who count, a growth machine.

The growth machine theory reveals how cities in the US are driven by property developers and owners, while the coalition they formed is supported extensively by local media, universities and other culturally based bodies (Molotch, 1976; Logan and Molotch, 1987). The growth machine theory further points out the engagement of land-based elites and sacrifice disadvantaged groups' benefits to achieve urban economic growth.

However, the growth machine theory mainly talks about the cooperation between land-based elites, while Hall and Hubbard (1996) further point out the changes in governance should be comprehended together with social, economic and political process at both global and local level. Therefore, I argue growth machine theory falls short of addressing issues from non-governmental and non-elite actors. In light of this consideration, urban regime research further shows the relationships between elected officials and those individuals that affect their decisions, it further highlights the importance to include non-government actors. Stone (1989) points out the urban regime is information governing alliance that formed for urban public-private partnerships. At the heart of Stone's (1980) urban regime theory, systemic power results in indirect conflicts between favoured and disfavoured groups. Favoured groups normally refer to those concerned with economic growth, while disfavoured more interested in distribution (Davies, 2002). Instead of only focus of land based elites' benefits, Stoker and Mossberger (1994) point out that the essence of the urban regime is to focus on solving common problems to enable effective urban governance to emerge. While Stoker and Mossberger (1994) are correct to argue that urban regime identifies any group is unlikely to be able to exert comprehensive control in this complex world. I further highlight due to the urban society is formed not only by elites but also many other powerless people. Though the government

prefers to cooperate with those have resources and power, I argue within the complex urban governance, non-governmental actors should also participate during the development regulation. Therefore, Stone (1989: 4) further summarises it as ‘an informal yet relatively stable group with access to institutional resources that enable it to have a sustained role in making governing decision’, collaboration is achieved through not only formal institutions but also informal networks (Mossberger and Stoker, 2001: 813).

An urban regime refers to the communication between government and businesses which control economic resources, while other participants may vary such as neighbourhood organisations in representing different groups’ benefits (Mossberger and Stoker, 2001). Urban regime does not exist in all cities and cooperation. It is not a given but to be achieved. The regime is a comparatively stable system, and its nature is decided by the resources participants control and bring to the coalition and the relationship between participants. Urban regime shows consensus can be achieved through the interaction and structure of resources (Elkin, 1985; Mossberger and Stoker, 2001; Stoker and Mossberger, 1994; Stone, 2005). This is based on selective incentives and also small opportunities, while regime does not mean the complete agreement but the collaboration they have ‘would tend to produce consensus over policy’ (Mossberger and Stoker, 2001: 814). To specify, an urban regime is different from the growth machine model with its deterministic role in urban politics, as it places great value upon politicians to develop coalitions for urban development (Dowding, 2001). Under this circumstance, coalitions are not simply formed by politicians but also could include important bureaucratic and professional groups (Dowding, 2001).

However, it is argued by many scholars, especially British scholars that an urban regime cannot be viewed as a theory but should be treated as a concept (Dowding et al., 1999; Ward, 1996)

because it has evolved from the US background. While the political systems in other countries are substantially different from that of the US. Moreover, it has limited ability to explain or predict changes in regime formation and maintenance. Thus, building upon the argument of treating an urban regime as a concept instead of a theory (Dowding et al., 1999), it is plausible to ask whether China also follows a different trajectory? Moreover, an urban regime approach emphasises changes of research focus from ‘social control’ to ‘social production’, with a shift of understanding from ‘power from’ to ‘power to’. If as Stone (1989, 2005) suggests urban regime is an empowerment of non-state actors, contemporary existing literature about urban regime lacks an understanding of how non-governmental actors struggle against governmental forces, and still predominantly analyses elite relationships (e.g. Li and Liu, 2017; Liu et al., 2019). In this regard, we no doubt need more research to engage with non-elite actors to examine how they impact on the governing processes. Therefore, I intend to use urban regime in this research to investigate non-elite groups in resisting the gentrification.

3.2 Urban governance and social cohesion

The previous discussion of the shift from government to governance has shown the contemporary capacity of government is no longer suitable to analyse complicated social issues (Newman (2001). In brief, it now more focuses on finding ways of paying more attention to citizens’ needs, initiatives and voice (Healey, 2010), instead of merely urban management. Therefore, in order to analyse the relationship between non-governmental actors, I argue it requires the fully understanding of their inter-networks. To reiterate, urban governance does not solely represent the concept of urban government. Urban governance focuses more on the process and constituted by all the political, economic and social values (Pierre, 1999). Urban governance represents the way that the government contacts and cooperates with residents. The local government is only one of the principal actors of urban governance, and it is vital to

understand local government's organising skills to maximise the understandings. The shift from urban management to urban governance reveals the contemporary situation is no longer suitable for the 'top-down' or 'command and control' mode (Healey et al., 1995). Of particular relevance to this research is that the idea of encouraging public participation during the urban regeneration process reflects different modes of governance for delivering public policy. The shift from urban management and government in Western capitalist countries has also given the institutional space for the emergence of public participation (Taylor, 2007; Wu, 2015).

In this regard, urban governance focuses more on the process and constituted by all the political, economic and social values (Pierre, 1999). Pierre (1999) further suggests that urban governance should be regarded as a process that has mixed public and private interests, which aims to enhance collective goals. As a consequence, I highlight the need to connect urban governance and social cohesion in order to assess collective purposes. In relation to social cohesion, I consider it is essential to know the national context within which urban governance is embedded. From the planning orientation, Healey (1997) points out four forms of governance that tend to be favourable to planning approaches: representative democracy, pluralist democracy, corporatism and clientelism. Among these four forms, I favour corporatism is likely suitable and appropriate to fit in this research. As she states: corporatism represents a form that has a stable consensus, and the agreement can be made for policy development and monitoring work (Healey, 1997). It has many advantages such as to develop and deliver stable consensus and co-ordinate different dimensions of urban policies (Healey, 1997). It enables 'mutual learning' possible among different partners and provides space for flexibility and development (Healey, 1997).

Both Pierre (1999) and Healey (1997) believe people play the crucial role in urban governance, and the idea of making benefits for people should always put at the first place. As Wu (2002) states, urban governance not only represents a single project. It demonstrates a set of relations and the process of formation and implementation of public policies at local level, including both elected and non-elected organisations (Painter, 1992). Urban planning, which is a policy-driven, coordinative, knowledge-rich and future-oriented approach to governance processes, associates comfortably with the models of corporatism and representative democracy (Healey, 1997). Thus, it calls for new urban governance modes to turn into a more responsive and collaborative approach which is in relationship with the worlds of economic and social life.

According to Healey (2010), the governance model which is the deliberative and collaborative governance processes, means involving many stakeholders in developing goals and action agendas, through open-minded processes of collective inquiry and public reasons, often called participatory approach. I consider the importance of government activities to include non-elites. As I have indicated at the beginning of this section, non-government actors now are also playing the crucial roles in shaping the governance networks. As Healey (2010) argues, purposes, strategies and specific action programmes of governance activity not only refer to politicians and elites, but also those with a 'stake' in a place should also be involved in shaping the policy-making situation and be delivered through the discussion instead of merely technical analysis.

The previous review of different urban governance modes shows strong relations with the public. As urban governance is not static and fixed, it keeps adjusting due to the change of place, people and political actions. Across various urban governance concerns, the major dynamics between state and people is how to balance the benefits between place development

and their local citizens. Consequently, it has been recommended by some scholars to use consensus-achieving method to mediate the conflicts between key stakeholders (Healey, 2004; Healey, 1997). For example, methods like public participation or the recent popular debate of either collaborative planning or participation are proposed to mediate the mutual tensions. The critical point to plan the city is to ensure the mediation and harmony among space, people and place, especially focuses on the creation of a better environment for people. However, it is inevitable to affect residents within the governing process. To specify, people are not solitary creatures, one person's action might affect other people's interests. Therefore, governments solve these conflicts by creating opportunities for citizens, different stakeholders to participate and shape governmental policies. As argued by Garcia (2006), governance is a negotiation mechanism that is used to formulate and implement policy. It actively seeks involvement of stakeholders and civil society organisations. It not only involves the government bodies and experts but also requires participation from any other possible partners.

Therefore, I argue citizens and state are not only about the distribution of citizen's rights, or merely about the responsibilities and distribution of checks and balances on different kinds of place management and governance activity. What is important 'is what kind of governance practices dominate in particular contexts, and what kind of institutional culture, or way of thinking, shapes expectations of what goes on and who deserves respect and trust (Healey, 2010, p61).' In this regard, I agree with what Kearns and Forrest (2000) argue that the research of social cohesion and urban governance should look at three spatial levels of the interurban: the city, city-region and the neighbourhood. Social cohesion is defined by Forrest and Kearns (2001) as the need of shared sense of morality and purposes, social control and order, the threat to wealth equality and income, level of social interaction and also the sense of belonging to a

place. By advocating this argument, what kind of urban governance is shaped by social cohesion and networks at neighbourhood level will be examined throughout the study.

As I have mentioned at the beginning, the idea of encouraging public participation during the redevelopment of historic urban quarters reflects different modes of governance for delivering public policy. According to Healey (2010), the governance model should be deliberative and collaborative, which means it is a participatory approach that involves many stakeholders in developing goals and action agendas, through open-minded processes of collective inquiry and public reasons. In this regard, I highlight Healey's argument in presenting the trend of collaboration to increase social cohesion within the governance process. As Healey (2010) illustrates, purposes, strategies and specific action programmes of governance activity not only refer to politicians and elites, but also those with a 'stake' in a place should also be involved in shaping the policy-making situation and be delivered through the discussion instead of merely technical analysis. Therefore, I highlight the roles of different stakeholders in shaping the governance networks should be considered under the contemporary society. As indicated by Innes and Booher (2003), people come from different countries, from nation, state down to local community, their talk and decisions on public action can contribute to new forms of governance and deliberation, and especially collaborative planning method has become an emerging model of governance. Therefore, as Zhang et al. (2017) argue that the social relations and kinships in Chinese society is one of the most important factors to transform urban development. Will kinships or social relations in China shape the urban government networks? This point will be further investigated throughout the research.

3.3 Public participation and collaborative planning in historic neighbourhoods

The previous discussion of the shift from urban government to governance in capitalist countries has showed the emerging paradigm for public participation (Taylor, 2007). Because of the complicated situation of historic urban quarters which involves different community groups and people's interests, I consider public participation as an essential method to ensure ethical and legitimate urban planning, and also to coordinate the conflicts between investors and local residents. Taylor (2007) regards public participation as the opportunities provided for those who were excluded in the past to affect the planning process. However, despite these compliments, public participation has long been criticised for its limited methods provided for participation and widely discussed many people lack interest to join in.

Lack of public participation within the regeneration process is discussed globally. The absence of public participation further resulted in limited or even no value shared by original residents. For example, in Northeast England, Townshend and Pendlebury (1999) indicate those whose daily lives were greatly affected were given little attention within the urban conservation process. Maginn (2007) indicates, the research of public participation within urban regeneration in the UK remains a perennial problem for policymakers. Many policymakers are bounded with local partnerships with those who have insufficient knowledge of the 'culture' of the neighbourhoods and communities they need to regenerate. In light of this circumstance, it could lead to failure due to the unfamiliarity of local culture and people. Reading the examples from the Global South, in China, public participation is considered as significantly absent from the planning process, which made local residents lack opportunities to voice out and benefits are disproportionately shared by them (Shin, 2010). Moreover, the regeneration indeed did not add any real value to the majority of original residents. In Vietnam, Huong

(2016) argues there are limited resources provided to the local residents. Local residents can only offer feedback based on the topics picked by the government, which turns to be a 'fake' participation process. That is to say, in brief, local residents did not get the genuine power in engaging with the public participation process. Sims and Winter (2016) examined the heritage conservation in Laos and point out the conservation and redevelopment are much more focus on the built environment, while local residents' wellbeing was greatly ignored. Building upon these examples' experiences, the circumstance that how local residents are unfairly treated due to the lack of public participation become a critical point to research within the urban regeneration process of historic places.

In this regard, I support what Sirisrisak (2009) indicates to use public participation within the conservation process because it can help to resolve the conflicts. The community should participate in defining and evaluating the heritage, to distribute potential controversies and to avoid inconsiderate development and conservation (Slater, 1984). Some research indicate public participation does make influential impacts during the regeneration process. For example, in Tianzifang, Shanghai, a traditional neighbourhood which was regenerated for arts and creative industry with retaining community, community participation was greatly encouraged during the regeneration process. Yung et al. (2014) argue that community participation within the regeneration process of Tianzifang is one of the most determining factors that contribute to the success of the project. They indicate Tianzifang is not entirely a government-led regeneration project, while enterprises, artists and business negotiated with the local residents, which established a partnership with them. At same time, local residents gained the knowledge and various skills about renovation, design and communication. This active participation is significant as they helped to increase social inclusion and contribute to social sustainability (Yung et al., 2014). Inversely, I consider the success public participation in

Tianzifang due to it is a government-led project, that the government needs local residents to manifest its uniqueness in comparison to other similar tourist attraction.

In this regard, public participation is regarded as an important strategy to incorporate within the conservation and regeneration process of historic areas to care people's life, while how to deliver the public participation activities become a problem. Like Yung and Chan (2011) questioned about how to deliver public participation in historic areas, such as who should be involved in the planning process, when should the public be involved and how the public should be involved. I further question the common discussed issue about why local residents lack interest in public participation, and have little knowledge of the aims and objectives of it (Shin, 2010; Townshend and Pendlebury, 1999). For instance, in Beijing, Martínez (2016) found local residents commonly lack motivation or confidence when they were asked about views and suggestions about historic area conservation of courtyards in Beijing. Shin (2010: 553) indicates the condition of lack of public participation should not be simply regarded as they lack interest, but as 'a product of a lack of their integration into and continuing exclusion from planning and decision-making processes that determined the direction of neighbourhood changes'. Thus, public participation is considered in this research to investigate the potential reasons that residents lack of the interest to join in the participatory processes.

Arnstein (1969: 216) describes public participation 'is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you.' She indicates public participation is a beneficial method in the urban planning process. As now we are living in a pluralist society (Healey, 1997; Davidoff, 1965), planning is used not only as a way to facilitate the city development but also to encourage people from different groups to participate in the planning process and express different ideas. Quote from Creighton (2005: 7):

Public participation is the process by which public concerns, needs and values are incorporated into governmental and corporate decision making, it is two-way communication and interaction, with the overall goal of better decisions that are supported by the public.

If public's daily lives and livelihoods are affected, they has the right to get involved in a meaningful way proactively (Enserink and Koppenjan, 2007). In light of these arguments, I regard public participation as a method to involve interest groups/stakeholders during the regeneration processes of historic places if their normal lives were affected. Residents are usually the majority involved in the planning process, together with key stakeholders who have tight benefits with the urban development project. Therefore, I further argue public participation is the act of creating new knowledge, creating new perspectives to urban planning and diffusing new knowledge to other people during the planning process (Hanna, 2000). It is also the redistribution of power to the have-not citizens, about those who are excluded from the political and economic processes but are deliberate to be included in the future (Arnstein, 1969). Thus, I consider public participation as a method to involve non-expert knowledge, as Corburn (2003: 420) highlights the importance of local knowledge that it 'should never be ignored by planners seeking to improve the lives of communities experiencing the greatest risks.' This is because Van Herzele (2004) declares non-expert knowledge is beneficial to the planning process, people outside the professional circle of urban planning can discover or rediscover creative solutions that could work in a specific local context.

The reasons for taking public participation can be discussed from several aspects. Davidoff (1965) declares if our society was considered as an enlightened democracy, then citizen participation should be included instead of being excluded within the planning process. However, it is widely criticised that urban planning is not 'a democratic thing' and lacks the integrated representation of different sectors of society (Forester, 1999; Healey, 1997). Therefore, public participation is used as the method to involve different voices of society.

Furthermore, Innes and Booher (2004) indicate public participation can be utilised to contribute to consensus in the decision-making process and to balance the benefits between different groups. By gathering citizen's local knowledge, it is a significant improvement to promote advanced fairness and justice. Moreover, it can help to ensure legitimacy for public decisions. For example, Fung (2015) highlights the importance of citizens and the impacts they can bring. citizens can help with particular problems rather than professionals work alone. Webler (1995) indicates 'fairness' and 'competence' should be the criteria for public participation due to these two words cannot be separable. A thrust ideal speech situation should concern fairness which makes everyone have the equal chances to influence the formation of argument.

While it is plausible to regard public participation as the method to ensure democracy and legitimacy, how to exert public participation could have various results. Sherry Arnstein (1969) encapsulates it into the famous theory called the ladder of citizen participation, which she defines public participation into eight levels and three degrees (see Figure 3.1):

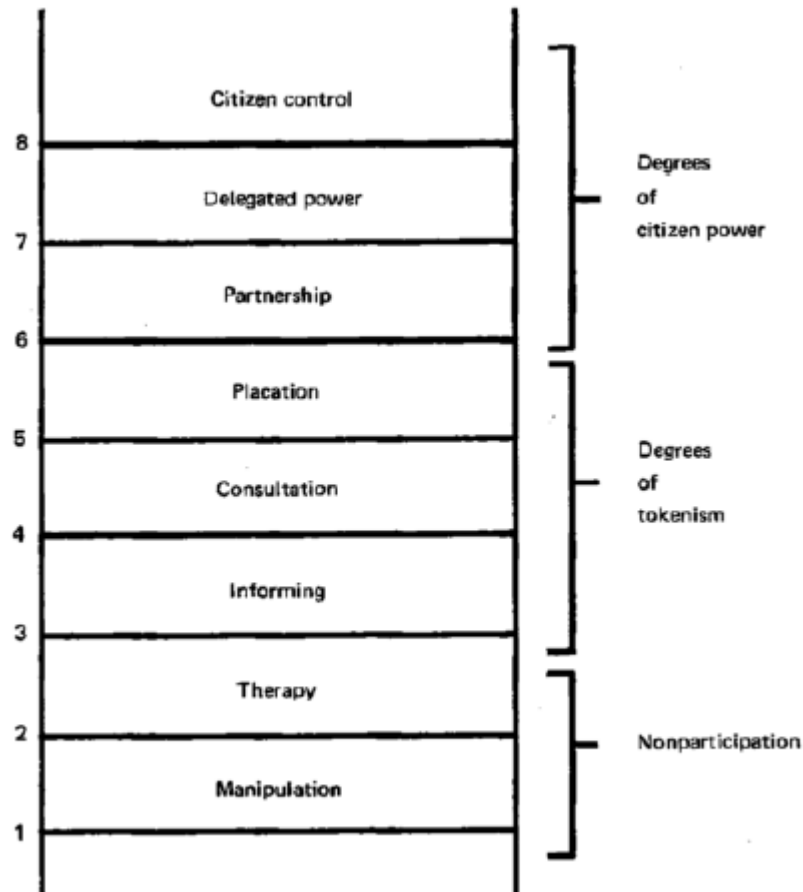


Figure 3.1 Ladder of citizen participation

Source: Arnstein (1969)

In this ladder of citizen participation, manipulation and therapy refer to the degree of non-participation. They are the bottom levels of public participation which Arnstein (1969: 217) argues as ‘their real objective is not to enable people to participate in planning or conduction programs, but to enable power holders to educate or cure the participants.’ The second degree of tokenism which refers to both informing and consultation. It is argued by Arnstein (1969) that under these two levels, participants might indeed hear and be heard. However, under these conditions public participation ‘lack the power to ensure that their views will be needed by the powerful’ and ‘no assurance of changing the status quo’ (Arnstein, 1969: 217). Sherry Arnstein defines tokenism and non-participation are not real public participation, but when the level

goes up, participants become more powerful and can enter into the degree of citizen power. Under partnership, participants can negotiate and engage in discussions with power holders, while delegated power and citizen control indicate the have-not citizens consist of the majority of decision-making seats or the complete managerial power (Arnstein, 1969). By dividing public participation into three different degrees, Arnstein (1969) indicates the genuine public participation can only be achieved through the redistribution of power, while without power redistribution, the participatory planning is powerless and could then be frustrating process for have-nots. She further argues that tokenism is only the superficial exercise which community participants are only provided with information without fully involved in, which means, they do not have the important and effective role in decision-making process (Arnstein, 1969).

Arnstein's (1969) ladder of citizen participation shows real participation means participants have influential impacts. However, she falls short of addressing how can the effective public participation can be. As Innes and Booher (2004) suggest, the effective public participation should be:

Effective participation requires a systems perspective that supports and builds on the interactions among public sector agencies, non-profits, business organisations, advocacy groups and foundations which make up the complex evolving reality of contemporary society (Innes and Booher, 2004: 429).

Rowe and Frewer (2000) further define there are two criteria - acceptance and process - to assess whether the public participation is effective or not. According to the acceptance criteria, the public participation should be representative, independent, influential, transparent and has early involvement of participants. The process criteria requires public participation to be resource accessible, cost-effective, its nature and scope is clearly defined and also it should provide appropriate mechanisms for structuring and displaying the decision-making process (Rowe and Frewer, 2000). Focusing on the public participation process, Webler et al. (2001) suggest there are five indicators to assess whether public participation is effective. First and

foremost, a good public participation model requires and maintains popular legitimacy through a consensual democratic process; secondly, some should facilitate among a number of stakeholders; thirdly, fairness of the process is emphasised, to create a high-quality democratic deliberation and to achieve participation by all segments of the society; fourthly, participatory process should be regarded as a power struggle, thus power plays between local landowning interests and outsiders; in the end, leadership should compromise in combination with collecting insights and fostering deliberation among a wide range of the public. Irvin and Stansbury (2004) argue the effective participation should be low cost and high benefit, which means the participation will not affect citizens to support their families.

Moreover, Painter (1992) criticises the categorisation of public participation into ladders is too simplified. He argues it is critical to distinguish potential and real power. To understand power requires an assessment of outcomes, rather than simply resting on an analysis of relative power prior to the occurrence of relevant interactions (Painter, 1992). While Painter falls short of addressing the identification of real and potential power. If really as Painter (1992) argues that this ladder of participation ignores the fact that rarely the identifiable or single decision will be made within the policy-making process, and genuine participation can only be achieved through power redistribution through decision-making process, we no doubt need more attention and involvement from those people who have the most direct benefits during the decision-making process. In light of these circumstances, I doubt Painter's argument indeed ignored both benefits and drawbacks will be collected within the process, while it cannot be simply considered as only benefits are gathered.

To specify, these arguments lack of fully consideration about how have-not participants can involve in the decision-making processes. Arnstein (1969) states that the power of participants

and consultation are often dismissed as a tokenistic exercise due to it contains little genuine power. Therefore, Wilcox (2003) developed her arguments by suggesting identifying different types of stakeholders with diverse interests to deliver different levels of participation. It is questionable, how can participants trust the public participation process and actively join in? Goodlad and Meegan (2015) suggest building trust among participants is critical within the public participation process. If the public officials were not trusted by the citizens, they will feel being excluded. Inversely, if trust was built, people will feel their participation are influential and have far more positive outcomes than those who think it pointless. Similarly, Innes and Booher (2004) argue trust and social capital can be built under authentic dialogue, which further helps to achieve effective participation.

In this regard, I consider trust as the critical factor to cope with the lack of interest participatory processes. The importance of trust in public participation has been testified by Tsang et al. (2009) that 'trust deficit' in Hong Kong further led to the failure of public participation. From the Hong Kong case, it shows an effective dialogue will happen only when trust and public participation both exist. Of particular relevance to this research is the recent happening anti-government protest in 2019 in Hong Kong. As Tsang et al. (2009: 104) states, 'Hong Kong has a professional or executive-led system of government and there is little room for the general public to participate in policy-making.' This is worth to notify the government in lack of democracy could also blur the public's confidence and trust. Thus, in light of these considerations, it is essential to build the public's trust to 'government expertise' that their benefits and social welfare will be protected by the government. While it is questionable how to fix the trust gap between the public and the government to ensure the smooth delivery of public participation.

While regarding public participation, it is often questioned for the delivery between theory and practice. Lane (2005) suggests that the delivery of public participation should depend on the nature of the decision-making process, it should be concerned with both formal and informal policy-making arenas. Building upon Lane's (2005) arguments, I argue public participation should be designed to meet the needs and desires of the potential needs of participants. At the same time, planners and participants should together reflect on what they expect of the process, people who responsible for making the participatory process should build up flexibility (Webler et al., 2001). From the practitioner's perspectives, Fung (2015) suggests practitioners should be clear about the ways in engaging with residents to ensure the outcomes are meaningful. At same time, public participation can last for a long time only if the citizen supported the practices of participation. Under this circumstance, this is correct that Yung and Chan (2011) suggest that government should play the proactive role to improve the residents' knowledge about the importance of historic urban quarters. Bottom-up methods could be much more applicable than the top-down ones in historic preservation if local residents' knowledge were involved to highlight their understandings about the place they live in.

To further ensure the influential role of public participation, Simrell King et al. (1998) argue that right tools and techniques are not enough for increasing public involvement. It further needs to make participation works for all parties and stimulates interest and investment in both administrators and citizens. I argue to rethink the roles and relationships between administrators and citizens is essential. According to Simrell King et al. (1998), it is critical to empower citizens to ensure they understand they have the potential to impact and have visible outcomes. Participants should be involved at the beginning and education of these participants are required before the questions are already framed. In doing so, it could contribute to smooth

decision making if early involvement are made of these participants (Simrell King et al., 1998; Barlow, 1997).

While as has been discussed before, under the global neoliberalism and everyday growing complicated social networks, public participation seems to be outdated and cannot satisfy the contemporary society's needs in solving complex issues. This is because we are now living in a pluralist society (Healey, 1997), planning is used not only as a way to facilitate urban development but also to encourage people from different groups to participate within the planning process and to express different ideas. Moreover, debates of public participation fall short of addressing the tension that emerged within the participatory processes. If public participation could really be used to solve non-elite groups' problems, how can the conflicts be solved? Therefore, Davidoff (1965) presented the idea of 'advocacy planning', which further progressed planning to pluralism and advocacy. He argues:

Planners should be able to engage in the political process as advocates of interests both of government and of such other groups, organisations, or individuals who are concerned with proposing policies for the future development of the community (Davidoff, 1965: 332).

According to Davidoff (1965), pluralism and advocacy in planning are to encourage people from different groups in society to stimulate considerations of future conditions. At the same time, stakeholders affected by the planning process are encouraged to participate in the planning process to decide the future of particular planning area. By advocating advocacy planning, Davidoff (1965) indicates the role of planners could change by enabling citizens to play an active role in planning. This shift shows public participation became a vital objective rather than a marginal planning technique (Davidoff, 1965; Lane, 2005). Furthermore, planners' roles have shifted to facilitators by not only in directing them but also advocating their interests. Therefore, advocacy planning theory substantially provided the disadvantaged groups with

professional assistance by speaking at the role of community organisers, it also greatly improved the relative power of citizens.

As has been discussed before, public participation might turn to be the display of delivering controllers' interests to the public. Though it potentially persuades people to act on their behalf through public participation, in reality, it could be a facade for powerful interests (Allmendinger, 2001). While how to coordinate multiple voices and diverse opinions become a problem. Similarly, Webler et al. (1995) have suggested the idea of 'cooperative discourse' to achieve consensus within the public participation process. Under this condition, Healey (1996) indicates the communicative turn of planning theory revealed the dilemma faced by planners under the background of democratic political atmosphere. She argues, one of the dilemmas is that 'the technical and administrative machineries advocated and created to pursue these goals are based on a narrow and dominated scientific rationalism' (Healey, 1996: 233). These machineries have further hindered the development of a democratic attitude and failed to achieve the promoted goals (Healey, 1996). She further draws on Habermas's theory of the communicative rationality as the normative principle by evaluating and challenging the qualities of interactive practices (Healey, 2003). Healey (2003) argues:

Collaborative planning is a plea for the importance of understanding complexity and diversity, in a way that does not collapse into atomistic analyses of specific episodes and individual achievements, or avoid recognising the way power consolidates into drive forces that shape situational specificities (Healey, 2003: 117).

Therefore, to deliver collaborative planning, it is suggested that people from different societies and cultural communities should be encouraged to consider other people's presence and discuss their shared concern (Healey, 1996). Consensus-building is the aim of collaborative planning. Building upon her arguments, Innes and Booher (1999) suggest building consensus can solve uncertainty and connect with others. Under this communicative model, Fainstein (2000) suggests no group's interest will dominate, as this model attempts to get people agree and to

ensure whatever the position of participants can have the opportunity to voice out. Healey (1992) argues that people from different societies and cultural communities should be encouraged to consider other people's presence and discuss their shared concern. Thus, collaborative planning greatly progressed from public participation and further received compliments due to it aims at mutually agreeable ways based on inter-discursive understanding to construct the communicative practices among diverse discursive communities, engagement in any other strategy to regenerate the forms with which has the 'dominatory' potential should put in the first place. However, this is questionable, within the communicative/collaborative process, conflicts are inevitable to happen. While these arguments predominantly focus on the benefits of collaborative planning, how can they reach consensus and diminish the conflicts?

Collaboration during planning process is further suggested by many scholars. For example, Innes and Booher (1999) indicate the utilisation of collaborative planning, which aims to achieve consensus, can help with dealing with social and political fragmentation and resolve conflicts. Maginn (2007) argues that collaborative planning can provide governance to promote inclusionary argumentation and consensus building. By acknowledging the idea of collaborative planning, Innes and Booher (2004) proposed the new framework of public participation: collaborative participation. They emphasise the importance of collaborative participation as it can build networks, solve complex and contentious problems. As they indicated, though the conditions for effective participation are not met, social capital and trust can be built through inclusion, deliberation and social learning and cooperation (Innes and Booher, 2004; Bloomfield et al., 2001). This is plausible as collaborative planning or participation can include more stakeholders and allow them to become more aware and reflective of their cultural relations, practices and processes, thus paving the way forward for more active community participation. However, I doubt whether collaboration and consensus

building between administrators and participants are the perfect choice to solve conflicts. Hanna (2000) argues within the participation process, one of the most significant issues is who control it and whether it is trustworthy. For example, people might be easily driven by propaganda, which means one strong voice could dominate the whole participation process if the public lacked good judgement of the information resource. Moreover, consensus building within collaboration processes also means compromise, it is hard to tell whether the consensus made in the end is good, or whether there are any meaningful suggestions are abandoned in order to achieve consensus.

Thus, it is inevitable to have dilemmas when delivering public participation or collaborative planning in practice. Fainstein (2010) criticises public participation may pre-occupied with the process of planning rather than indeed focus on what needs to be planned, she suspects it will be served as a political action. Irvin and Stansbury (2004) indicate the decision-making process could be time-consuming and meaningless if the citizen's views were ignored. At the same time, it could be a waste of time or money to the government. To hypothesise, if the dominant views were accepted or substantially affected by specific interest group within the public participation process, it would turn to be loss of control and lead to the possibility of bad decision. Even when the participants are given opportunities to participate, it is often criticised that only a minority of acceptable voices will be heard (Taylor, 2007). Similarly, Allmendinger (2001) warns if there lacked engagement with the real sources of power, the commitment to openness and communication would fail. Participants would be willing to participate only if there were genuine chance made them feel they would indeed have an impact on it.

In light of these considerations, Innes and Booher (2004) indicate, in practice, the participation is dominated with dilemmas, paradoxes and ambivalence. The theory may represent the

community's interest while in reality people may only speak for themselves. For example, Townshend and Pendlebury (1999) examined the urban conservation case in Northeast England with public participation delivered. They found the common problem is that people are willing to talk and offer their views and opinions, while they generally do not express their opinions openly unless the issue is of extreme importance to them. However, their research falls short of addressing why people held their views. Additionally, Alfasi (2003) questioned the relationship between planners and participants. She argues the knowledge gap between planners and participation is a big problem, 'an optimal critical distance (Friedmann, 1987: 404)' might be required to leave space for professional expertise and debates between planners and participations to avoid harming mutual trust (Alfasi, 2003). Fainstein (2000) also envisaged the dilemmas for the communicative model of planning that only if people were reasonable, the deep structural conflict would melt away, while the participatory process could be lengthy. Building upon these arguments, however, it is questionable that what is the criteria for participants to be reasonable? Moreover, the 'optimal critical distance', how to define this distance to prevent harming mutual trust? Who are the stakeholders to be identified?

Though within the public participation process, anyone can participate while in the end only the most influential and powerful one will be selected under the private deal-making process (Innes and Booher, 2004). The participation process is not controlled by the citizens but is dominated by professionals and theorists within the field. In a disadvantaged Dutch neighbourhood, public participation was regarded not so useful as it is supposed to be due to residents were unable to shape the policy plans of their neighbourhood (Teernstra and Pinkster, 2016). From this case, it shows public participation may contribute to polarised issues. It can cause delays and citizens could easily be instructed by one particular voice, while planners lack specific local knowledge, citizens are out of touch of political or professional knowledge, they

are also lack of the opportunities for long-term development and cooperation (Innes and Booher, 2004). Moreover, collaboration does not represent the perfect condition to solve conflicts between stakeholders. Therefore, I further doubt whether what Innes and Booher (2004) suggest about collaborative participation is too ideal to realise. As Healey (1997) claims for using collaborative planning to achieve consensus, while compromise is inevitable if consensus was aimed to make. Like Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger (1998: 1975) indicate, that collaborative planning theory fails to ‘incorporate adequately the peculiar political and professional nuances that exist in planning practice’. They further point out that participants included in the collaboration process are likely to be affected in order to get their ideas included and ‘fails to include the possibility that individuals can deliberately obfuscate the facts and judgements for their own benefit, and for the benefit of their own argument (Tewdwr-Jones and Allmendinger, 1998: 1982).’ In this regard, it is questionable, can collaborative planning be a better way than public participation in China to solve the social conflicts? This question will be further discussed throughout the research.

3.4 Theorising urban governance and public participation in China

This section aims to highlight the theory differences and adaptations in China. Before the Economic Reform was delivered in 1978, China was still under the intense impacts of the Soviet Unions. The former governance model was structured by the planned economy and did not have too much flexibility (Wu, 2002). China adopted a top-down decision-making system from 1949 (the establishment of People’s Republic of China) to 1980s (before the Economic Reform), defines it is a planned economy based on the socialist communist ideology (Zhang, 2007). After the Economic Reform was delivered in 1978, the governance model changed and started to become more flexible. At the same time, market-oriented economy was proposed by the central government to stimulate economic development, which called a ‘socialist market-

oriented economy'. After the Economic Reform policy which was delivered in 1978, Chinese state territory was then categorised into four levels: the provincial level, the prefecture level, the county level, and the township and town level. These four local governments are all under the control of the central state (Li and Wu, 2017).

Since then, the governance model started to have huge changes. Urban development and landscapes are changing dramatically to a more market-oriented economy (Gaubatz, 1999). Especially, after joining the WTO in 2001 and the delivery of the Economic Reform policy for more than 20 years, the combination of the new market and decentralised state apparatus have given rise to the entrepreneurial endeavour of China's governance (Wu, 2002). In China, which Harvey (2007: 120) argues is the 'particular kind of market economy that increasingly incorporates neoliberal elements integrated with authoritarian centralised control' much promoted economic growth. Wu (2002) stresses the importance of understanding the re-consolidation of local power under the market-oriented economy in China. After the Economic Reform, the contemporary political system, which is regarded as socialist market economy, has its distinctive characteristics. First, the household-responsibility system still exists in some rural regions while the rural land belongs to collectives. Secondly, firms, especially state-owned companies are becoming more and more autonomous and require more power both in their business and the allocation of the profits. Thirdly, commodity markets such as shops housing have become established in urban areas. Finally, markets for factors of production, such as information, capital, land and technology have been formed (Gu and Jiang, 2004). However, it is not a complete socialist style, and not like the Soviet Union model either. It is different from the Soviet Union firstly due to its more pragmatic relationship between local and central governments; and secondly it is more decentralised and flexible (Wu, 2002).

Especially, after the Economic Reform, increasing social complexity has weakened the control of the state (Wu, 2002).

Though the control of the state is weakened after the Economic Reform, the state still has the dominant role during the process of redevelopment (Wu, 2016b). For example, household registration, which means *hukou* in Chinese, refers to the registration of resident in different places with the public security agency (Wu, 2002). The *hukou* system effectively prevents rural residents from permanently moving into the cities. Meanwhile, state work-units not only refer to economic entities but also represents a particular form of ‘social organisation’ (Wu, 2002). The *hukou* system and work-units are examples of the unique differences of Chinese urban governance from Western countries; the dominant role of state means it has the strongest and most powerful role within development networks.

Reflecting what I questioned before, the urban entrepreneurialism theory was proposed in 1989 by David Harvey (1989) which seems rather dated to apply within a contemporary study, especially it is questionable whether it is applicable within a Chinese context as it is a western developed theory. However, recent decades’ rapid urbanisation and economic growth in China have shown the evident entrepreneurial features of Chinese governments. Therefore, I argue it is not the time to let urban entrepreneurialism research disintegrate under the contemporary society within the global urbanism context. The entrepreneurial transformation of urban governance in China can be observed from urban redevelopment projects (see He and Wu, 2009; Shin, 2009b). Massive redevelopment projects and urban expansion are delivered to push forward urban development. For example, the property-led urban redevelopment project of Xintiandi in Shanghai, He and Wu (2005) argue is evidence of fiercer urban competition between Chinese cities, and arises because new governing elements add to the entrepreneurial

nature of the government. As He and Wu (2005) point out, the concept of entrepreneurial government is introduced in China to analyse marketized operation and competitions due to administrative decentralisation from the central state, and is broadly proved through the usage of land and housing in China (He and Wu, 2009). As well as these two prominent Chinese scholars' research, other recent studies have also showed urban entrepreneurialism still has great validity in China.

As has been mentioned before, the decentralisation from the central state after the Economic Reform, local governments are much empowered and have more flexibility. Different local governments are competing with each other to highlight their ability and attract inward investment. Thus, the eminent feature of urban entrepreneurialism in China is the local government entrepreneurialism. One of the entrepreneurial strategies that is widely applied is the regeneration of historic places and themed city projects. For instance, in Lijiang, China, Su (2015) argues that urban entrepreneurialism is significantly associated with the commodification of urban heritage in China, which aims to accumulate capital and increase revenues. Flynn and Yu (2019) highlight the entrepreneurial nature of the local state in managing ecological development.

In light of these circumstances, Shin (2009b) examines the nature of government and finds that the entrepreneurial nature of government comes from its power to dispose of urban land use rights. Observing the post-reform Chinese urban governance, Wu (2018) further argues the engagement of the state with the market actually shows features of 'state entrepreneurialism'. He emphasises the centrality of planning as the salient feature of state entrepreneurialism, which is utilising the market instrument to achieve state's strategic goals. Moreover, Chinese state entrepreneurialism is further supported by the evident features of housing

commodification and locally managed sales, that lead to a local development regime that combines entrepreneurialism with the state apparatus (Wu, 2016a). In this regard, widely spread local government entrepreneurialism features have further testified ‘state entrepreneurialism (Wu, 2018)’ which showed both central and local governments in China are managing the country and city in an entrepreneurial way.

As a result, I argue that although urban entrepreneurialism is a theory developed in the capitalist countries, it is still applicable within the contemporary Chinese context. Especially, after the Economic Reform policy, China changed from a socialist planned economy to a market-oriented economy, meant Chinese local governments are greatly empowered because of the decentralisation from the central state. Recent decades’ rapid economic growth largely come from the growing entrepreneurial nature of local states. In light of this circumstance, urban entrepreneurialism has shown its adaptations in China, that recent studies of urban entrepreneurialism in China have shown its shift to local scales (see Zheng, 2011; Su, 2015) and have now become more characterised with state features (Wu, 2018). In light of these considerations, I argue the difference of administrative systems between China and that in the West has given the space for research.

