

深圳城中村中的灰色经济及其 空间尺度的活动 岗厦村

**ACTIVITIES OF INFORMAL ECONOMY
AND ITS SPATIAL DIMENSIONS
INSIDE 'URBANIZED VILLAGES' OF SHENZHEN
GANGXIA VILLAGE**

Diplomarbeit

Activities of informal economy and its spatial dimensions inside ‘urbanized villages’ of Shenzhen Gangxia village

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Die Stadt Shenzhen verfügt über 304 „urbane Dörfer“, die zwar nur fünf Prozent seiner Fläche einnehmen, jedoch über 50 Prozent von Shenzhens Bevölkerung unterbringen, und spielen daher eine entscheidende Rolle, um Millionen von Migranten aus ganz China zu behausen.

In dieser Masterarbeit betrachte ich einerseits das Phänomen der 'urbanen Dörfer' an sich. Dabei wird deren einzigartige Entstehungsgeschichte, die Komplexität und ihre „Überlebenskunst“, welche einer sich konstant verändernden formellen, urbanen Umgebung ausgesetzt ist, aufgezeigt. Zusätzlich wird auf einem kleineren Maßstab, anhand eines konkreten Beispiels, die aktuelle städtebauliche, sowie sozi-ökonomische Situation in dem 'urbanen Dorf' namens Gangxia, untersucht.

Basierend auf der Anwendung verschiedener Forschungsstrategien und -werkzeuge, aber auch in Anbetracht einer kontrastierenden Gegenüberstellung der exklusiven,

urbanen Umgebung, versuche ich mit dieser Masterarbeit ein gewisses Bewusstsein für die 'urbanen Dörfer' Shenzhens zu schaffen.

Durch die Recherche vor Ort konnten unterschiedliche Profile, welche in der informellen Wirtschaft Gangxias involviert sind und möglicherweise zur seiner anhaltenden Existenz beitragen, definiert und analysiert werden. Mit Hilfe der teilnehmenden Beobachtung im Dorf, wurde das Verhalten der Bewohner von Gangxia, sowie deren Umgang mit der urbanen Struktur untersucht. Dabei wurde ein Schwerpunkt auf die Bedürfnisse und Wahrnehmungen der Bewohner gesetzt und in Form von persönlichen Konversationen umgesetzt. Der Frage, inwieweit Shenzhens konstanter Transformationsprozess die Bewohner Gangxias, in Anbetracht ihres Umgangs mit dem urbanen Lebensraum und ihrer sozialen Interaktion mit Mensch bzw. Raum beeinflusst, konnte somit nachgegangen werden.

As 304 'urbanized villages' of Shenzhen accommodate the majority of its population by only 5 percent of its land occupation (cf. Guo, 2015, p. 35), they play a decisive role in allocating millions of migrants coming from all over China.

This thesis deals on a macro level - the urban scale - with the 'urbanized villages' of Shenzhen and on a micro level - the neighbourhood scale - with the living environment inside Gangxia village. It tries to reveal the evolution and the complexity of 'urbanized villages', and to find explanations for their persistence in a formal urban environ that transforms constantly. Based on the application and combination of different strategies, the thesis aims to bring up a certain consciousness about these 'villages' and their uniqueness, considering the contrasting juxtaposition to their urban surrounding. Through a case study research in Gangxia Village, I analysed the informal activities inside this 'village', which may contribute to its enduring exist-

ence and its stable economic pattern. A direct and participant observation on site, helped to analyze and consequently investigate different profiles of informal activities, in order to find out how the people interact with space and the urban structure of Gangxia Village. Besides, main focus is set on the perception and the requirements of Gangxia's residents, implemented through interviews, in the form of face to face conversations. Consequently, the influence of Shenzhen's constant transformation process on Gangxia and its inhabitants, relating to their daily-life habits, their living environment, their social interaction, and their interaction with space and the urban structure, could be revealed.

Dedicated to the residents of Gangxia Village.

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PREFACE

During my stay in Shenzhen, between April and August 2015 I met Professor Ma Hang and a young architect named Wan Yan. She invited me to participate in a research project in Gangxia, an 'urbanized village' located inside Shenzhen's Central Business District.

My research focused on the history of Shenzhen and the development of 'urbanized villages'. This work aims to understand the phenomenon and the persistence of 'urbanized villages' in a city that undergoes permanent transformation.

On a micro-scale my analysis deals with the informal activities and their spatial dimensions inside Gangxia village. The government's policies and regulations that influence Gangxia in a socio-economic and spatial way will be revealed and with regard to the utilisation of space, the spatial policies and its physical and social structure, I will analyze the phenomenon of Gangxia's persistence and its high grade of adaptability to present conditions.