Another Harvey’s (1989) claim about urban entrepreneurialism is that public and private partnerships are another notable feature of urban entrepreneurialism. Under the Chinese background, in recent years the private sectors have shown a growing tendency from foreign investment and real estate sectors for economic growth. For example, the public-private partnerships formed by the Shanghai government and foreign investors in regenerating Xintiandi (He and Wu, 2005). The commodification and marketisation of land are used to improve the urban physical look (He and Wu, 2009; Zhu, 2004). In this situation, urban

entrepreneurialism is utilised by the government to shape the urban landscape to ensure the successful delivery of capital accumulation. Like Zukin (2009) points out, old neighbourhoods with narrow alleys are being demolished, and long-time living residents are displaced in Chinese cities. Similarly like the West, recent entrepreneurial studies in China have also shown the decreasing tendency of regarding urban entrepreneurialism as a 'growth machine', but more focus on the role of the government (e.g. Guo, 2019).

As Wu (2015) argues the planning system in China is still primarily controlled by the administrative system, while there is still a lack of sufficient research from the lower level of Chinese administrative system, especially the local government at the neighbourhood level. Even if a Chinese entrepreneurial city is really like Wu (2018) argues a state-strategic project, we have little recent empirical evidences to show how the upper-level government 'pass' entrepreneurial strategies to lower governmental organisations, and also how the interactions are made between different levels of governmental organisations to structure entrepreneurial policies. Moreover, by traditionally focus on the role of the government, recent urban entrepreneurialism studies in China still fall short of addressing the concerns of social issues as Raco and Gilliam (2012) concern. In this regard, I consider applying entrepreneurial theories within the urban regeneration and resistance to gentrification context, in order to explore the role of lower level Chinese local governments, and also its impacts on residents.

In order to address the conflicts and resistance under the urban entrepreneurial strategies, I follow my previous review of urban regime analysis in this study. An urban regime shows the empowerment of non-state actors to get access to governing processes. As has been mentioned before, under the entrepreneurial framework, private sectors have a growing tendency to cooperate with governmental actors for economic growth. For example, the re-making of

Shanghai as a global city shows the co-operation among investors, local governments and state-owned enterprises and how they influence the city's development (Wu, 2000). This informal urban regime is common to see in other regeneration projects in China. For example, He and Wu (2005) examined the property-led urban redevelopment of Xintiandi in Shanghai and point out it is actually a pro-growth coalition that formed between private and public sectors, namely, the developer (foreign investment) and the Shanghai local government. Under this pro-growth coalition, real estate developer plays the role of primary participator by effectively changing the physical appearance and transforming the urban function, while the local government in Shanghai works as the active collaborator and supervisor, which greatly assists the developer's work. Similarly, Yang and Chang (2007) supported He and Wu's argument for a pro-growth coalition in Shanghai, and further point out that capital accumulation dominates the reshaping of Shanghai's spatial form, which becomes even further transformed into symbolic real estate values. By adapting the growth machine and urban regime theory under the Chinese background, local growth coalitions are formed under the market-oriented economy in China (Zhu, 1999, Zhu, 2002). Informal urban regimes are also being established due to land being owned by the government, rather than developers which means a coalition is formed between government and private enterprises for the collective purposes of urban development (Zhu, 1999; Zhu, 2002).

For example, Yang and Chang (2007) argue to apply urban regime in China means recognising the dominant role of Chinese communist party and different levels of government in China. Li and Liu (2017) examined the urban redevelopment process under 'three old (*sanjiu*) redevelopment' policy in Guangzhou, and point out the urban regime is characterised as 'selective regimes', that the formation of regimes is selected by a group of actors to form into new informal coalitions to realise potential land values. However, these recent research

regarding urban regimes in China still predominantly focus on government related relationships whereas the urban regime highlights the transfer from ‘power from’ to ‘power to’. As Stone (2005) points out the continuous inadequacies of urban regime research is to focus on elite engagement, but to investigate the urban regime in China, we need to further engage with non-elite actors in examining how they influencing the governing processes. Contemporary urban regime research still lacks engagement of these actors. Moreover, research of Chinese societies has shown the importance of ‘*guanxi*’ (personal connections) to the community (Putnam, 1993), and also recent research in China has shown the Chinese society greatly depends on the kinships and place identity (Zhang et al., 2017; Zhu et al., 2011; Zhai and Ng, 2013). In order to address the insufficiencies of non-elite actors’ relations with the urban regime studies, in this research I investigate the resistance to gentrification in order to contribute to the actual meanings of urban regime studies.

According to Shan and Yai (2011), the contemporary Chinese system is a state-planned economy, which means the citizens need to be dependent on the government for everything. In this regard, from the non-government actors’ perspectives, it is normal that the Chinese residents have developed an overriding tendency to accept the government’s decisions and avoid expressing their ideas. Their arguments may contribute to the reasons which Shin (2010) indicates people’s low interest in participating in the urban regeneration process. Public participation has been a popular topic of urban planning in Western countries for a long time, but it is still considered in its infancy of China (Enserink and Koppenjan, 2007). It is being criticised for people not having real power in the urban planning process. Recently, as the Chinese National Government has proposed a new master plan outline, public participation has been emphasised about its importance and urges different provinces to deliver this in the planning process as required. Even though the latest institutional reforms have introduced a

general concept of public decisions and participation, the dominant role of the government is still strongly embedded through the system (Shan and Yai, 2011).

Under the dominant role of the government, however, it is questionable that He et al. (2013) argue the public has high levels of trust and confidence in governmental information. If the public really has a high level of trust and confidence in the government, why the existing literature still criticise the lack of public participation (see Shin, 2010)? In this way I consider lack of trust towards the government as one of the critical problems during public participation process in contemporary China. Like Abramson (2006) indicates, in China historic urban quarters are substantially controlled by expert analysis and the opinions of the highest level of governmental hierarchy. However, I consider local people have their importance such as they can subordinate their interests to the needs of the neighbourhood, the community and the community plan, to share the goal of the planner and to create efficiency and beauty to their community (Gans, 1969). Therefore, I consider the delivery of public participation could have certain drawbacks in China if the state played the dominant role. Local people would be excluded, and trust could not be built within the participatory processes.

In light of the strong dominant role of the Chinese state, Wu (2015) indicates the dilemmas of delivering public participation in China might come from the differences in political systems. While Wu (2015) is correct to argue that in Western countries, the shift from government to governance brought new spaces for public participation, but in China the ‘democracy deficit’ and the dominant role of the government made public participation hard to achieve. Zhang (2002) indicates the difference of political systems from China and other western capitalist countries, that ‘Chinese officials are not elected but rather assigned through a complicated political system’ (Zhang, 2002: 479), which means the electoral power is rather weak.

Therefore, because of the weak election system, this is no doubt that why civil society is still in its early stage in China, which further contributes to a poor public participation system.

I have argued in China urban planning is still primarily controlled by the administrative system (Wu, 2015), it is tough for planning to play any role in coordinating stakeholders, while the lack of participation mechanism makes planning can hardly represent the public interest to regulate the built environment. Wu and Zhao (2007) indicate Chinese government officials and planners usually have the dominated power while participants are still the one who is being instructed or being planned. The common situation in China is that the general public was not consulted during the planning process. Similarly, in Hong Kong, Yung and Chan (2011) indicate the problems they found within the public participation process is that the public has inadequate knowledge to participate because they are not well informed and also town planners and architects think they do not know the value of the buildings. More importantly, the power imparity blocked effective public participation. In summary, I further highlight the features of Chinese public participation is not really controlled by the residents, while government officials still play the dominant role. Moreover, like Hanna (2000) indicates the leading role in promotion, propaganda and mobilisation made by interest groups could also affect the government plans. Because the government usually has pressure about historic urban quarters' redevelopment, I consider the pressure might push them change their plans. Similar like what Zhai and Ng (2013) argue the Muslim resist the redevelopment which in the end changed the government's regeneration plans.

Therefore, I conclude the delivery of public participation in China has several adaptations due to the different political background. Wu (2007) demonstrates public participation in China is treated as a method of place promotion, which is far from substantial public participation, and

public participation is still limited to the elite. Public participation in China, however, might be used by government officials to achieve their ‘career awards’ (Wu, 2015). Tang et al. (2008) describe the difference of public participation within the Chinese context as the need to consider state-society relationships. They indicate the major differences of public participation between mainland China and other developed countries are the methods of public participation, the role of the public and also the extent of public participation. For example, Tang et al. (2008: 70) conclude public participation in developed countries is an ‘ongoing activity’ while in China it is ‘one-off, targeted publicity campaign orchestrated by the government bureaucracy.’ The role of public in China is ‘limited recognition of individual rights and participation in the capacity of affected parties’, while in western countries the role of public has ‘full recognition of individual rights’ and the participation is in the capacity of taxpayers. Therefore, they conclude public participation in China has ‘minimal level of participation’ and the public is ‘the policy receipts’ (Tang et al., 2008: 70). However, it is questionable that Tang et al. (2008) argue the Western countries’ public participation systems are superior than the Chinese ones. Their research lacks robust evidences to support that Western developed countries’ public participation is an ongoing activity while many Western scholars also criticise public participation in their countries are elites dominated and public lacks full right (e.g. Fainstein, 2010; Irvin and Stansbury, 2004). In light of this consideration, public participation in China, of course, needs more empirical studies.

To summarise, public participation in China is still not well established and criticised as ‘the process of plan-making was top-down and lacked public participation (Wu, 2015: 40)’. Therefore, the contemporary popular debates of collaborative planning is considered as a good way to resolve problems, what about the possibility of collaborative participation taken place? Besides, the example which I referenced in advance about regeneration in Tianzifang, Shanghai,

though it is considered by the authors as positive and active community participation (Yung et al., 2014), based on their description about how local communities communicate with the other stakeholders, I argue it is more like a collaborative participation, which they indicate there are ‘continuous and fair access to the community (Yung et al., 2014: 107)’ and made ‘not for profit but for the benefit for the district (Yung et al., 2014: 106)’. How about collaborative planning delivered in practice to solve conflicts within the regeneration process?

Additionally, though Hall (2002) states that in Western countries, from the mid-1970s, the top-down urban planning has been replaced by its opposite: planners work as servants for public. It is still criticised by the public for the lack of complete engagement of the public and still strongly dominated by the elites (Fainstein, 2010; Irvin and Stansbury, 2004). In China, Wu (2015) demonstrates that after the Economic Reform came into effect, the current urban planning system turns to be market oriented. Though the channel for public participation is widened, it is still inadequate, such as the state largely controls the process which means the public participation is more procedural rather than substantial (Wu, 2015). Based on this research background, as different stakeholders and residents have conflicts about the place regeneration and also about their personal benefits, I consider the ideas of collaborative planning/participation to incorporate in this research to solve mutual conflicts. The possibilities of collaborative planning or participation will be further explored in this research.

3.5 Conclusion

To summarise, the key difference of urban governance between the Western countries and China is the intrinsic political difference. According to the characteristics of policy integration, it is the policies that are subject to integration, while the actual use of term under the background of urban planning usually expands beyond it (Rode, 2017). For example, Hong

Kong, before 1997, when the sovereignty was still held by the UK, urban governance in Hong Kong was characterised as the *laissez-faire* and non-intervention policy of its government, due to the government did not have direct interference in its economy and market (Shen, 2004). Therefore, to have better understanding of the governing mechanisms of regenerating historic neighbourhoods in China, I argue specific Chinese political structures at lower levels should be comprehended and analysed in advance.

In this regard, I argue the difference of political systems of China gives the opportunity to diversify the contemporary body of literature in urban governance and public participation. To examine the urban regeneration of historic urban quarters in China, I consider applying urban entrepreneurialism as the key theory to explore in this research. This is because the argument of ‘inter-urban competition’ is suitable to apply under this background, while it needs to adapt in the Chinese background due to the different political system. For example, Fulong Wu (2018) has indicated China as state entrepreneurialism. While the concept of ‘state entrepreneurialism’ vaguely depicted the general entrepreneurial nature of the state but falls short of addressing how different levels of local governments in collaborating or negotiating with each other. This research aims at enriching the entrepreneurial nature of the Chinese governments from the lower local levels. Additionally, building upon the pro-growth coalitions formed by the local government and developers (He and Wu, 2005), this research further aims at unravelling the mechanisms that how non-governmental actors succeeded in resisting the gentrification. Therefore, I adopt growth machine and urban regime theories to explore the relationships and networks between different stakeholders, especially to analyse the resistance and social conflicts to urban regeneration in historic neighbourhoods. To analyse the social conflicts and resistance, public participation is also integrated to investigate its role within the resistance process.

The review of contemporary existing literature of public participation also prepares the ground for the later analysis of public participation within the resistance process. By further reviewing the change of theory from merely public participation to the collaborative model, I indicate public participation is a strategy applied by the government to ensure planning legitimacy (Wu, 2015). It is also somewhat the method to involve non-expert knowledge and also to ensure democracy and social justice, to increase social cohesion. While it is noteworthy to mention that real public participation only means when participants take control instead of merely manipulating by the government (Arnstein, 1969). As has been mentioned before in regenerating historic places, it is normal to see different scholars based in various countries recommend to use public participation as it can empower citizens to control and influence within the historic preservation process (e.g. Shin, 2010; Yung and Chan, 2011). However, I consider public participation is not a perfect strategy to solve problem, because historic preservation could cause mutual conflicts between local residents and other stakeholders. While the change to collaborative planning seems more appropriate in this research to solve the mutual conflicts. This is questionable, if public participation were delivered, would it affect the governing process and reduce the tensions that local residents have towards the regeneration they are experiencing? In light of these considerations, I evaluate the current public participation circumstances in China and further discuss the possibility of doing collaborative planning in reality. Therefore, the research of urban governance in relation to public participation in China can contribute to the contemporary body of research from different levels of the local governments.

By acknowledging the relevant features of the popular debate on collaborative planning and participation, I conclude four potential research gaps. First, as many researchers have criticised

for lack of public participation within the regeneration and conservation process (see Shin, 2010; Su, 2015; Townshend and Pendlebury, 1999), they further point out public participation is essential during the urban regeneration process to ensure social justice and democracy. It is regarded as a method during the urban regeneration process to take care local residents' benefits. However, there lacks sufficient and recent research about what the results are after public participation has been taken place. Does it help to increase social inclusion and also help to protect local residents' benefits? Secondly, Zhang et al. (2017) argue that social relations and kinship in Chinese society are one of the most important factors to transform urban development. Thus, will the relationships between neighbours and the kinship also affect the urban governance mode in regenerating historic urban districts? Will it change the poor condition that local citizens have no way to influence? Thirdly, the popular debate on collaborative planning and participation looks like a better way to incorporate different stakeholders and local residents. As Innes and Booher (2003) argue, the future development of collaborative governance needs to mesh collaborative planning with conventional institutions, both practitioners and theorists need to work together to recognise new practices and ideas. As this research is developed based on a common phenomenon in China that local residents have fierce conflicts with developers and government officials, therefore, I shall envisage the possibility of collaborative planning and participation to see whether it is possible to be applied to resolve the conflicts. In the end, as the shift from government to governance has provided institutional space for public participation, how would public participation shape the governing processes in regenerating the historic neighbourhoods? What kind of role that public participation is playing to influence the urban governance networks? These questions will be further examined throughout the study.

4. Methodology and research design

This chapter explains the methods that are applied to address the research questions of urban regeneration in China. This chapter consists of six sections. The first section locates this research by discussing the selection of appropriate research philosophy. Philosophical considerations help to construct the following direction for investigation. In utilising a single case study to solve the research questions, I decide to use mixed qualitative methods. This decision was made based on my careful consideration because mixed methods not only can eliminate potential study errors but also allow the answering of the different research questions pointed out in chapter one. By using mixed qualitative methods, I answer the questions about how local residents' lives are affected by the regeneration process. In this regard, I decide who the interviewees are, who will be observed and also what kind of documents or media resources will be collected and reviewed. I emphasise how these research methods can explore the urban regeneration effects to local residents' life, about how the government governing the neighbourhood, especially the relationships between different stakeholders.

After completing the preparation phases, the following sections explain how this research is designed. The third section focuses on the case study area selection. In this section I highlight the uniqueness of this case study area, about why it is important to conduct the research in this area and its differences from other similar Chinese historic neighbourhoods. I also provide the background materials of this case study area, and an explanation of how I locate the case study boundary is offered. The fourth section clarifies how the data are collected using different research methods. This section provides specific details about how, when and where the research was undertaken, as well as those who were included in this research. In this section, I clarify how data were processed and analysed and how they were then organised to develop

the empirical analysis chapters. In the fifth section, I clarify the difficulties and strategies when researching a non-English environment. I discuss the possible research challenges to translate Chinese terms into English correctly, as well as the strategies I use to handle under the non-English environment. The sixth section provides the information about how I conducted this research ethically. Overall, this chapter outlines how different research methods are used to explore the effects of urban regeneration in historic neighbourhoods to local residents' life. By clarifying how data are collected, organised and analysed, it also points out the possible research challenges but also solutions in this chapter to test impacts of residents' life, as well as the role of government and other stakeholders.

4.1 Research philosophy

The importance of philosophy to research is like grammar to language. It is something that adds our own knowledge to the existing studies (Graham, 2013). An independent research project needs appropriate philosophical considerations to give the main direction for the study itself. There are four reasons to explain the importance of the research philosophies. First, it guides the research. It dominates the direction, suggesting that the researcher should be either neutral, or allow their personality to go through and be reflected in the work (Neuman, 2002). Secondly, different people might follow different research philosophies and may be unwilling to accept the legitimacy of the research approaches until the assumptions can make it clear (Neuman, 2002). Thirdly, the research only needs to comply with the research standards specific to this research rather than those that guide alternative approaches (Neuman, 2002). Fourthly, to understand the theoretical assumptions will help the researcher to comprehend which techniques are doing well or less well. It gives the flexibility to make the researcher design their own studies and take full advantage of it (Neuman, 2002). To sum up, research

philosophies are essential to frame the choice of research methods, and to link the theory with practice (Graham, 2013).

In general, the research philosophies can be divided into two categories: epistemology and ontology. According to Neuman (2002), all scientific research result from epistemologies and ontologies, no matter whether the researcher acknowledges them or not. The epistemological issue is about the question of what knowledge should be regarded as acceptable in the discipline (Rubin and Rubin, 2011). It is about how we know the world around us and what is true. Epistemology represents what we need to do to produce the knowledge and what knowledge will be like after we produce it (Neuman, 2002). Epistemology then is the field of science that we can choose different approaches to investigate the world, it is the way that we use our methods to understand the world, and ontology is using the existing knowledge or relationships to explain and answer the questions about what the world it is and what it looks like.

In relation to this research, I choose epistemological philosophies because this study aims at using appropriate approaches to solve the problems that come from the literature review. To specify, epistemological considerations include three different epistemologies: positivism, realism and interpretivism. In this research, I decided that critical realism would serve as my research philosophy. Critical realism refers to the understanding of the existence of natural order and the events and discourses of the social world. It implies whether the scientist's conceptualisation of reality can be reflected directly (Saunders et al., 2009). Critical realists recognise there are differences between their enquiries and the terms they used to describe them and believe that the general mechanism is not observable. Critical realism also means the world is not what we see, what we see are the sensations and images of the world, not the things directly (Saunders et al., 2009). Most of the established theories are tested in developed

capitalist countries, while China as a developing country as well as a different political system needs more attention to research. Thus, critical realism applies in this research due to my belief of differences between China and other countries. I also aim to provide new geographies by researching in China from the critical realism perspective.

In summary, this research is to establish a deliverable framework to further investigate the question itself. I reject interpretivism and positivism in epistemology as this research aims to produce new findings and explore new theories under the background of China. I treat the world as theory-laden but not theory-determined. In line with the notion that theory can drive us closer to reality, I chose critical realism to analyse social problems and make solutions for social change. Moreover, as Easton (2010) indicates, interpretivism is to interpret the reality, whereas critical realism is used to embrace the possibility of causality. Furthermore, as this research is going to adopt case study approaches, positivism is not suitable because case studies are always small numbers of research, and interpretivism only describes the reality on the surface. By adopting critical realism here, it provides guidelines and justifications about how the research can be done and how theory can be shaped (Easton, 2010). As the world is continually changing, I believe what we have seen is only a small part. I aim to use different approaches to achieve more underlying knowledge. I also insist that critical realism can observe things from an internal perspective under this research background while other alternatives cannot.

4.2 Mixed methods qualitative research

By deciding the research philosophy, the following decision of methods to investigate this research aims to further add competency and rigorousness to this study. There exist different kinds of methods and it all depends on the nature of the research itself. In general, social

sciences research can be categorised into two types, qualitative and quantitative ones (Bryman, 2015). They are usually either used individually or the mixed use of both of them. To clarify their difference, according to Neuman (2002), qualitative research strategy usually applies at emphasising words instead of quantification in collection and analysis of data. The qualitative study usually applies at when the researcher needs to immerse themselves into a large amount of data and need to be alert to new ideas through the process of collecting data (Bryman, 2015).

Across the social sciences, quantitative research is used to perform arithmetic equations and understand various data and statistics in most fields of human activity. It is undeniable that geographic information plays a vital role in the planning of space and place (Neuman, 2002). Quantitative research is assisted with statistic techniques to test hypothesis and to verify theories, it usually associates with large data sets and translating the world into numeric language (Silva, 2015). Furthermore, according to Philip (1998), quantitative research strategy used to emphasise quantification in data collection and analysis. In general, quantitative research is used to precisely capture details of the empirical world and get numbers and results of it (Bryman, 2015). Quantitative research usually used to show the deductive approach between research and theory to entail the collection of numerical data. It has a distinctive epistemological and ontological perspective to illustrate circumstances instead of just numbers (Neuman, 2002).

While qualitative research provides the process of research, quantitative provides an account of structure in social life (Bryman, 2006). In the quantitative tradition, the apparatus is a pre-determined and technological tool that allows less flexibility and reflexivity. When the research needs clear results and the research issue is clearly defined, a quantitative method, such as questionnaires or open data review, is appropriate. The differences between qualitative and

quantitative research is that qualitative looks at things through a previously unspecified set of concepts, while quantitative look at specified set of variables (Brannen, 2017). Though almost every study needs some adaptations of the methodology to suit its particular circumstance (Bryman, 2015), I consider using qualitative research methods as the primary methodology to unravel the complexities in order to answer my research questions that were listed in Chapter 1.

Qualitative research usually applies when there is a problem or issue that needs to be explored. For example, when it needs to investigate a population, a group, or voices; some questions that cannot be estimated or investigated by numbers and statistics. The benefits of conducting qualitative research are that the researcher does not need to rely on other research results or any data collected by other people (Bracken, 2014). Qualitative research can also be adopted when the research requires a complex and detailed understanding of the research question. Especially when talking directly with people, listening to their stories, to minimise the distance between researcher and the participants in the study. Qualitative research can also be used to compensate the contemporary theories which cannot explain the circumstances which may unfold during qualitative research (Bracken, 2014).

An additional advantage of qualitative research method is that it can make the results more accessible to a broad range of people and groups in society (Creswell and Poth, 2017). The common phenomenon in social sciences is that most urban phenomena are unable to be measured by systematic study and quantification (Silverman, 2015). Silverman's argument can refer to those data which need to be observed or interviewed. It is possible, and indeed common, that interviews with certain government officials or the gaining of access to non-public setting in local government is undeliverable. In this circumstance, it is important to build rapport

between the researcher and the gatekeepers of the agencies and organisations which they want to research. Silverman (2015) also points out that qualitative analysis is advantageous due to the application of a relatively universal set of analytic techniques used to collect various types of data in the research process. The qualitative research method is extremely appropriate when the data collection informs the development, implementation and evaluation of public policy, especially when participatory action research and formative evaluation techniques are used (Bracken, 2014).

4.3 Case study research

A research framework is defined in order to apply these selected qualitative methods. As Yin (2013) indicates, many research strategies can be used to collect empirical research evidence: experiment, survey, historical analysis, archival analysis and case study. A case study is a form of naturalistic research and usually studies in a normal context (Bassey, 1999). It is a methodology that requires one to take a holistic view of the case, while simultaneously exploring different aspects of the case in depth, and can be useful when researchers want to learn a complex socio-cultural context (Taylor, 2016). According to Creswell and Poth (2017), case study usually applies when examining current phenomena, such as direct observation of interviewees and events, documents and interviews, in order to provide full and detailed evidence. Yin (2013) states that the reasons of choosing case study can be defined into two aspects: on the one hand, a case study is used to investigate the contemporary circumstances within the real-life world, especially when the boundaries between contemporary phenomenon and real-life world is not clear. On the other hand, a case study is used when the area has distinctive features, and one result relies on more multiple sources of evidence, and it relies on the development of previous theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis.

The research questions play a critical role in deciding the research approaches. As has been mentioned before, this research primarily focuses on urban governance and public participation in historic urban quarters under the contemporary urban regeneration, especially the need to explore real-time circumstances. The more the research is going to explain some present questions, the more suitable that the case study will be relevant. Considering the research questions that are set for this study, my adopt case study as the primary research approach to have a holistic and real-world perspective. Accordingly, this research chooses one specific and typical historic urban area in China to examine the urban regeneration of historic urban quarters and public participation, as well as local residents' everyday social and cultural practices.

According to the concepts developed by Yin (2013), there are four standards for conducting a case study research:

- Identifying the case(s) and establishing the logic of the case study: formulating the research questions and aims before the case study area is chosen and designed, and the hypotheses will also help to select the case study area.
- Data collection: relating to the research questions and aims, conducting the fieldwork in the case study area;
- Analysing case study evidence: examine the collected case study results in conformity to the reviewed theories; and
- Report case study results: draw the conclusions by the analysis of the case study results.

Furthermore, according to Swanborn (2010), five components should be considered when doing a case study:

- a case study's questions;
- its propositions;
- unit of analysis;

- the logic linking the data to the propositions; and
- the criteria for interpreting the findings.

I will follow Yin (2013) and Swanborn's (2010) suggestions to carry out the case study research. By acknowledging the requirements, the following step is to design the case study framework and conduct it. Preliminary fieldwork was completed in December 2017 in order to gather the up-to-date information of the case study area.

There are several commonly used methods for case study: documents, records, interviews, direct and participant observation and physical artefacts (Yin, 2013). Usually, the research methods in the case study depend on the research questions and objectives (Gillham, 2000; Yin, 2013). In ethnographic research, the most commonly used research method is participant observation. As the aim of this research is to find out the views and opinions of local residents, stakeholders and government officials, and to investigate the contemporary real-life phenomenon, therefore, interviews, documentary analysis and participant observation are also used in this research. Documentary analysis is used to analyse the existed governmental policies as well as popular media resources. Interviews are made to understand different people's experience of public participation, as well as their opinions toward urban regeneration. Participant observation is used to investigate real-time situation of the case study area and to collect up-to-date data.

In an additional thought, it is necessary to decide whether this is a single case study or multiple case studies research. No matter it is a single or a multiple one, it is crucial to keep it holistic and have embedded all subcases within a holistic one (Yin, 2012). The case study research can be conducted in either single case study or multiple case studies. The rationales to conduct a single case study should have critical, unusual, common, revelatory or longitudinal

characteristics, and the selection of the case study should relate to the theories or theoretical propositions of this research (Yin, 2013). To specify, a single case study should be critical as it can represent the test of a significant theory. It should be a unique and unusual case while conversely it also should share commonalities. It can provide an everyday situation, or it can be a case which is inaccessible before but now is studied at two or more different points in time (Yin, 2013). To summarise, a single case study maximises full careful investigation of the potential case and minimises the possibilities of misrepresentation, it further makes the most of the access to data and evidence collection.

As Yin (2012) illustrates, the multiple-case design is usually more challenging to implement than the single-case one. At the same time, multiple case studies have both advantages and disadvantages when compared with single case study. Multiple case studies are usually considered to be more robust and compelling, though they require more extensive resources and time beyond. Thus, to design multiple case studies research, it should derive directly from the researcher's understanding of literal and theoretical replications (Yin, 2013). Single case study would be vulnerable but multiple case studies might give more possibility of direct replication (Yin, 2013).

Based on my careful considerations and the need to response the research questions that are set for this study, I choose to adopt a single case study in this research for the following reasons. First, I consider a single case can have a deeper and more intensive investigation while multi-case studies cannot implement such a concentrated research within limited time for a PhD study. Second, as long as the single case study has its unique characteristics and features, it is easier and more valuable to conduct just one single case study to get specific results. Thus, I decide

to apply single case study because it is more convenient to generate data instead of involving into complex networks.

Since single case study is confirmed to apply in this research, the selection of the case study area is critical. Therefore, the selection of case study area will follow the following criteria:

- **Uniqueness.** Does this case study represent specific characteristics relating to the research questions? Can it represent unique historic residential areas and special meanings? It is important to notice that the uniqueness of selecting the case study areas should not be exaggerated.
- **Integrity.** Does this case study is also common enough and cover most of the characteristics of the research objectives? During the case study, high degree integrity of selected case study area is to ensure the nuances and changes of elements of different selected fieldwork sites can provide evidential data and support for the research.
- **Correlations.** Does this selected urban site have significant correlations with big events, social activities and people? This fieldwork site should have correlations with other significant events and also should be able to do further research or in relations to other research in the future.

The case study area applied in this research will follow these guidelines listed above. In order to assess the role of local residents in historic urban quarters, about whether they have a positive impact on promoting place identity, preserving local memories and shaping the urban governance networks, this research will be delivered in one unique and typical historic neighbourhood in China. This selection building upon what Taylor (2016) demonstrates that case study involves a particular case, it is important to distinguish and choose the case. As has already been decided to use single case study in this research, the boundary of the case study area is another key factor that needs to select. The idea of boundaries can be viewed from

different aspects. For example, is this case study area decided geographically? Or is it depend on the culture difference? Or it is made according to the location of one specific community?

According to similar research which were delivered in historic places, for instance, Shin (2010) and Qian and Li (2017) decide their case study geographically. However, in this research, the selection of the case study area will not only depend on the geographical location of the place but also about its social and cultural background, such as the local community with similar history and characteristics. Following the selection guidelines, the case study area is chosen from one of the historic neighbourhoods in Laochengnan region in Nanjing based on my careful considerations (see Figure 4.1). The selection of Nanjing as the case study is to response to Bell and Jayne (2009) suggestion of smaller cities can contribute more to the existing urban theories, in order to understand the complexities of cities and urban life. Different from mega cities like Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou in China, Nanjing is considered to be a comparatively smaller city. It is the capital of Jiangsu province situated in the Yangtze Delta, with proximity to Shanghai. It is regarded as one of the ancient Chinese cities due to its long history and many world-famous heritage sites, and it once served as six dynasties' capitals during ancient Imperial China era.

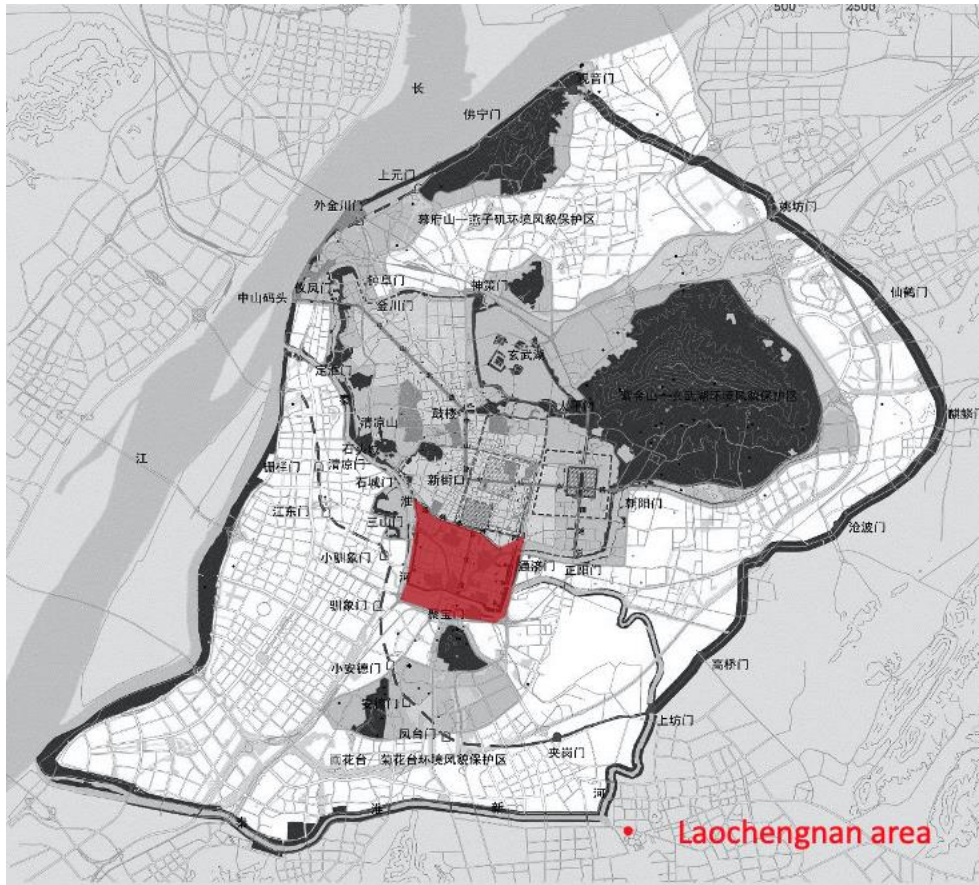


Figure 4.1 Map of Nanjing

Source: Adapted from Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau (2012a)

Figure 4.1 shows the location of Laochengnan region in Nanjing. The selection to choose one typical historic neighbourhood in Laochengnan based on my cautious consideration. This is because the Laochengnan region reflects what I require the uniqueness of the case study to represent the traditional neighbourhoods in Nanjing. Laochengnan, namely the southern part of the city, is a traditional urban region contains different historic neighbourhoods. Many of the neighbourhoods' histories can be traced back to either Ming and Qing dynasty. When Nanjing was the capital of China in Ming dynasty, the Hongwu Emperor¹ divided Nanjing into three parts. At that time, the southern part of the city, i.e. Laochengnan was allocated as the region for residential living. Until now, it still serves as the largest residential urban quarter in

¹ The founding emperor of the Ming dynasty.

Nanjing and consists many historic neighbourhoods with families who have been living there for many generations. Many houses still maintain their ancient Nanjing-style courtyard look, with a large number of original Nanjing people live in.

In light of this background, one historic neighbourhood is chosen from Laochengnan region for this research. The selected case study area called Pingshijie neighbourhood, it is chosen because of its unique identities together with the important events that happened in the past in response to urban regeneration. It is divided into two parts: Pingshijie area and Nanbuting area (see Figure 4.2), while Nanbuting area has been regenerated already. Though it is divided by the government into two parts, I chose it to analyse it as a whole neighbourhood due to it is considered by local people to be culturally homogenous.



Figure 4.2 Pingshijie neighbourhood in Laochengnan

Source: Adapted on Google maps

The selection of Pingshijie neighbourhood based on my careful consideration. Pingshijie the historic neighbourhood locates in the city centre of Nanjing, whereas it has very evident poverty features. Although most of the buildings have been attached with plaques and stated that these are the physical heritage of the city (see Figure 4.3), they still left dilapidated and waiting to be improved. Because of the residents' resistance, the Pingshijie area has not been completely renovated into commercial areas, which exactly fits the core idea of this research.

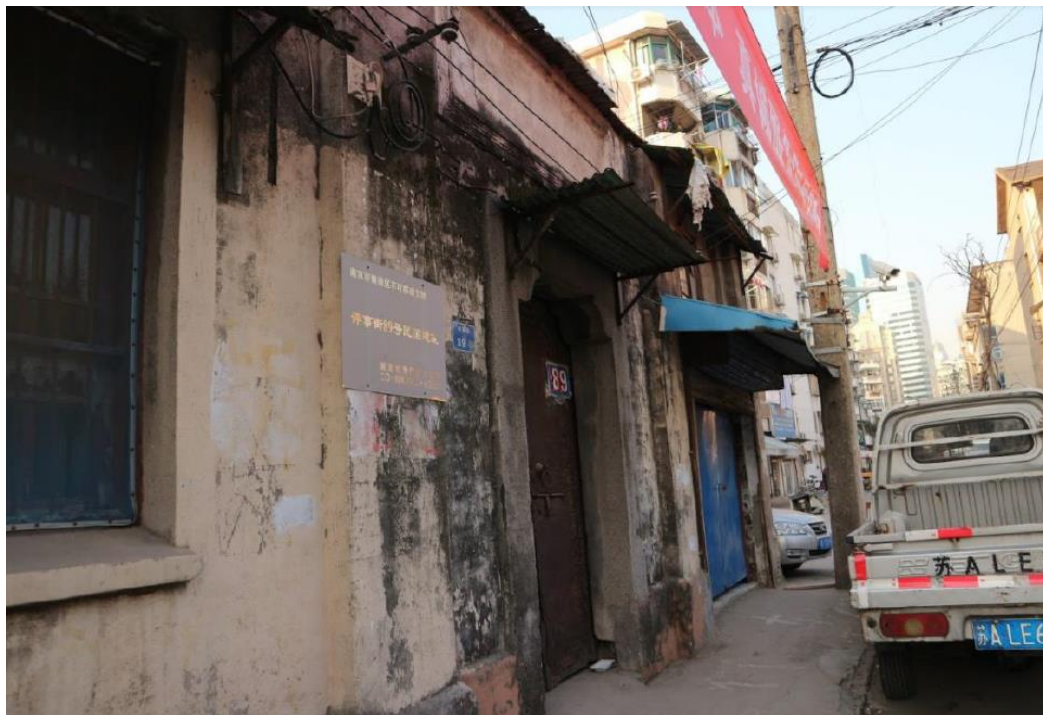


Figure 4.3 Pingshijie area in Pingshijie neighbourhood

Source: Liu Cao

This neighbourhood used to be one of the most famous urban districts in China (see Figure 4.4). Figure 4.4 shows what it looks like in the late Qing dynasty. It used to be a busy and vibrant commercial district and famous for its local cuisine and culture. Until now, many of the buildings in Pingshijie neighbourhood still maintain the ancient look and serve residential functions. It is a highly homogenous neighbourhood with most of the residents have been living here for many generations.



Figure 4.4 Pingshijie neighbourhood in late Qing dynasty

Source: Nanjing urban planning bureau

The Nanbuting area (see Figure 4.5) in Pingshijie neighbourhood is a newly built commercial district decorated with traditional Chinese elements. It has completely turned into a tourist attraction after the urban regeneration. Since then, its original name has changed into Xinanli², while local people still prefer to call it as Nanbuting. After the urban regeneration, all of the original residents have been displaced to the urban outskirts.

² In this research Xinanli and Nanbuting refers to the same place.



Figure 4.5 Nanbuting area in Pingshijie neighbourhood

Source: Liu Cao

Different from other similar historic neighbourhoods in China, the most important reason to choose Pingshijie as my case study is because of the resistance and strong protests towards urban regeneration that happened before. The resistance to gentrification and regeneration started since 2009. Local residents resisted displacement and refused their houses to be regenerated into shopping centres or tourist attractions. Their protests were significantly promoted by local media, which raised the attention of the whole society and even drew the attention from the former Chinese Premier. This protest forced the local government had to suspend the regeneration and listened to local residents' voices and concerns. Until now, Pingshijie area still remains unsolved. How to regenerate but at the same time to ensure local people's welfare and normal living standards have become a big problem for the local government.

Another reason to choose Pingshijie neighbourhood is because the recent regeneration in Nanjing showed that the real estate developers and local governments lack the full

understanding of the urban history and neglect the urban fabric and memory during the redevelopment process. Even though the local government has designated the policy to renovate this area and aimed to finish the regeneration in 2019, my pilot study in 2018 showed the regeneration plans still left unpopular and made the future redevelopment of Pingshijie even unclear. The remaining local residents keep resisting the regeneration and require the government to protect local culture and the places they live in. In light of these circumstances, the ongoing resistance and protests in Pingshijie neighbourhood appeals to my research questions and objectives. In this regard, I decide to choose Pingshijie neighbourhood as my case study area.

4.4 Data collection and analysis

The selected case study area and the confirmed methods have provided the robust foundation for this research. In order to ensure this study is delivered successfully, there are many preparations made in advance. The ethics form as well as the risk assessment form are filled in by the researcher and have been approved by the school. Due to the fact that data collection needs to involve people from the government and business agencies, two recommendation letters from the researcher's supervisors are used to ensure the successful access to the government officials and business agencies. A pilot study was made from December 2017 to January 2018 for one month. This aims to familiarise myself with Pingshijie neighbourhood, and also to ensure everything is well prepared for the later main fieldwork. By having this preliminary study, I established several contacts which further maximised the efficiency of my main fieldwork.

It is important to explain the researcher's positionality in delivering the fieldwork. As an outsider, many researchers have difficulty in approaching interviewees at the beginning of the

fieldwork because they do not belong to the case study area. This applied to me when I first tried to get access to my potential interviewees. However, my age and gender gave me a great privilege to get access to them. As was mentioned before, Pingshijie neighbourhood contains a high percentage of older people. In China, older people are usually very lonely because their children work elsewhere, so they are happier to chat with young people in their free time. As a young female researcher, local residents tend to feel more comfortable talking with me as I have a similar age as their children or grandchildren. Furthermore, my gender shows I have far less possibility to harm or attack them, which made my research easier to start. It is also noteworthy to mention that as a PhD student educated in the UK, my foreign education background aroused the potential interviewees' interest as they wanted me to help them distribute the current difficulties they are facing. As an insider, to start the conversation was not an easy thing to do, but where I originate from gave me a big help. I come from a city which is close to Nanjing has a similar regional background and dialects. This made the interviewees feel closer to me and happy to participate.

There are three key difficulties encountered when I did the fieldwork. First, because the regeneration has taken place for nearly ten years, most of the local people's enthusiasm and hospitality has been demolished. There have been many journalists, scholars, university academics and different researchers continuously visiting this neighbourhood in these ten years, those residents who still live here are already bored of these 'visitors', and of course including me. Therefore, in order to reduce the inconvenience for the main fieldwork, a pilot study was made in December 2017 to January 2018 to get local people familiarise with me. Thus, the time when I start my main fieldwork, I start my interview from those who already knew me to ensure the interview starts smoothly. More importantly, the key gatekeeper that introduced me to the neighbourhood gave me a big favour. During my fieldwork, a prestigious local resident

who kept having close contact with scholars and academics, and also leading the whole community to resist the gentrification welcomed me. He introduced me to the other people who were available for interviews. With his help, it got much easier for me to collect data throughout the fieldwork. Then I used the ‘snowball’ method, namely ask them to introduce more people to let me know.

Secondly, it was hard to get access to local residents at the beginning. The time when the main fieldwork started in July 2018, the hot weather increased the degree of difficulty in tracking local residents’ activities. In order to overcome this problem, during the fieldwork time, I first get access to one local resident and asked him about his daily activities’ routine and also about any other person he knew. Then I went to the case study area early and stayed late in the first week, to make sure the researcher can get access to at least one of the local residents. By using this method, I found out the common time that local people usually go out for leisure and activities, and then developed a schedule to maximise the sufficient time during a day for interviewing people.

Thirdly, most of the people living in Pingshijie neighbourhood are older people, with a high percentage of them are illiterate. As I have mentioned before, local people already get bored with these frequent ‘visitors’, and it was hard at the beginning to reassure them that I will not harm their benefits. Thus, I explained clearly about my research and also showed them the information sheet (Appendix 4 and Appendix 5), my local contact details, such as WeChat and mobile number to let them know they can withdraw their participation as long as they want. By showing them the information sheet, I stated clearly about what kind of beneficence can bring to them if they joined my research, which further encouraged them to participate. For example, I highlight after the fieldwork I will publish relevant research papers, in doing so,

their requirements in resisting the gentrification will be discussed in the paper to urge the government to reconsider the current unpopular redevelopment plans. At the same time, interview consent form (Appendix 6, 7 & 8) will be shown to the interviewees, after acquired their permission the interview then would start.

4.4.1 Documentary analysis of policies and documents

The documentary analysis method applied in this research is to get familiar with the relevant city planning policies of the case study area, to get the up-to-date information and also to give policy implications for my study. By using documentary analysis, I aim to solve my research questions about how the government manages the neighbourhood, as well as how local residents respond to the urban regeneration and why they protest. Bowen (2009: 27) defines document analysis is ‘a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents-both printed and electronic material.’ There are different types of documents, such as letters, emails and some other personal documents; Agendas, meetings and other written reports; Administrative documents, such as progress reports, proposals and internal reports; Formal reports of the site you are researching; Articles and papers that appears on local media and newspapers (Yin, 2013). Electronic resources such as computer-based and Internet-transmitted materials (Atkinson and Coffey, 2011; Bowen, 2009). The advantage of documentary analysis is it can be reviewed repeatedly and cover a long range of time and events, and it can also be viewed before the fieldwork, and new circumstances and ideas can always be found during the documentary analysis. However, it also may have limitation of access and biased views. Sometimes the large numbers of documents will also become time-consuming and make the researcher lost in it (Yin, 2013).

In this regard, documentary analysis is delivered from three aspects. First, most of the textual and documentary materials are collected from the Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau website³. The local planning policy, the master urban planning policy of Nanjing, and many other public participation reports of Pingshijie neighbourhood were retrieved from this website. The other information were collected from the researcher's personal visit to Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau, Nanjing Urban Planning and Research Centre, and the Nanjing Urban Planning Exhibition Hall, and together with other collection from many personal visits to the field site, such as brochures in local stores and museums, relevant newspapers and magazines, as well as information searched online. Information of interest that was displayed on local noticeboards was collected as well. The relevant information such as how the area will be redeveloped, any measures announced for public participation or relevant to local people's lives are also selected for future analysis.

The review of government policies focuses on the city as well as the neighbourhood. In doing so, I aim at getting up-to-date information about the local areas' urban regeneration and conservation. The policy review is to acknowledge various policies and programmes, particularly about the decisions of limited resources that can be made wisely, and ensure the policy relevant to the changing circumstances (Longhurst, 2003). Accordingly, it is useful to identify three broad levels of the analysis of policy review. (1) To consider the intentions of the policy makers or the planners; (2) To study the actual behaviour of the policy maker in deciding and effecting a decision; (3) To evaluate what really happened or not on a given policy which has been implemented over a period of time (Bracken, 2014). The effective policy review needs to have broad scope, and also to consider under a different circumstance what a particular policy can emerge to inform, motive and influence the decision maker. The

³ See Website link <http://ghj.nanjing.gov.cn/>

application of policy review in this research also aims to show the change of social and technical and difficulties that have emerged for policy makers, to create an appropriate framework for to examine the urban policy which must operate (Bracken, 2014).

Secondly, electronic and paper-based materials are read and analysed. In order to understand the ongoing redevelopment activities of Pingshijie neighbourhood, the use of social media, magazines, newspaper and real estate development information are collected and reviewed to catch the advanced information of the case study area. The other popular social media which are widely used in China such as WeChat (Chinese WhatsApp) and Weibo (Chinese Twitter) are also examined. This aims to know the public's comments and considerations of the relevant redevelopment of the places they live. Additionally, the online governmental website of the case study area is also investigated. The Mayor office, which is an online suggestion box for public concerns is examined as well to get the contemporary information of public concerns in Nanjing. The local noticeboard which displayed in local communities was also collected for analysis.

In the end, relevant reports, such as local scholars' research reports of the case study area for the government and also the documents they were interviewed about Pingshijie neighbourhood are reviewed to get the relevant information. This aims to acknowledge the changes happened in these years. These different sources to get information are to ensure the reliability of the data and to ensure the accuracy of the research.

4.4.2 In-depth semi-structured interviews

Despite documentary analysis, interview is considered as another key case study evidence. It usually targets and focuses on particular groups and case study topics, it is insightful and

collects information which numbers and statistics cannot reach by providing an interviewee's personal views apart from behavioural events (Yin, 2013). By using interviews, I aim to approach to my research questions by characterising local residents' opinions and attitudes towards urban regeneration directly, and also to get the direct understanding about what kind of impacts happened to their daily life. Therefore, interview is applied in this research but in a more detailed version: the in-depth semi-structured interview. A semi-structured interview is a verbal exchange between interviewees and the interviewer. Although the interview may have predetermined questions, semi-structured interviews provide participants the chance to talk about the issues they feel important (Yin, 2013).

According to DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006), semi-structured interviews often dealing with the sole data and scheduled in advance at designated time and place of everyday events. They are usually the widely used format in qualitative research and can occur either in groups or with an individual. Semi-structured interviews have a set of predetermined open-ended questions, including other questions that emerged from the talk between the interviewer and the interviewees (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006). Therefore, I choose to use in-depth semi-structured interviews to ensure that all the research questions are answered during the interviews. This is because in-depth interview allows the researcher to investigate deeper into social and personal matters, and to get wider range of experience; it also allows the creation of new thoughts, either the researcher or the interviewees, during the interviews (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006).

In this regard, the in-depth semi-structured interview includes interviewees from three categories: local residents, government officials and other stakeholders, such as real estate developers and local retailers. The interviews aim to explore local resident's voices closely,

understanding the concerns about the places they live in, which cannot be completed by just quantitative research. Interviews are recorded, but I will ask for permission before the interview starts (Valentine, 2005). Interviews are made both in-person and telephone calls, and it depends on the interviewee's requirements. Interviews are usually challenging to do because people are cautious about their privacies. To overcome the difficulties in doing interviews, I assure the interviewees that I am not a salesperson and will not harm them or affect their privacies. At the same time information sheets (see Appendix 4 & 5) are distributed to let them know their importance to this research. I ensure myself to be dressed appropriately to make interviewees feel comfortable, and if they do not have time, I will be happy to find a time to suit them (Bryman, 2015). Regarding the difference between different interviewees, the interview questions are designed separately for different types of interviewees. To minimise the possibilities of 'poorly constructed interview questions' (Yin, 2013), the interview questions are developed through pilot fieldwork interviews and also supervisors' revision.

When I first started the interview, it was common that an interview needed to be taken place for a long time, many people were not interested in and wished to finish as soon as possible. After several interviews were conducted at the beginning, it further showed that people did not want to talk many things in detail to a stranger like me. However, after I have stayed in the neighbourhood for a longer time, I found that people were willing to talk more when they got familiar with me. Thus, in order to get all the interview questions answered and to get enough useful responses, especially to get more detailed answers, the whole interview was divided into three parts: self-introduction and daily life; understanding of Nanjing and Pingshijie neighbourhood, attitudes toward urban regeneration; and their opinions, experiences and attitudes to public participation (see Appendix 9 interview questions). These three parts were delivered separately in a progressive order. For example, the self-introduction and daily life

part was delivered first. In doing so, I aimed to get my interviewees familiar with me and also to develop a relationship with them. Then their understanding of Nanjing and Pingshijie neighbourhood, and their opinions towards redevelopment were collected. This aimed to enhance the relationship between the interviewees and me. In the end, the interview questions about public participation part was delivered. This part put at the end of the interview due to many of the interview questions about public participation are comparatively more sensitive than the first two parts.

Therefore, from my interview experience, I recommend dividing long interview questions into several parts and carry out in a progressive way. This is because when interviewees are much more familiar with interviewers, more detailed and useful information could be collected. By using this strategy, in this research, there were in total 43 in-depth semi-structured interviews collected. All of them were made in face to face interviews. During the interview, I calculate one household as one interview. There are 26 interviews with local residents (including tenants and displaced residents) and 18 interviews with key stakeholders, including 3 with Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau, 2 with local *Shequ* (local government organisation), and 1 with the developer. The data resources were all collected in both Mandarin and local dialect.

4.4.3 Direct and participant observation

Alongside documentary analysis and in-depth semi-structured interviews, this research further uses ethnographic method to investigate local residents' everyday social and cultural practices. By using ethnography, I am further able to depict a real and live Pingshijie neighbourhood which is under the current wave of urban regeneration. Watson and Till (2010) point out that ethnography is an intersubjective form of qualitative research that explores the relationships between the researcher and the researched, insider and outsider, and many other forms. As

Watson and Till (2010) indicate, ethnographic research can be used to explore topics that are difficult to represent and research by using quantitative research methods, and those subjects that cannot be accessed by language. LeCompte and Schensul (1999) also state that ethnography is an approach to understand social and cultural aspects of communities, people, institutions and other settings. Ethnography takes the position that human behaviour and their daily and local activities are highly important to decide the meanings of their world (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999). I highlight the uniqueness of ethnographic research because it investigates what and why people do then we can assign their action interpretations from researcher's own professional experience. However, ethnographic research cannot control what is happening in the research, and may act as an 'outsider' for the research (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999).

To sum up, ethnographic research can be generalised into the following characteristics (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999):

- It carried out in a natural situation, not in a laboratory;
- It needs to have intimate interaction with the participants, and usually face-to-face;
- It reflects the real situation of participants' daily lives and behaviours.
- It can build local cultural characteristics by using inductive, interactive, and recursive data collection;
- It frames the human behaviour within a socio-political and historical context;
- It uses culture to get results.

In this research, direct and participant observation are adopted for the investigation of the current situation of historic neighbourhoods in China. In doing so, I present my case study in a real-world setting. Direct observation involves forms of meetings, sidewalk activities, factory work, classrooms, and less formal observations such as evidence from the fieldwork and

interviews (Yin, 2013). By using direct observation, the researcher can be viewed as the passive observer of the site, to be an outsider of the case study area to get the information.

Different from direct participation, participant observation provides a formal version of everyday activity of certain places by watching what others are doing and by joining in (Rubin and Rubin, 2011). Therefore, participant observation is also adopted in this research. According to Bracken (2014) and Yin (2013), participant observation means that the researcher is not a passive observer. The researcher can either (1) be a resident of the case study area; (2) Take some functional role in the neighbourhood; (3) Be a staff member during the organizational meeting; (4) Be a key decision maker during the meeting; (5) Record observations in field notes; or (6) Use everyday conversation as an interview technique. It is important to know in advance that participant observation can be difficult as refusals might happen from time to time. Watson and Till (2010) also indicate that to do the participant observation, the researcher can also observe by taking notes, making photographs and other forms of mappings. By reflecting upon and analysing the records and material data, the researchers can develop questions and insights about their work, and notes and photographs are counterparts of the living experiences of these case study areas.

The observation methods applied in this research are a combination of both direct and participant observation. There are a few ways that are applied for direct observation. Photography, to record the information or daily social activities of the research area. Informal talking with local residents, to collect up-to-date and first-hand resources from local residents. Visit to the local urban planning exhibition hall, to gather information about local urban planning results. Historical materials review, such as historical photos and old urban planning materials. The observation methods adopted here are to observe local resident's daily social

and cultural activities. By doing so, it explores the research questions about the change of sociocultural status after urban redevelopment, and also to investigate whether residents have any experiences or activities towards public participation.

There are four forms by doing a participant observation: overt observer. It is a format that the researcher will tell the community they are being studied for the research; Overt participant. It means the researcher will tell the participants that they are living or working together with them for some time and this is for research purposes. Covert observer. That the researcher will not tell the participant that they are being studied for research purposes. The last one is covert participant. The researcher will not tell the participant that he/she is living or working with them for research aims (Cook, 2005). The selection of participant observation for this study based on my careful consideration. By doing participant observation, I can understand why specific activities are happening in this area, and also uncovering everyday aspects for scrutiny and analysis. It also does not require technical knowledge and can easily get knowledge of local human behaviours and daily socio-cultural activities (Laurier, 2016). In this regard, in order to make sure this research can be done ethically, I chose to be an overt observer to ensure no deception would be made to the participants and interviewees, and further to guarantee the research integrity.

At the beginning of the fieldwork, the only thing I did was walking around the neighbourhood to make local residents acknowledge me and familiarise myself with the community, because sometimes people are very cautious and suspicious of strangers. I wrote the field diary every day to ensure a good preparation was made for my later detailed participant observation. However, the field diary made at the beginning was only a straightforward description of what I remembered after each day's fieldwork. After two weeks, when a few local residents

familiarised themselves with me and approached to me by themselves, questioned what and why I came here for, I told them I am a researcher and I would observe them for research purposes. Meanwhile, consent forms were handed out to get their permission for my in-depth detailed participant observation recordings. However, as it has been mentioned before, local residents are suspicious about different kinds of ‘visitors’, taking notes every day on notebooks, or staring at someone and writing something all the time will cause local people’s uncertainty. Moreover, traditional note-taking measures cannot cope with the ongoing changes of the fieldwork that they are too simply produced (Gorman, 2017) and far from integration within the researching process.

In order to ensure participant observation can be conducted smoothly, and also inspired by Gorman (2017), my smartphone became an important technique for recording participant observation notes as well as taking everyday photos. This aimed to highlight my positionality as an outsider who was doing research, but also had the intention to be an insider to make the participants and interviewees feel engaged, valued, and respected (Gorman, 2017). As a consequence, after walking around the neighbourhood every day for nearly two weeks and making people familiar with me, detailed participant observation was then collected. For instance, I collected more comprehensive observation notes from talking with people every day, or even being invited to their houses to chat, and observe how they socialise with their friends and neighbours.

Different participant observation materials such as everyday photos of people’s daily lives, field dairies and notes of everyday observation are organised together with interviewees’ responses. According to Kearns (2016), the analysis of participant observation is varied from the requirement of data purpose. In order to better serve the data collected from interviews and

textual analysis, participant observation data are analysed to see whether local residents' daily life are following what they said in interviews, to examine anything that happens in every day which their daily life get affected by the regeneration. In doing so, I aim to ensure I have considerable involvement in the everyday lives of the people being researched, to develop timetables of activities, to construct the social and cultural geographies of the case study places.

4.4.4 Transcription

The collected data from documentary analysis, in-depth semi-structured interviews and direct and participant observation need to be analysed and organised. Therefore, all the data collected during the fieldwork were recorded and then transcribed. The transcription work started as soon as the interviews were collected, as Longhurst (2003) argues it is advantageous to transcribe interviews as soon as possible, this is because to hear the recorded interviews it will still be fresh in mind and can make the transcription much easier. I also chose to transcribe all the data by myself. This is because it is inevitable to have errors if the person who transcribes the interviews is different from the one who conducts it. More importantly, my interviews are all taken in both Mandarin and local Nanjing dialect, and it will be rather difficult if someone transcribed my work do not know Mandarin or local Nanjing dialect. As it is required, the transcription should be the best possible interpretation of the interview recordings, including voices, tones and attitudes (Dunn, 2016). Therefore, the transcriptions are all first made in Chinese. This action which in response to the requirement to ensure the original meaning of interviewees will not be changed too much and to keep the accuracy of the data.

By continuously engaging in the transcribing process, this is beneficial to me as it enhanced my impression of the data I have collected, and also minimises the potential errors if the transcription work was done by someone else. Roulston (2014) also indicates that transcription

practices should avoid focusing only on the topic of the interviews but also should pay attention to the implications the interviews were shown. Therefore, descriptive information is included to indicate the relevant features of each interview, such as their emotions, laughter or sighs. In order to analyse the data collected from participant observation, detailed description of their everyday activities is depicted together with the relevant photos taken. This follows what Marvasti (2014) argues the importance of participant observation is to uncover the embedded meaning-making process and to make sense of participants' everyday life,

Rowley (2012) recommends that computer software can greatly assist with the analysis of interview data. Therefore, the coding system is applied in the data analysis process. *Nvivo* is the qualitative software used to assist with the analysis of transcribed data. Different sentences or sections are coded with different themes (codes) in *Nvivo*, and each theme contains similar responses from different interviewees. In order to make interview data more organised, each theme also contains sub-themes to show the differences from other interviewees. This categorisation aims to analyse different interviewee's answers under one question to see what the similarities and differences are. For example, the transcription of local residents' opinions and attitudes to public participation, are coded into several different categories: relevant public participation experience, opinions to public participation and reasons to participate or not. Local people and stakeholders' understanding of the place they live in, relevant knowledge to public participation will be summarised into several themes. Each interviewee is coded into specific names. There are four categories: residents and tenants will be coded as R with numbers, S for stakeholders and together with their work nature, G for government officials with their job types, and E for real estate developers. In the end, in order to make the research lively, pseudonyms will be used for different interviewees (see Appendix 1, 2 & 3 of interviewee list).

4.4.5 Triangulation

Even though the case study can provide a comprehensive review of what is happening contemporarily, the question lies at have we collected enough data for the research. Thus, to improve the reliability of the collected data, triangulation is needed in qualitative research to make sure the results are reliable. The protocol designed by DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) represents that if the phenomenon or case study happened at other times or other places, it is essential to find out whether the data we collect has the same meaning or results under different circumstances.

In order to minimise the variables in this research, the guidelines of triangulation will be applied. According to Yin (2013), triangulation of case studies can be delivered from the use of multiple sources. As has been illustrated in this research, the method used for this study such as documentary analysis, in-depth semi-structured interviews, direct and participant observation will be viewed as data collected from different sources to minimise the variables during the research process. These three sources of data are applied for triangulation in this research. According to Duffy (1987), triangulation is used to test data from more than one way, and to maximise the elimination of most of the errors. In this research, in-depth semi-structured interviews, direct and participant observation and together with textural analysis are used for triangulation.

As Yin (2013) indicates, the development of convergent evidence to support data triangulation is helpful to emphasise the construct validity of the case study. The multiple sources provide multiple measures of the same phenomenon. It is helpful to increase the case study accuracy and confidence. Hence, in this research, data and information collected from different sources

will be used as the convergent triangulation process. The results got from documentary analysis, in-depth semi-structured interviews and direct and participant observation will serve as the constituent of the research. Documentary analysis and archival records will provide research background and framework, such as the redevelopment progress and situation, in-depth semi-structured interviews will provide information depending on the stakeholders' understanding and experience of their lives under the influence of redevelopment, while participant observation is aimed to get intensive information within their daily living cultural environment.

4.5 Research in China

Due to most of the guidelines and instructions about how to do research are written in English and are mostly taken place in Western countries, the selected research methods, data collection and analysis are all re-designed to fit in the Chinese context. This section is to illustrate how to research as well as collect data in a non-English speaking environment. The application of ethnographic method in this research is a great advantage to know China. Similar as what Smart (2018: 1479) illustrates, ethnography can provide 'unexpected results and challenging assumptions about what processes are most central to the explanation of the situations that in aggregate make up the novel phenomena of contemporary Chinese urbanisation.' Therefore, despite the usage of interviews, the application of participant observation can further depict a livelier Chinese society. However, the pilot study made me recognise how difficult it is to gain access to the community. The community is mistrustful of outsiders, presenting myself to the community is the only thing I did during the first two weeks, then they approached to me to ask why and what I came here for. This method made my fieldwork becomes easier for the later research.

Furthermore, it is usually challenging to get access to the government officials in China. The biggest problem is how the researchers going to represent themselves and get the officials' confidence as no governmental privacy will be leaked out during this research. Therefore, I made sufficient preparation in advance to ensure the successful delivery of the interviews. I contacted potential interviewees from the local government and explained why I wanted to interview them and clarified their importance to my research. Different interview questions are made according to the background of interviewees, all the questions are double checked to avoid academic language and jargons to make them easy to understand. After the interviews, I also asked the interviewees to recommend other people that I can get access to. Time and location are decided by the interviewees to let them have flexible time to take the interviews.

This method also applied when I contacted real estate investors and local residents. Especially local residents, as I mentioned before, the only thing I did at the beginning was to present myself to make them get familiarise with me. When they approached to me, I clarified why I came here for and also let them know their importance to my research, which aims to encourage them to participate in my interviews. Inspired by how and when He and Wu (2007) did their fieldwork in China, my interviews were also made in different time of the day, both weekdays and weekends, and also among the whole day to get access to the most of the targeted responders. Additionally, I emailed, called and visited the real estate agencies to let them know what my research was and encouraged them to join my research. I clearly explained my purposes and guaranteed all information collected were only for research purposes and would not be leaked out to public.

Each interviewee will get one information sheet (see Appendix 4) which clarified what the meaning of this research and also what kind of beneficence would bring to the participants. On

the information sheet, I clarified no money would be paid to them for their participation but what they questioned, worried and suspected across the urban regeneration process would be valued and respected. By doing this research, I highlight on the information sheet that it is an excellent opportunity to let the residents know their interests and benefits are not overlooked by the public. This research is not a criticism to the Chinese state but a reminder and suggestion to the government about balancing the economic growth and local residents' voices and attitudes. Furthermore, to ensure the participants that this research would benefit them, I clarified I would endeavour to publish the research results on good academic journals to give useful suggestions to the local government which might make them reconsider the current unpopular redevelopment plans. With my contact details given to the local residents, the time when I left the field, I informed them feel free to contact me if they had any concerns towards my research.

Apart from this, it is noteworthy to mention the language problem when doing research in China. Nurjannah et al. (2014) point out translation could be a concern when doing qualitative research in a non-English speaking country. When researching in a non-English speaking country, the first and foremost task is how to translate the local language into correct English presentation. As Mishler (1991) indicates, meanings expressed in different discourses could have problems when transcribing to another different one. Therefore, to illustrate the non-English data to English presentation is a critical issue to solve in the research. This research follows these suggestions like Mishler (1991) and Smith (2016) propose. First, the languages for collecting data are in both Mandarin and local dialect. I am native in Mandarin and understand most of the local dialect of the case study area due to my four years' living in Nanjing. Languages is not a tough task for data collection. Most of the local residents understand Mandarin and can speak Mandarin, and if anything cannot be explained clearly via

language, the written Chinese will be used to assist with the interviews. Secondly, as most of the original data are collected in Chinese, the appropriate translation of the data is necessary to ensure the research accuracy. It is important to notice whether the meaning will get lost after translation, and how can translation help to highlight particular aspects of cultural meaning and significance (Smith, 2016). Due to certain language may have their specific meaning in particular circumstances, in this research, I choose to use *pinyin*, i.e. the Romanisation of Chinese characters, to represent certain words and phrases and followed with detailed English explanation and description.

4.6 Ethics

The overall designed research requires the researcher to behave ethically when doing the fieldwork. According to Hay (2016), there are three main reasons to consider ethics when doing the research. First, doing ethical research can protect the rights of individuals, communities and institutions from any destruction or harm (Hay, 2016). Secondly, ethical research helps to provide a comfortable phenomenon for conducting the research (Hay, 2016). For example, those cultural research which needs to involve local communities and people, this can build trust between the researcher and the community. Thirdly, it is actually to protect the researchers themselves. Institutions such as universities need to protect students or staff away from unethical or immoral threats (Hay, 2016). These points highlight the importance to research ethically during the fieldwork. Therefore, this section I further clarify how I established the research ethics of this research.

Before the fieldwork taken place, I secured the ethical approval form from Cardiff University. However, this form failed to address the ‘messier, ongoing, impure, continually updated set of ethics that develop over time and through experiences’ which emerged throughout the

fieldwork (Crang and Cook, 2007: 32). Thus, this research adopts a reflexive research process, which Guillemin and Gillam (2004: 275) indicate it is as ‘ a continuous process of critical scrutiny and interpretation, not just in relation to the research methods and the data but also to the researcher, participants, and the research context.’ Therefore, reflexivity is incorporated in this research to respond to any potential challenges and tensions that might happen during the fieldwork process.

Diener and Crandall (1978) point out there are four main areas need to be considered when doing a research: (1) Whether there will be harm to the participants; (2) Whether deception is involved; (3) Whether there is an invasion of privacy; (4) Whether there is a lack of informed consent. Therefore, this research is delivered ethically by obeying the following three points. First, potential risks and harm to interviewees and participants. Miller (2012) indicates research should be designed to minimise or avoid harm and risks. Prior to the fieldwork, risk assessment approval form is secured from Cardiff University. By outlining the activities I will do when carrying out the field research, it has been approved by the school that there will be no harm to both me and the participants within the fieldwork. This not only aims to protect my interviewees and participants away from any potential harm or risks but also to protect myself.

Secondly, privacy and confidentiality. Christians (2011: 66) indicates ‘all personal data ought to be secured or concealed and made public only behind a shield of anonymity.’ As has been mention in the section 4.4, this research is completely anonymous. Pseudonyms are made to code each participant and interviewee, by doing this I aim to avoid the accidental breaking of confidentiality (Wiles et al., 2008). Furthermore, once all the data are collected, any information that can identify the participants, were removed from the transcripts. Audio recordings, scanned consent forms, interview transcripts and also photographs are all stored in

both office computers and personal laptops, with password protected. These documents are also backed up in one hard drive and stored in a locked drawer. No information will be shared with other parties. Furthermore, my personal privacy is also protected. A newly made email address as well as WeChat account (a Chinese social media) are made only for this research.

Thirdly, informed consent. Christians (2011) highlights the importance of informed consent as research subjects have the right to be informed and know the nature of the research which they are involved. To avoid deception and invasion of privacy, consent forms are made and distributed to both local residents and other stakeholders. The consent form method is following the research made by Wiles et al. (2008), which is also a qualitative research. Before commencing the interviews and participant observation, consent forms need to be signed by both of the researcher and the participant. By doing this I aim to acquire their consent to participate in this research. Contact details are provided as all the information are open to them all. According to the consent form, they have right to cancel their participation at any time. This research will strictly comply with these ethical considerations and make sure to conduct the research ethically and legally.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter designed and set the research framework to answer the research questions I have established at the beginning. By comparing their strengths and weaknesses, I chose to use mixed qualitative methods in one single case study to solve my research questions. By researching one case study in a smaller Chinese city, it allows me to do a deep and detailed research, and further contributes to my beginning objective of this research, to diversify the contemporary body of research from smaller cities (Bell and Jayne, 2009). The chosen research methods further add competency and strength to this research. By using in-depth semi-

structured interviews, this method allows me to talk directly with both local residents and other key stakeholders. With interview questions designed separately, I get to know different kinds of role that stakeholders played during the regeneration process. This further approaches to my research questions such as the role of government, developers, as well as local residents' opinions to regeneration. By using textual and documentary analysis, I acknowledge the relevant urban planning policies and the public participation framework in my case study. This helps with the analysis about how local residents and other stakeholders respond to the urban regeneration. These two methods also complement with others to assess the delivery of public participation.

By using both interviews and textual analysis, I approach to my research questions about the inadequacies of public participation system, and also to understand the networks formed within the regeneration process. Furthermore, direct and participant observation give me the chances to observe how local residents are affected under the urban regeneration directly. As states by Smart (2018), I can draw a vivid Chinese society by using ethnographic methods. This research method allows me to answer my research questions of local residents' everyday life within the urban regeneration process. These three research methods further complement each other to eliminate potential research errors and also to testify the research findings. These decided methods also enabled me to explore the urban regeneration process of a historic neighbourhood in China. By choosing a special and representative case study, I clarified why it is important and meaningful to research this neighbourhood. It further showed the uniqueness and importance of this research. In order to ensure the research can be delivered successfully, I came up with different ethical considerations. Under the conditions of research ethics are followed, I chose to be flexible in response to the messier and unstable fieldwork process (Cragg and Cook, 2007).

This chapter also identifies the challenges and strategies for researching in a non-English environment. I discussed the challenges in doing this research as well as the strategies I used to cope with them. Due to it is normal to get meaning loss within the translation process (Nurjannah et al., 2014), I decided to use *Pinyin*, namely Romanisation of Chinese characters, together with clear and detailed English explanation and description. By doing this, I ensure my research findings are presented in a rigorous and robust way. My discussion of research in China further helps to shed light on other qualitative research which will be delivered in a non-English environment. Furthermore, I clarified how they can be adequately translated into English. The following three empirical analysis chapters provided the insights of the relations, impacts and networks within the urban regeneration process of historic neighbourhood in China.

5. Governing the historic neighbourhood

This chapter analyses the urban governance at the neighbourhood level under the background of urban regeneration of historic neighbourhoods. Under the global neoliberal trend, urban governance is regarded by scholars that contains more capacity than government and management (e.g. Newman, 2001; Healey, 1997). It is to analyse the relationships between the government and public and private partnerships (Stoker, 1998a). Jessop (1998) demonstrates that the understanding of urban governance should be the mode of conduction of specific organisation or institutions that have various purposes and together with involved multiple stakeholders, and Healey (2010) indicates that governance is now paying more attention to improve citizens' life and manage complicated problems. By acknowledging these arguments, this chapter investigates the western developed theories and further to explore whether they have any new characteristics and adaptations within the Chinese context.

Urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989) is first applied in this chapter to analyse how the government governs the neighbourhood. Urban regime is further utilised to assess the relationships between different stakeholders within the resistance and regeneration process. Urban regime is an informal alliance that formed through public and private partnerships, it is used to understand various responses to urban change and focus on the problems of collective organisation and action (Stoker and Mossberger, 1994). Under the theoretical framework of urban regime, together with the analysis of the role of institutions in urban politics and governance, Pierre (1999) indicates urban governance is influenced mainly by non-state actors and should be regarded as the mix of public and private interests to enhance collective goals. While Stoker and Mossberger (1994) argue that any group is unlikely to dominate in this complex world, the change from public participation to collaborative planning also has the

similar aim as what Pierre suggests consensus achievement (see Healey, 1997). Building upon these arguments, in this chapter I discuss the role of different stakeholders involved in the urban regeneration in China as well as these theories adaptations in my case study.

In this chapter I discuss at the neighbourhood level, about the adaptations of the existing urban governance theories developed in the west. The contemporary existing literature about China have addressed the general background of Chinese urban governance, especially the entrepreneurial feature of the state since the change from socialist planning to market-oriented planning (see Wu, 2002; Wu, 2018). However, there lacks sufficient research critically evaluate the roles of different actors played during urban regeneration, especially at the neighbourhood level. In response to Lees's (2016) call for gentrification at the planetary scale, this chapter also enriches this concept by focusing on one case study in China.

The analysis in this chapter is twofold: the first section is the discussion and analysis about how the concept of urban entrepreneurialism is adapted at the neighbourhood level under the background of urban regeneration of historic neighbourhoods. I answer the following questions: How does the historic neighbourhood change under the entrepreneurial turn? What kind of role does the local government play? Moreover, what kind of feature the local government used as a competitive advantage to be entrepreneurial? In this section I first testified the applicability of urban entrepreneurialism within the Chinese context, then I highlight the local government entrepreneurialism reflected in this research from the neighbourhood level, and I further explain the characteristic of local government entrepreneurialism is the utilisation of historic value. More than inter-urban competition, intra-urban competition is simultaneously applied within the local urban entrepreneurialism context.

The second section further discusses different stakeholders, i.e. non-state actors, about the role they played during this urban regeneration. Because Dowding et al. (1999) indicate that urban regime theory is a concept rather than a theory, and it is largely influenced by different political systems. Building upon this argument, I discuss what kind of regimes formed in order to push forward or stop urban regeneration. In this section, I point out there are two coalitions formed during the urban regeneration process. Each coalition plays a significant role within the regeneration process.

5.1 Entrepreneurial governance in Pingshijie neighbourhood

I highlight to understand the specific local political structure in advance to better comprehend the local urban governance mode in China. Wu (2015) has argued that the urban planning system in China is still primarily controlled by the administrative system. The Constitution of People's Republic of China stipulated that all the governments from the provincial/municipal/autonomous regional level, prefectural level, county level to the township level are local governments, in response to the central government, i.e. the State Council of People's Republic of China. As Fulong Wu has illustrated the state entrepreneurialism of China (see Wu, 2018), in this case, by researching on the neighbourhood level, I argue it is local government entrepreneurialism. This consideration is to add more details on Wu's (2018) research and an adaptation of Harvey's (1989) argument under the Chinese background.

It is worth to understand how the local government is becoming entrepreneurial by redeveloping Pingshijie neighbourhood. First, the relevant policies of both Pingshijie neighbourhood and Nanjing showed the local government wants to redevelop it into a tourist attraction with historic features. There are several relevant policies, the conservation planning policy of historic cultural city of Nanjing (2010-2020); the regulations about manifesting

landscape of historic city and improve its standards; the conservation planning policy of historic landscape of Pingshijie area; the conservation planning policy of historic cultural district of Nanbuting area, and also some other policies that are used for public participation purposes. According to these policies, the goals of the government to regenerate and conserve Pingshijie neighbourhood is very clear:

The purposes of the urban regeneration of Pingshijie neighbourhood can be divided into three categories. Traditional residential area – to redevelop a traditional residential area that has features of Nanjing Laochengnan in Ming and Qing dynasties; History exhibition area – to exhibit historical Muslim culture of Nanjing Laochengnan, historical culture of industrial heritage, historical culture of the local newspaper, and also historical culture of the Nanjing lanterns; Creative culture area – to show intangible cultural heritage of Nanjing Laochengnan and also new and creative culture of the modern society (Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau, 2014: 3).

Together with the relevant policy from the public participation of the conservation planning policy of historic landscape of Pingshijie area:

The regeneration purposes of the Pingshijie area are to exhibit relevant entertainment activities, to develop mixed usage of commercial and residential areas. Such as exhibition area, traditional commercial area, education and cultural areas. It also aims to maintain 650 households living in Pingshijie area, approximately around 2,000 people (Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau, 2013: 7).

It can be seen the purpose of the local government is to redevelop Pingshijie neighbourhood in an entrepreneurial way such as using exhibition to show its local culture and history, and also aims at establishing creative culture area for business. According to Harvey (1989), urban entrepreneurialism is to manage the city as enterprises to lure capital and stimulate economic growth, which aims to make the city become more competitive. These policies showed the local government wants to manifest the unique characteristics of Pingshijie area, to highlight the distinctiveness of Pingshijie neighbourhood, which further to enhance its competitiveness. To highlight, at the beginning, the local government's intention to maintain the residential usage of Pingshijie area was also a critical point in emphasising this neighbourhood's competitiveness. This is because the local government did not want to redevelop it into a commercial area completely.

In light of this circumstance, this research confirmed what Shin (2009b) and He and Wu (2005) argue that China has clear local government entrepreneurialism features. First, it can be seen from the change of policy strategy. As adapted from the newest policy which was published in 2018 of Pingshijie area for public participation, similar to the one in 2013 did, it writes:

We aim to redevelop Pingshijie area into a commercial historic district. It will be used for the exhibition of opera, an excellent location for famous artists' studios, featured restaurants, retailers of high street or for designers, and also for tourism purposes (Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau, 2018a).

This policy is the newly published one for public participation of the new urban regeneration of Pingshijie area. However, in 2013 and 2014, the government still wanted to maintain the residential function for Pingshijie area and aimed to highlight its own regional characteristics as a residential urban quarter to show its competitiveness with other similar historic neighbourhoods. However, in 2018, the newly published policy erased its residential function and wanted to turn it into a commercial business district completely for tourism, for famous people's studios and also for featured restaurants. Building upon Raco and Gilliam's (2012) criticism that urban entrepreneurialism leaves little room for social relations, I argue in China the local government is actually becoming entrepreneurial in regenerating the historic neighbourhood by sacrificing the residential usages to fulfil their interests.

Secondly, not only the change of the development strategy but also the formed partnership proves the local government is becoming entrepreneurial. As has been illustrated by Wu (2016a), the Chinese government is not allowed to borrow directly from capital market, it can only get money through land and infrastructure development. Under this background, the local government started the first stage of property-led urban regeneration of Pingshijie neighbourhood by forming into pro-growth coalitions with the developers. The local government assigned the reconstruction jobs to the Nanjing urban redevelopment and

construction of history and culture limited company. Under this circumstance, a small rectangle area called Nanbuting in Pingshijie neighbourhood first finished its regeneration in 2009. After the regeneration, its name changed into Xinanli⁴ with improved environment and high-class shopping facilities (see Figure 5.1). However, local people still call it as Nanbuting because they think Nanbuting is its real name.



Figure 5.1 Tourists taking photos in Nanbuting area

Source: Liu Cao

After a long stagnation of the regeneration of Pingshijie neighbourhood, by the end of 2017, the reconstruction company joined the Nanjing tourism group, which showed a significant change of its company nature. According to the interview with its staff:

‘Our company’s name is Nanjing urban redevelopment and construction of history and culture Co., Ltd. We are the company which is responsible for the redevelopment of Nanbuting. Last year we joined the Nanjing tourism group, but we still maintain our company’s name.’ (Li Hua, the staff of Nanjing urban redevelopment and construction of history and culture Co., Ltd)

⁴ Xinanli is the new name of Nanbuting area after urban regeneration. In this research either Xinanli or Nanbuting are both refer to the same place: a completely regenerated rectangle area in Pingshijie neighbourhood.