前言

在2015年的4月至8月期间，我在深圳认识了教授马航，还有一位年轻的建筑家万妍。万妍邀请了我参与关于坐落于深圳中心商务区的“城中村”——岗夏村的课题研究。

我的研究主要集中于深圳的历史以及“城中村”的发展。本篇论文旨在了解“城中村”在一个日益更新的城市中持续存在的现象。

从微观方面讲，我的分析主要集中在岗夏村的非正规经济以及其带来的空间维度的变化。政府部门对岗夏村在社会经济 and 空间方面影响的政策和制度将会在本篇中被揭示，同样还有关于空间利用方面的空间政策及其物理和社会的结构。我将重点分析岗夏村持续存在的现象以及它对当今深圳社会条件的高度适应性。



Visiting Shenzhen

During the last 35 years China and its bustling cities changed a lot. Walking through Shenzhen, one of the biggest cities in southern China, you can almost feel how fast everything changes.

I stayed in Shenzhen for a few months, and soon realized that it is a city which does not truly relate in size or structure to any typical European city known to me. Its pace of transformation seems unstoppable and I was surprised that the 24 hours grocery store downstairs of my dorm, that used to be full of customers just a few days before, was ready to transform into some other retail business. Two weeks later the new vendor reopened its doors, with a totally new interior. At the area behind the busy bus station, which was empty land when I arrived, half of a high-rise building just popped up in two months, and will be finished at the end of this year. The urban structure's transformation is breathtaking. Just 35 years ago, Shenzhen was a sleeping small town, bordering Hong Kong. Today it is a vibrant City with an economy that is under the worlds fastest growing and a booming real estate

market that was born just 25 years ago. Wherever you go, it is difficult to find a place of silence. The noise of the traffic that dominates the city is a by-product of constant urbanization. The first time I took a walk through the city, I desperately tried to find an old part, historical sights or some preserved, ancient structures.

The growth of Shenzhen started to boom in the 1980s, after Deng Xiaoping's introduction of the Open Door Policy. Before that, Shenzhen was just an area of small fishing villages, which got replaced by a rapid urban expansion. Therefore, one can hardly find buildings inside Shenzhen that are older than 35 years.

However, being a part of this young, vibrant city for a few months, I soon realized that there is a large heterogeneity to be found. Extremely dense structures abruptly interrupt the city's large-scale silhouette. These so-called 'urbanized villages' left an impression of human scale on me, contrasting their over dimensioned urban environs. 'Urbanized villages' accommodate the majority of Shenzhen's population but have the minority of land occupation. As Shenzhen's urban land expands at a record pace and endangers the persistence of 'urbanized villages', I started asking myself: Where would these millions of dwellers who inhabit the 'villages' go, if one day, they won't be there to serve as an affordable shelter anymore?

In order to avoid word repetitions, different terms used in this thesis have the same meaning. In order to not confuse the reader, the words concerned and their explanations are listed below:

- **indigenous villager = ‘villager’ = ‘urban villager’**

Through the process of urbanization, the villagers’ land has been taken by the state. Villagers literally turned into ‘urban villagers’, or sometimes just named ‘villagers’, as they now live in the city and their livelihood isn’t based on agriculture anymore, but instead on the rent-out business of their dwellings.

- **floating population = migrants**

Mostly rural migrants moving to cities, who are not registered as urban citizens. They make up the majority of the population within ‘urbanized villages’.

- **residents (of ‘urbanized villages’) = dwellers = lessees = inhabitants**

A general description for the people inhabiting ‘urbanized villages’. It includes the floating population, who is not registered, the indigenous villagers, who are registered and all other inhabitants, who hold a longtime-stay permit.



BACKGROUND

SHENZHEN 深圳

01.1 INTRODUCTION

01.1.1 Introduction & research questions

China on the fast track:

China's GDP annual growth rate increased steadily during the last decades, resulting in rates that exceed an annual rate of 10 percent. Shenzhen's GDP growth rate as an example, was at 10.5 percent in 2013 (Statistical Yearbook Shenzhen, 2013, p. 23). Though China's economy slowed down during the last years, it is still on the fast track compared to most of the western nations [pic02]. But the rapid economic growth has brought up challenges as well, such as high inequality and problems concerning the environmental sustainability, that need more attention during such rapid urbanization China is experiencing. Due to the aging population and the high influx of rural migrants from all over China into the big cities, China has to deal with immense demographic pressures. Although China's development during the last decades seems record-

breaking, it still remains a developing country. According to the World Bank, about '98.99 million people still live below the national poverty line', and therefore China has the 'second largest number of poor in the world after India' (World Bank, 2014).