Nanjing tourism group is a state-owned company. It is directly in charge by the People's Government of Nanjing. It is worth to clarify the salient difference between state-owned enterprise and state-owned company. These two terms have very evident socialist country features. The state-owned enterprise, which is *Guoyouqiye* in Chinese, is a business enterprise which is controlled or managed by the government. The state-owned company, which is *Guoyouduzigongsi* in Chinese, is a company that financed individually by the state. The primary purpose of the state-owned enterprise is to achieve public benefits, then economic benefits. For example, state-owned enterprises refer to enterprises such as railways, gas industries and airports. These state-owned enterprises aim at building infrastructure for public and to protect public benefits. While state-owned company aims at achieving public interest and economic benefits at the same time, but economic benefits will be prioritised to help achieve public benefits. Namely, to achieve economic benefits is more important to the state-owned company. Therefore, after the limited company joined the Nanjing tourism group, it clearly shows the local government's intention of regenerating Pingshijie neighbourhood is to achieve economic benefits.

In this regard, Xinanli in fact is controlled and managed by the Nanjing government, and it is (re)developed for both public and economic benefits, while economic benefit is the priority. According to the official website of the Nanjing tourism group, it describes its nature and purposes as:

The Nanjing tourism group is a state-owned company by the Nanjing government. In the future three to five years, Nanjing tourism group will fully play the role of a state-owned company to maximise the functions of tourism resources of Nanjing, to fulfil the aim of pushing forward the tourism industries of Nanjing and we also aim to become a one-hundred-billion asset size tourism group (Nanjing Tourism Group, 2018).

Thus, on the one hand, by joining the Nanjing tourism group, which in accordance to Harvey's (1989) argument that creation and exploitation of particular advantages such as the resource

base or location, and also the investments in social and physical infrastructure to strengthen economic base is one of the basic options of urban entrepreneurialism. On the other hand, this public-private partnership formed during the property-led urban regeneration between the government and developer also testified what Harvey (1989) argues urban entrepreneurialism rests on public-private partnerships to construct a place. However, my research finding shows this public-private partnership, which is proposed in Western capitalist countries as the growth machine to pursue urban growth (Molotch, 1976) has its Chinese specialities. Local government plays the dominant role in driving the direction, which further testified what Zhu (2004) argues the Chinese government mobilises political and economic resources which are not available to other actors to fulfil its interests. To address what Raco and Gilliam (2012) concern the limited research of local political relations in urban entrepreneurialism, I argue in this case, it further showed the dominant power of the Chinese local government. By establishing the state-owned company, the local government can directly control the developer to pursue their purposes and further fulfil their interests in redeveloping Pingshijie neighbourhood.

5.1.1 Capitalising on historic value

I further elaborate the nature of local government entrepreneurialism is the commodification of historic value. By capitalising on Pingshijie neighbourhood's historic value, my research finding of local government entrepreneurialism further contributes to Harvey's (1989: 8) argument on 'competition within the international division of labour means the creation of exploitation of particular advantages for the production of goods and services.' Therefore, I argue local government exploits the particular advantages of Pingshijie neighbourhood, i.e. historic value to succeed within the fierce inter-urban competition. I further argue the exploitation of historic value also means intra-urban competition. This research finding

testified what Kearns and Paddison (2000) argue a city is developing its distinctive culture to attract business investment, and culture is commodified to attract tourism.

I consider the exploitation of historic value as a prominent feature of urban entrepreneurialism in this research from two aspects. First, it is widely recognised that selling heritage to achieve success in territorial competition is an effective strategy (Britton, 1991). The local government invited stores with historic themes and elements to settle down in Pingshijie neighbourhood. Through the interview with local retailers, they illustrated the plans of the developer are to attract traditional Chinese brand retailers to make business in Nanbuting area, in order to structure the 'historic' ambience of this historic commercial district. Consequently, Nanbuting turns to be a historic urban district with various traditional Chinese brands. For example, the interview response got from a traditional Chinese scissors brand called Zhangxiaoquan:

'We have started to set in Xinanli to do business since the redevelopment of Nanbuting area was completed. The limited company gave us a discounted price for renting fees because we are a traditional Chinese brand for scissors.' (Zhangxiaoquan scissors shop)

Similarly, the interview response got from a traditional Nanjing suits shop called Lishunchang:

'We are a traditional Chinese brand originated from Nanjing, which was established in 1904. We used to do business in Fuzimiao (Confucius Temple) area but moved to Xinanli in 2009 because the government wanted us to move here to do business.' (Lishunchang suits shop)

From these two typical responses, the local government utilises the historic value from these traditional Chinese brands to structure the historic identity of Xinanli commercial district. Furthermore, according to The research association of Nanjing historic & cultural city and Southeast University (2016), their interview with the manager of the limited company also showed that they gave discount to traditional Chinese brands for renting fees. By giving a discounted price, they wanted to attract more traditional Chinese brands to set in Xinanli commercial district for business. It can be seen that the government not only wants to utilise the historic value of Pingshijie neighbourhood to attract investment but also is utilising the

historic value brought by these traditional Chinese brands to show its competitiveness in comparison with other commercial districts. As what Harvey points out, one notable feature of urban entrepreneurialism is ‘the creation of exploitation of particular advantages for the production of goods and services (Harvey, 1989: 8).’ In this case, I argue the advantage is the historic value it provides for further production of goods and services to succeed within inter-urban competition.

I further advance Harvey’s (1989) argument on inter-urban competition is also intra-urban competition in this research. According to the interview made with the staff called Li Hua of Nanjing urban redevelopment and construction of history and culture Co., Ltd, he showed the original purposes about how the government wants to manage Xinanli commercial district:

‘We aim to manage Xinanli historic cultural district, then the whole Pingshijie neighbourhood into a high-class leisure commercial district. In doing so, we aim to highlight its commercial differences from *Fuzimiao*. In Xinanli we will do entertainment business, restaurant and also culture exhibition. We divide Xinanli into three parts. One third for restaurant businesses, one third for traditional Chinese brands, and the left one third for culture relevant retailers.’ (The research association of Nanjing historic & cultural city and Southeast University, 2016: 97) Li Hua, staff of Nanjing urban redevelopment and construction of history and culture Co., Ltd)

According to the interview with Li Hua, they want to divide Nanbuting area into three parts equally to do business, to emphasise its culture characteristics and also to highlight its orientation of future development to increase its competitiveness compare with other similar commercial districts in Nanjing. By utilising the historic value and distinctive culture provided by Pingshijie neighbourhood, and further establishing high-class traditional Chinese brands, the local government wants to highlight the competitiveness of Pingshijie neighbourhood in comparison with other similar commercial districts in Nanjing.

Secondly, the stakeholders in Xinanli also utilise the historic value of Pingshijie neighbourhood to realise their purposes for profit growth. The way they use the value shows the public-private

partnership formed between local government organisations and stakeholders is proposing the notion of culture and heritage for economic growth. There exists one published news about the regeneration of Nanbuting area and was delivered by one of the principals of Nanjing urban redevelopment and construction of history and culture Co., Ltd. According to the news:

Our company will establish several research centres and institutes in Pingshijie neighbourhood, which in order to assist with the regeneration of its original spatial space, and its original social and cultural activities (JSChina, 2018).

However, in reality, these research centres and institutes do business instead of researching local culture, or any relevant research activities of Pingshijie neighbourhood. Some of them serve as a research centre, but in reality they do research for other companies. For example, according to the typical interviews:

‘Our research centre does research relates to health, technology but have no relations to local social issues, such as the things you mentioned like local culture. We do research for other companies, the office here you see is just one of our research offices bases in Xinanli.’ (Haoweiyoung research centre)

Besides, other stores such as galleries, arts research centre are not for exhibition but for business purposes:

‘Though we are an art gallery, you cannot enter unless you were invited. We do business such as coins collection and other high-level Chinese painting collections.’ (Xi’he gallery)

Xi’he gallery is one of the typical stakeholders that opens for profit. Though it is a gallery, it does not open to the public only if you were invited by the gallery owners.

Additionally, one historic building which has a plaque hang on it called ‘Attention historical architecture and culture research institute’ (Attention research institute) (see Figure 5.4), though it states it is a research institute for architecture and culture, it is not for research purposes but for making businesses:

‘We actually do not do research here. We sell delicate porcelain and calligraphy, and everything we sell is not antiques, and you can buy them for home decoration.’ (Attention research institute)



Figure 5.2 The outside look of the Attention research institute

Source: Liu Cao

Additionally, the interview with retailers in Nanbuting area showed they have their careful considerations to make business in Nanbuting. The commonalities they share for doing business in Nanbuting have these two points: Nanbuting area is a good location to do business; it is a historic urban quarter which can help with their businesses. For example, the typical interview response got from a traditional Chinese medicine shop:

‘We are a Chinese medicine shop. We finally decided to set our shop here in Xinanli because Xinanli is a historic cultural district, and it is consistent with the characteristics of our shop.’ (Chunmantang Chinese medicine shop)

In this respect, many retailers actually exploit the historic value of Pingshijie neighbourhood to do their own businesses to realise their aims of profit accumulation. As has been mentioned before, many stores for culture, research or education are actually doing business to make money. However, according to The research association of Nanjing historic & cultural city and Southeast University (2016), the high level staff of the limited company indicates that those retailers who do business only for culture, education or research are actually in a deficit

situation. As what is found in the interview, in reality, they are not for local culture promotion or research purposes but are actually for money and profit. By doing business this is possibly their measures to reverse the deficit situation they faced.

Similarly, retailers utilise the historic value of Nanbuting to do business because usually heritage can benefit a tourism market (Su, 2015) and the tourism market can bring in the likelihood of investment for a historic urban quarter (Tiesdell et al., 1996). On the one hand, from the retailers' perspectives, by changing their nature from merely education and research to profit-driven, they intend to use historic value to make more money under the name of 'heritage' to increase profit. This finding shows relevance to the argument made by Tiesdell et al. (1996) that the value mostly used of historic urban quarters is their economic value, while the education and any other values are sporadically used or just ignored. On the other hand, from the local government perspective, these retailers with historic themes and elements, actually largely benefit the economic growth of Xinanli. The change to do business instead of merely culture and education helped them changed the previous deficit situation. In this regard, historic value of Pingshijie neighbourhood used by the government is the critical factor to succeed within the inter-urban competition.

5.2 Networks and power structure within resistance

Under the pro-growth urban regeneration strategies, many local residents in Pingshijie neighbourhood were displaced by the government in order to make space for new tourism facilities. Many of them were displaced to the urban fringes thus lost their convenient access to the city-centre living resources, such as good hospitals and supermarkets. Therefore, the displacement caused many conflicts, which further stagnated the redevelopment process. According to Pierre (1999), nation-state actors play an essential role in shaping urban

governance. While Hall and Hubbard (1996) emphasise to comprehend urban governance, it is essential to relate social, economic and political factors at both global and local level, that the effectiveness of local government actually largely depends on the cooperation of non-governmental actors together with the combination of state capacity with non-governmental resources. This argument is important within this research context, as the need to cooperate with non-governmental organisations is essential to push forward the regeneration.

During the urban regeneration process of Pingshijie neighbourhood, I generally categorise there are four different groups involved: residents, local government (including local government organisations), developer, media and scholars (see Table 5.1). They have various requirements towards the regeneration:

Group Type	Requirements
Residents	Compensation, sense of belonging, emotions
Government	Urban (re)development, improve living standard
Developer	Accumulate wealth, make money
Media and Scholars	Social justice, protect local culture and heritage

Table 5.1 Requirements owned by different groups during regeneration

Here I categorise media and scholars as the same group, this is because they play the similar role in the regeneration process due to their responses are either accelerate or stagnate the development of urban regeneration. By discussing different kinds of coalitions formed by these four groups, I shall discuss the urban regime concept applied under the Chinese background of the urban regeneration of Pingshijie neighbourhood.

5.2.1 The role of government and developer

Before I analyse how the government responds to local residents' protests and pressure from the society, I shall first talk about the role which local government and developer played during the regeneration. The Nanjing urban planning bureau is a governmental organisation at the city level, and it represents the local government of Nanjing. It is responsible for the different urban planning policies of Nanjing. The primary role which Nanjing urban planning bureau plays is to improve local residents' life and provide better city looking and environment. According to the interview:

'The role of Nanjing urban planning bureau plays during the regeneration process is to protect not only tangible heritage, but also any other intangible heritage, and also reconstruct the social structure and improve the urban environment. At the same time, we are also adjusting our planning measures according to the suggestions made by experts and scholars.' (Li Zhan, official of Nanjing urban planning bureau)

It can be seen that the government's primary purpose of the regeneration of historic urban quarters in Nanjing is to provide a better living environment for residents and to change its dilapidated urban physical and social structure. At the same time, developer wanted to use its historic value to attract tourists to make money. In order to realise these purposes, the local government regulated land in Pingshijie neighbourhood as *Huabos* land (allocated land). By using *Huabo* method and give compensation to the users of land (local residents), the local government of Nanjing got the land right and authorised the Nanjing urban redevelopment and construction of history and culture Co., Ltd to do the redevelopment job. Under this situation, the local government and developer formed into a pro-growth coalition to achieve urban (re)development of Pingshijie neighbourhood. Molotch (1976) indicates that the partnerships formed through the cooperation between government and interest elite groups called growth machine, which aims to realise the purpose of urban economic growth. This coalition formed

⁵ *Huabo* land: it is a term has strong socialist features. As long as the local government approved, land can be got through *Huabo* method if the land will be used for 1. Military and government purposes; 2. Urban infrastructure development and public benefits; 3. Infrastructure development supported by state for energy, transport and water resources; and 4. The other usage regulated by laws.

during urban regeneration process aimed to use the land value to propose urban development. By forming into this pro-growth coalition, the local government and developer helped each other to realise their individual purposes: the government wanted to propel urban development and change the dilapidated Pingshijie neighbourhood, while the developer wanted to use land development to increase profit. In this situation, my finding confirmed what He and Wu (2005) indicate that there is a pro-growth coalition formed between government and developers during the urban redevelopment in China.

This finding also analogous to what Yang and Chang (2007) argue that in China, cities are establishing informal local regimes because state enterprises run for social welfare and social services purposes, local governments have to offer cheap or even free land to developers. Developers who have no land have to contact state enterprises for land for project development purposes. This agreement makes developers responsible for all the expenses, while state enterprises contribute their right for using the land. Therefore, under this situation, a coalition was formed between the government and private enterprises for urban development. The formation process is an informal urban regime that formed through the land development process in China (Yang and Chang, 2007).

After the Nanjing Tourism group established in 2018 and the limited company joined this group, it further proves this pro-growth coalition formed between the developer and local government is enhanced. By managing the limited company as a state-owned company, the local government showed their strong attitude to regenerate Pingshijie neighbourhood, and it is also another response to local residents' resistance. To reiterate, economic growth is the priority of a state-owned company. Therefore, the coalition further strengthened after the limited company joined the Nanjing tourism group. Because Nanjing tourism group is a state-owned company,

which means it becomes easier for the local government to manage the regeneration, and it is also easier for the limited company to use land to deliver their purposes for wealth accumulation.

5.2.2 The role of local residents, social media and scholars

However, merely this pro-growth coalition cannot successfully push forward urban regeneration. The displacement and gentrification caused local residents' resistance, which further stagnated the regeneration. Pingshijie area still left unfinished due to local residents' strong protests. Like Su (2015) describes, in China that individuals are not simply subservient to the entrepreneurial turn of the commodification of heritage, but also voice out for their own benefits by involved in power relations. Local residents started to voice out loudly to state their opinions and requirements in resisting the gentrification. To clarify the resistance to gentrification, I shall discuss it by following this timeline: the rise of protest from public, public participation was then introduced, and the impacts and results after public participation was announced.

Local residents' protests usually come from two aspects: the dissatisfaction of compensation and unwillingness of being displaced to the urban outskirts. Many residents are unwilling to move out because they have been living in Pingshijie neighbourhood for many years, and especially some original residents think to inherit and not abandon the houses they inherited from their ancestors are Chinese traditions. Otherwise, they will disrespect their ancestors and their family. Additionally, Pingshijie neighbourhood has a good location in Nanjing, with a walkable distance to the city centre, which means they can get access to good education and hospital resources easily. To reiterate, Pingshijie neighbourhood contains a large number of older people, they think good hospital is critical to them at their age, and good education

resources are vital to their grandchildren. For example, one of the typical interview responses about why not move out:

I do not want to move out because living here I can get close to good hospital and education resources. I need hospital because I am old, I need good education resources because my grandchildren need to go to good school. While at the urban fringe it is too far to get access to these and not convenient either. (Chen Gang, retired)

This response shows good location, city centre living, easy access to good education are very important to them. Additionally, compensation issue is another crucial factor that arouse local residents' protests. Local residents highlight their the unwillingness to move out or get displaced due to the unacceptable compensation. For example, the typical response I collected:

'Not only because I am used to living here, but also because the compensation is not enough. The housing price is really high in Nanjing now and the compensation we get is not enough to buy a new house. I am sure you know how expensive the housing price is in Nanjing now. For example, the area we live in, Pingshijie has an average housing price around 30,000 RMB per square metre, while the compensation we can get is still the same as what they wanted to give us several years ago. They are only willing to give us 7,500 RMB per square metre and it is far too less to buy a new house in Nanjing now. Furthermore, I disagree with the compensation because they give us the same amount of compensation as those who do not have property rights. I have property right of my house, which I think I should get much more compensation. Only when the amount of compensation reaches my expectation, I will start thinking whether move out or not.'

(Zhang Hua, retired)

Similarly, from the interview with the local renting agency in Pingshijie neighbourhood, it further testified local residents care a lot about the housing price. For example, the interview revealed:

'Many local residents who are still living in Pingshijie neighbourhood come to visit us. What they ask most is the recent housing price surround Pingshijie neighbourhood.'

(Staff of Zhonghuan renting agency)

From the interview with local residents, it shows that what local residents fight for are actually come from their personal benefits, together with their emotional requirements, such as their nostalgia and their strong sense of belonging. Thus, in order to protect their legal rights and get reasonable compensation, in 2009, they wrote the first petition letter to the central government. At the same time, not only local residents' continuous resistance and protests but also the

destruction to local heritage and culture caused by the redevelopment drew the attention from both media and scholars, especially those academics from universities in Nanjing. The roles which media and scholars played were influential. On the one hand, media such as different newspapers, magazines, or social media published many reports and news which attracted the whole society's attention all across China to Pingshijie neighbourhood. I quote one typical online report from SouthernWeekly (2009):

What will be the future of Laochengnan, especially Pingshijie? The cultural root of Nanjing is getting demolished. Many local residents, especially old local residents' normal daily life got disturbed. The cultural root of Nanjing should be remembered and protected.

SouthernWeekly is a high influential media in China. This news published in 2009 showed the pressure made by media and urged the local government to treat local culture and heritage appropriately.

By promoting the resistance happened in Pingshijie neighbourhood, it drew the attention from those experts and scholars based in Nanjing. They further gave pressure to the local government about the protection of local heritage and culture. Their participation was an important decisive factor that contributed to the success of resistance. In this way, my findings challenged Loretta Lees's (2017: 138) argument that 'in East Asia where the middle class has been nurtured by the state and where a politics of property has been consolidated as the region has urbanised and (de)industrialised the middle class are less likely to stand up against gentrification.' In this case, it is the participation from the middle-class people that contributed to the success of resistance. Nanjing is different from other Chinese cities because it has many good universities and research centres. Especially those academics majored in architecture and urban planning, they are much more powerful than local residents and media. This is because the local government depends on them for policy advice and research. One of the typical

scholars called Yan Yao played an essential role in restricting the expanding power of the government and developer. For example, Liberation Daily (2011) made a report about him:

The lecturer of Nanjing University (he was a lecturer in 2011) is using his personal passion and methods to protect Nanjing. He has written two petition letters and aims to attract the whole society's attention to protect Nanjing. Yan Yao, as a local Nanjing people, is doing a lot to protect the local heritage and culture.

As an original Nanjing resident, Yan Yao played a critical role in protecting Laochengnan. Not only him, there were also many other scholars from the universities and research centres in Nanjing stood out against the regeneration. Moreover, many other local experts joined in the resistance to give pressure to the government, such as the famous Nanjing local novelist Bian Xue, quoted from Oriental morning post (2009):

The famous Nanjing local novelist Bian Xue posted on our newspaper and further stressed the importance of Laochengnan. Laochengnan is the root, the soul of Nanjing, while the urban regeneration destroyed its harmony. The compensation to local residents is not fair. The developer is money-driven and did not care local residents' benefits. The government should pay attention to local residents' life and protect local heritage.

Thus, the pressure from local residents and media and scholars, especially the petition letter which was written by local residents finally drew the attention from the central government, and further urged the local government to reconsider this unpopular regeneration plan. Under this situation, the regeneration of Pingshijie neighbourhood suspended. Stoker and Mossberger (1994) refine that urban regime as an informal group but still have substantial influences on governing decisions. In this case, local residents, media and scholars formed into an informal coalition, I define it is a coalition for 'social justice', which formed to claim for their individual benefits. Local residents wanted to protect their personal benefits, while the media sought to promote social justice and required the government to pay attention to local residents, and the scholars wanted to realise their aim of protecting local culture and heritage. Local residents used their own way to show their resistance such as refuse to move out, wrote petition letters to the central government, and also by talking to journalists and scholars about their requirements and worries to make their voice sound louder. While media published news and

promoted the local residents' resistance, which attracted attention from the whole society to give pressure to the local government. Scholars utilised local residents' resistance and their expertise to emphasise the importance of protecting local culture and heritage. In this regard, this 'social justice' coalition greatly weakened the pro-growth coalition formed by the local government and developer, the local government had to slow down and to reconsider their regeneration plan.

To clarify this 'social justice' coalition, it is the media and scholars that assisted with the local residents to get access to institutional resources. Similar like the grassroots 'Tenderloin' activists in resisting the gentrification of one disadvantaged neighbourhood in San Francisco in 1990s, the media played a significant role in resistance (Robinson, 1995). In this case, their assistance made all of these three groups achieved the aim of influencing governing decisions. This situation explains and adds more layers to Stone's (1989) argument from the Chinese background that it is an informal but stable group that have access to institutional resources in making governing decisions. I further argue that this 'social justice' coalition is residents take the leading role, while academics and media assisted with them to make the resistance succeed. I argue that residents, together with media and academics are the important factors that prevent future commercialisation and restrict the power expansion of government and developer. This 'social justice' coalition, is similar like the New York City case study discussed by Pearsall (2013), that the professionals the professionals with stand up with the low-income residents to resist the developer-driven redevelopment only when it was inconsistent with the local needs.

As a consequence, due to the pressure from local residents and the public, especially the professionals, the regeneration of Pingshijie neighbourhood suspended. At the same time, Nanbuting area also got affected. Developer, as well as the local government, did not dare to

do any promotion of Xinanli because they were afraid of another wave of protests from the local residents and media. According to the interview with the developer, they clarified why they stopped the promotion:

I admit Xinanli is somewhat a failure because we cannot do good promotion of it to attract tourists from all over China. As you know, the protests made by the local residents is so influential, if we restarted our promotion, we really afraid there could be another wave of fierce protests. (Li Hua, Staff of the Nanjing urban redevelopment and construction of history and culture Co., Ltd)

However, I emphasise this coalition cannot be simply viewed as an anti-growth coalition, as their primary purposes are not to stop the urban regeneration, while what they want is to require the government to satisfy their requirements. For example, local residents wanted to get reasonable compensation or still live in this neighbourhood, and scholars wanted the government to take care of local culture and heritage when doing regeneration work. Therefore, I argue it is a coalition for ‘social justice’, but it is not real social justice. Unlike the right to stay put, which Lees et al. (2018: 349) argue is ‘a matter of survivability, and that survivability is a part of the fight to stay put.’ In this case in China, residents wanted more money compensation because of the fast-growing housing price in China while neglected that government cannot afford unlimited compensation, which further stagnated the urban (re)development process. Slater (2006) is correct to argue that resistance happens when gentrification cannot solve urban decline and blight, and displacement is actually a *false choice* for low-income communities (DeFilippis, 2004: 89).

5.2.3 Public participation as the critical strategy

As I have analysed before, the ‘social justice’ coalition significantly weakened the pro-growth coalition. In order to calm down and comfort local residents, and also to respond to the call which scholars and experts suggested ‘protecting heritage and local culture’, and further to respond to the pressure from the society, the local government of Nanjing published the policy

called **the conservation planning policy of historic cultural city of Nanjing: 2010-2020**. By first introduced public participation in this policy, it greatly empowered the public in governing the future development of historic places in Nanjing. As it writes in the policy:

The public participation system of Nanjing will be an expert-leading system, it will be argued and discussed by experts first, and then it will be published to consult public's considerations and comments. It should also be supervised by the public (Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau, 2012a).

By delivering public participation during the urban redevelopment of historic urban quarters in Nanjing, the local government sought to form another informal coalition with the public. By using public participation as a strategy, local government wanted to disrupt the 'social justice' coalition formed by local residents, media and scholars to propel the redevelopment progress. The local government wanted to empower the public to be able to make decisions during the governing process by using public participation, and also public participation is what the local government want for their 'political career awards (Wu, 2015)'.

According to Stone (1989: 7), a regime is defined as 'an informal yet but relatively stable group with access to institutional resources that enable it to have a sustained role in making governing decisions'. Thus, by using public participation, a regime was formed to establish cooperation with non-state actors. Since the policy called the conservation planning policy of historic cultural city of Nanjing: 2010-2020 published, it empowered the public with the right to govern historic cities, which further disrupted the coalition formed by local residents and media and scholars. It largely weakened the power of this coalition because experts and scholars were greatly empowered. Thus, after the publication of this policy, redevelopment started to go back to agenda. Though the local government wanted to include more people by using public participation and make planning not merely limited in planners and the government, it still did not go smoothly as the government expected. This is because it did not fully engage with the whole social interests.

Public participation failed in fully disrupted the ‘social justice’ coalition because the public participation system in Nanjing has certain drawbacks, this point will be analysed in detail in the following chapter. The public participation system in Nanjing has evident elitism characteristic, which means only people from certain social class were included within the public participation process. This is because the government set the public participation system as an ‘expert-leading’ system, which largely limited the entry threshold. Local residents, the group of people who needs participation most, yet got excluded from this planning process. According to Healey (2010), collaborative urban governance should not only refer to government and elites but also include those with a ‘stake’ in the planning process. Therefore, the intention which government tried to establish the regime with non-government actors actually was not fully accomplished. The intention the government wants to set the public participation system as an ‘expert-leading’ system actually largely empowered the elite group of this ‘social justice’ coalition, that university scholars and experts were greatly empowered through public participation, a group of people who have louder voice in comparison with local residents.

In this regard, I argue the future redevelopment of Pingshijie neighbourhood becomes rather unclear. Though the government tried to establish cooperation with non-government actors through the delivery of public participation and aimed to use this coalition to stimulate urban development, the coalition actually was not completely established due to the local government overlooked the power from local residents. In order to complete the urban regeneration in Pingshijie neighbourhood, the government should pay more attention to the local residents and seek to establish cooperation with them in the future.

5.3 Conclusion

Su (2015) argues there are three groups benefited under the entrepreneurialism turn of the commodification of heritage: the tourism market, the real estate market, and the capital market. By advocating this argument, my findings add more details to Su's (2015) research that these three markets are benefited from the historic value provided by the heritage of the neighbourhood. Apart from this, as Harvey (1989) argues, to understand urban entrepreneurialism, we should unravel the complex logic of urban entrepreneurialism and see how this logic is solved by the consumption and production of new spaces. From this research, it shows this logic is based on the consumption of original residents' everyday normal life of their previous place and produced new spaces which are utilising the historic value provided by the historic neighbourhood.

Wu (2018) argues that based on David Harvey's urban entrepreneurialism theory, China is 'state entrepreneurialism'. Due to China has different levels of government, building upon both of David Harvey and Fulong Wu's arguments, my findings add more layers to Harvey's work especially on Wu's research in China that it is actually local government entrepreneurialism. To realise its urban entrepreneurialism, the local government utilised the historic value provided by Pingshijie neighbourhood and aims to use the historic value to succeed within the fierce inter-urban competition. This is because Harvey (1989) indicates urban entrepreneurialism is exploiting particular advantages of the city. Thus, in this research, historic value is a critical factor that helps the local government to realise its entrepreneurialism. Therefore, I highlight the features of local government entrepreneurialism in this research, that the local government gets entrepreneurial by fully erasing out the residential usage of Pingshijie neighbourhood and also further takes charge of the regeneration by establishing state-owned company to develop local tourism industry and aims to get more wealth

accumulation. Furthermore, my research finding shows this local government entrepreneurialism is intra-urban competition more than inter-urban competition, that the local government highlights the uniqueness of Pingshijie neighbourhood in competition with other similar historic commercial districts in Nanjing.

In order to smoothly redevelop historic neighbourhood, local government and developers formed into a pro-growth coalition by selling land to them, according to Neil Smith's (1987) rent gap theory, this is a value-added process as the land value can be added by redeveloping the land for either residential or commercial purposes. The cooperation between developers and local government showed the pro-growth coalition actually aims to achieve economic profits. However, merely the cooperation between government and developer cannot stimulate urban development. As states in the urban regime theory, the effectiveness of local government greatly depends on the cooperation of non-governmental actors, and also the combination of non-government resources (Stoker and Mossberger, 1994). The local government has to blend their capacities within those non-governmental actors (Stone, 1991). Thus, to further push forward the urban regeneration process needs cooperation from non-government actors.

However, the entrepreneurialism change of local government affects local residents' benefits. In China, historic neighbourhoods usually serve as residential urban quarters, while the redevelopment means local residents have to move out. In order to protect their personal benefits, local residents resist the redevelopment, which further stagnates the redevelopment process. As a consequence, in response to what Stone (1991) argues, the local government lacks the support from one of the non-government actors. Their resistance also draws the attention of the whole society. In this situation, a 'social justice' coalition formed in order to respond to the pro-growth coalition. This 'social justice' coalition consists of local residents,

scholars and experts and media, their participation in this coalition aim to achieve their individual purposes together. The formation of the 'social justice' coalition reflects what Stone (1989) argues the non-government actors cooperated to impact the decision-making process.

Thus, I argue, the redevelopment of Pingshijie neighbourhood, and many other historic neighbourhoods, it is a game between the pro-growth coalition - which government and developer formed - and this 'social justice' coalition. In this case, the local residents dominated the redevelopment process from the support from media and scholars. Even though the government used public participation to disrupt the 'social justice' coalition, due to the limitations of the public participation system, the coalition formed actually has certain drawbacks: it lacks the participation of local residents. This is one of the reasons that still stagnates the regeneration process. Thus, the battles between these two coalitions made the future development of Pingshijie neighbourhood become even unclear. Furthermore, I highlight the 'social justice' coalition cannot be simply regarded as a coalition seeking for social justice. Freeman and Braconi (2004) argue low-income residents have lower mobility in gentrifying neighbourhoods. This argument raises important questions about why they have lower mobility? From this case in China, it shows money compensation has become a critical factor that affected residents' willingness to move out or not. Local residents want high compensation while neglects the government cannot provide as much compensation as they want. This coalition formed only aims to reach their own purposes. Stone (2005) argues that the task of urban regime analysis is to understand those lower strata of the social stratification together with political influence, and address whose participation is needed. I specify that in order to achieve satisfying results, not only government and developers but also different stakeholders, especially local residents should be included in the participation process. However, how to protect local residents' benefits through the regeneration process, might be

one of the biggest and the most complicated problems waiting to be solved within the urban regeneration process.

6. Regeneration and public participation in Pingshijie

It has been frequently discussed by different scholars that there lacks public participation in the urban regeneration process, especially in historic urban quarters (see Townshend and Pendlebury, 1999; Shin, 2010). For example, Shin (2010) points out in his research that during the property-led urban redevelopment of Nanluoguxiang in Beijing, local residents have limited chances to voice out. Similarly, He and Wu (2005) indicate the property-led urban redevelopment in Shanghai, community participation is largely neglected, which aroused significant conflicts of residential displacement. The contemporary literature has shown the lack of public participation, while there exists limited recent research about what results in and results from the lack of public participation. The most frequently mentioned reason is people do not care public participation, which is pointed out by Shin (2010: 53):

Many local residents displayed a lack of interests in local affairs, but this should not be regarded as the cause of their lack of participation, but as a product of lack of their integration into and continuing exclusion from planning and decision-making processes that determined the direction of neighbourhood changes.

However, like Shin, many scholars did not elaborate what reasons contribute to the no interest of participation (see Shin, 2010; Huong, 2016; Townshend and Pendlebury, 1999; Sims and Winter, 2016), and the details about why they got excluded from the planning and decision-making process. In response to this question, in this chapter I clarify to what extent that led to the low degree of participation from local residents.

This chapter examines and discusses the public participation mode in China by analysing its inadequacies. The arguments in this chapter are twofold. The first section talks about the status

quo of public participation taken place in Pingshijie neighbourhood about its features and system. According to Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation system, public participation system of Nanjing is tokenistic. Elitism is an evident feature of this participation system. In the second section, by focusing on the features of public participation system, mistrust and stereotypes towards government resulted in the lack of residents' participation. By acknowledging these inadequacies of public participation system in China, I envisage the possibilities of delivering collaborative planning to resolve conflicts during the regeneration process and point out it might be rather challenging to deliver collaboration due to the deeply rooted mistrust.

6.1 Public participation in Nanjing: a critical review

As I have briefly discussed in the previous chapter, the drawbacks of the public participation system in Nanjing resulted in the failure of the local government's strategy to disrupt the 'social justice' coalition. I summarised three inadequacies of the contemporary public participation system in Nanjing. The first one I highlight is its top down and tokenism feature. Nanjing is chosen for the case study because it is regarded by the public as one of the Chinese cities that has the most advanced public participation system. In order to successfully disrupt the 'social justice' coalition, local government had made several actions and measures to ensure the successful delivery of public participation in Nanjing. As it was written in the urban conservation policy, all the urban planning policies must be displayed to the public for at least month before they come into effect. After the display time finished, there will be new policies published which has been modified after feedback was collected from the public participation (Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau, 2018b).

Though Pingshijie neighbourhood is geographically and culturally considered by the public as one historic neighbourhood, the local government divided its urban conservation policy into two separate urban conservation policies: the conservation planning policy of historic landscape of Pingshijie area; the conservation planning policy of historic cultural district of Nanbuting area. When public participation takes place, all the public participation activities or measures must follow the policy called the regulations of public participation of urban and rural planning in Nanjing. According to Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau (2018b), there are several unique features of the public participation system in Nanjing: (1) Public participation events are only organised by the Nanjing urban planning bureau. (2) There are a variety of ways to do public participation, such as post on government website, organise onsite activities, display in Nanjing urban planning exhibition hall and social media. (3) At least two methods should be adopted when doing public participation, to highlight publish on the government website is a compulsory. (4) The public participation activities should last at least a month.

These features of public participation showed the Nanjing urban planning bureau is the only organisation that is fully responsible for public participation in Nanjing. Like what Tang et al. (2008) argue, public participation in China is only treated as the activity of government bureaucracy. Moreover, relevant public participation policies can only be found on the government website, while the other methods are unable to see due to different reasons, such as the temporary closure of Nanjing urban planning exhibition hall. Apart from this, the local government states there are only two ways they will organise and process the public participation feedback, such as: (1) Relevant contact details will be provided by the government such as address, phone numbers, emails for either posts or suggestions; (2) Reasonable and good suggestions will be adopted by the government, while those suggestions cannot be accepted will be archived (Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau, 2018b). From the guidelines, it

shows only the government set the criteria for what kind of feedback can be marked as ‘good’ and ‘reasonable’. In doing so, the local government actually takes the primary control of public participation.

Given the fact about how the local government used to process public participation, I argue public participation in Nanjing is a top-down mode: it is managed by the Nanjing urban planning bureau and not initiated from residents. While Wu (2015) is correct to argue that in China urban planning is still largely controlled by the administrative system, public participation is also under the strict control of the government. To specify the role and nature of Nanjing urban planning bureau, it is a governmental organisation that is responsible for the urban and rural planning of the whole city. Its primary duties are to carry out national policies and regulations from upper level governmental organisations and to make local policies. To emphasise, Nanjing urban planning bureau is the only governmental organisation that is responsible for public participation, which means it skips the lower governmental organisations, especially the neighbourhood level governmental organisations.

In this regard, this research finding contribute to the debates of public participation from the levels of government. There are three city-level government officials involved in the interview for this research. Li Zhan, high-level official of Nanjing urban planning bureau; Tao Ming, high-level official of the publicity department of Nanjing urban planning bureau; and Cheng Shi, high-level official of Nanjing urban planning and research centre. Li Zhan is directly responsible for the *Qinhuai* district⁶ of Nanjing, especially for urban regeneration of historic urban quarters. Tao Ming works for the publicity department, he is directly responsible for

⁶ Nanjing the city is consisted of 11 districts, Qinhuai district is the one which contains Laochengnan area, where the case study area situates.

public participation activities, such as organising government website suggestion box, promoting policies and especially responsible for policies have public participation requirements. Cheng Shi is responsible for the research of urban policies in Nanjing, especially in historic areas. She is also the one who designs and writes policies for Pingshijie area and Nanbuting area.

To understand how the Nanjing urban planning bureau organises the public participation events, Mr Tao Ming demonstrates:

‘Our department is responsible for public participation issues. We directly organise public participation events, such as exhibition, display of policies.’ (Tao Ming, high-level official of the publicity department of Nanjing urban planning bureau)

The interview made with Tao Ming further proved that public participation is organised directly by the Nanjing urban planning bureau. According to Arnstein’s (1969) public participation ladder, it reflects that the public participation in Nanjing is still at the degree of tokenism and no higher than the ladder ‘placation’. As has been discussed before, the local government entrepreneurialism affects particular group’s benefits. As a consequence, a ‘social justice’ coalition is formed in response to the local government entrepreneurialism, while public participation is somewhat a strategy that used to disrupt this ‘social justice’ coalition. However, this tokenism feature shows the dominant role of the local government in urban regeneration, especially in public participation. Arnstein (1969) indicates, the degree of tokenism has three levels, informing, consultation and placation. Informing and consultation refer to the situation that citizens have certain extent of participation. They may be heard or hear something, while it is hard to ensure whether their views will be used or not. Placation is a higher level of tokenism, which refers to the situation that have-nots can advise, while powerholders still retain the right to decide. Relate with my previous summary of the regulations of public participation in Nanjing, the way they manage the public participation

shows the government still retain the dominant power. Under this situation, I argue the first obvious feature of public participation in Nanjing is not only a top-down model, but also at the level of tokenism and the local government maintains the dominant role.

Despite its top-down and tokenism feature, public participation in Nanjing has several limitations. According to the regulations of public participation of urban and rural planning in Nanjing, before the conservation planning policies of Pingshijie neighbourhood come into effect, two policies should be displayed to the public for at least a month for public participation (see Figure 6.1)



Figure 6.1 Covers of policies for public participation purposes⁷

Source: Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau

⁷ On the left it writes: Urban conservation planning policy of Pingshijie historic landscape: Public comment consult; on the right it writes: Urban conservation planning policy of Nanbuting historic culture block: Public comment consult.

Figure 6.1 shows the covers of the two policies, which were made for public participation purposes. Though it is required that the public participation period should not be shorter than 30 days or one month, both of these policies were displayed for only a month or precisely 30 days. The time for displaying policies is consistent with the interview with government officials, which is stated by them that public participation process is usually around 30 days. However, once the 30-day period ends, the channel for public participation will be closed and then will not be any channel available for the public to give suggestions. Here is the typical interview answer from Cheng Shi for why only display for 30 days:

‘Technically, the upper-level government only gives us 30 days to do public participation. Because we have different tasks to do on our schedule, and we will not wait for the public participation to deliver for a very long time. It may differ from the Western countries because in China everything needs to be very efficient and we aim to do everything productively. Once the public participation period ended, we are highly impossible to accept the following suggestions. If you still want to take part in, you may need to wait until next turn, which means, a few years later.’ (Cheng Shi, high-level official of Nanjing urban planning and research centre)

Through the interview with Cheng Shi, it shows public participation in Nanjing is not flexible. It is more like a particular event that must go through. It only limits in a specified period, and it is not a long-lasting event which encourages and allows more people to attend flexibly. Similar as what Wu (2015) argues public participation is somewhat a ‘career award’ that government officials want to achieve. As Webler et al. (2001) argue that the participatory process should be flexible, the drawback of this limited-time model of public participation is obvious: sporadic time for public participation cannot help the public to develop the sense of ‘participation’ and cannot make them realise the importance of their participation, and also how influential they can be. Like Rowe and Frewer (2000) and Fung (2015) suggest, it is essential to ensure public participation is meaningful to participants and let them realise their importance within the participatory process. Thus, participants’ understanding of their importance is critical to the success of public participation.

Moreover, as Simrell King et al. (1998) indicate, public participation aims to enable people to realise that they can make difference if they got involved. In this research, the absence of long-term public participation environment, especially people have to wait for a long time to participate next time is hard to provide the environment for the public to develop the feeling that their participation is important. Thus, building upon Rowe and Frewer's (2000) evaluation framework of public participation, I consider frequency and length of public participation are another two important factors for effective participatory approaches. Limited frequency and short length of public participation is not suitable for long term development of people's sense of participation and cannot give them the feeling that their participation is important. This is because Simrell King et al. (1998) argue it is essential to let participants know their importance and they have the potential to impact. Therefore, it is vital to educate participants to let them understand they can have influential impacts on it. This is because those daily lives and livelihoods are affected should have the right to get involved (Enserink and Koppenjan, 2007).

The top-down and tokenism features further contribute to my next argument: I argue the second inadequacy of public participation shows it is a restricted system. I highlight the argument made by Quick and Bryson (2016) that public participation represents diversity and inclusion. However, the public participation applied in Nanjing is restricted and exclusive. I describe its nature is like a 'filter'- it filters out the people who are not good at using social media, and those people who come from lower social class that those do not have the ability to read and have little knowledge about using smart phones and keep up with new technologies. In brief, only a specific group of people joined the participatory processes. It is frequently answered in the interview that local residents have no idea about what public participation is and even do not know there were public participation policies delivered in the past. As has been mentioned before, most of the local residents in Pingshijie neighbourhood are disadvantaged people: they

are older and have very low education level. They have no knowledge about the public participation policies and what they can do is to wait the government comes to tell them. According to the interview with local residents, this also showed that most local people have no idea about where to go for public participation. For example, the typical interview made with residents showed their unfamiliarity of public participation:

‘I do not understand what public participation is and also I have never heard anything about public participation. I do not know where to read these policies.’ (Ma Wei, retired, primary school education)

Most of the people live in Pinshijie neighbourhood have a very low degree of education level and many of them are even illiterate. Their ability to read could be one of the reasons that blocked their participation.

‘If it really has certain policies as you said that encouraged us to participate or to give them suggestions, I think the local government should do some promotions because nobody knows these policies exist.’ (Li Qian, retired)

Furthermore, it is also frequently mentioned by local residents that they did not see any activities of the promotion of public participation policies in Pingshijie neighbourhood. Local residents believe that if the government really wants to do public participation and to involve local residents, the government should promote the policies on site.

There also have some people who attempted to participate. However, it is frequently mentioned in the interviews that they feel it is difficult to understand what writes in policies:

‘I have been to the Nanjing Urban Planning exhibition hall many times, and also read the policies, but I do not understand the policies due to there are many jargons in the policy.’ (Yang Hong, retired, primary school education)

The point that local residents mentioned blocked their participation is the language that these policies used. They found it is too academic and difficult to understand. For example, in the policy called ‘public comment consult of the conservation planning policy of historic cultural

district of Nanbuting area’, they write ‘to use type DN500 and DN 300 pipes for water drainage and supply’ (see Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau, 2012b: 11).

According to the interview made with government officials, it further proved that public participation only limits in a particular group of people. Similar as Quick and Bryson (2016) and Innes and Booher (2004) demonstrate, it is common to see public participation is not inclusive such as only allow people to express different perspectives. Moreover, my research findings further show that it is not inclusive by only allow and accept certain group of people to participate. For example, the interview made with Cheng Shi and Li Zhan:

‘The notable difference between Nanjing and other cities is that Nanjing has many universities, which means there are many scholars and experts. The participation of scholars and experts actually provides convenience for us to do public participation. Usually we prefer feedback and suggestions from these scholars.’ (Cheng Shi, official of Nanjing urban planning & research centre)

‘The feedback we got showed that residents do not care about public participation, they do not have the awareness that they need to participate, and mostly they only care about their benefits.’ (Li Zhan, official of Nanjing urban planning bureau)

According to the interview response, it shows the government accepted most of the feedback from scholars and experts, while overlooked other participants’ voices. Like Quick and Feldman (2014) assert, inclusion and diversity in public participation means active negotiation among differences in perspectives and identities. My research finding concurs with this argument as only those feedback from scholars are accepted, and it further contributes to Quick and Feldman’s (2014) argument that diversity and inclusion should also mean various classes of people. It is revealed only those who consistently pay attention to urban regeneration projects of historic neighbourhoods will participate, while most of them come from universities or research institutes due to the requirement of their work.

In order to understand more about why local residents do not know and not participate, the interview with the government officials show the most common ways they use for public participation is through social media. For example, the typical answers got from Li Zhan:

‘We used different ways for public participation, such as questionnaires, on-site display, but now we prefer using social media ways because it is more efficient and has better results. We use WeChats, as we have our official account on WeChat, we set an official account of Nanjing urban planning bureau on Weibo⁹, and we now even try to develop some apps for people to download.’ (Li Zhan, official of Nanjing urban planning bureau)

The interview with Li Zhan showed that social media have ideal results for public participation because now most Chinese people depend heavily on smartphones, and everyone can get access to WeChat and Weibo. Therefore, in the future they will continue to use them and will even rely more on social media. Recent years’ studies of public participation, there is currently an excitement about using social media to deliver public participation (e.g. Evans-Cowley and Hollander, 2010; Slotterback, 2011). From this research, it shows though social media can play a significant role in doing public participation, it actually blocked local residents’ participation, due to the inability to use smartphones as well as their low education level. This research finding analogous to what Evans-Cowley and Hollander (2010) argue that poorest members of society only have limited access to web resources when social media is used in public participation.

This is because many local residents are illiterate in Pingshijie neighbourhood. Wu (2015) indicates that public participation in China is more confined to elites thus public participation is rather procedural than substantial. To clarify why public participation is only limited to elites, this research shows the delivery of public participation actually aims to include more people from different social classes and background, but in reality it only allows people from a

⁸ Chinese WhatsApp. It not only has messaging functions as Whatsapp does, but also can be used for social media purposes and also for mobile payment.

⁹ Chinese Twitter. It is the biggest social media platforms in China.

particular social class to participate. Quick and Bryson (2016) argue that choices left to those specialised expertise may cause even worse outcomes. Following this argument, the wide usage of social media, with the trend of more usage of internet and social media in the future, is actually limiting the participation and involvement of local residents.

Evans-Cowley and Hollander (2010) in their research encourage more studies on the internet-based tools of public participation in planning process to assess their effectiveness. From this research, I highlight internet-based tools could limit disadvantaged people's participation and increased the participation entry threshold in China. However, we might need to further consider the education background, as China is a developing country, the average education level is far behind from those advanced capitalist countries. In my research, people in Pingshijie neighbourhood are mostly disadvantaged people. Therefore, to frequently and expertly manage social media become a big problem for them. Though it will be a good strategy for government to manage public participation, considering their socio-economic background, it will become intractable for those who do not have smartphones, or those who are not good at using mobile apps.

For example, I followed relevant official accounts of Nanjing urban planning bureau on both WeChat and Weibo. However, I found there was not enough early stage promotion about the forthcoming public participation activities. The public participation policies are published directly without notifications. Therefore, those who keep following these official accounts of Nanjing urban planning bureau may notice the publication of public participation policies, while local people, might be highly impossible to notice the delivery of public participation. As a consequence, the usage of social media actually filtered out the group of people who are not good at using social media, especially those disadvantaged people in historic

neighbourhood. Thus, I suggest using the combination of both traditional and social media methods, to ensure the categories of participants are more diversified. This argument resonates with Slotterback (2011) that technology cannot be treated as the replacement but only as enhancement for public participation.

Furthermore, apart from the usage of social media, Li Zhan, the official of Nanjing urban planning bureau and Cheng Shi from Nanjing urban planning and research centre both showed that they prefer participation and suggestions from university scholars, experts and academics. As demonstrated in the interview:

‘According to our previous experience that most of the suggestions come from scholars and academics, or people who have been focusing on this redevelopment for a long time. It is hard to see any local residents participate. Many of the local residents may only concern things that relate to them.’ (Li Zhan, official of Nanjing urban planning bureau)

‘Due to there are many universities in Nanjing, we usually get feedback from scholars and academics, and to myself, I also prefer to talk with these people because their suggestions are usually very good.’ (Cheng Shi, official of Nanjing Urban Planning research centre)

According to their interview responses, they prefer academics because they are more professional than other participants and their suggestions are worth to adopt, while the suggestions from local residents are usually unreasonable because they only care about their own benefits. For example, the interview with Tao Ming states:

‘Public participation is not easy to deliver in China because local people only care about their own benefits. We want to protect historic neighbourhoods by regenerate it because its dilapidated environment is impossible to live any more, while the local people only care about everything about their house rather than the whole neighbourhood, and the whole city.’ (Tao Ming, official of the publicity department of Nanjing urban planning bureau)

Lack of proper education of the importance of public participation to local residents is also another reason that limited their participation. According to Simrell King et al. (1998), they suggest empowering citizens and let them understand they have the potential to impact and

have visible outcomes. It is important to educate citizens about public participation knowledge. While in China, there lack opportunities for them to understand the importance of public participation to them, which limited their motivation to participate.

Additionally, the public participation to be delivered in the redevelopment of historic urban quarters are required to follow this upper-level policy: the conservation planning policy of the historic cultural city of Nanjing: 2010-2020. In this policy, it defines the nature of public participation system in Nanjing as an expert-leading system, it should be discussed and tested by experts first and then get published for public comments (Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau, 2012a). Thus, it has defined the public participation system in Nanjing as an elite-leading system, and it is not equal to all the people. This phenomenon similar to what Abramson (2006) indicates that in China historic urban quarters are still strictly controlled by experts analysis. It also concurs with what Wu (2007) argues public participation in China is limited to the elite. According to Webler (1995), elitist theory for public participation only set background at the macro level while neglects crucial elements at the micro-level of participation. The methods they deliver public participation shows that during public participation process, only certain social class people will participate and be included, such as university scholars and experts, while the local residents of Pingshijie neighbourhood, as people have lower social status and class, they are usually the group that is excluded in the public participation process. Bryson (2004) declares under-represented and marginal people should be at least considered to have a place with the decision process. However, the public participation system in Nanjing fails to realise this requirement. Therefore, in response to Bryson's (2004) argument, a feature I conclude of this restricted public participation system in Nanjing is 'filterability'. Here 'filterability' refers to the system finally filtered out the participation of disadvantaged people-those who are not familiar with social media usage. I further explain that many scholars (see

Shin, 2010; He and Wu, 2007) simply demonstrate this situation as ‘no public participation’, it does not lack public participation, and it only lacks participation from residents, from those who need participation to change their life.

I argue the third inadequacy feature of public participation in Nanjing is not direct. Wu (2015: 74) argues that ‘public participation in China is still weak because the Chinese planning system is still heavily controlled by the administrative system’. As has been discussed about the regulations of public participation of urban and rural planning in Nanjing, Nanjing urban planning bureau is the only governmental organisation which is responsible for the public participation. The governmental organisations of China can be categorised as below (See Table 6.1):

	Level	Name of government organisation
Administrative divisions of People’s Republic of China (Except Hong Kong and Macau)	Provincial/ municipal/Autonomous regional level	The people’s government of Province/municipality/autonomous region
	Prefectural level	The people’s government of the city
	County level	The people’s government of county/district
	Township level	Sub-district offices (<i>Jiedaoban</i>)
	Basic level autonomy	Residential community (<i>Shequ</i>)

Table 6.1 Government organisations under different administrative divisions of China

(Source: Adapted from www.gov.cn)

Table 6.1 shows the levels from top to bottom of the local governments in China. Usually, lower level local government cannot skip its upper level government to contact the even higher-level governments. For example, the basic level autonomy government can only contact the township level government, without permission from the township level government it cannot contact other governments above the township level. The residential community, which called *Shequ* in Chinese, is the basic local government organisation in China, and also is the one which has the most contact with local residents. Pingshijie neighbourhood is organised by two *Shequs*: Pingshijie *Shequ* and Rongzhuangxincun *Shequ*. According to Table 6.2, the case study area Pingshijie neighbourhood should be in charge of this sequence from top to bottom:

Level	Name of government organisation
Provincial level	The people’s government of Jiangsu
Prefectural level	the people’s government of Nanjing
County level	The people’s government of Qinhuai district
Township level	Chaotiangong ¹⁰ <i>Jiedaoban</i>
Basic level autonomy	Pingshijie <i>Shequ</i> and Rongzhuangxincun <i>Shequ</i>

Table 6.2 Top to bottom levels of governments of Pingshijie neighbourhood

However, according to the policy called ‘the regulations of public participation of urban and rural planning in Nanjing’, the public participation activities are only organised and controlled by the Nanjing urban planning bureau (Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau, 2018b). To specify, Nanjing urban planning bureau is a prefectural-level governmental organisation, which means the prefectural level governmental organisation is directly responsible for the public

¹⁰ Qinhuai district has 12 *Jiedaobans*. Chaotiangong *Jiedaoban* is one of the 12 *Jiedaobans* that affiliated to Qinhuai district.

participation of Pingshijie neighbourhood. According to Mr Tao Ming, a high-level official of the publicity department of Nanjing urban planning bureau, he indicates the nature of Nanjing urban planning bureau:

‘Nanjing urban planning bureau is a prefectural level *Shiyedanwei*¹¹. We are responsible for the whole city’s urban and rural planning, and also assist with relevant government departments to do master urban planning and research. Nanjing urban planning and research centre is affiliated to our bureau.’ (Tao Ming, official of Nanjing urban planning bureau)

Also, the interview with the city-level governmental organisations, such as Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau and the Nanjing Urban Planning research centre, showed that they are the one who delivers and organises public participation. According to the interview:

‘Public participation is usually organised and managed by the city government, namely the Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau. Usually when displaying the policy, it will write who will be responsible for public participation. Usually are Nanjing urban planning bureau and the developer.’ (Cheng Shi, official of Nanjing Urban Planning research centre)

It skips the lower level governmental organisations such as the county level, township level, and especially the basic-level governmental organisations. From a bottom-up perspective, in China, residents usually first go to *Shequ* for help, if *Shequ* cannot help, *Shequ* will pass the information to upper level government *Jiedaoban* then to help residents. Thus, *Shequ* is the one which has most contact with local residents and is the organisation which residents usually seek for help.

However, Pingshijie neighbourhood, even though it is regarded as a whole historic urban quarter, it is divided into two parts and ruled by two *Shequs* together. One called Pingshijie *Shequ*, and another one called Rongzhuangxincun *Shequ*. However, *Shequ* does not have real power as the other local government organisations, it is more like a servant. Like Derleth and

¹¹ *Shiyedanwei* is state institution or state-owned organisation, refers to those facilities that run by state government, could be hospitals, schools, universities, research centres etc. They are not privately owned and usually run for non-profit purposes.

Koldyk (2004) demonstrate, the responsibility *Shequ* takes is limited, it usually carries out more of the social welfare task than *Jiedaoban*, and concerned with daily affairs of local people, and has closer links with their constituents. However, considering their links with *Jiedaoban*, *Shequ* should not be considered as autonomous organisations but as enhanced neighbourhood committees.

Moreover, according to the interviews with *Shequ* officials, they do not have the right to do public participation. There were two *Shequ* officials involved in the interview, one from the Pingshijie *Shequ*, the other from the Rongzhuangxincun *Shequ*. These two *Shequ* officials stated their responsibilities:

‘We are not responsible for the policies you mentioned about public participation. What we usually do is to play an assistive role. For examole, when conflicts happen, we will help to negotiate.’ (Yan Feng, staff of Pingshijie *Shequ*)

‘Our main task is to provide service for local residents. We usually do not participate in these policies because we are not professionals or experts. We may help to promote these policies, but we cannot organise any public participation activities.’ (Zhou Mei, high level staff of Rongzhuangxiang *Shequ*)

The interview with *Shequ* officials shows that the local government organisations actually do not have any right to deliver or organise any public participation relevant activities. By directly controlled by prefectural level government organisation, it is easy to understand why many people said they do not know where to participate, and when this public participation policy published. It has been argued many times by different researchers that it is essential to ensure early involvement of local residents (Barlow, 1997; Simrell King et al., 1998; Rowe and Frewer, 2000). The missing part of the local governmental organisation in reality cannot ensure local residents’ early involvement in public participation: they lack the most direct information resource to notify them to participate.

Because the urban planning system in China is still greatly controlled by the administrative system (Wu, 2015), and early involvement of local residents is critical to the success of public participation (Barlow, 1997; Simrell King et al., 1998; Rowe and Frewer, 2000), within the Chinese context, I argue it is important to empower *Shequ* in delivering public participation policies. Though the people work at *Shequ* are not professional about public participation knowledge, I suggest that they can help with organising events, such as policies display, remind local people the importance of participation. *Shequ* could also help with early stage public participation promotion. They can also work to encourage local people to join public participation. This suggestion bases on *Shequ* is the most basic local government organisation in China as well as they have the most direct contact with local residents.

6.2 Barriers to public participation: mistrust and suspicion

Despite these three inadequacies of the public participation system of Nanjing, I further highlight mistrust and suspicion are the primary factors that blocked residents' participation. Yung et al. (2014) propose that public participation should be encouraged to have active effects on the sense of belonging and to develop social networks and social inclusion. However, if trust is not built beforehand, it is impossible to realise these positive effects. In this case it is difficult to see public participation can help to increase or build trust between public and government, especially among citizens that trust is destroyed and disappearing. It is frequently declared in the interviews that local residents have no interest in participation. As has been mentioned before, government officials point out that in the public participation process, they rarely get any suggestions from residents because they think local residents do not care. As Tao Ming answered that many local residents only speak for themselves while will not consider the whole future development of the neighbourhood and the city. Shin (2010) also points out the situation that local residents lack interest in public participation. He also argues that this should

not be regarded as the reason for their lack of participation, but should be considered as their lack of integration and exclusion from the planning and decision-making process. Under this circumstance, I further discuss the reasons why lack of local residents' integration from local residents' aspects.

The first evident feature of the public participation system in Nanjing is local residents' stereotypes and hatred towards the government. To clarify the emergence of mistrust, it can be discussed in several aspects. The first factor that affects their participation I argue is local residents' stereotypes of government and their hatred towards developers. This factor has been frequently revealed during the interview with local residents. For example, the interview questions about whether they want to participate or not:

'There has never happened before that the government will listen to our voices. Though they might have made several reasonable policies, it never comes into reality. I do not trust them.' (Li Hong, retired and illiterate)

'I do not believe that the government encourage us to participate. I have never heard this situation happened before that an upper government will listen to lower governments' suggestions. Especially in the contemporary society, I extremely do not believe this kind of public participation is real.' (Yang Qiang, retired, middle school education)

The stereotypes that residents have towards government made local people reluctant to participate. They cannot be persuaded that they can be influential by taking part in due to their traditional thoughts that the government will not accept their advice during public participation process. Allmendinger (2001) indicates that people will be willing to join public participation once if they feel they have impact on that. The way that government promote public participation did not emphasise the importance of residents' participation, or state anything that the government will value their participation, thus results in the situation that local residents are not happy to join in because they cannot get the feeling that they can have impacts on the

planning process. This research finding further testified to educate local residents the knowledge of public participation is essential (Simrell King et al., 1998).

Moreover, the developer is also listed on the policy, which means the developer should also be responsible for public participation. According to the interview with Cheng Shi from Nanjing urban planning and research centre:

‘When we do public participation, we will list on the public participation policy about who will be responsible for the public participation. We do list the company on public participation policies before, which means that they are also responsible for public participation. People can either go to the urban planning bureau or to the company to submit their suggestions.’ (Cheng Shi, official of Nanjing urban planning and research centre)

The real estate developer, which called the Nanjing urban redevelopment and construction of history and Culture Co., Ltd. also replies to the public participation:

‘The redevelopment process does not contain any contact with the local residents. We also did not get any suggestions or see participation from local residents.’ (Li Hua, staff of Nanjing urban redevelopment and construction of history and culture Co., Ltd.)

However, the interview response shows no public participation feedback were received from local residents. Besides, local residents have strong hatred towards developers. For example, the typical interview answer showed their common attitude towards developers:

‘I really hate developers. Government and developers they belong to a group. They are keeping cheating us. They want to demolish our houses and drive us away. I especially hate developers because they hired some bad people to threaten us in the past, but this phenomenon does not happen these years.’ (Ma Baoguo, retired)

It is frequently mentioned in the interview that residents experienced many times of threats from developers to drive them away. Wu (2015) has mentioned that it is normal and evident to see the conflicts between residents and government and developers. He indicates this is a common phenomenon in China especially comes to housing demolition and relocation:

Because of the absence of participation and opaque development control processes, the public is not informed about development decisions and often blames the state for allowing developers to carry out such developments. The boundaries between the state and the market are blurred (as many development companies have government backing);

some developers tactically pursue profits in the name of the public interest and often claim to act as state representatives. (Wu, 2015: 73-74)

Due to the redevelopment taken place at their neighbourhood, local residents consider government and developers formed in an alliance which stands opposite to them. Because of the threats they had in the past, similar as what I quoted from Wu (2015), their hatred made them highly impossible to participate because they think government support the developers. By acknowledging public participation within the Chinese context needs to reconsider the state-society relationships (Tang et al., 2008), I argue what the government need to do about the public participation in China is to change local residents' stereotypes to them.

The second factor affects their participation I argue is the change in their daily life under regeneration. The local residents cannot get the feeling that their living standards are getting better, which blocked their further public participation. Public participation is considered as the strategy that has positive effects that public concerns, needs and values can be incorporated into decision-making process (Creighton, 2005), while local residents feel their needs and requirements were not solved or satisfied. For example, the typical interview response got from the fieldwork:

'The redevelopment has been taken place for such a long time. It has been nearly ten years. However, I have not seen any changes in the place I live in. Though they write very good words in policies, I have not seen anything come true yet.' (Li Hong, retired, illiterate)

Li Hong thinks that usually redevelopment will make the environment get much better and also improve their living standards. However, no changes happened and the environment is getting worse. As a consequence, she lost her trust and confidence towards the government. This research finding testified what Wang and Wan Wart (2007) assert performance results is one of key factors that can build trust. Moreover, dissatisfied performance results of government could further destroy residents' trust to them.

According to Wu and He (2005), the fieldwork they did in Nanjing in 2001 found that Pingshijie neighbourhood had the highest degree of commitment to join public affairs compared to another two similar traditional neighbourhoods. Especially Pingshijie neighbourhood had a very high degree of willingness to participate in redevelopment activities, it also had the highest degree of positive attitude towards developing partnership with developers and government, and also indicated that they prefer long-term residence and support environment construction. They argued the high degree of these indicators reveal that Pingshijie neighbourhood has ‘strong neighbourhood-based social interactions, residents’ strong attachment and commitment to the neighbourhood’ and also indicates ‘high degree of social cohesion (Wu and He, 2005: 91).’

The fieldwork Wu and He did was before the large-scale regeneration taken place. Therefore, it is obvious to see that the attitude that local people currently have in Pingshijie neighbourhood has changed. The decline of their willingness in participating redevelopment activities, their attitude to develop partnership with developers and government, and especially, their fast-growing dissatisfaction with government. For example, it is frequently mentioned during the interview:

‘I used to have expectations of the redevelopment and very happy to join in public affairs. However, now I do not have any expectations. The long-time redevelopment has already destroyed my motivation and expectation.’ (Li Na, retired, primary school education)

In light of this circumstance, I further argue that the long-time urban regeneration will destroy residents’ confidence in government, and will greatly affect residents’ enthusiasm in local affairs commitment, and also turns residents’ attitude to government from positive to negative, which could further deepen the mistrust gap.

The third factor that results in local residents' mistrust in public participation is their previous participation experience did not get proper responses. Relevant public participation events were delivered in the past, and there are some of the local residents have experience in public participation. However, most of them got disappointed because they did not see any good changes happened after the participation. As has been mentioned before, the conservation planning policy of historic cultural city of Nanjing was published due to the strong protests made by this 'social justice' coalition, and at that time, public participation was first introduced into the conservation policy to ensure democracy and protect public's benefits under the decision-making process.

However, as required in the conservation policy, to lower population density and improve living standards of historic neighbourhoods will be the priorities for the local government (Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau, 2012a), while it also writes in the policy that it is important to preserve original residents (ibid, 2012a). Thus, it is unavoidable to displace a large number of local residents as it is impossible to maintain such a huge number of people continuously. Moreover, it is hard to decide who should be maintained in Pingshijie neighbourhood as it is difficult to define 'original local residents'. According to the interview made with the official of Nanjing urban planning bureau:

'We did try to preserve original local residents under the requirement of urban conservation policy. However, we found it is impossible to define who the real original local residents are. Some of them said they have property rights of the houses, some of them said they have been living here for many generations, and some people said they have unique techniques to represent Pingshijie neighbourhood, it is hard to tell which one is the correct one.' (Li Zhan, official of Nanjing urban planning bureau)

The failure of preserving local residents made them got disappointed and feel being cheated, because the local government did not realise what is written in the policy and still wants to displace them. Thus, public participation becomes 'useless' to local residents due to what the government promised before is invalid now.

Local residents' mistrust further destroyed people's passion for participating the public participation relevant events. During my fieldwork, it is very common to get rejected or ignored by local residents because they said they have seen many scholars or researchers come to do research, and they already get disappointed because they feel there has not been any changes or improvement taken place. For example, those who had public participation experience said:

'I have been to the hearings and seminars they organised before. I really hope there can be more seminars like this in the future. However, I am so disappointed because what I have suggested which did not deliver in reality. And because the redevelopment has taken place for such a long time, I do not have any trust in the government anymore.' (Li Wei, unemployed, middle school education)

Li Wei is one of the typical interviewees unsatisfied with the government. However, according to the interview results, most of the residents' requirements or suggestions are quite impossible to realise. First, because no changes have happened and their requirements also did not get satisfied, they feel they are cheated by the government thus their passion in public participation is largely affected. As has been argued by Goodlad and Meegan (2015), the development of trust should be a key element during the regeneration while the mistrust in this research can be viewed as the result of low degree of local residents' involvement in the regeneration process. Thus, I further envisage what is popularly debated in Western context about the collaborative planning (Healey, 1997) and collaborative participation (Innes and Booher, 2004) is hard to achieve, as collaborative planning aims to achieve consensus, while consensus means compromise. In this case, both local residents and government are hard to make compromises because they all base on their individual situation and refuse to sacrifice their benefits.

Second, due to local residents did not get proper response and feedback from previous public participation experience, such as remain living in Pingshijie neighbourhood and help them to reconstruct their houses did not get realised, there is a high tendency that some of the residents

prefer to use money compensation to solve their problems. For example, most of them require the government to give them both money and houses as compensation, because they think they deserve them as the location of Pingshijie neighbourhood is very good. As Webler et al. (1995) argues, successful public participation needs common understandings transcend egoistic aims. However, local residents' growing needs of money compensation actually limited the government's ability to solve their problems. Their requirements of compensation are far too high to realise. Local government has limited funding, which cannot afford such a significant amount of money.

Monetary compensation is a common phenomenon in China. When a neighbourhood is going to be redeveloped, many local residents could receive a certain amount of monetary compensation. Sometimes it is a huge amount of money which can immediately change a person's economic status. As Wu and He (2005) indicated in their research, Pingshijie neighbourhood did not undergo large scale of redevelopment in 2001 and was neglected by the government because of its high population density in the central location of Nanjing. It also bypassed by real estate developers because of the high cost of compensation to original residents. However, in 2009, the Nanjing local government recognised its important historic value, meanwhile the overpopulated situation and ageing community were perceived by the local government as unable to live, its urban redevelopment plans went back to agenda. Since then, money compensation becomes a big issue and was frequently mentioned by local residents during the interview. Many of them also state it is one of the biggest reasons why they still live here. For example, the typical responses got from the interview:

'It is not I am not willing to leave. I am waiting to have a good deal with the government. They can either give me money or the house. Otherwise, I will not move. Actually, I have talked with them about my compensation for many times. They promise to give me certain amount of compensation, but I think it is not enough. You know the housing price is quite expensive today in China, especially in Nanjing. Because Pingshijie

neighbourhood has such a good location in Nanjing, I understand it must have very high value. They should give me much more compensation.’ (Ma Mei, retired)

It is common to find in the interviews that another reason people refuse to leave is because of the compensation issues. According to Wu and He’s (2005) research made in 2001 about the Pingshijie neighbourhood, it had a very high percentage of people prefer to continue staying in this neighbourhood. As has been mentioned before, the local government finds it is difficult to define original local residents, thus they failed to maintain local residents, money instead becomes the channel to solve problems.

I regard monetary compensation as one of the key reasons that many residents refuse to communicate with the government or care about public participation activities. Therefore, I strongly disagree with Dowall (1994: 1497) suggests that ‘Chinese cities should consider following the example of Hong Kong, Seoul and Singapore and allow real estate development companies to pay cash compensation for buildings and land given up for redevelopment’. The research finding shows that some people think they deserve higher compensation thus refuse to move out. This is because compensation issues have become the priorities for them. Their action actually stagnates the urban (re)development process, like what Shin (2013) describes the people refuse to move are ‘nail house’ dwellers. Thus, this situation will make public participation activities much more challenging to take place in the future because local residents tend to focus more on how much compensation they can get. However, local government cannot satisfy their requirements endlessly as they do not have unlimited funding for compensation while what local residents required are far beyond what they can afford.

Therefore, I answer the questions about the possibility of delivering ‘collaborative participation’ and ‘collaborative planning’ in China. Most of the literature under Chinese background only focus on the public participation area while few of them mention the possibility of delivering

collaborative planning or collaborative participation in China. Based on the status quo of public participation in historic neighbourhood, I doubt the possibility to do collaborative participation taken place in the future. As has been mentioned before, in order to remedy the mistrust gap, it is vital to build trust. Innes and Booher (2004) argue that collaborative participation can help with solving complex problems, even if the consensus is not achieved in the end, it can help to build trust and enhance social inclusion. However, I argue this argument is too ideal and optimistic to realise, disputes can also happen and increase mutual hatred. Thus, how to build trust and change local residents' stereotypes to the government and developers will be a big challenge for the local government in doing public or collaborative participation. Furthermore, the compensation issue will become a big problem that hinders the development of either public participation or collaborative participation.

6.3 Conclusion

Wu (2007) regards public participation in China as a way of place promotion. He further argues that it is the way local government wants to pursue planning awards while the power public has is still weak (Wu, 2015). This research confirmed what Wu indicates as 'planning awards' due to the delivery of public participation is made to cope with local residents' protests, and to show the 'democratic' feature of the local government, while still left many people have difficulty to get access to public participation. In this case, the power of local residents is not as influential as those people from higher social class, especially those people who have certain knowledge and social status, such as scholars and experts. Though it is regarded that Nanjing has the comparatively good public participation system in China, its limitations restricted its real impacts.

First, the time length for public participation and its frequency is not enough. It does not give enough time for local people to participate flexibly and consistently. This limitation actually cannot provide the environment for people to learn why to participate, and the local government lacks the ability to educate them the importance of it. Apart from this, lack of early stage promotion further results in the circumstances that not many people know the need to participate and contribute their ideas and opinions.

Secondly, it is not inclusive enough, which blocked certain people's public participation, especially those people who are not familiar with social media. While Slotterback (2011) is correct to concern the access to technology for potential participants, in this case it shows technological participatory approaches could be particularly challenging for those come from disadvantaged communities that have little knowledge about social media. It has already been hard enough for them to participate in traditional public participation occasions, they could be even disadvantaged in these technology-based efforts. Therefore, my research finding shows that people who live historic neighbourhoods got excluded because of their low education level and unfamiliar with smartphones. To emphasise, those who got excluded are those who need to participate as it is their life got affected and their requirements that are needed to be listened to.

Thirdly, like Wu (2015) argues that the planning system in China is still primarily controlled by the administrative system of China, public participation is directly organised by Nanjing urban planning bureau, which means it skips lower level governments. The regulations about delivering public participation are actually still in charge by the prefectural level of government. However, the most contact people have with the government is the basic autonomy level government. The basic autonomy level government, i.e. *Shequ*, does not have abilities to

manage public participation related events. Moreover, some of the policy guidelines actually did not realise on the ground, such as to maintain local residents and preserve residential function. Therefore, this phenomenon explains why local residents are not familiar with public participation policies, and also why they lost their trust to the government. In light of this circumstance, I suggest the basic government organisation should have certain responsibility for public participation instead of merely the prefectural level government can organise it. By doing so, I aim at avoiding the situation of only limited and certain social class people can be involved in the regeneration and public participation process.

I further add details to the phenomenon that lacks local residents' participation because of the contemporary public participation system hindered many people's possible participation. Moreover, though it is a good idea to use social media to promote and deliver public participation, it cannot maximise the number of public involvement, especially those people come from disadvantaged groups. Additionally, as I have argued about their change of daily life under property-led urban regeneration, this actually also damaged their trust to government. Though some people may have tried to participate in the past, however, they may do not receive proper feedback that makes them feel they can have impacts on it. As Simrell King et al. (1998) argue that it is important to let residents know that they have real impacts on it during public participation. Due to the lack of feedback, it widens the mistrust gap between residents and government: residents cannot feel the meaning of public participation and cannot get the feeling that their lives are getting better after participation. It is recommended in the future the government should let the public know the feedback of their participation about their suggestions why and why not get adopted, this could help to improve participants' motivation and to develop long and consistent public participation system.

Thus, to adopt the theory of collaborative planning in China, it is important to build trust first between citizens and government. It is recommended that local residents should be involved at the early stage of redevelopment and educate them about the importance of their participation. It is rather suggested that collaborative participation instead of merely public participation to be delivered to build trust. Collaborative participation aims to avoid the situation of only limited and certain social class people can be involved in the regeneration process. However, the dilemma of practice in reality of collaborative planning needs to be considered: because of the compensation issue, it will become a big problem for government to discuss with them as compensation is more likely to become the priority for residents and the negotiation of compensation will significantly harm the relationship between each of them. It is the barrier to build collaboration and also to build trust.

In the end, the idea of collaborative planning will be challenging to take place. Tsang et al. (2009) indicate that only public participation does not mean effective dialogue, while when public participation and trust happen at the same time that a productive dialogue would happen. It is argued that collaborative planning or participation can help to build consensus and social inclusion (See Healey, 1997; Innes and Booher, 2003), while consensus means compromise. I argue collaborative planning or participation are too ideal to achieve, as disputes will also happen during the consensus-making process, which may further worsen the relationships between them.

7. • **Everyday life and resistance to regeneration**

In this chapter I consider socio-cultural approaches to better understand the extent of the impact of urban regeneration on local people. This chapter responds to the contemporary existing research about the change of socio-economic status of local residents under the property-led urban regeneration. For example, many scholars argue that wealth is accumulated during the redevelopment and conservation process, with local residents are replaced by people with higher socioeconomic status (see He and Wu, 2007; Shin, 2010; Tian and Wong, 2007). However, recent research of urban regeneration falls short of addressing the social and cultural changes. To address this concern, this chapter considers urban regeneration from the sociocultural perspective. In order to assess the social and cultural impacts, ethnographic methods, including participant observation, and relevant qualitative methods such as in-depth semi-structured interviews are used to explore the daily life of local residents for this research.

This chapter critically examines local residents' daily activities, their contacts with neighbours, and how their everyday social and cultural status is affected or changed during urban regeneration. To illustrate how their daily social and cultural activities are changed or affected, this chapter is divided into four sections. The first section talks about the effects brought by property-led urban regeneration. Urban conservation shares the same function as urban regeneration does in China (Su, 2010), associated with accumulation of a group of disadvantaged people in Pingshijie neighbourhood. Therefore, the property-led urban regeneration gradually changed local residents' daily activities such as reduced social interaction and usage of public space. The second section outlines how the culture-led urban

regeneration is in fact a poor fit with local culture, and also further results in the loss of neighbourhood characteristics. In the third section, I clarify why and how local residents resist urban regeneration. Here, I highlight the importance of local residents' strong sense of place attachment and identity within the resistance process. Overall, this chapter presents a picture of how local residents are influenced by urban regeneration. My discussion then elaborates upon this resistance: how, why and what they resist.

7.1 The effects of property-led urban regeneration

The fierce protests made by local residents, scholars and media in 2009 towards the urban regeneration of Pingshijie neighbourhood pushed forward the establishment of the urban conservation policy of Nanjing. Thus, the policy called 'conservation planning policy of the historic cultural city of Nanjing: 2010-2020' is a response to the strong protests made by the public. I highlight some vital guidelines of this policy: (1) urban conservation should expand from merely preservation of cultural relics to the whole urban districts and blocks, and from merely physical preservation to the preservation of cultural and any other intangible elements. (2) Preservation should highlight the importance of landscape, adjust the functions of historic places and lower the population density. (3) The preservation of historic places in Nanjing is intended to develop for culture, business, tourism and residential use. (4) It is recommended that tourism and public infrastructure development be prioritised in these areas (Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau, 2012a). Every historic neighbourhood or urban quarter in Nanjing must also have its own urban conservation policy (ibid, 2012a). The historic urban quarters and neighbourhoods in Nanjing are further divided into three categories: historic cultural blocks/districts, historic landscape and normal historic areas (ibid, 2012a). Each of these three categories each has specific requirements for their urban conservation.

In light of the urban conservation planning, the local government defined Pingshijie neighbourhood as one of the historic conservation areas in Nanjing. According to this conservation policy, the government then divided Pingshijie neighbourhood into two categories: the historic landscape of Pingshijie area and the historic cultural district of Nanbuting area. It is worth noticing that under this conservation policy, it is required to use different measures must be used to conserve different historic urban forms. As it is stressed in the urban conservation policy, the measures government taken to regenerate historic landscape must be in small scales and incremental redevelopment is strongly required. Large-scale reconstruction is strictly forbidden (Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau, 2012a). Regeneration of the historic cultural district must be consistent with its ancient look, and its functions should be (re)developed for exhibition, culture and leisure purposes (ibid, 2012a).

These guidelines mean that a large number of local residents are unavoidably displaced due to the requirement of ‘lower population density’ is emphasised in the conservation policy. In this circumstance, the intention of the government to conserve historic places in Nanjing shows what Cohen (2001) indicates that urban conservation should transform historic places into cultural hubs instead of merely residential areas. However, what Cohen argues lacks the consideration of local residents within the urban conservation process. By transforming historic places in to a commercial urban quarter, what Steinberg (1996) suggested sustaining and maintaining indigenous local communities life within urban conservation process, becomes rather impossible in Pingshijie neighbourhood. As Orbasli (2002) argues, the continuity of urban life should be achieved through urban conservation, and ensure its continuity as a place to live. Therefore, I argue that the form of urban conservation delivered in Pingshijie neighbourhood by displacing local residents actually cuts off its continuity as a place to live.

For example, Nanbuting area, which is defined as a historic cultural district, has already displaced all the local residents because of the requirement of the conservation policy that historic cultural district will be used for culture and exhibition purposes. In this situation, none of the original residents continue to live and it further turns into a commercial urban quarter. Consequently, urban conservation cuts off the continuity of urban life in Nanbuting area. Pingshijie area, which is still undergoing urban regeneration, still contains a few number of households. At the same time, local people continue to move out due to the worsening living environment and also a requirement for tourism industry development. Similar as what Su (2015) argues that urban conservation in China is more developed for tourism business, I found tourism industry development is also prioritised under the urban regeneration of Pingshijie neighbourhood. In this regard, I argue that, though tourism can bring economy growth to the neighbourhood, it has in fact destroyed the neighbourhood as a place to live.

I find that, although there are still some households living in Pingshijie area, most of the people who are living in Pingshijie area have lower socio-economic status. Most of them are jobless and rely on government subsidies. This finding reflects what Liu and Wu (2006) and Wu et al. (2010) demonstrate that historic neighbourhoods in China have evident poverty features. Yeh et al. (1995) indicate that in China many cities are differentiated by population density, education level, employment, housing quality, household composition. In this research, I describe Pingshijie neighbourhood has low education level, low income, ageing community and high population density. According to Liu and Wu (2006), they recognise Pingshijie neighbourhood as a deteriorating old urban residential area and has evident poverty characteristics. In the past, this neighbourhood contained many local people while most of those higher social class or wealthier people have already moved out due to the worsening

living environment. At present, many of those who still living in Pingshijie neighbourhood are disadvantaged, older and impoverished people.

By acknowledging the demographic background of Pingshijie neighbourhood, this case study in Nanjing challenged what Smith (1998) responses to Listokin et al. (1998) that urban conservation may drive away low-income residents due to conservation areas are targeted by profit-seeking investment. My research finding shows urban conservation in Pingshijie neighbourhood did not fully drive away low-income residents. Many disadvantaged residents even consider staying because of the profit-driven investment under urban conservation policies. According to the interview responses, many of them consider the urban conservation can help with increasing their housing price, which means, they can get much more monetary compensation. Due to the rapidly rising housing price in Nanjing, the current compensation amount is far less for them to purchase a new house in Nanjing, especially somewhere has a similar city centre location as Pingshijie neighbourhood has.

As a consequence, to get a large amount of compensation and change their current poor condition is a priority for local residents. For example, typical responses got from the interview:

‘I heard that housing price in our area is 30,000 RMB per square metre, and highest even reach to 100,000 RMB per square metre! I think the best choice is to relocate me still in this neighbourhood and help me reconstruct my houses.’ (Wang Jianguo, retired)

‘I do wish not to move out because I have my job here. If I moved out, I will be unemployed and have entirely no income. I do hope the government helps us reconstruct the houses and I can still live here because then there will be more tourists and I can also benefit from tourism.’ (Wang Gang, local grocery owner)

These interview responses show that the common opinions local residents hold towards urban conservation are mostly related to their benefits. Many of them refuse to leave because they think the urban conservation of their area can benefit them for a more substantial amount of

monetary compensation. As a consequence, those who can afford houses elsewhere, or those who got compensation which can support them to buy houses elsewhere have already moved out. People who have lower socioeconomic status are still living in the Pingshijie neighbourhood due to the inability to afford new houses. As I have mentioned before, according to the urban conservation policy, redevelopment work can only be delivered gradually and on a small scale. Therefore, those have already moved out while their houses are waiting to be regenerated, have their premises to let with very low rent. The low renting price attracts many similar lower socioeconomic background who people come to rent houses. For example, here is one renting advertisement I found outside the building in Pingshijie neighbourhood (See Figure 7.1):



Figure 7.1 Rent advertisement hang out of the house

Source: Liu Cao

Figure 7.1 shows the advertisement made by a local resident to rent out her house. It writes the renting price ranges from 300 RMB to 500 RMB per month (around £30 to £50 per month), which is far below the average reasonable renting price in Nanjing, especially in areas like Pingshijie neighbourhood, which is close to the city centre and would be expected to have a much higher renting price. For example, according to one interview made with a rural migrant who rents houses like this:

‘I am a rural immigrant worker from another province near Nanjing. I rent a house here because I do not have enough income and it only can afford me to rent cheap houses. I also need good location because I need to go work as soon as possible when the project leader wants me, which means the location is very important. Pingshijie neighbourhood satisfies all my requirements.’ (Chen Wei, rural migrant worker)

According to the interview, not only low-income local residents still live in this neighbourhood but is also targeted by those low-income migrants who cannot afford to rent a house in the city centre. To a certain extent, this neighbourhood has gradually become a place which accumulates with many disadvantaged people. The primary aim of this urban conservation policy is to comfort local residents and prevent future protests could bring by local residents, and ensure the successful delivery of urban regeneration. However, due to the long-time urban regeneration, which has been taken place for nearly ten years, the impacts of this urban conservation policy turned Pingshijie neighbourhood into a more dilapidated area. As a consequence, more social problems are emerging, and the neighbourhood is also declining quickly.

Under this urban conservation background, the following property-led urban regeneration caused a significant rise of local living costs. In order to fulfil the purpose of urban conservation of historic areas, property-led urban regeneration is first utilised by the local government to realise its purposes such as tourism development. After the publication of the conservation

policy, the government required the developer to regenerate Pingshijie area gradually. Figure 7.2 shows the situation about how urban regeneration is taking place in the Pingshijie area. Because of the conservation policy forbids large-scale reconstruction, the redevelopment is taking place by reconstructing houses individually. The permission document of reconstruction will display outside the building, together with the resulting picture.



Figure 7.2 Permission display outside for onsite construction in Pingshijie area

Source: Liu Cao

The method that the government conserves the neighbourhood concurs with what Su (2010) argues that urban conservation in China serves similar functions as urban regeneration, while my research finding further shows urban conservation works as the stepping stone to deliver urban regeneration. In this research, I regard the urban conservation policy is somewhat the strategy to comfort and reassure the public about how the government will treat the local heritage properly, which further helps with reducing the tension brought by local residents. In this case, urban conservation assisted with the delivery of property-led urban regeneration to

restructure the appearance of many historic buildings. Therefore, the property-led urban regeneration significantly changed the appearance of these buildings, and simultaneously changed their traditional functions from merely residential to commercial. Figure 7.3 shows the function transition.



Figure 7.3 Buildings under reconstruction in Pingshijie neighbourhood

Source: Liu Cao

Figure 7.3 shows the buildings under the reconstruction. It can be clearly seen that the appearance of these historic buildings has been much improved. After the reconstruction, many of these buildings, which used to serve as residential buildings, now become places for either

commercial or office use. This phenomenon supports He and Wu (2007) argument that property-led urban regeneration in China is actually a change of land use and their functions. The Pingshijie neighbourhood, which was a traditional residential community has now partly transformed into a commercial district. He and Wu (2007) also argue that property-led urban regeneration in China led to local residents becoming entirely replaced by people with higher socioeconomic status. My research findings complement their argument by showing local residents are completely replaced by different retailers who come to do business. The replacement from retailers is because the tourism development industry is the regeneration focus and also the aim of the local government to lower population density. Apart from this, both He and Wu (2007) and Turok (1992) indicate that property-led urban regeneration fails to consider local inhabitants' benefits. My research findings support this argument by showing that living cost increased substantially due to the surrounding tourism business development. The property-led urban regeneration of Pingshijie neighbourhood aims to turn it into a high-class tourist attraction, in order to attract tourists with higher socioeconomic status. Many of the shops which have already established in Nanbuting area are mostly boutique shops.



Figure 7.4 A high-class restaurant in Nanbuting area

Source: Liu Cao



Figure 7.5 A boutique teahouse in Nanbuting area

Source: Liu Cao

Figure 7.4 and 7.5 show the two typical boutique shops in Nanbuting area. Figure 7.4 is a high-class expensive restaurant with delicate decorations. Figure 7.5 is the inside look of a teahouse in Nanbuting area. A teahouse in China usually refers to high class and exquisite consumption, which only wealthier people can afford. In an interview with Li Hua, he reveals the purpose of redeveloping the Pingshijie neighbourhood:

‘What we want to do is to redevelop Pingshijie neighbourhood into a high-class tourist attraction and aim to separate it from *Fuzimiao*¹² (Confucius Temple) tourist attraction. Nanbuting area we have finished the reconstruction and regeneration, what we are going to do is to finish the regeneration of Pingshijie area and combine these two parts.’ (Li Hua, the staff of Nanjing urban redevelopment and construction of history and culture Co., Ltd)

To redevelop the whole Pingshijie neighbourhood into a high-class tourist attraction is the primary purpose of the local government and developers. However, high-class consumption is ill afforded by local residents. For example, one local resident who still lives in Pingshijie area states his opinion:

‘I used to go to Nanbuting a lot because I have some familiar friends lived there, but now they are all displaced to the urban outskirts of Nanjing. Nanbuting now is a tourist attraction. To me, many stores located there are too expensive to afford. I understand tourism attractions usually have a higher price than residential urban quarters. However, Nanbuting area is so close to our Pingshijie area, which means it is also gradually affecting our living cost. I cannot afford such a high food price every day. Now I have to go far away to the market to buy cheap food.’ (Li Xiangdong, retired local resident)

Therefore, those local residents who still live in Pingshijie neighbourhood are excluded from the regeneration, resulting in an area to serve elites which largely affects local residents’ daily life. This research shows that not only local residents got replaced by people with higher socioeconomic status (Tian and Wong, 2007; He and Wu, 2005), but in addition, the property-

¹² Fuzimiao is another tourist attraction in Laochengnan region in Nanjing by doing lower class tourism businesses. In Chinese it means Confucius temple. It is a famous tourist attraction around whole China.

led urban regeneration actually sacrificed local residents' normal life, and local residents' daily activities in these places are replaced by high-class leisure. My research findings further support Turok's (1992) argument that the Chinese background property-led urban regeneration lack of embodying concerns of local residents, and also can cause detrimental effects to their daily life. One of the detrimental effects shown in this research is the disturbance of local residents' normal daily life. As has been discussed before, adapted from Neil Smith's (1987) 'rent gap' theory, property-led urban regeneration is actually a value-added activity in China. It not only increased the land value and housing price but also increased local residents' everyday living cost due to the surrounding tourism development.

Secondly, I highlight the effect under the property-led urban regeneration is the reduced social interaction between local residents. Forrest and Kearns (2001) suggest that social interaction is one of the key factors in social cohesion. Therefore, the reduced social interaction under property-led urban regeneration, which means, to a certain extent it breaks the social cohesion of Pingshijie neighbourhood. Due to the requirement of lower population density in the conservation policy, large scale displacement is unavoidable. To a certain extent, the displacement of a large number of original local residents affects residents' daily contact with their neighbours. For example, the typical interview responses made with local residents about their relationship with their previous neighbours:

'There were so many people lived here before the redevelopment. Our neighbourhood used to be very prosperous and vibrant, and whenever I felt bored, I can always go to their house to chat or play cards together at any time. However, is there anything I can do now with my neighbours? I now can only read newspapers at home. I miss those days with my neighbours. Furthermore, I lost my contact with my previous neighbours. At the beginning of the redevelopment, even though they get displaced, they still come back to visit me, however, as time pass by, they do not come back any more because it is too far, Pingshijie street is no longer as what it was in the past.' (Zhao Wei, retired)

‘In the past, I usually played chess with my neighbours or friends, however, because many people have moved out, all I can do is either sit here do nothing or go to another neighbourhood to play chess.’ (Ma Wei, retired)

These two interview responses showed how their daily activities were affected by the displacement of their neighbours. It was frequently mentioned in the interview that people lost their contacts with their previous neighbours. Similarly, from everyday observation, it also shows that it is difficult to track or see residents’ daily activities. For example, adapted from one of the researcher’s field notes:

[Field notes. Location: Rongzhuang Street and Pingshie Street; Weather: Cloudy and hot; Date: 06/07/2018 Time: Morning]

A hot morning. There are electric scooters driving across the street from time to time, and sometimes I can see a few people carrying plastic bags walking around. I cannot see any people talking to each other or making greetings. Suddenly a woman opens the door from one of these ancient building. It looks like she lives in this historic house. She stares at me suspiciously because she definitely does not know who I am and why I come here. She opens the door and walks into the building but leaves the door open, later I find that actually she is coming out to throw a bag of rubbish. I cannot feel any emotions from their face. I also did not see any interactions between residents.

This fieldnote is one of the typical field notes made during the fieldwork. It is hard to find the interaction they have with their neighbours or friends. Furthermore, not only Pingshijie area but also Nanbuting area can hardly see many activities take place every day. Most of the shops, restaurants are closed during the researcher’s daily visit (see Figure 7.6).



Figure 7.6 Contemporary situation of Nanbuting area

Source: Liu Cao

As has been discussed before, the protests caused by local residents made the developer unable to do proper promotion of Nanbuting area, and the protest further affected its business. Not only it does not have many tourists to visit, but also local residents got excluded from enjoying and visiting Nanbuting area. They consider Nanbuting area is no longer what they think it should be:

‘I used to go to Nanbuting area and Laomendong neighbourhood¹³ a lot. Laomendong used to look like our neighbourhood. However, many historic buildings have already been demolished and we call them ‘fake antiques’. Now I do not go to Laomengdong and Nanbuting anymore, even though it just several minutes’ walk to Nanbuting. I think the new Laomendong and Nanbuting are not real Laochengnan. It can no longer represent Nanjing any more.’ (Zhang Hua, retired)

‘You can see Nanbuting, and now its name changed to Xinanli, which in my mind it is nonsense. The name of Xinalin does not ever exist in Nanjing history! The redevelopment not only changed its look but also removed its original name, it is no longer what it looks like in the past, and also not what I remember in my memory. What’s more, many original residents who lived in Nanbuting before have already been displaced to the outskirts of Nanjing, which I mean in the countryside, I have no reason to go to Nanbuting anymore, and you can also see there are always no people in Nanbuting and the store’s business there are not good.’ (Ma Baoguo, retired)

The interviews show local residents do not have many places to go due to the poor living environment caused by urban regeneration, as also Nanbuting became a high-class tourist attraction which they cannot afford to visit every day. Furthermore, many buildings have changed their original height and look and no longer in accordance with their memory about what this area looked like in the past. As the local residents in Nanbuting area have already been displaced, those people who still live in Pingshijie area lost their enthusiasm to go to Nanbuting because they lost their contacts with their old friends, and they consider there to be

¹³ A similar historic urban neighbourhood to Pingshijie neighbourhood. The only difference is Laochengdong neighbourhood has finished its urban regeneration and now completely redeveloped into a tourist attraction.

no reason to go anymore, because they think the meaning of Nanbuting to them has completely changed.

As has been mentioned above, Pingshijie neighbourhood has become a disadvantaged neighbourhood with older people have low income. However, older people depend more on social ties than younger people do. As Forrest and Kearns (2001) indicate, older people are more dependent on local ties, therefore, reduced social interaction could cause detrimental effects to their daily life. Furthermore, Putnam (1993) argues that networks based on closed-knit communities or extended families are important in Chinese families. The *guanxi* (personal connections) are essential to underpin contracts (Putnam, 1993: 5). The loss of *guanxi* caused significant changes to local residents' daily life. To specify, the original residents were displaced, meaning they cannot get access to this place, and also, they sacrificed their social connections with their previous neighbours. Wu and He (2005) claim social interaction is very important for marginal population at neighbourhood level, I suggest that social interaction between local residents can help to build the neighbourhood's urban vitality, while the reduced social interaction further reveals the difference of usage of public space both in and outside the neighbourhood. Moreover, as Graham (2002) highlights social interaction can serve as the medium to exchange and mark out identity, I consider the loss of social interaction between local residents further contribute to the loss of cultural representation of Pingshijie neighbourhood.

During the fieldwork, there were two displaced residents came back to visit Nanbuting area.

According to the interview data, they illustrated their life changes after the regeneration:

The most significant change in Nanbuting area I think is people. No people are living in Nanbuting area now, and all of the original residents got displaced to the other places of Nanjing. For example, me, I used to live surround Ganxi Mansion area in Nanbuting, but now it changed into a museum. Because I still come back to Nanbuting to do business

every day, I can get the feeling that Nanbuting area is not as popular as it was in the past, and you can hardly find acquaintances to talk to. (Wang Guoqing, shoe cobbler)

I just come across Nanbuting, but I did not come back intentionally because I need to send my son to school today because the school is opposite the road of Nanbuting. I used to live here but because of the displacement, my neighbours and I were all displaced to different places of Nanjing, and actually we barely have any contacts now. (Zhang Jiangqiang, displaced residents)

Ganxi was a famous historical person from Nanjing, and his previous living area had been redeveloped into a museum. There used to be many people living in Ganxi Mansion area. However, due to the requirement of the government to redevelop it into a museum, those people had to move out and got displaced. The displacement made them unable to get access to the place they used to live in, and also cut off their social connections with their neighbours. After the regeneration, Nanbuting has completely turned into a commercial urban quarter without any residential functions. In the public participation policy of Nanbuting area, it also states clearly about the erasion of residential functions:

The planning of Nanbuting area will not maintain any residential functions. The historic cultural district of Nanbuting area will be used to enhance its commercial value in the future (Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau, 2012b: 9).

By clearly stating its purpose for the regeneration of Nanbuting area, I indicate the government only wants to manage it as a commercial urban quarter without leaving any space for residential purposes. As what Su (2015) argues, in Chinese cities, the popular trend is that the city is made for profit, not for people. Therefore, I consider, the transformation of Nanbuting area from a traditional residential urban quarter to a commercial district, actually sacrificed original residents' living space, and also their social ties with their previous neighbours.

Thirdly, I highlight the effects of property-led urban regeneration is the reduced usage of public space. I consider the reduced usage of public space as the by-product of the massive displacement of local residents and the reduced social interaction. Due to at least 90% local

people have been displaced, the contact between local residents got greatly influenced as well. Through the interview and everyday observation, Pingshijie neighbourhood has a very high rate of older and disadvantaged people. For example, people who live in Pingshijie neighbourhood have comparatively lower wages and education level. The highest education level met by the researcher during the fieldwork was high school and the youngest was around 55 years old. Most of the people in Pingshijie area are illiterate and have a low income or are unemployed, some of them even have to live with government subsidies. The research association of Nanjing historic & cultural city and Southeast University (2016) also highlight one of the characteristics of Pingshijie neighbourhood is that the majority of the population are elderly, and it has severe ageing problems and also poor education level. Due to its good location in Nanjing, many of the houses are now rented by rural migrant workers from other cities, because they cannot afford the renting fees of other city centre places in Nanjing. Furthermore, *ibid* (2016) indicates the number of population in Pingshijie neighbourhood is still decreasing. The continuous decreasing number of households might contribute to another reason of the reduced usage of public space: there are not enough people continuing living in Pingshijie neighbourhood, while the small number of people cannot create appropriate circumstances for local people to socialise.

Furthermore, the empirical fieldwork shows that those people's living styles are different from other urban forms. I observed that people were tremendously taking great advantage of their public space, it seems to utilise the public space of is a tradition of people who live in these traditional neighbourhoods. As Chen (2011: 411) argues 'tradition is something inherited and transmitted over generations with clear continuity.' However, this tradition is cut off. I also highlight that the way and amount of usage of public space are different from inside and outside the neighbourhood. In order to clarify the difference of usage of public space, I describe the

difference from three aspects: the usage of public space outside the Pingshijie neighbourhood, the usage in Pingshijie area and the usage in Nanbuting area.

At the boundary of Pingshijie neighbourhood, I found that public space is greatly used by local resident (see Figure 7.7). According to some of the everyday field notes and photographs:

[Field notes. Location: Rongzhuang Street. Weather: Sunny. Date: 06/07/2018 Time: Afternoon]

At the border of the Pingshijie neighbourhood, there is a group of people playing Mahjong together. They look like around their 50s to 60s. They brought the small table and chair from home and made a temporary space for their activities. At the same time, there are some people standing surround them, not only local residents but also road cleaners, watching how they are playing the Mahjong. I joined the mah-jong observation team even though I do not know how to play Mahjong. After a while, someone won the game. They look so happy because they can earn some money, while those who lost the game looks a bit angry, they are blaming each other for did not do a great job in the previous game.



Figure 7.7 People play Mahjong together

Source: Liu Cao

It is very common to see phenomenon like Figure 7.7 because there are many shops surrounding the boundary. It has activities every day in good weather. There are many other different activities taking place every day (See Figure 7.8), according to the field notes:

[Field notes. Location: Public space in front of Nima Alley. Weather: Cloudy. Date: 10/07/2018 Time: Evening]

In the evening it is cooler, and there are more people come out for exercise. A group of people look like in their 50s or 60s, most of them are female, now are doing square dance outside. They look happy with loud music surround.



Figure 7.8 Square dance outside the Pingshijie neighbourhood boundary

Source: Liu Cao

Square dance is one of the most popular daily exercises in China, especially among older people. Square dance is the performance of how Chinese people respond to the usage of public space, which Jayne and Leung (2014) state this phenomenon as an activity offers a world of sensations. In the daytime, the usage of public space turns different. According to one of the field notes:

[Field notes. Location: Public space in front of Nima Alley. Weather: Sunny. Date: 12/07/2018 Time: Afternoon]

It is a hot afternoon while there are still many people gather together in front of the Pingshijie neighbourhood. People bring their own small tables and benches here just for playing cards or mah-jong. Though the weather is very hot in the afternoon, it is cooler to stay in the square due to these green trees provided shadow for them. People are very focused on playing cards.



Figure 7.9 Activities surround the Pingshijie neighbourhood boundary

Source: Liu Cao

Figure 7.9 shows how people utilise the public space at the boundary of Pingshijie neighbourhood. The public space is nearly fully occupied because there are also many other people observing them. I found at the boundary of the neighbourhood, the rate of social interaction between them is frequent. My observations and everyday field notes showed how vibrant and prosperous local residents' everyday activities are. However, the phenomenon is significantly different inside the neighbourhood. Though local residents still largely take advantage of their public space in Pingshijie area, the contact is not as close and frequent as what I observed at the boundary of the neighbourhood. Many of them like leaving their front

door open every day, which seems like a way they want to stretch their space from inside the house to get more of the public space from outside (see Figure 7.10):



Figure 7.10 One house in Pingshijie neighbourhood

Source: Liu Cao

Figure 7.10 shows a one common situation to see in Pingshijie neighbourhood, which is different from other residential areas. People who live in this historic neighbourhood prefer to leave their door open and do their laundry or cook food outside the house, but most of them are using public space individually. Most of the people are either standing outside or sitting in

front of their houses while not having much interaction between each other. For example, adopted from some of the field notes and photographs (See Figure 7.11 & 7.12):

[Field notes. Location: Nima Alley. Weather: Sunny. Date: 02/08/2018 Time: Morning]
It is nearly lunchtime. I am walking along the Nima Alley and find a person making his lunch outside his house. He looks like in his 50s. He sets the pan outside maybe because he does not have enough space to do the cooking at home? The way he cooks his food reminded me when I was a little kid my parents did cooking outside as well.



Figure 7.11 A man cooks his food outside his house

Source: Liu Cao

[Field notes. Location: Lingzhuang Alley. Weather: Sunny. Date: 21/08/2018 Time: Afternoon]

A woman, looks like in her 50s, wearing summer pyjamas, is now cutting another older woman's hair. They are doing the haircut outside their house. At the same, a person walk passed by, and they make greetings to each other.



Figure 7.12 A woman cutting hair outside the house

Source: Liu Cao

Figure 7.11 and 7.12 show the common situation about how local people take advantage of the public space. These photos showed that local residents in this neighbourhood prefer to use the public space individually, while it does not have such a vibrant atmosphere as what the neighbourhood outside has. As Wesener (2017) argues, intangible heritage is not keeping still but people's daily lives give a new interpretation. Graham (2002) further points out the meaning of heritage is embedded within everyday social, cultural and political contexts. The declining usage of public space by local residents further revealed the loss of interpretation of heritage meanings within social and cultural contexts. For example, local residents complain their daily lives are destroyed by the regeneration:

'I have no activities every day. You can see there is nearly nobody living here now, I do not have any neighbours now, all that I can do is sit in front of my grocery store and do nothing.' (Chen Gang, grocery owner)

'Redevelopment affects my daily business. In the past, there used to be many people lived here, and every day there were many people walked outside. However, as fewer and fewer people now are living here, and not many people come outside, now it is so difficult to do the business.' (Wang Guoqing, shoe cobbler)

Chen (2011) stresses the importance of tradition to restoring or maintaining identity, I support her argument because tradition is the critical element that transmitted and inherited through many generations and has clear continuity. As has been mentioned earlier in this section, that taking advantage of public space is a tradition of people who live in these traditional neighbourhoods, the destruction to their tradition actually also destroyed the cultural identity of the neighbourhood, as well as the impossibility to maintain or restore neighbourhood identity. As Hall (1997) illustrates, what we say, think and feel about them, how we represent them that we give them the meanings. The exclusion of local residents, the change of thoughts and feelings to Nanbuting area from local residents, then affects the original meanings of Nanbuting. In response to the previous argument about local government entrepreneurialism, I further argue property-led urban regeneration bases on the consumption of original residents' everyday activities. As it has been argued by Cox and Mair (1988) that urban entrepreneurialism might deepen deprivation rather than address the social consequences brought by economic decline, this research finding contributes to their argument by showing the increased living cost, fragmented social networks and reduced usage of public space.

7.2 The effects of culture-led urban regeneration

Despite the usage of property-led urban regeneration to reverse the urban decline, as what Kearns and Paddison (2000) and Harvey (1989) indicate the effectiveness of culture for urban entrepreneurialism, the local government further utilised culture-led urban regeneration to improve Pingshijie neighbourhood's distinctive nature to attract business investment and to

increase its competitiveness. There are two evident effects brought by the culture-led urban regeneration. The first one I highlight is the exclusion of local residents. In order to make the regeneration following what is illustrated in the urban conservation policy, so as to conserve it for culture and tourism industry purposes, the government regards culture-led urban generation as a critical strategy to fulfil its purposes. After the property-led urban regeneration taken place by restructuring the buildings' appearance, and improving the look of Pingshijie the historic neighbourhood, many shops which have evident traditional Chinese culture themes were established. For example, the most significant movement is a local museum was set up, which situates in the previous *Ganxi*¹⁴ Mansion location.



Figure 7.13 Nanjing Folklore museum

Source: Liu Cao

Figure 7.13 shows the look of the museum. It is used for both intangible heritage exhibition and Nanjing local folklore display. The establishment of this museum is an important symbol of showing the government wants to regenerate the neighbourhood with culture. Inside the

¹⁴ A famous historical local poet from Nanjing.

museum are exhibitions of local rituals when local people have weddings or women give birth (See Figure 7.14 & Figure 7.15).



Figure 7.14 Rituals of local people have wedding

Source: Liu Cao



Figure 7.15 Rituals of local people give birth

Source: Liu Cao

Figure 7.14 and 7.15 show the rituals local people had when important events happened in their life, such as local marriage rituals or women gave birth. Additionally, this museum also plays local operas every weekend, which are called Nanjing *Baihua*, it is a local opera which plays with Nanjing dialects. In doing so, the museum aims to promote the local culture of the Pingshijie neighbourhood. However, these rituals are presented with small toys but lack real people to display. The opera only plays every weekend, and people have to buy an admission ticket to watch. According to the interview with local residents, *Ganxi* Mansion used to be a small courtyard while it now extends to a big museum. For example, one interviewee states:

‘What now in the museum are those what we have when we are young, which belongs to us as poor people. For example, local rituals such as we get married and raise the child. However, now I have to pay to get in to see what I owned? I will not pay to visit this museum. Furthermore, I speak Nanjing dialect, why I need to buy the ticket to listen other people speaking my dialect?’ (Wang Jianguo, Guard)

I consider this culture-led urban regeneration turns out to be a failure. In Nanbuting area, the exclusion of local communities testifies what Miles and Paddison (2005) indicate that successful culture-led urban regeneration should engage with local communities. In this research, local communities are excluded, while their local culture instead is preserved in the museum which lacks live carrier to present. This reflects what Lin and Hsing (2009) indicate, the failure to relate local cultures and engage local communities, which further results in the loss of local identities. Furthermore, I argue it is the everyday cultural practices (Lefebvre, 2017) that can better represent the culture-led urban regeneration. In this way, to continue Zukin’s (1992) argument that culture-led urban regeneration could actively undermine the urban distinctiveness, I argue local communities’ everyday social and cultural practices should be considered as the critical factor in structuring urban distinctiveness, while the exclusion of local communities may cause destruction to this distinctiveness.

The second effect of the culture-led urban regeneration is the mismatch of local culture. Not only is a museum built for exhibiting intangible heritage and local folklore, but there are also many other shops established in this area. Most of them are traditional Chinese brands, such as Nanjing *Wuliangcai* glasses shop (a traditional Chinese glasses brand), and many other traditional Chinese medicine pharmacies or stores with traditional Chinese feature. These established stores all showed the intention of the government to utilise traditional Chinese culture to regenerate this area. However, the traditional Chinese brands located in Nanbuting area are not in accordance with what it was in the past. On the one hand, most of these traditional Chinese brands established in the Nanbuting area originated from other cities. For example, the *Zhangxiaquan* scissors shop originated from Hangzhou (a city in Zhejiang province) since Qing dynasty. Though it is a traditional Chinese brand, it does not originate from Laochengnan, even Nanjing. It just fits in the requirement of ‘traditional Chinese brand’. On the other hand, as has been discussed before, the change of name from Nanbuting to Xinanli, which further results in the failure of the culture-led urban regeneration (see Figure 7.16).



Figure 7.16 A plaque writes what Nanbuting used to be in ancient China¹⁵

Source: Liu Cao

Figure 7.16 shows what Nanbuting area used to be in ancient China. This plaque writes it used to be a police station but now has entirely changed into a commercial district with a new name called Xinanli. As has been mentioned before, the name Xinanli does not exist in Nanjing history, the change of name always confuses local residents and other tourists coming to visit. Therefore, the culture-led urban regeneration turns to be a failure due to the changed functions of Nanbuting area, especially since the new culture elements it used are not inconsistent with what it was. Though Nanbuting area is decorated with many traditional Chinese stores, it cannot represent what Nanbuting area used to be.

¹⁵ It writes: Nanbuting used to be the location of police station in Qing dynasty. In 1646, this area established police station for Jiangnan region of China. Later on, it was demolished during Taiping Heavenly Kingdom era. In 1872, it was reconstructed with new police stations in the late Qing dynasty.

Additionally, it also sacrificed local residents' everyday activities. Those people who still live in Pingshijie area reduced their visit frequency to Nanbuting area. For example, those original residents who still live in Pingshijie area said:

‘After the redevelopment, Nanbuting changed its name into Xinanli, which is completely nonsense because the name Xinanli does not exist in history. You can see Nanbuting now is such an isolated place, I will not visit even if somebody invited me. They established a museum in Nanbuting, and all they put in that museum are all come from our everyday life in the past. For example, the exhibition of traditional wedding rituals, local folk music. Why I have to pay to see those things we know?’ (Zhu Yong, Retired)

From the interview, I found that most local residents criticise the new regenerated Nanbuting for its landscape having changed and becoming too commercial. As a result, they refuse to go because they think it does not look like what they think it used to be any more, and also because they have nobody to socialise with because of the displacement of original residents. In this regard, I argue that to succeed in culture-led urban regeneration, the ‘culture’ utilised for regeneration should in accordance with the local culture. I further highlight the importance of local communities to reflect what Lin and Hsing (2009) suggest in their research, that to engage local communities can help to present local culture as lively instead of displaying in the museum. Merely display cannot promote the meaning of culture. As Fainstein (2005) argues, the efforts made by developers to give a place character is superficial and rare – Shanghai Pudong looks little different from London’s Docklands.

Additionally, the culture-led urban regeneration further results in the loss of local identity and distinctiveness. As I have discussed, the culture-led urban regeneration of Nanbuting is decorated with other traditional Chinese culture instead of its local culture. This action actually replaced local characteristics with other historical elements and further destroyed its identity and authenticity. My argument bases on what Rius Ulldemolins (2014: 3029) points out authenticity of the city ‘distinguishes the product helps the product compete with other products.’ I further argue the failure of this culture-led urban regeneration of Pingshijie

neighbourhood due to its ignorance and destruction to local culture, the distinctive local culture should not be removed as it accounts for the idea of 'local authenticity' (Rius Ulldemolins (2014).

7.3 Resistance to regeneration

Because of the changing of the location name, destruction to local culture and the continuous displacement, strong protests occurred from local residents. The protest came from three aspects. First, local residents were unhappy with their displacement to the urban fringe because they think that is an area which cannot be recognised as Nanjing. I found through interviews that they regarded Pingshijie neighbourhood as the most authentic places to represent traditional Nanjing. Because most of them have been living in Pingshijie neighbourhood for many generations, many of them consider that moving out of Pingshijie neighbourhood is an abandonment of their ancestors' legacies. The interview made with local residents showed most of them have a strong sense of place attachment, they emphasise their nostalgia to Pingshijie neighbourhood, and most of them are very familiar with the history and origins of Pingshijie neighbourhood. For example, the typical response got from the interview:

'I cannot think of any other cities that are better than Nanjing. Do you know why the place we live in called Laochengnan? Because in Ming dynasty Nanjing was the capital of ancient China, and the area I live in was the residential area in Ming dynasty. I can tell you why this alley called Taicang Alley because in Ming Dynasty it was the granary to store wheat and cereal. However, due to the redevelopment many things have been demolished, but I myself as a local Nanjing people, I should not be displaced. Otherwise, this area has no real Nanjing people live here anymore.' (Ma Li, retired)

Many interviewees showed a strong sense of belonging to Pingshijie neighbourhood. As Hubbard and Lees (2018) argue, compensation may give displaced residents new houses, but cannot compensate the loss of homes. This research finding concurs with their argument as many local residents treat Pingshijie neighbourhood as their real home. Additionally, interview with local residents showed that people have strong senses of place attachment to the place

they live in. It can be seen that descendants are familiar with the local history and origins of Pingshijie neighbourhood. They are proud of their local culture and heritage, and proud to be original residents of Pingshijie neighbourhood. In this regard, I further agree with what Hubbard and Lees (2018) argue the important meaning of home to local residents within the gentrification process.

Secondly, life at the urban fringe is not as convenient as life in Pingshijie neighbourhood, where there provides easy access to the metro and supermarkets, and also to good medical and education resources. As I have indicated many people who still live in Pingshijie neighbourhood are older people, they care more about their grandchildren's education as well as their health. Bridge (2006) in his research shows good education resources in Bristol for parents are important factors to influence residents to move or not. Similarly, in this research local residents consider easy access to good medical and education resources to be very important for their family. Furthermore, I agree with Slater (2006) that resistance happens when gentrification cannot solve urban decline and blight. I further add to this argument that resistance happens when personal benefits get affected or destroyed when gentrification cannot remedy the loss of their benefits.

Thirdly, the compensation money they get cannot support them to buy a new house. As it has been discussed before, many local residents are older and unemployed. The houses they live in Pingshijie neighbourhood are very small, which means, they can only get a small amount of compensation depends on the size of their houses. However, the current housing price in Nanjing is very high, while it is rather difficult for them to buy a new house. In this regard, resistance to the displacement shows how they want to be treated properly and also to get enough compensation to change their current poor living condition. This research finding

concur with what Freeman and Braconi (2004) found in New York City that displacement could be slowed when low-income residents are involved. As a consequence, I further found their senses of place attachment and identity are used as the strong weapon to resist displacement and gentrification.

As what is defined by Lees et al. (2015), slum gentrification is a state-led activity or individual gentrification, which local people initiate the movement to seek for better living places instead of slums. This research findings show the similar results of slum gentrification in Pingshijie neighbourhood that it is a state-led activity by local government, which aims to reimage the look of this historic neighbourhood. However, it challenges Lees et al.'s (2015) argument that slum gentrification that is local people initiate the movement to seek for better living places. In this case, local residents still want to live in Pingshijie neighbourhood and resist for being displaced, they also resist their living places to be regenerated into tourist attractions due to their normal life are interrupted, as well as not willing to be compensated for the unsatisfied amount of money.

However, I still consider Pingshijie neighbourhood as a socially cohesive neighbourhood, due to their strong sense of place attachment and identity revealed in the research. My argument follows what Forrest and Kearns (2001) argue a socially cohesive neighbourhood has the feature of groups of people standing together to defend their common interest. Furthermore, Putnam (1993) argues that networks based on closed-knit communities or extended families are important in Chinese families. The *guanxi* (personal connections) are essential to underpin contracts (Putnam, 1993: 5). The loss of *guanxi*, as well as the destruction of networks, further triggered their senses of place attachment within the regeneration process. Therefore, my

research findings show the place attachment and identity is used by local residents as the weapon to defend their common interest.

Local residents utilise their nostalgia of Pingshijie neighbourhood as a powerful weapon to resist redevelopment, which was further assisted by the media and scholars to force local government to treat local culture and heritage carefully. There existed many newspaper reports about how people consistently resisting displacement and regeneration. For example:

Those indigenous residents in Pingshijie neighbourhood have written petition letters to the central government and the President of China three times to prevent the redevelopment. The local residents said: I definitely will not move out of Pingshijie even somebody threatens me. (Time-weekly, 2009)

The first petition letter was written and sent to the central government in 2009, which required the central government to pay attention to their benefits and requirements. During the researcher's fieldwork, I found the second petition letter attached on the front door of one of the local residents' house, which was made in 2015 (see Figure 7.17). Though the petition letter was broken, it can be clearly seen what was written: the left part praised the relationships they had between each other through many generations, how much they missed the life they used to have before regeneration starts, and also how much they loved this place they live in. At the end of the petition letter, they required the government to give justice to them during this redevelopment. On the right is the collective signatures of all the residents' who still live in Pingshijie neighbourhood.



Figure 7.17 The second petition letter written by local residents

Source: Liu Cao

This petition letter shows that local residents' sense of place identity and attachment did not get demolished because of the redevelopment. In reality, they use their sense of place identity and attachment to prevent redevelopment from further interrupting their life. This research finding is similar to what Zhai and Ng (2013) found in their research of Muslim area in Xi'an of urban regeneration, which in Xi'an Muslim people used their religious belief and strong place attachment to help them to protect their rights successfully. Here, local people highlight their strong sense of place attachment and identity to show their belongings to this historic neighbourhood, which further caused pressure to require local government to treat them properly.

Furthermore, many other pieces of evidence show how local residents try to resist redevelopment and protect the area they live. There are many photos of strong protest taken

during the researcher's fieldwork: In Figure 7.18 it shows the writing made by local residents with oil painting. Though the colour is already faded, the strong voice made by local residents can still be detected. They want to stop the redevelopment of Pingshijie neighbourhood and to stop the further displacement of original residents.



Figure 7.18 Protest slogan written by local residents¹⁶

Source: Liu Cao

Posting something directly on their door is a common phenomenon to see in Pingshijie area. because those who still live in this neighbourhood are striving to voice out their opinions and protests in many different ways. Montgomery (1995) argues if the activity and vitality continue to lose in urban places, identity will be lost as well. However, this research challenged this argument as I argue that though the urban vitality is significantly affected, people's sense of identity does not disappear. On the contrary, I contend that local people show their strong sense of place identity and attachment within the regeneration process. I also take issue with Wu and

¹⁶ It writes: Protect Laochengnan, and protect local residents from displacement

He (2005) argument that large-scale redevelopment not only can cause detrimental effects to residents' social interaction but also can have negative effects on their place attachment. In this research, though the social interaction does get affected, their senses of place attachment actually get triggered within the redevelopment process and being utilised by them for resistance. Hull IV et al. (1994) argues that place identity is something affecting people's connectedness to a place. People's sense of place will build through the process of contact with a particular locale (Pratt, 1998). In this research, local people struggle to achieve their goals and highlight their existence constructed the sense of place. Therefore, I further argue that residents' sense of place attachment or identity is developed through their long-time living. This is also the critical factor that resisting the urban redevelopment in Pingshijie neighbourhood.

Three typical residents who are still living in Pingshijie area showed their strong sense of place identity and attachment. The first one is a typical nostalgic interviewee who works as a shoe cobbler in Pingshijie area (see Figure 7.19).



Figure 7.19 Shoe cobbler in Pingshijie area

Source: Liu Cao

Figure 7.19 shows the daily activities of this shoe cobbler. The cobbler set a small space for himself inside Pingshijie neighbourhood and stay there for a whole day. He used to live in Nanbuting area but was displaced due to the redevelopment. However, though he now lives far away from the Nanbuting area, he still chooses to come back and does business here. This job is disappearing in most of the big Chinese cities due to the fast urbanisation. However, he said he as a craftsman cannot find any other places better than Nanbuting area to do business, he explained that this is because he is familiar with people living here, and also, he feels comfortable to do business with them. According to the interview with him:

‘I usually stay here for a whole day, and because I lived here before, and still have a good relationship with people who live here, I usually borrow their microwave to heat my lunch or sometimes have lunch directly at their house. There are fewer and fewer jobs like my job now, and I chose to come back to do business here because my old friends who still live here always come to me to repair their shoes.’ (Wang Guoqing, shoe cobbler)

I also observed that this cobbler still has a close relationship with local residents, according to the field notes:

[Field notes. Location: Rongzhuang Street; Weather: Cloudy; Date 15/08/2018 Time: Afternoon]

It is very common to see him chatting with his customers. I saw a man just purchased a bottle of water from the opposite grocery and handed to the cobbler. The cobbler said thanks, maybe it is free and invited by the cobbler's friend? His friend must think he works so hard in summer and bought water for him.

[Field notes. Location: Rongzhuang Street; Weather: Cloudy; Date 15/08/2018 Time: Morning]

This cobbler does have a close relationship with local residents in Pingshijie neighbourhood (See Figure 7.20). I have seen this situation many times that he chats with people. One person is letting him repair his shoes. After the repair, he said kindly to the customer: we are so familiar with each other, so it is free! However, the customer still paid him. Maybe the cobbler is being kind and polite to his acquaintances.



Figure 7.20 Shoe cobbler's communication with residents

Source: Liu Cao

Figure 7.20 depicts how he commonly communicates with local people. From this shoe cobbler, it shows the strong relationship between the residents of Pingshijie area. He is one of the typical residents who have strong place attachment. According to Tuan (1977), the strength of place attachment varies according to how many ties there are. Though he was displaced to the urban fringe of Nanjing, due to the strong place attachment of he has of the place he originally comes from, and especially the good relationship he has between him and his previous neighbours, he is motivated to go back the original place to do business. Similarly, as what Qian and Tang (2017) argue in their research, people's sense of place identity did not disappear with the change of place name. My research finding further proved that local residents' place identity did not disappear with the change of living location. I argue the difference of historic places to other urban forms may contribute to one of the reasons due to cultural identity is embedded within context of cultural context (Rodwell (2008)). This shoe cobbler can be identified as one significant factor to develop the idea of place attachment and place identity in response to the displacement. He acts like a communication centre to relate displaced residents with those residents who still living in Pingshijie neighbourhood.

The second typical local resident called Li Jiangjun lives in Pingshijie neighbourhood, who has been living in Pingshijie neighbourhood for nearly 80 years. I call him as a local expert as he is abundant with local knowledge. He might be the one who has been living there for the longest time, and nearly every resident in Pingshijie area knows him. He plants vines and hangs red lanterns surround his house because he thinks this can prevent developers or government from displacing him (See Figure 7.21).



Figure 7.21 Mr Li's house outside look¹⁷

Source: Liu Cao

Figure 7.21 shows the look of his house outside. These decorations made his house very outstanding from other dilapidated houses in this neighbourhood. In the interview with Li Jianjun, he states the reasons for decorating his house like this: He thinks greenery can prevent his house from destruction and can protect him from displacement. Li Jianjun is a local expert about the history of Pingshijie neighbourhood. He knows what it looks like in the past. In the interview with him, he also shows his local expertise of Pingshijie neighbourhood, and also reveals strong dissatisfaction about the redevelopment. According to his responses during the interview:

‘No matter when you come back, you can see me still live in Pingshijie neighbourhood. No matter how much compensation they will give me, I will not move out. I cannot abandon the legacies (the house) I inherited from my ancestors. I feel so relaxed and happy living here.’ (Li Jiangjun, retired)

Several observation field notes made by the researcher showed Li Jiangjun’s strong sense of place attachment. For example, the field notes and diaries record:

¹⁷ What he wrote on these small blackboards read from left to right: 1. this is the only one house you can see with long, deep alleys, together with beautiful green plants in this area. In the brackets he writes **Nostalgia**; 2. Clear waters and green mountains are as valuable as mountains of gold and silver. Which means ecological and environmental protection is highly valued (this is quoted from current President of China); the weather is really hot now, so I won’t hang more boards, and any tourists come here please do not hang anything as well.

[Field notes. Location: Lingzhuang Alley. Weather: Cloudy. Date: 18/07/2018 Time: Morning]

Another no rainy day and I find Li Jianjun walking surround the Pingshijie neighbourhood boundary again. He still wears his red T-shirt and shorts. There is a new redevelopment project set up in Dingxin Road (The boundary road of Pingshijie neighbourhood), and he suddenly stopped. He is reading carefully of the noticeboard of the project, and after a while, he left. His face looks a bit sad, but still continuing walking around the boundary slowly.

[Field dairies. Date: 25/07/2018]

I met Li Jianjun in Nanbuting area again this morning, and he still repeats his daily routine: walking surround Pingshijie neighbourhood boundary in the morning. I bumped into him in Nanbuting area, and he was eager to show me what Nanbuting area was like before the redevelopment. He said all the newly-built buildings here are all fake. He pointed to a corner formed by two walls and stone steps, said these are real antiques because when he was a little kid, he usually sat on them. When he was talking to me there were two tourists walked pass by, and he spoke louder, looks like he wants to highlight his local identity and criticised the redevelopment demolished many real antiques.

There are many more residents like Li Jianjun, but he is a typical resident showing a strong sense of place attachment and identity. Blunt (2003) indicates that identity is the sense of self of people think who they are. In doing this way, Li Jiangjun highlights his local identity as an original resident of Pingshijie neighbourhood. By doing this, he eagers to be considered as part of Pingshijie neighbourhood and should not be displaced. Tuan (1977: 159) argues:

A homeland has a landmark. These visible signs serve to enhance a people's sense of identity; they encourage awareness of and loyalty to place.

The local expert aims to highlight his local identity of Pingshijie neighbourhood and he is very confident and proud to tell tourists or any other people who are interested in Pingshijie neighbourhood about its past and stories. He sincerely shows his memory about what real Pingshijie neighbourhood looks like, and what did it look like in the past. He vocalises his understanding of Pingshijie neighbourhood because he does not want to lose his identity. I regard this local expert Li Jianjun as one of the key people who represent local people's sense of place identity and place attachment. These unique actions he has done are all further emphasise his strong sense of place identity.

The third participant is Ma Baoguo, and he is another typical resident who lives at Taicang Alley in Pingshijie neighbourhood. I define him as a local protector as he is one who leads the protection of Pingshijie neighbourhood. He has a self-organised committee which he organises voluntarily to resist the gentrification and displacement. In order to encourage more residents to join his organisation, he also made a red brochure which highlights what this voluntary organisation fight for, and also encourage local residents to join his organisation to protect Pingshijie neighbourhood from further gentrification (See Figure 7.22).



Figure 7.22 The red brochure made by Ma Baoguo¹⁸

Source: Liu Cao

He requires everyone who joins this group should sign an authorisation letter. This small red brochure is further strong evidence to prove that local residents utilise their sense of belonging and place attachment as a strong weapon to respond to urban regeneration. In this red brochure, its preface writes that it aims to protect Pingshijie area from redevelopment and prevent the

¹⁸ From left to right: 1. This is the cover of the brochure that Mr. Ma made. From top to bottom: Laochengnan Historic and Cultural blocks; Traditional residential blocks *Hufa* (*Hufa* is a Buddhist god to ensure legitimacy); Voluntary rights protection group; Membership certificate; 2. The red picture is the cover of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, Start from left side and from top to bottom: Strictly enforce the law; Peng Zhen (Name of the person who wrote the constitution); It is easy to move Mount Tai (A Chinese proverb to describe it is difficult to do something) but it is difficult to Move(challenge)the Constitution; 3. Weituo Bodhisattva (Weituo, a devoted guardian of Buddhist who guards the teachings of Buddhism); 4. Authorisation letter: To ensure there will be no more displacement and leave of local original residents, to handle the my property which are illegally occupied, I myself aim to authorise the *Hufa* right-protection group to handle my issues, anything related to the house relocation and demolition from now on will be none of my business.

further loss of local residents. Mr Ma also says that many people have already joined his organisation, and until now they are still working for the group to protect their legal rights. The aim of developing this organisation is to prevent the future displacement of local residents, and to preserve the root of Laochengnan. As he demonstrated in the interview:

‘In the past, Nanjing was the capital of China, and Pingshijie neighbourhood was the centre of Nanjing. In my consideration, Pingshijie neighbourhood was not only the centre of Nanjing but also all over China and the whole world. Why people always say protect Laochengnan because there are many local residents live in Laochengnan. I think residents, people like me, are the most important value of a historic neighbourhood.’ (Ma Baoguo, retired)

The researcher also made daily visit to Ma Baoguo’s house and discovered that a WeChat (Chinese WhatsApp) group exists, containing only local residents. They share everything about the redevelopment of Pingshijie neighbourhood in the group, according to the researcher’s field diaries:

[Field diaries. Date: 25/08/2018]

I gave Ma Baoguo my research information sheet today and saw he shared my WeChat QR code instantly in their WeChat group. He told me whenever there will be new researchers come or information released, he will share that in the group. Moreover, then I got some people came to add my WeChat and find the similarity that they all ask me to help them or to publish something like a journalist to protect their rights.

Local residents use their ways to prevent further displacement and redevelopment because they have strong emotions to the places they live. As argued by Jenkins (2005) that there are personal reactions to a place which are also be triggered by memories and feelings. Therefore, I argue the voluntary self-organised local committee and the enclosed WeChat group are the evidence. Local residents’ memories and feelings are triggered by the reconstruction of Pingshijie neighbourhood, and also triggered by the continuous loss of old friends and neighbours. The local protector Ma Baoguo is an important individual who plays a vital role during the urban regeneration process. He acts as a leader to organise those people either still living in Pingshijie neighbourhood or those who were displaced under the regeneration, to protect the place they live voluntarily.

7.4 Conclusion

Smith (1998) suggests that historic preservation will drive away low-income residents, I disagree with this argument as my research finding shows it does not entirely drive away low-income residents. However, historic preservation tends to be the reason why low-income residents continue to live. This is because these disadvantaged residents believe they can benefit a lot under the urban conservation policy. Therefore, to relocate local residents appropriately has become a big problem for local government officials, because if the local government treat local residents arbitrarily, it will cause serious social problems and also will cause negative effects to their career development.

Furthermore, urban conservation served as the stepping stone to ensure urban regeneration can be delivered successfully, then the following property-led urban regeneration made the historic neighbourhood partially turned into a tourist attraction. However, tourist attraction actually increased local residents' everyday living cost. Moreover, the inevitable displacement caused extensive gentrification, which concurs with what He and Wu (2007) argue within the property-led urban regeneration process, gentrification and displacement are unavoidable. It also shows the weakness for property-led urban regeneration to concern local residents benefits, due to property-led urban regeneration are driven by property interests (Harding, 1992), pushing forward urban development has become the priorities for the local government. Furthermore, the culture-led urban regeneration turns out to be a failure because of its incapability to incorporate with local culture, especially engaging with local residents.

As Wu and He (2005) highlight social interaction is essential for the marginal population, I further argue the reduced social interaction leads to the decline of public space usage. Unable

to fully utilise the public space which largely affects the urban vitality of this neighbourhood. In this regard, I argue social cohesion of this neighbourhood is significantly affected from by the following three aspects: increased living cost, reduced social interaction and usage of public space. However, I still consider it to be a socially cohesive neighbourhood but lacks diversity, due to the absence of young generations. It is socially cohesive mainly because of its high homogeneity. As Forrest and Kearns (2001: 2134) emphasise a socially cohesive neighbourhood is 'groups of people who live in a local area getting together to promote or defend some common interest'. The way how local residents defend their benefits within the regeneration process can be viewed as a display of a socially cohesive neighbourhood.

The public space instead becomes the place where they show their strong sense of place identity and attachment. (Qian, 2018) regards public space in China as a hybrid realm where both state and grassroots can exercise influence and control, to respond to and negotiate with the tempest of social changes. Similar research done by Wu and He (2005) about local residents' sense of place attachment and identity of Pingshijie neighbourhood in 2001:

Pingshijie has the highest scores of both the indexes, showing strong neighbourhood-based social interactions, residents' strong attachment and commitment to the neighbourhood, which indicates a high degree of social cohesion (Wu and He, 2005: 91).

From Wu and He's (2005) research, it shows that Pingshijie neighbourhood had a very strong sense of place attachment before the regeneration started. Therefore, I further argue that the long-time urban regeneration did not destroy its place attachment and identity. Though I have indicated it to be a neighbourhood with fragmented social cohesion, yet its sense of place attachment and identity is not weakened. Public space has become an excellent location for them to show their response to gentrification and displacement, and especially an excellent location for them to show their strong sense of place identity and attachment, for instance through the slogans they write on the wall or the posters they post on their doors.

Moreover, the sense of place identity is being utilised by local residents as a powerful weapon to claim for 'social justice', such as acceptable compensation and to protect their benefits. Interestingly, I also found the sense of place identity and attachment they utilised are more concerned with how the local government will treat them and whether their requirements can be satisfied. Local residents struggle to emphasise their identity, and they actually want to 'threaten' local government to give them considerable compensation. However, I argue, this 'social justice', which claimed and required by local residents, cannot easily be regarded as the true and real social justice under this urban regeneration. I further argue, merely local residents' resistance cannot successfully stop the intention of local government to redevelop Pingshijie neighbourhood, it is the participation of people from higher social class that affect governmental decisions.

8. Conclusions

The start of this research is really a lack of full understanding about how local residents respond to the urban regeneration of the place they live in, especially about the conflicts they made. In Chapter 1, I have identified the broad context of this research – with a background of fast urbanisation of China, many old urban districts now are experiencing the large scale of urban regeneration, and many local residents who reside in these neighbourhoods or districts are facing displacement. Meanwhile, there are broader discussions about how local residents respond to the redevelopment, especially as many fierce conflicts happened during the redevelopment process. To consider this situation, I highlight the importance of this research in examining the popular debate that many local residents' daily social and cultural practices are not maintained or sustained under urban regeneration. In order to address this question, I advocated a perspective by researching the intersection of public participation and urban governance to find out the hidden principles.

Through reviewing relevant research of urban regeneration in China, urban regeneration now is a common strategy which is widely utilised in China to stimulate the local economy and re-image the city. Furthermore, local residents' resistance to urban regeneration and displacement is normal to see while limited research has taken, how were local residents affected and how did they resist were yet put to the forefront. Therefore, this research unpacked the complexities of the urban regeneration in China by researching from the perspectives of local residents, to further understand their resistance to gentrification. By doing this research, I aim to examine the principles of urban regeneration in China and unravel the complexities of the local residents' daily life from sociocultural perspectives. After the critical engagement with relevant research

of urban regeneration, especially about the power structure and networks, this thesis contributes to the knowledge of the mechanisms behind urban regeneration of historic places in China, acknowledging the reasons for the failure of the delivery of public participation.

In this concluding chapter, I begin by drawing the findings revealed in this research in order to address the questions I set for this study, namely the urban governance networks at the neighbourhood level, sociocultural change under urban regeneration and reasons account for the lack of public participation. By doing this empirical fieldwork in one case study area, my research reveals several findings, which I summarised in the following sections. This chapter concludes the key arguments and empirical findings of this research by revisiting what have been done in different chapters. It further points out different research implications as well as the future research agenda.

8.1 Urban regeneration and governance in China

The existing scholarship of urban governance has revealed the tendency of urban entrepreneurialism: the government becomes entrepreneurial and exploits the particular advantage of the city to succeed within the inter-urban competition (Harvey, 1989). The application of urban entrepreneurialism then has significantly been applied in many cities in Western countries. For example, Manchester is notable as an entrepreneurial city and is regarded as ‘the most sustained and successful’ example emerged in the UK (Quilley, 1999). This theory has been widely tested under the Chinese background (see Su, 2015; He and Wu, 2005) and further argued by Wu (2018) in China it should be regarded as ‘state entrepreneurialism’. By acknowledging urban entrepreneurialism, this theory helps to unravel my first research objective to understand the urban governance mode when governing and redeveloping the historic neighbourhood. On the one hand, as argued by Bell and Jayne (2009)

and Jayne and Leung (2014), the contemporary research lacks diversity as most of them are dominated by Western countries and big cities. By researching one comparatively smaller Chinese city called Nanjing, I further diversified the contemporary body of urban studies. On the other hand, as Raco and Gilliam (2012) state the fact that contemporary literature of urban entrepreneurialism lack investigation of local political organisations and social relations, this research also addressed this concern.

One of the key findings of this research is the entrepreneurialism feature represented by the local government. My viewpoint contributes to what Harvey (1989) argues that the government is managing the city like entrepreneurs. My research further contributes to this theory is the entrepreneurialism feature of local government at the neighbourhood level. Chinese urban scholars have identified the local government entrepreneurialism feature due to the decentralisation from the central government and the empowerment of local states (He and Wu, 2005). However, I argue the limitations of their research (e.g. He and Wu, 2005) because local governments organise the cities in an entrepreneurial way are inevitable due to mega cities like Shanghai and Beijing have significant economic and political status. Therefore, due to the difference of administrative systems of China from other Western countries, different levels of local governments have given a chance to contribute to the contemporary urban entrepreneurialism studies. In doing so, my research identifies the local government entrepreneurialism from a smaller Chinese city by managing a small neighbourhood. I analysed critically how the local government (re)develop the Pingshijie neighbourhood in an entrepreneurial way: prioritise tourism development and completely erase off the residential use. Furthermore, by establishing the Nanjing tourism group, which is a state-owned company, it changed from indirectly to directly control and manage the neighbourhood. The intention to redevelop Pingshijie neighbourhood into a tourist attraction, which contributes to what Harvey

(1989: 8) argues the feature of urban entrepreneurialism by exploiting ‘the particular advantages for the production of goods and services.’ My research findings show that the ‘particular advantage’ which local government utilised to succeed within the inter-urban competition is the notable historic value of Pingshijie neighbourhood. Though many redeveloped buildings are not real historic buildings, the reputation of Pingshijie neighbourhood has already helped with the place promotion. Furthermore, I advanced Harvey’s (1989) argument about inter-urban competition also turns to be intra-urban competition in this research. By capitalising on the historic value of Pingshijie neighbourhood, local government wants to highlight its competitiveness with other similar commercial districts in Nanjing. Moreover, by inviting many high-class traditional Chinese brands to do business in Pingshijie neighbourhood, the local government further highlights its differences and uniqueness in comparison to other similar historic commercial districts in the same city.

Another key feature of urban entrepreneurialism is the public-private partnership. Harvey (1989: 7) argues this partnership is ‘integrated with the use of local government powers to try and attract external sources of funding, new direct investments, or new employment sources.’ This research contributes to this argument by unravelling the mechanisms of how public-private partnership is formed within the urban regeneration process. My research finding concurs with what He and Wu (2005) argue that pro-growth coalition is formed within the property-led urban regeneration in China. This research contributes to the public partnership by showing a pro-growth coalition, which formed by Nanjing local government and the developer, to push forward the neighbourhood (re)development, as well as to attract external funding and investment to change the neighbourhood decline. For example, the intention of the local government to change Pingshijie neighbourhood completely into a tourism industry with historic features, due to heritage is an effective strategy to succeed within territorial

competition (Britton, 1991). This research finding also further testified my previous argument about capitalising on historic value.

However, unlike the stable pro-growth coalition argued by He and Wu (2005), this research shows pro-growth coalition in Nanjing has the dominant power of the government. As the case study shows, the developer changed into a state-owned company, which means the Nanjing government directly takes the control of the regeneration. Thus, building upon Harvey's (1989) public-private partnership, in China, due to the dominant power of the Chinese government (Wu, 2000), the nature of the private sector of the partnership could change. It would then become part of governmental organisations, such as state-owned company or state-owned enterprise, all because they need to follow the command of the government.

In this regard, this pro-growth coalition further helped with answering the second question of my first research objective. In order to unpack the networks within the resistance process to urban regeneration, my research findings reveal not only the pro-growth coalition but also another coalition exists within the regeneration process. In Pingshijie neighbourhood, not only local residents, developers and government officials, but there are also many other different stakeholders participated in the conservation and regeneration process, such as experts, university scholars and different media.

The pro-growth coalition formed by local government and the developer (which changed into a state-owned company later) aims to achieve their goals together. Local government wants to push forward urban (re)development and improve the dilapidated situation of Pingshijie the historic neighbourhood, while the developer wants to accumulate wealth. By changing into a state-owned company, the way how local government formed the partnerships with developers

contributes to what Molotch (1976) and Logan and Molotch (1987) argue the formation of growth machine. The land-based elites are taking advantage of land resources to compete with others. This pro-growth coalition in fact helped with the local government to realise its entrepreneurial turn and also assisted with the developer to achieve wealth accumulation.

However, there is another coalition formed within the urban regeneration process. Many local residents who live in Pingshijie neighbourhood resisted the gentrification and displacement. At the same time, due to Pingshijie neighbourhood locates in Nanjing, a city which has many good universities, local university scholars and experts who specialise in urban planning and architecture also joined the resistance. Media helped with the promotion, which drew the attention of the whole society and further stressed the pressure to the government. As a consequence, a 'social justice' coalition is formed between local residents, scholars and media: local residents wanted to continue living in Pingshijie neighbourhood or got reasonable compensation, while local scholars and experts wanted the government to pay attention to the local culture and heritage. Media joined this coalition by reporting the strong conflicts local residents had and also drew the attention of the whole society, which further gave pressure to the local government.

According to the urban regime theory, the essence of a urban regime is to focus on solving the common problems to enable effective urban governance to emerge (Stoker and Mossberger, 1994). It is also 'an informal yet relatively stable group with access to institutional resources that enable it to have a sustained role in making governing decisions (Stone, 1989: 4). As Dowding et al. (1999) and Ward (1996) indicate, the urban regime theory should be regarded as a concept instead of a theory due to it emerged under the US context, while other countries have different political systems. My research findings contribute to this argument about how

local residents, university scholars and experts, and media formed into an informal but stable coalition in order to influence the governing process. From an urban regime perspective, resistance shows a change of understanding from ‘power from’ to ‘power to,’ that who can dominate is less important than the achievement of common goals.

Thus, to ensure the successful delivery of urban regeneration and to push forward the urban development, public participation was used as the critical strategy to disrupt the ‘social justice’ coalition. As a consequence, by empowering the members of ‘social justice’ coalition through public participation, those more powerful members such as university scholars and experts gained the opportunities to influence governing process, this circumstance contributes to what Mossberger and Stoker (2001) indicate the urban regime can be achieved through ‘selective incentive’ to get consensus. In this research, the local government utilised public participation as the ‘selective incentive’. However, due to the drawbacks of the public participation system in Nanjing, it did not completely disrupt the ‘social justice’ coalition, which made this urban regeneration work continue for nearly ten years and has not been solved.

Furthermore, my research findings also partly challenged what Molotch (1976: 316) argues that newspapers are ‘tend to support growth-inducing investments for their regions,’ and the role which universities played in requiring for population expansion to sustain their development under the American context. This argument is partially different within the Chinese context, because of the notable difference between Chinese and American universities, that most of the Chinese universities are government funded. Moreover, in the research, universities and media stand at the local residents’ side to claim for ‘social justice’. Therefore, I take issue with what Lees (2015) argued that middle class are more unlikely to join the resistance in East Asian countries because they are nurtured by the state. Under most of the

circumstances in China, middle class people might not stand up against the government, while the emergency to preserve heritage and historic local culture pushed forward the formation of ‘social justice’ coalition. More importantly, this research shows it is the participation of middle-class people, i.e. experts and scholars that significantly contributed to the success of resistance.

However, I emphasise resistance to gentrification cannot simply be regarded as an anti-growth coalition, due to this ‘social justice’ coalition did not aim to stop urban (re)development but to claim and protect their individual benefits. For example, university scholars and experts wanted the government to treat local culture, intangible heritage and historic buildings correctly. Media wanted to urge government to notice their behaviours and serve citizens reasonably, while local residents wanted to keep living in Pingshijie neighbourhood or get acceptable compensation. Thus, I further highlight this ‘social justice’ coalition is not real social justice. This is because it has the tendency to be used by certain residents as the strong weapon to claim for more money compensation. Moreover, the money compensation issue made the future urban regeneration of Pingshijie neighbourhood become rather unclear.

8.2 The future of public participation in China

The discussion and analysis of urban governance of Pingshijie neighbourhood found a critical factor that led to the failure of the urban regeneration was the inappropriate application of public participation. The local government used public participation as a strategy to disrupt the ‘social justice’ coalition formed by local residents, media and scholars. However, this ‘social justice’ coalition only got partially interrupted, and this is all because the drawbacks of current public participation system in China.

First, according to Arnstein's (1969) 'ladder of citizen participation', the public participation system in Nanjing is still at the degree of tokenism. It is a top-down system manipulated by the local government. By introducing public participation into the policy, the local government actually wanted to manifest its democracy and legitimacy. However, the way which local government defined it as an expert-leading system made it turn into an elitist system. This research finding testified what Wu (2015) argues public participation is only an award that government officials want to achieve for their career development. Building upon Weblor's (1995) critiques that elitist participatory approach could neglect the requirements at micro-level, I emphasise elitist participatory approach might limit the range and entry threshold of public participation. Due to the wide usage of smartphones as well as the recent popular topic of 'smart city' development in China, many of the public participation activities are published online. For example, use social media such as WeChat and Weibo to collect feedback is a commonly applied strategy by the Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau. However, this method actually limited the entry threshold. As I have demonstrated about the demographic situation of Pingshijie neighbourhood, most of them are disadvantaged people with a high percentage of illiterate people. There lacks sufficient body of research about social media applied in public participation, some of the researchers have indicated the usage of technology to diversify representativeness (Evans-Cowley and Hollander, 2010; Slotterback, 2011). However, my research finding shows merely social media is not enough and could further limit the participation of disadvantaged people. Therefore, I still suggest using the combination of both traditional and internet-based methods to take care of disadvantaged people's benefits.

Secondly, the analysis and discussion of urban governance emphasise the unique difference of the Chinese political systems from Western countries. As Wu (2015) indicates, urban planning is still dominated by administrative systems. In this regard, my analysis of public participation

in China further diversified the existing body of research from the Chinese perspective. In doing so I further add to my previous analysis of urban governance about the different levels of governments in China. There are many different levels of local governments, while public participation is directly in charge by the city government, which means it skips the lower level local governments. Moreover, *Shequ* as the basic level of local government in China has no right in public participation and it works only to serve local people. However, *Shequ* has direct and the most frequent contact with local residents. As Rowe and Frewer (2000) suggest that effective public participation needs to have early involvement of participants, the absence of *Shequ* within the participatory process actually failed in the early stage promotion as well as encouragement of local residents' participation.

In the end, I highlight the importance of trust within the public participation process in China. My research findings contribute to the debate of effective public participation that trust should be regarded as an essential factor to develop within the decision-making process. There are limited research suggest the idea of 'trust' during public participation, while Goodlad and Meegan (2015) suggest that building trust between stakeholders is crucial. In this research, I found the mistrust local residents have towards government is one of the key barriers blocked their public participation. Furthermore, my research findings show that local residents' stereotypes to government make them suspicious of the validity of public participation. This finding is also analogous to what Simrell King et al. (1998) and Barlow (1997) argue that education of participants are required to make them know they have influential impacts. I advocate this argument and further argue that not only the education of participants can help them understand they are influential, but also can help them change their negative opinions of the government.

As a consequence, I want to reflect back on what I have argued in advance about the ‘social justice’ coalition, that was then got disrupted due to the delivery of public participation. This ‘social justice’ coalition did not get fully disrupted due to these inadequacies of public participation. On the one hand, only university scholars and experts got empowered through public participation, while local residents were ignored within the public participation process. On the other hand, media is still helping with local residents to voice out but was not influential as it was when scholars and experts were in this coalition. Due to local government cannot treat local residents arbitrarily, such as force them to leave will cause intense pressure to local government and destroy the stability of the society, the urban regeneration of Pingshijie neighbourhood is still stagnating and hard to tell when it will finish.

8.2.1 Possibilities towards collaboration

In this respect, I want to envisage the possibility of delivering collaborative planning in China. As has been argued by Healey (1997) and Innes and Booher (2004) about the advantages of collaborative planning, especially collaboration can help to achieve consensus, reduce conflicts and build trust, I still consider it could be too ideal to realise. It will be challenging to deliver due to the stereotypes local residents have towards the government. There is one crucial factor that cannot avoid is the compensation issue. However, many residents get influenced due to the fast-growing housing price in China, especially the previous unsuccessful public participation process, monetary compensation has now become the priorities to them, and how to satisfy local residents with compensation has gradually become the biggest problem to solve.

Therefore, I argue collaborative planning would be too ideal to achieve in China due to the negotiation between residents and government may finally focus on compensation issues. If consensus were not achieved in the end, it would further worsen the relationships between

government and residents. Furthermore, due to local government entrepreneurialism, and local government officials need urban development to highlight their achievement on their political career development. It is highly possible that in the future many historic urban quarters and neighbourhood will be regenerated for tourism industry development, which means, local residents in the historic neighbourhood will be affected again in any future urban regeneration projects of historic places.

8.3 Everyday life, place identity and attachment

Due to the local government is governing Pingshijie neighbourhood in an entrepreneurial way, and local residents have limited right to participate, their everyday activities are impacted significantly. In chapter two, I acknowledged the outcomes that happened through urban conservation and regeneration process. However, this scholarship focuses more on the socioeconomic impacts brought by urban regeneration, while falls to address the issues such as how local residents were impacted as well as how they responded to the urban regeneration. Under this circumstance, I followed Loretta Lees's (2015) suggestions to explore the resistance happened in Global South countries to contribute more to the existing urban theories.

This section aims to answer my questions about the second research objective. First, this research testified what Su (2010) argues that in China urban conservation plays a similar function as urban regeneration. My research findings further contribute to his argument by showing urban conservation is more like a steppingstone which aims to sweep away the barriers and to push forward urban regeneration. However, my research challenged what Smith (1998) argues that urban conservation will drive away low-income residents of profit-driven investment. On the opposite side, many low income and disadvantaged residents instead maintained to continue living in Pingshijie neighbourhood due to the compensation they got

cannot afford them to buy houses elsewhere. Additionally, they think they can be benefited due to the urban conservation can bring them much more compensation. As a consequence, those who can afford houses elsewhere have already moved out, while many of the residents who still live in Pingshijie neighbourhood are mainly disadvantaged people. At the same time, this neighbourhood also attracted many other people who have similar background as local people to settle down, which means Pingshijie neighbourhood turns to be a neighbourhood with strong poverty features.

Under the local government entrepreneurialism, property-led urban regeneration is first utilised to form the pro-growth coalition to push forward urban (re)development. This research shows that property-led urban regeneration significantly neglects local residents' benefits, as the Nanbuting area now completely changed into a tourist attraction and sacrificed local residents' everyday activities. Local residents as disadvantaged people their living cost are significantly increased. These research findings contribute more details to Turok's (1992) argument about property-led urban regeneration lacks concern of people in deprived areas, as well as He and Wu (2007) argue that property-led urban regeneration largely neglects local inhabitants' benefits. As a consequence, property-led urban regeneration of Pingshijie neighbourhood is changing the original land use and functions gradually, which testified what He and Wu (2007) argued about the land use and functions change.

After property-led urban regeneration is delivered, in order to achieve urban competitiveness under the local entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989), culture-led urban regeneration is further utilised to increase its 'neighbourhood competitiveness'. Therefore, I further argue the nature of the local government entrepreneurialism is capitalising on historic value to increase its competitiveness. For example, in Nanbuting area, traditional Chinese brand shops, as well as

a museum, were established to preserve local intangible heritage and culture. However, this culture-led urban regeneration turned to be a failure as it failed to engage with local residents, and it is a mismatch with the local culture. My research findings advocate what Miles and Paddison (2005) argue that successful culture-led urban regeneration should engage with local communities, but contribute more to this theory as culture-led urban regeneration should also in accordance with its local culture. Furthermore, Graham (2002) argues that heritage is embedded in political, social and cultural contexts, I follow his argument by pointing out that the urban regeneration delivered in Pingshijie neighbourhood caused detrimental effects to the urban characteristics. The exclusion of local residents and displacement of them, make it becomes rather difficult to give the meanings of the places they live in (Hall, 1997).

The large scale of displacement finally resulted in local residents' resistance. Following Loretta Lees's (2015) suggestions to explore the resistance happened in Global South countries, I found the sense of place identity and attachment is a critical factor that local residents used to resist gentrification and regeneration. The impact of the role which local residents are playing in response to the urban regeneration is tremendous. They utilised their strong senses of belonging to Pingshijie neighbourhood as a powerful weapon to require reasonable compensation, and also to resist gentrification and displacement. This finding has further contributed to what has not addressed the impacts on local residents within the urban regeneration process. My research testified what Wu and He (2005) argue that social interaction is very important for marginal residents, and further add details about why it is essential for them. Furthermore, as Putnam (1993) argues if government neglects the social capital that local residents build, their plans can go seriously awry. As a consequence, local residents' strong protests are continuously stagnating the urban regeneration process.

Through the empirical everyday participant observation, I found local residents in Pingshijie neighbourhood took great advantage of their public space. However, because of the high degree of displacement, the social interaction between local residents got greatly affected, and also triggered their sense of place attachment. In this regard, public space further became the place for them to show their sense of place attachment and identity. This research finding contributes to what Qian (2018) argues that public space is the hybrid realm where both state and grassroots can exercise influence and control, to respond to and negotiate with the tempest of social change. This finding also partly challenged what Wu and He (2005) that long-time urban regeneration may destroy its place attachment, I argue in this research the sense of place attachment was not destroyed, however, it is being utilised by local residents as the strong weapon to respond to the urban regeneration taken place in their neighbourhood.

8.4 Towards an ongoing research agenda

This research has offered a different understanding from local residents' perspectives to assess urban regeneration in smaller Chinese cities. It is about how do they get influenced under urban regeneration, as well as providing insights about the hidden mechanisms of how the local government governing neighbourhoods under the background of China's fast urbanisation. Questions are addressed in this research about why this urban regeneration has been taking place for such a long time without completion. This research, however, also opens opportunities for future research.

First, my research testified historic urban quarters in China are mostly developed for tourism purposes, tourism development is widely applied to the urban regeneration of historic urban quarters and neighbourhoods in China (Su, 2015; Su, 2010; Su and Teo, 2009). It is inevitable under the Chinese context that these historic urban quarters will be redeveloped into tourist

attractions because of China's fast urbanisation, especially the state entrepreneurialism (Wu, 2018). Not only Nanjing but also many other Chinese cities such as Nanluoguxiang the historic district in Beijing, Xintiandi the historic urban quarter in Shanghai or Kuanzhaixiangzi the historic block in Chengdu all became tourist attractions, and they all transformed from historic places. Additionally, I found many other middle or small Chinese cities are also regenerating historic urban quarters, or even construct a new commercial district with historic look merely to develop tourism businesses. Not only historic urban quarters but also many newly built tourist attractions are also decorated with traditional Chinese features.

Based on these phenomena, it is worth to research the fast-developing tourism industry in China based on the historic theme, why the idea of 'historic districts' is so popular in the tourism industry? As I have acknowledged the great value of historic urban quarters in the research, for example, their educational value and economic value (Tiesdell et al., 1996), what are the significant advantages of these historic look tourist attractions even are not transformed from real historic places? As has been partly analysed in this research that to develop tourism business is one of the ways of showing urban entrepreneurialism (Su, 2015), and historic value is what exploited within the entrepreneurial turn to increase urban competitiveness. In this regard, it will also be interesting to see how the capital-driven tourism industry development in historic urban quarters affected different stakeholders' life. For example, in my research of Pingshijie neighbourhood, local residents and restaurant owners have different ideas towards the future development of tourism in their area. Local residents are anxious about their everyday living cost will increase due to the forthcoming tourism development, while restaurant owners are optimistic because they consider tourism can help them bring in more tourists and benefit their business. What do historic elements mean to the tourism industry in China? What are the hidden mechanisms behind the development of historic look commercial

districts? I am also interested in the way to use traditional Chinese brands to regenerate historic urban quarters, what does this action mean to the original identity of the historic urban quarters or neighbourhood?

Secondly, I am very interested in the compensation issue concerning local residents' resistance as well as the impacts brought by compensation. Dowall (1994) has suggested compensation in China by concluding several examples from Seoul, Hong Kong and Singapore. In my thesis I rejected his suggestion due to the negotiation of compensation complicate the regeneration process. However, it also opens further research direction. In this research, many residents have strong conflicts with developers and government officials because they are dissatisfied with the compensation they receive. Usually, residents can get certain amount of money depend on the number of people of their households as well as the size of their houses. As it is discussed in this research that these historic urban quarters usually have evident poverty features, compensation and the new house they would receive could substantially change their current socioeconomic status. Dowall's (1994) research was delivered many decades ago, while real estate market in China was not well established at that time. However, in recent years, due to the fast growing real estate industries, investment of houses in China now is regarded by many Chinese people as an effective and beneficial way to manage money or investment. He and Wu (2009) have also indicated the common situation of compensation standards are disproportionate to the housing price. In this respect, it will be interesting to research the compensation issues which greatly occupied most of the regeneration projects in China. As I have discussed the 'social justice' coalition in this research, how does compensation restrict both displaced citizens and the government? Does the way to use money to compensate displaced local residents is the correct method, are there any social effects emerged through

monetary compensation? In the end, to use money compensate citizens, does it represent any power structures within the urban governance networks?

Thirdly, I am also interested in researching post-gentrification social networks. In this research, I found that several displaced residents come back to visit Pingshijie neighbourhood. However, due to most of the original residents are displaced to different locations of urban fringe of Nanjing, it was difficult to get access to a large number of them during my fieldwork. Therefore, it will be an interesting topic to research about the social networks of these displaced residents, as well as the meaning to them because of the change of location to live. Zhu et al. (2011) have done similar research in China about the change of place name. My assumption aims to further extend their research from change of place name to the change of place to live. For example, does the change of living place changed their sense of place identity? Relate to my previous assumption of compensation, as I have discussed the conflicts which local residents have towards the government and developers, do social conflicts that displaced residents used to have disappeared due to they got enough compensation, or just because the sense of belonging to the original place they live in is no longer exist? It will be an exciting research topic to examine the social networks between displaced residents and remained residents. Have social networks changed? Do historic places still mean anything to them?

In the end, I found that Chinese unique administrative systems provide more vacuum for future research. Except the central government, the other levels of Chinese governments are all considered as local government. Due to the state decentralisation, local governments are much more empowered (He and Wu, 2005). Wu (2003) also indicates the power of lower-level governments in implementing the entrepreneurial strategies. Thus, it is clearly seen that local government now plays a vital role in shaping the urban governance networks. However, there

exist many levels of local governments in China. It will be an exciting research to see the governance networks between different levels of government, as well as the individual nature of them. Furthermore, in these local government organisation, I am especially interested in the role of *Shequ*. Nguyen (2013) has already opened the research of *Shequ* governance about its role in solving the social problems. However, I am much more concerned with the *Shequ* governance in solving social issues as well as cooperation with upper level local government organisations. What kind of networks are formed between different levels of government during urban regeneration? How do they restrict each other?

8.5 Final thoughts

This research aims to disclose the urban regeneration of historic neighbourhoods in China by focusing on popular debated social issue happened in a historic neighbourhood located in Nanjing. By following the existed research suggestions, the role of public participation during the urban regeneration process is further analysed. This research diversified the contemporary urban regeneration research by focusing on the role of local residents as well as the lower government level. I contributed to the diversity of Harvey's (1989) urban entrepreneurialism theory by indicating local government entrepreneurialism in managing the neighbourhood. I examined different roles of stakeholders within the regeneration process, together with exploring the power structure and how local residents were affected by urban regeneration. In doing so, this research disclosed the hidden mechanisms of the conflicts local residents have towards urban regeneration. Due to the public participation in Nanjing is an elite-leading system, local residents were not sufficiently empowered within the public participation process, while the growing entrepreneurial nature of the local government means, to certain extent, local residents have to sacrifice everyday social and cultural practices.

Furthermore, due to the poverty features and unavailability to solve their problems, many residents are eager to get a substantial amount of monetary compensation to change their current poverty situations. To envisage, as the ongoing property-led urban regeneration is taking place all over China under the market-oriented economy context, money or house compensation will become the primary solution to compensate local residents, which is a method strongly suggested by Dowall (1994). However, Dowall (1994) suggested this method due to some successful examples of very developed cities or countries, such as Seoul, Hong Kong or Singapore. It is reasonable that dwellers should get a certain amount of monetary compensation. However, I still insist on treating China as a developing country, its uneven urban development as well as much lag behind education level compared with developed countries must be considered. I strongly criticise Dowall's (1994) argument by simply suggests China to learn from other developed countries' experience. I doubt money compensation could further contribute to the complexities of urban regeneration in the future.

In the end, I want to remind the government, without changing the local poverty situation, it will become even more challenging to maintain the young generation to stay, and further complicate the compensation process. The conflicts of residential relocation now are intensified due to the growing commodification to favour property developers (Wu, 2004). The way of changing historic neighbourhoods into commercial districts will finally result in the loss of everyday social and cultural practices of local residents, and turn to be another normal shopping place like any others do. I highlight though urban regeneration now is widely spread in China, there are limited thoughts have been given to the local community. In response to Raco and Gilliam's (2012) concerns of urban entrepreneurialism research leaves little room for social relations, my research shows the local community does matter within the regeneration

and urbanisation process. I suggest the government should pay more attention to people's social networks and community life.

I want to conclude this research by quoting from one of my interviewees:

I have no idea about what urban conservation of historic places is, but I still insist on my idea that original residents should not be displaced. Real traditional historic neighbourhoods should be occupied with local residents instead of serving for business purposes. (Chen Gang, retired local resident)

We have to realise, under the fast urbanisation situation in China, however, it will become rather difficult to see traditional historic neighbourhoods occupied with original local residents, speaking their local dialect. This is something in China we have to face and sacrifice to achieve urban development.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Interviewed local residents¹⁹

Code	Pseudonyms	Gender	Age	Local Nanjing people	Occupation	Education level	Duration of stay in the area (years)
R1	Li Jianjun	M	79	Yes	Retired	High school	79
R2	Li Hong	F	c.60	Yes	Retired	illiterate	c.40
R3	Zhang Hua	F	c.50	No	Unemployed	Primary school	c.10
R4	Zhao Wei	F	85	Yes	Retired	Primary school	85
R5	Yang Hong	F	75	No	Retired	Primary school	57
R6	Wang Zhe	F	c.55	Yes	Unemployed	Middle school	c.25
R8	Li yuan	F	c.80	Yes	Retired	Primary school	c.15
R9	Ma Wei	M	65	Yes	Retired	Primary school	65
R10	Li Wei	F	55	Yes	Unemployed	Middle school	c.40
R11	Wang Gang	M	c.65	Yes	Self-opened grocery	Primary school	c.40
R12	Li Na	F	80	Yes	Retired	Primary school	c.60

¹⁹ Star mark refers to displaced local residents.

R13	Yang Qiang	M	65	Yes	Retired	Middle school	c.20
R14	Chen Gang	M	65	Yes	Self-opened grocery	Primary school	Unknown (refuse to tell)
R15	Chen Wei	M	c.50	No	Rural immigrant worker	unknown	unknown
R16	Wang Jianguo	M	c.60	Yes	Guard	Middle school	c.20
R17	Li Qian	F	c.80	Yes	Retired	unknown	c.50
R18	Ma Baoguo	M	75	Yes	Retired	unknown	75
R19	Sun Yan	F	73	No	Retired	High school	c.40
R20	Zhu Yong	M	c.80	Yes	Retired	unknown	c.80
R21	Ma Li	F	35	No	Rural immigrant worker	Middle school	c.5
R22	Ma Mei	F	c.60	Yes	Retired	unknown	c.40
R23	Zhang Hongmei	F	68	Yes	Retired	illiterate	68
R24	Li Xiangdong	M	c.65	Yes	Retired	Primary school	c.65
R*25	Wang guoqing	M	c.65	Yes	Shoe cobbler	unknown	Used to live in Pingshijie neighbourhood
R*26	Zhang Jianqiang	M	c.40	Yes	worker	unknown	Used to live in Pingshijie neighbourhood

Appendix 2 Interviewed Government officials (including developer)

Code	Pseudonyms	Gender	Department	Position	Responsibilities
G1	Yan Feng	F	Pingshijie <i>Shequ</i>	Staff	Local affairs of certain areas (including half of Pingshijie neighbourhood)
G2	Zhou Mei	F	Rongzhuangxincun <i>Shequ</i>	Higher level staff	Local affairs of certain areas (including half of Pingshijie neighbourhood)
G3	Li Zhan	M	Nanjing urban planning bureau	Official at high management level	Responsible for Qinhuai district in Nanjing, especially for historic urban areas.
G4	Cheng Shi	F	Nanjing urban planning & research centre	Official at high management level	Responsible for design and write urban policies, especially in historic urban areas.
G5	Tao Ming	M	Publicity department of Nanjing urban planning bureau	Official at management level of the department	Promotion and public participation relevant events.
E1	Li Hua	M	Nanjing urban redevelopment and construction of history and culture Co., Ltd	Staff	Supervise onsite redevelopment work and organise different tasks

Appendix 3 Interviewed stakeholders

Code	Store name		Location	Typical features	When opened
S1	Haoweyong institute	research	Xinanli	/	unknown
S2	Chunmantang medicine shop	Chinese	Xinanli	Traditional Chinese medicine	Since 2009
S3	Attention salon	Arts research	Xinanli	Locates in an ancient historic building which its usage in the past is for writing paper producing in Republican China era	Since 2009
S4	Lishungchang suits shop	traditional	Xinanli	Traditional Nanjing local clothes brand	Since 2009
S5	Li's Halal restaurant		Pingshijie area	Local restaurant which represents Muslim features of Pingshijie neighbourhood	c. 20 years
S6	Laotai noodle restaurant		Pingshijie area	Famous restaurant in Nanjing originated from Pingshijie neighbourhood	c.60 years

S7	Ancheng insurance company	Shengzhou Road No. 122 (Boundary of Pingshijie neighbourhood)	Located in a traditional historic building which its usage in the past is for paper printing in Republican China era	Since 2009
S8	Xi'he Gallery	Xinanli	High-class art retailer	unknown
S9	Zhang xiaoquan scissors shop	Xinanli	Traditional Chinese brand	Since 2009
S10	Zhonghuan renting agency	Pingshijie area	/	unknown

Appendix 4 Information sheet-local residents

Public participation and urban governance research in historic urban quarters: the case study of Laochengnan, Nanjing

An information sheet for local residents

You are being invited to take part in a research study exploring the public participation, urban governance under the urban redevelopment of historic urban quarters based in Laochengnan, Nanjing. Before you decide if you would like to take part in the research, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read this information sheet carefully. Please ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more clarification on any of the following:

Who will carry out the research?

The research will be conducted by Liu Cao, supervised by Professor Mark Jayne, Dr Andrew Flynn and reviewed by Professor Gary Bridge (School of Geography and Planning, Cardiff University, UK).

What is the aim of the research?

There has been a lot of research about the property-led urban regeneration in China in the recent decades, most of them focus on the change of socio-economic status while the change of sociocultural status still remains unclear. This research will address this gap in knowledge and respond to pertinent questions regarding policy and practice of public participation and urban governance in historic urban quarters by:

- Mapping the planning and policy transfer relating to the redevelopment of historic districts and quarters in China;
- To understand the role of 'public/private partnerships' in the development of historic districts and quarters in Chinese cities;
- To generate data regarding diverse and complex social and cultural voices, attitudes, ideas, concerns and values that relate to the redevelopment of historic districts and quarters in China;

The research will highlight the importance of local residents' knowledge of the place they live in, and especially their participation in the redevelopment process to maintain the authenticity and uniqueness of the historic urban quarter they live in. In-depth interviews and participant observation will be undertaken with diverse questions concerned with local residents throughout Laochengnan, Nanjing.

Why have I been invited to take part?

You have been invited to take part because your participation, views, and opinions are important for my research. I am interested in hearing from you views on your experiences of the redevelopment on your daily life.

What would I be asked to do if I took part?

This research project will involve in-depth study of around 30 local residents. If you take part in the research you would be agreeing to:

- Take part in an in-depth interview, lasting between 30-60 minutes, at a time and location that suits you, and we would ask to record the conversation on a Dictaphone;
- Allow me to undertake 'participant observation' with you both within and beyond the 'formal' spaces of your treatment organisation for between 1-3 weeks.

What happens to the data collected?

The interview recordings and notes taken during participant observation, or what are referred to as 'data', will be typed up and inputted into a research database, ready for analysis. This database will be secured on an encrypted and password protected computer at Cardiff University to which only we will have access. All of the data will be anonymised: real names, place names, company names and all other personal identifiers will not appear in the research. The data will then be analysed to identify key themes and connections to other research materials, such as policy documents, news reports and academic literature. The data will be used to produce papers for publication in academic journals, talks and presentations as well as 'briefing and information' documents and presentations for a range of stakeholders including policy makers, practitioners, service providers and users etc.

How is confidentiality maintained?

All of the typed up notes will be given an identification number that will be kept separate from your name. Your name will not appear in the research at all and all audio recordings of the interviews will be permanently erased to ensure confidentiality. All the data collected will be encrypted for security and stored on password protected computers. A USB device with the identification names/numbers will be kept in a locked drawer in Liu's office. The data will only be accessible to the researchers. If the researchers wish to use the data for any purposes other than those outlined in this information sheet they will contact you to seek your consent.

What happens if I do not want to take part or if I change my mind?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

Will I be paid for participating in the research?

We cannot pay for your time to participate in this study.

Will the outcomes of the research be published?

The research will be published in a range of different outlets. Papers will be produced for academic journals and 'briefing and information' documents and presentations will be produced for a range of stakeholders including policy makers, practitioners, service providers and users etc.

Contact for further information

If you have any questions or would like to know more about the research please contact the research team based in the School of Geography and Planning at Cardiff University: Liu Cao, CaoL6@cardiff.ac.uk Professor Mark Jayne, JayneM1@cardiff.ac.uk; Dr Andrew Flynn, FlynnAC@cardiff.ac.uk

What if something goes wrong?

In the event of any problems before or during the research please contact Liu Cao. If there are any issues regarding this research that you would prefer not to discuss with us, please contact Catrin Morgan, Head of Assurance Services, by email: morganca5@cardiff.ac.uk or by telephoning +44 (0)29 2087 023

You are also welcome to subscribe our Wechat official account:



信息单-居民

您被邀请参加一项有关南京老城南老城区城市更新改造过程中公众参与和城市治理的研究，在您决定接受我的采访之前，希望您能够了解一下这项研究的背景，内容，以及哪些人都会加入到这项研究之中。希望您能够用您一点宝贵的时间仔细阅读一下相关内容。如果有不清楚或者看不懂的地方，请您指出我将为您解答。

谁来做这项研究？

这项研究将会主要由曹流来进行，并由 Mark Jayne 教授，Andrew Flynn 副教授进行指导。Gary Bridge 教授将会对此项研究进行检查和复审（来自英国卡迪夫大学，规划与地理学院）。

为什么做这项研究？

国外有大量的关于公众参与和城市治理的研究，然而都是基于西方的背景和社会上，相关的中国方面的研究还是有一定的缺少。此外，大量类似的研究都集中于社会经济状态的改变，而相关的社会文化方面的改变的研究则是少之又少。这项研究则意在填补这类研究的空白通过：

- 检验相关城市改造，老城区更新的政策和研究；
- 了解老城区改造中各个不同利益相关人之间的关系，以及在城市更新过程中经历的关系改变所带来的影响；
- 收集利益相关者对老城改造的看法，疑惑，担忧，见解，态度和价值观等等。

这项研究强调了当地居民在老城改造中的重要性，以及当地居民对自己生活的地方的了解的重要性，来保证老城区在改造后仍然保持有原来的特点和象征。因此，深度的半开放访谈和参与观察将会运用到这项研究之中。老城南的居民们将是这项研究的重点研究对象。

为什么会邀请您参加这项研究呢？

您被邀请参加这项研究的原因是您的看法，观点等对我的研究非常重要。我对于您的看法和观点都十分感兴趣，我想了解您的生活在改造过程中受到的影响。

您需要在此项研究中做什么？

在此项研究中，相关的政府官员，房地产开发商，居民以及其他的利益相关者将会接受采访。

此项研究会采访 30 个左右的居民，如果您同意参与，您需要：

- 接受深度的半开放采访，采访会占用您 30 到 60 分钟的时间，采访的时间和地点将由您来决定，采访的内容会被录音；
- 允许我在您的社区进行参与观察，即不影响您隐私的情况下观察您的公共活动空间和您每天的日常活动，会持续 1 到 3 周；

数据被收集后将会发生什么？

相关的采访记录，即数据，将会被打出来并收集到数据库之中，所有的数据内容将会被加密并保存在卡迪夫大学的数据档案之中，并且只有我才有权接触这些资料。所有的采访都会采用匿名的方式，比如受访者的姓名，图案等一切敏感的名称和标识。这些数据将会被用来跟其他相关的内容进行对比，比如政府文件，新闻报道以及相关的学术研究。这些数据将会被用来发表相关的学术文章，学术报告，演讲等等。

如何确保数据的保密性？

所有的数据将会有自己的编号而不会使用您的真实姓名，您的姓名将完全不会出现在研究中，并且所有的语音记录将会被永久删除来保证您信息的安全。所有相关的数据将会保存在卡迪夫大学加密的电脑数据库中，相关的数据编号将会由我保管，如果相关的数据将会被用作其他用途，我将联系您并申请您的同意。

如果您改变了主意怎么办？

参与与否全部由您决定。您如果决定接受参访需要在同意书上面签字，如果您不愿意可以在任何时候毫无理由地退出采访。

此研究参访有偿吗？

很抱歉无法给与您报酬，但是您关心的问题我都会采纳并研究出相应对策。

研究结果会被发表吗？

研究结果会以不同的方式发表出来。研究成果会用于学术期刊发表，海报展示以及相关的学术讲座。

联系方式

如果您有疑问或者想了解更多此项研究的进展，请联系卡迪夫大学规划与地理学院：Mark Jayne 教授 JayneM1@cardiff.ac.uk，Andrew Flynn 副教授 FlynnAC@cardiff.ac.uk，以及曹流 Caol6@cardiff.ac.uk（注：Mark 和 Andrew 只能英文交流）

发生了意想不到的事情？

在此项研究中有任何问题请联系曹流，如果您有更多的问题但不想让曹流知道，请联系保密事物负责人 Catrin Morgan morganca5@cardiff.ac.uk 电话 +44 (0)29 2087 0230。同时也欢迎您关注我们的微信号来时刻关注我们的研究进度和动向，并欢迎您提出相关问题：



Appendix 5 Information sheet – stakeholders

Public participation and urban governance research in historic urban quarters: the case study of Laochengnan, Nanjing

An information sheet for key stakeholders

You are being invited to take part in a research study exploring the public participation, urban governance under the urban redevelopment of historic urban quarters based in Laochengnan, Nanjing. Before you decide if you would like to take part in the research, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read this information sheet carefully. Please ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more clarification on any of the following:

Who will carry out the research?

The research will be conducted by Liu Cao, supervised by Professor Mark Jayne, Dr Andrew Flynn and reviewed by Professor Gary Bridge (School of Geography and Planning, Cardiff University, UK).

What is the aim of the research?

There has been a lot of research about the property-led urban regeneration in China in the recent decades, most of them focus on the change of socio-economic status while the change of sociocultural status still remains unclear. This research will address this gap in knowledge and respond to pertinent questions regarding policy and practice of public participation and urban governance in historic urban quarters by:

- Mapping the planning and policy transfer relating to the redevelopment of historic districts and quarters in China;
- To understand the role of ‘public/private partnerships’ in the development of historic districts and quarters in Chinese cities;
- To generate data regarding diverse and complex social and cultural voices, attitudes, ideas, concerns and values that relate to the redevelopment of historic districts and quarters in China;

The research will highlight the importance of local residents’ knowledge of the place they live in, and especially their participation in the redevelopment process to maintain the authenticity and uniqueness of the historic urban quarter they live in. In-depth interviews and participant observation will be undertaken with diverse questions concerned with local residents throughout Laochengnan, Nanjing.

Why have I been invited to take part?

You have been invited to take part because your participation, views, and opinions are important for my research. I am interested in hearing from you views on your experiences of the redevelopment on your daily life.

What would I be asked to do if I took part?

This research will involve different stakeholders to participate, government officials, real estate agencies, local residents and other stakeholders will all be interviewed. If you take part in the research you would be asked to take part in an interview, lasting between 30-60 minutes, at a time and location that suits you, and we would ask to record the conversation on a Dictaphone.

What happens to the data collected?

The interview recordings, or what are referred to as 'data', will be typed up and inputted into a research database, ready for analysis. This database will be secured on an encrypted and password protected computer at Cardiff University to which only we will have access. All of the data will be anonymised: real names, place names, company names and all other personal identifiers will not appear in the research. The data will then be analysed to identify key themes and connections to other research materials, such as policy documents, news reports and academic literature. The data will be used to produce papers for publication in academic journals, talks and presentations as well as 'briefing and information' documents and presentations for a range of stakeholders including policy makers, practitioners, service providers and users etc.

How is confidentiality maintained?

All of the typed up notes will be given an identification number that will be kept separate from your name. Your name will not appear in the research at all and all audio recordings of the interviews will be permanently erased to ensure confidentiality. All the data collected will be encrypted for security and stored on password protected computers. A USB device with the identification names/numbers will be kept in a locked drawer in Cao's office. The data will only be accessible to the researchers. If the researchers wish to use the data for any purposes other than those outlined in this information sheet they will contact you to seek your consent.

What happens if I do not want to take part or if I change my mind?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

Will I be paid for participating in the research?

We cannot pay for your time to participate in this study.

Will the outcomes of the research be published?

The research will be published in a range of different outlets. Papers will be produced for academic journals and 'briefing and information' documents and presentations will be produced for a range of stakeholders including policy makers, practitioners, service providers and users etc.

Contact for further information

If you have any questions or would like to know more about the research please contact the research team based in the School of Geography and Planning at Cardiff University: Professor Mark Jayne, JayneM1@cardiff.ac.uk; Dr Andrew Flynn, FlynnAC@cardiff.ac.uk Liu Cao, CaoL6@cardiff.ac.uk

What if something goes wrong?

In the event of any problems before or during the research please contact Liu Cao. If there are any issues regarding this research that you would prefer not to discuss with us, please contact Catrin Morgan, Head of Assurance Services, by email: morganca5@cardiff.ac.uk or by telephoning +44 (0)29 2087 0230

信息单-相关人员

您被邀请参加一项有关南京老城南老城区城市更新改造过程中公众参与和城市治理的研究，在您决定接受我的采访之前，希望您能够了解一下这项研究的背景，内容，以及哪些人都会加入到这项研究之中。希望您能够用您一点宝贵的时间仔细阅读一下相关内容。如果有不清楚或者看不懂的地方，请您指出我将为您解答。

谁来做这项研究？

这项研究将会主要由曹流来进行，并由 Mark Jayne 教授，Andrew Flynn 副教授进行指导。Gary Bridge 教授将会对此项研究进行检查和复审（来自英国卡迪夫大学，规划与地理学院）。

为什么做这项研究？

国外有大量的关于公众参与和城市治理的研究，然而都是基于西方的背景和社会上，相关的中国方面的研究还是有一定的缺少。此外，大量类似的研究都集中于社会经济状态的改变，而相关的社会文化方面的改变的研究则是少之又少。这项研究则意于填补这类研究的空白通过：

- 检验相关城市更新，老城区更新的政策和研究；
- 了解老城区改造中各个不同利益相关人之间的关系，以及在城市更新过程中经历的关系改变所带来的影响；
- 收集利益相关者对老城改造的看法，疑惑，担忧，见解，态度和价值观等等。

这项研究强调了当地居民在老城改造中的重要性，以及当地居民对自己生活的地方的了解的重要性，来保证老城区在改造后仍然保持有原来的特点和象征。因此，深度的半开放访谈和参与观察将会运用到这项研究之中。老城南的居民们将是这项研究的重点研究对象。

为什么会邀请您参加这项研究呢？

您被邀请参加这项研究的原因是您的看法，观点等对我的研究非常重要。我对于您的看法和观点都十分感兴趣，我想了解您的生活在改造过程中受到的影响。

您需要在此项研究中做什么？

在此项研究中，相关的政府官员，房地产开发商，居民以及其他的利益相关者将会接受采访。采访会占用您 30 到 60 分钟的时间，采访将由您选择合适的时间和地点，所有的通话记录将会被录音。

数据被收集后将会发生什么？

相关的采访记录，即数据，将会被打出来并收集到数据库之中，所有的数据内容将会被加密并保存在卡迪夫大学的数据档案之中，并且只有我才有权限接触这些资料。所有的采访都会采用匿名的方式，比如受访者的姓名，图案等一切敏感的名称和标识。这些数据将会被用来跟其他相关的内容进行对比，比如政府文件，新闻报道以及相关的学术研究。这些数据将会被用来发表相关的学术文章，学术报告，演讲等等。

如何确保数据的保密性？

所有的数据将会有自己的编号而不会使用您的真实姓名，您的姓名将完全不会出现在研究中，并且所有的语音记录将会被永久删除来保证您信息的安全。所有相关的数据将会保存在卡迪夫大学加密的电脑数据库中，相关的数据编号将会由我保管，如果相关的数据将会被用作其他用途，我将联系您并申请您的同意。

如果您改变了主意怎么办？

参与与否全部由您决定。您如果决定接受参访需要在同意书上面签字，如果您不愿意可以在任何时候毫无理由地退出采访。

此研究参访有偿吗？

很抱歉无法给与您报酬，但是您关心的问题我都会采纳并研究出相应对策。

研究结果会被发表吗？

研究结果会以不同的方式发表出来。研究成果会用于学术期刊发表，海报展示以及相关的学术讲座。

联系方式

如果您有疑问或者想了解更多此项研究的进展，请联系卡迪夫大学规划与地理学院：Mark Jayne 教授 JayneM1@cardiff.ac.uk，Andrew Flynn 副教授 FlynnAC@cardiff.ac.uk，以及曹流 Caol6@cardiff.ac.uk（注：Mark 和 Andrew 只能英文交流）

发生了意想不到的事情？

在此项研究中有任何问题请联系曹流，如果您有更多的问题但不想让曹流知道，请联系保密事物负责人 Catrin Morgan morganca5@cardiff.ac.uk 电话 +44 (0)29 2087 0230

Appendix 6 Consent form-residents participant observation



Public participation and urban governance research in historic urban quarters: the case

study of Laochengnan, Nanjing

Consent form for local residents-participant observation

If you are happy to participate please read the consent form and initial each of the boxes:

I confirm that I have read the project information sheet and have had the opportunity to consider the information. Questions or queries about the research and its outputs have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that participation in the study is voluntary and that my organisation is free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

I agree that participant observation can be undertaken within our neighbourhood.

I agree that anonymized data can be used by the research project.

I agree to take part in the research project.

Name of participant

Date

Signature

Name of researcher

Date

Signature

关于南京老城南老城区城市更新改造中的公众参与和城市治理研究

居民同意单-参与观察

如果您愿意参加此项研究，请阅读此同意书并签字：

我确认我已经阅读了研究项目的内容并且已经阅读并了解了相关的研究信息。我对这项研究所进行的问题和发表等表示满意。

我明白且理解我是自愿参加到此项研究中，我也有权利在任何时候不需理由地退出此项研究。

我同意参与观察可以在我们的社区进行。

我同意匿名的信息可以被此项研究进行使用。

我同意加入此项研究项目。

参与者姓名

日期

签名

研究员姓名

日期

签名

Appendix 7 Consent form – residents interview



Public participation and urban governance research in historic urban quarters: the case study of Laochengnan, Nanjing

Consent form for residents-in-depth semi-structured interview

If you are happy to participate please read the consent form and initial each of the boxes:

I confirm that I have read the project information sheet and have had the opportunity to consider the information. Questions or queries about the research and its outputs have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

I agree that the interview/discussion can be audio recorded.

I agree that my anonymized data can be used by the research project.

I agree to take part in the research project.

Name of participant

Date

Signature

Name of researcher

Date

Signature

关于南京老城南老城区城市更新改造中的公众参与和城市治理研究

居民同意单-深度半开放访谈

如果您愿意参加，请阅读此份同意书并签字：

我确认我已经阅读了研究项目的内容并且已经阅读并了解了相关的研究信息。我对这项研究的问题和发表等表示满意。

我明白且理解我是自愿参加到此项研究中，我也有权利在任何时候不需理由地退出此项研究。

我同意访谈，交流等可以被记录。

我同意匿名的信息可以被此研究使用。

我同意参加此项研究。

参与者姓名

日期

签名

研究员姓名

日期

签名

Appendix 8 Consent form – stakeholders interview



Public participation and urban governance research in historic urban quarters: the case study of Laochengnan, Nanjing

Consent form for key stakeholders in-depth semi-structured interviews

If you are happy to participate please read the consent form and initial each of the boxes:

I confirm that I have read the project information sheet and have had the opportunity to consider the information. Questions or queries about the research and its outputs have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

I agree that the interview/discussion can be audio recorded.

I agree that my anonymized data can be used by the research project.

I agree to take part in the research project.

Name of participant	Date	Signature
-----	-----	-----

Name of researcher	Date	Signature
-----	-----	-----

关于南京老城南老城区城市更新改造中的公众参与和城市治理研究

相关人员同意书-深度半开放访谈

如果您愿意参加此项研究，请阅读此同意书并签字：

我同意我已经阅读了此研究信息单并且考虑了相关的研究内容和信息。我对此研究的所要进行的相关问题和发表方式感到满意。

我理解我是自愿参加此研究的并且我有权利在任何时候毫无理由地退出此研究。

我同意此项研究的访谈，对话等可以被录音。

我同意匿名的信息可以被此研究使用。

我同意参与此项研究。

参与者姓名

日期

签名

研究员姓名

日期

签名

Appendix 9 Interview questions

Local residents:

Introduction:

1. Could you please tell me a bit about yourself? (name, age, your job/previous jobs/education etc.)

- What is your name?
- Employment situation?
- Education level?

2. Where did you grow up?

3. How long have you been living in this community?

4. Can you tell me what are your responsibilities in this neighbourhood?

5. Why do you live in this neighbourhood?

Section 1: Local knowledge

A. Can you tell me your understanding/knowledge of the place you live in?

(Let them talk the history and personal understanding of the historic neighbourhood)

1. How much do you know of Nanjing?
2. Do you know the history of this street/block? Do you know why this street is call this name?
3. Can you tell me some your own memories/experiences/feelings of the places you live in?
4. Are there any local folks/stories you know/remember about the place you live in?
5. What kind of problems do you think it has for the historic neighbourhood you are live in?

B: Can you tell me what your understanding of Laochengnan it should be/look like?

1. What do you think real Laochengnan looks like? Or it should be?
2. Which part do you think can represent Laochengnan? (City characteristics, intangible cultural heritage, artefacts, local folks etc.)
3. What do you think of Laomendong²⁰ area? Do you think it represents Laochengnan? Or Nanjing?
4. Which place do you think in Nanjing/Laochengnan currently represents what Nanjing/Laochengnan it is?

²⁰ A new redeveloped Laochengnan style historic block, used for tourism and commercial purposes.

5. What do you think lacks, or wrong or not satisfied with in Laomendong area according to your own knowledge of Laochengnan?
6. What do you think or satisfied with the Laomendong?

C. Can you tell me a bit about your current life in the community?

1. Can you tell me what are your daily activities in the place?
2. What do you think your relationships with your neighbourhoods, or households living around you?
3. Do your parents/children/grandchildren know the history of this place?
4. Do your parents/children/grandchildren still living here? Why live here? If not, why?

D: Can you tell me how do you live and spend your time in the community?

1. How much time do you usually spend in your community?
2. What do you care most about your life in this community?
3. What do you think your role in the community? Can you tell me more of what do you think you are?

Section 2 (redevelopment):

A. How redevelopment affects your life?

1. Has the redevelopment taken place? How long, the degree?
2. I've heard the government is going to redevelop this area (or the redevelopment is undergoing, or the redevelopment has been delivered for a long time), and many people live in this area have moved/displaced. Why do you still choose to live here?
3. What is the major redevelopment delivered in this neighbourhood you think?
4. What's your feeling of the redevelopment? How do you think the redevelopment affects you? (to what degree, aspects it affects you?)
5. What are your satisfied parts of redevelopment? What you dislike?
6. Which part do you think is good of the redevelopment?
7. What do you feel have lost after the redevelopment of the area?
8. What do you think redevelopment should focus on in the future?
9. What kind of expectation do you have for the redevelopment?
10. Is your expectation keep changing (for the redevelopment)?

B. How's your social relationships during/after redevelopment?

11. Do you still have connection with your former neighbours? (Those have moved out or displaced)
12. What do you think have changed a lot after the regeneration? (Your daily activities, connections with neighbourhoods, friends, your entertainment ways etc.)

C: What do you think other cities' redevelopment?

13. What do you think of other city (eg. Suzhou Xi'an), as they are also historic cities, what inspirations do you have about Nanjing?

14. Do you know any historic streets? Such as Nanluoguxiang in Beijing, Kuanzhaxiangzi in Chengdu? Or the Laomendong area and Confucius Temple area in Nanjing? What do you think?
15. Have you ever been to any other historic neighbourhoods/districts/quarters, what do you think? Compare to the one you live in. (Not limited in Nanjing)

Section 3 (public participation):

A: What's your consideration of public participation?

1. What do you think public participation should be?
2. Which method do you prefer to participate in the planning process? Especially about historic preservation.
3. What kind of status you want to be during the participation process?
4. To participate and organise the local affairs of your community, what do you want to do?
5. Do you have any suggestions/concerns/feedback to give to the local government about you what to participate in the planning process?

B. What kind of participation do you have in your neighbourhood?

1. How much do you think you participate in the community life?
2. Have you heard that the government now encouraging residents like you to participate in their policy-making process and make you to decide the future of the places you are live in? (Here participate means ask you to decide and give them your opinions and knowledge of the place you live in, such as you call them about your concerns, or visit, email them etc.)
3. How the communist party organise the participation? Or who/the group organise the participation?
4. What kind of information they provided to you? Or is there any information provided?

C: What are the reasons do you think you want to participate/don't want to participate in the planning process?

1. Why do you think you don't know this policy? Why do you don't have any interest in it? Or why do you think you are not involved?
2. What participation exercises have you been involved with?
3. Do you expect to be listened to?
4. Who do you want to listen to? (Provided them with the information about people that they want to listen to)
5. Tell me something about your experience during the public participation process. Do you feel you suggestions are accepted?
6. Have you ever collaborated with government officials and real estate investors during the redevelopment process?

7. Would you participate in the future?
8. What needs to be done to make you participate in the future?

One additional question, who own this house/building? Are you inherited from your ancestors or the government own the house and you only have certain time period to live in it or use it?

In the end, 1. What do you want to happen in the future? 2. What we haven't talked about, do you want to have/happen in the future?

Government officials:

Introduction:

1. Can you tell me a bit about yourself? (Jobs/previous jobs/responsibilities for the urban planning)
2. Can you tell me what do you usually do for your job every day?
3. Can you tell me more about your team/group? What do you do for your daily jobs?
4. Can you tell me more about your specific role in the planning? (what are your priorities/residents related/who do you work with/your work partner responsibilities/which department do you work well with)
5. Can you talk about the redevelopment in Nanjing? What are you proud of? What are you not satisfied with? (get them to talk about the redevelopment in Nanjing)

Section 1 : How do policies delivered in the city?

The policy I read seems ranges from a very long period, why? (eg. Qinhuai master plan 2013-2030)

1. I noticed that public participation has been emphasized in policy, how do you deliver it in practice? Especially in some historic neighbourhoods.
2. Some of the residents living in redeveloping areas don't have enough channels to state their views. What do you think?
3. Do you feel there have some improvements/changes can made after the delivery of public participation?
4. Any new development plans for these historic neighbourhoods in the future?
5. Are there any new employment opportunities provided for local residents?
6. I noticed that public participation process only have a certain time period, is that ok people to give suggestions after this time period? ([About the relevant policy](#))
7. I found the policy didn't mention a lot about the cultural heritage preservation and mentions little about residents' life, what do you think?
8. PSJ as historic landscape, it seems missing in the policy about how to preserve and promote local culture, what are your practices in reality?

Section 2: The situation of public participation delivered in the city?

A. What do you think of public participation?

1. What do you understand by participation?

2. Do you think participation is a good or bad thing?
3. Do you think participation should be encouraged or discouraged?
4. What kind of people can participate, and who can give concerns and views to the policy (according to the policy which states open to the public).
5. Who should organise the participation exercise? The government or the developer? Or the local residents themselves?
6. What is the public participation mechanism in Nanjing?

B. What is the contemporary situation of participation in Nanjing?

1. What the common method our government using for public participation?
2. Has the participation method changed over time? (Number of participation exercise, type of participation, influence on decisions).
3. Is the participation method similar or different from other cities? What is the unique aspect of participation in Nanjing?
4. Do you know any other public participation in other cities? What inspirations do you have from their participation experience?

C. What kind of problems/circumstances you met during public participation process?

1. Are there any issues (eg: redevelopment) where participation is more/less important?
2. Which method got the best feedback?
3. Which method has the worst participation and feedback?
4. During the participation process, which local community you think have the louder voice? Or stronger willingness to join the participation process?
5. Which area do you think you are more willing to listen to about the voices?

Section 3: How's the delivery situation of public participation?

1. The urban regeneration of Laochengnan, have you ever heard of other historic Chinese cities such as Suzhou (shantang street), Xi'an and Beijing? What do you think you can learn from their experience?
2. What is the redevelopment focus of historic urban quarters? (Economy, people, physical etc.)
3. What's your status in public participation? Have you ever collaborated with or consider collaborating with the local residents to redevelop the historic urban quarters? i.e. put the equal status with other people involved in the redevelopment
4. If you have collaborated, what are you feelings and experiences during the collaboration?
5. What do you think the local residents can do to participate in the redevelopment of historic urban quarters?
6. What do you think most of the local residents care about during the redevelopment?
7. What do you think the local communities think about their place?
8. What actions do you take to protect the traditional social and cultural activities?

In the end, 1. What do you want to happen in the future? 2. What we haven't talked about, do you want to have/happen in the future?

Other key stakeholders:

Real estate

Introduction:

1. Can you briefly introduce yourself? (Age, name, education etc.)
2. Can you tell me your responsibilities for your job?
3. Can you tell me more about your job? Who do you work with, what do you usually do every day?
4. Can you tell me your previous experience of redevelopment of Nanjing or other cities?

Section a: Your motivation and consideration of doing investment of this historic urban quarter?

1. What are the reasons you decide to invest/redevelop this historic urban quarter at the first place?
2. Do you know any other commercial streets/neighbourhoods like this? For example, some in Beijing, Chongqing and Chengdu? What do you think of them?
3. What do you think the inspiration that other historic streets in other cities give to you?
4. Did you have any ideas when redevelop this area, have you ever think of something to make it different from other historic streets/blocks?
5. Which is your most satisfied part of the historic urban quarter?
6. Which part is your focus when make the investment?
7. What do you think is the most important part of this historic area? Which part do you want to preserve?
8. Which part you are not satisfied and aims to improve?

Section b: What kind of redevelopment do you want to make in these historic urban quarters?

1. What are your original objectives to turn this historic block into? Did it match your purpose? Why? Why not?
2. What kind of instructions or guidelines you got from the government?
3. How about the revenue/popularity/feedback of tourists of the regenerated place?(Good/Bad)
Why is good?
No. Any improvements you can think of?
4. Which part do you think you still need to improve?

5. Do you have any questions about the government regulations of the designated redevelopment area?
6. What factors do you think you want to involve in the redevelopment?
7. What kind of characteristic you want to build for the historic neighbourhood?
8. Do you think the redevelopment of this historic neighbourhood is successful? Why? Why not?

Section c: Have you ever taken any participation in the redevelopment process?

A. What are your own experiences for participation?

1. Did you talk with any local residents? Or have you adopted any local residents opinions when redevelop the area?
2. Did you have any talk with the local government officials about redeveloping this area?
3. Did you give any suggestions/feedback/considerations to the government about the redevelopment?
4. What kind of status do you think you have during the participation process?
5. Have the government officials asked you any opinions about redevelop the area?

B. Have you ever collaborated with them for participation?

1. Did you have any conversations/negotiations with the residents/government officials of this place?
2. Have you got any feedback/criticises/suggestions after the redevelopment?
3. Have you made any collaborations with either government officials or local residents when redeveloping the area?
4. Do you find it is helpful to take their suggestions/opinions? Did you make any change after adopted their suggestions?
5. What kind of relationship do you think now you have with local residents/government officials?
6. Are there any conflicts happened during the negotiation? What do they claim for?
7. Do you have any further actions to communicate with the residents and government officials?

The other stakeholders repeat the questions for local residents.

Repeat similar questions from real estate part

Museum

Introduction:

1. Can you introduce a bit about yourself?
2. Can you tell me what your daily job for the museum is?
3. How long has the museum been established?
4. Why choose this location?
5. Can you introduce the museum?

Repeat section a, what's your consideration/motivation of the establishment of museum here?

Section 4 (museum situation):

1. How many people come here every day? (On average)
2. What kind of exhibitions are made in this museum?
3. What do think lacks in this museum?
4. Have any local residents visited here before?
5. What do you think need to do to improve for this museum?
6. Which is the most popular part of the museum?
7. Do you think the museum is popular? Why? Why not?
8. What do you think can help to improve its popularity?

Section 5 (Public participation relate)

1. Has any local residents give you feedback about their visit of the museum?
2. What kind of feedback you got from the tourists?
3. Are there any suggestions come from the government?
4. Have you adopted the suggestions and made the improvement?
5. Have you given any suggestions/concerns/feedback to the government officials, local residents, tourists, or any other people?

Local Restaurants:

Introduction:

1. Can you please briefly introduce yourself? (Name, age, job)
2. Can you tell me what are your daily activities in the restaurant?

3. How long has the restaurant been established?
4. How long have you been working here?
5. Why choose this location?
6. Do you think your restaurant is good? Why? Why not?

Questions:

1. Has any local residents visited your restaurant? How do you identify they are local residents? Why do you think they visit your restaurant?
2. Has redevelopment affect you?
3. What do you think of the redevelopment?
4. Do you think your restaurant represent Laochengnan? Why?
5. Have you ever participated in the redevelopment process? (Method, form, degree, etc.)
6. Do you maintain good contacts and relationships with local residents?
7. Why do you think other tourists come to your restaurants? (Can talk from both taste of the food and the historic neighbourhood, or any other perspectives)
8. Are there any original residents come back to your restaurant? (Those have been displaced but lived here in the past), why?

In the end, 1. What do you want to happen in the future? 2. What we haven't talked about, do you want to have/happen in the future?