In order to manage the rapid urban expansion, the Chinese government established extensive reforms concerning the government of land and housing allocation. Although China kept some features of a socialist society, such as the distinction between state- or collective-owned land, China has introduced market forces in the 1990s that define the process of urbanization, where individuals have more options to decide where to work and live.

On the one hand, China's urbanization may have led to significant improvements in the welfare system, but on the other hand, China's household registration system, called hukou, still excludes millions of migrants from making individual decisions and from obtaining social and health insurance. Although since 2014, the distinction between rural and urban hukou, which is accompanied by a welfare system that bounds a person to her or his place of origin, has been repealed, there are still decisive restrictions for immigration to bigger cities, such as Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Shenzhen. As a consequence,

China has millions of 'illegal' migrants moving to bigger cities, not being registered and accordingly not having the chance to participate in the local welfare system and getting integrated into the local society.

The 'urbanized villages of Shenzhen':

Shenzhen is a city where the gentrification is an everywhere present phenomenon. One can observe migrant workers all around the city, constructing hundreds of high-rise buildings for the high income-class, whereas they themselves get allocated under precarious conditions in temporary shelters or in one of the still existing 'urbanized villages' of Shenzhen. It is not uncommon that newly constructed, luxurious apartments inside the central city area never get inhabited but just serve as an investment for the rich (cf. Guo, 2015, June 25). At the same time the still existing 'urbanized villages' seem to be bursting at the seams.

As the city cannot or doesn't feel responsible to offer enough affordable housing for the low-income group, the demand for a fairly priced room inside an 'urbanized village' is insatiable. Those people, serving the state to realize its megalomaniac dream of endless economic and urban growth, still have to live a life under horrendous conditions and the state doesn't make an effort to change their status inside the society and their access to the government's subsidies.

The experiences I made during my exchange semester at Shenzhen University strengthened my interest for the City Shenzhen. This city itself, its contrasts in urban formation, that support and bear out social stratification, fascinated me. I coincidentally discovered an 'urbanized village' for the first time during my research for a workshop. I got curious about this idiosyncratic urban formation inside the city, and soon decided to spend time on the examination of Shenzhen in order to find out more about its 'urbanized villages'.

My focus will be set on Gangxia village, which is the last still existing 'urbanized village' inside the Central Business District of Shenzhen.

An interesting phenomenon of Shenzhen's 'urbanized villages' is that those dense areas accommodate the majority of Shenzhen's population but have the minority of land occupation. Today Shenzhen has 304 'urbanized villages', housing about half the city population by only 5 per cent of its landmass (cf. Guo, 2015, p. 35). The prevailing existence of 'urbanized villages' is based on the rural urban dualistic system, which is historically defined. From 1949 until 1952 the agrarian revolution land reform changes were carried out, land was confiscated from the large landowners and then handed over to the farmers' collectives. Land that was already urbanised by then

[pic02] Shenzhen, View towards Hong Kong Border



reverted to the state. Since that very moment this 'farmer/citizen-status' is directly linked to the right of possessing land. In other words the farmers have the right to possess land while citizens don't have.

In order to control the production, Mao Zedong gave autonomy to the farming villages with an equal share of the outcome for each farmer.

This caused a drop in motivation and consequently the productivity declined. As a result, Mao Zedong introduced the Private Reserved land scheme in 1963. Now it was allowed to harvest a small portion of land privately which caused an immediate increase in productivity.

After Mao Zedong died in 1965, the so-called Household Responsibility System came up and allowed the farmers to lease the collective land without a need to pay. It was transformed into law in the following years and was an immediate success (cf. Uehara, 2007, p. 54).

Compared to earlier times, the farmers now started to produce in dependence of the demand. Combined with the autonomy of the farming villages, the 'economic miracle' started to flourish. Finally the Open Door Policy and the introduction of the Special Economic Zones under Deng Xiaoping were the decisive factors for the development of these 'urbanized villages'.

To fully comprehend the evolution of 'urbanized villages', one has to study the unique history of Shenzhen.

35 years ago the City Shenzhen, located in Guangdong province, China, was just a small border town situated in the north of Hong Kong. After China's Reform and Open Up in 1980, Shenzhen was defined as one of the four so called 'Special Economic Zones'. A rapid urbanization process led to the growth from a village inhabited by 30 000 villagers to a city of more than 10 million inhabitants today [pic03]. The villages, which existed in that area got overrun by an enormous amount of high-rise buildings and gradually became part of the city, causing the effect of transformation from traditional villages to so-called 'urbanized villages'.

During the process of urbanization and industrialization, rural land was requisitioned and native farmers were left only their housing sites and some collective land in order to guarantee a stable income and to avoid unemployment. As these 'villages' were beyond the management of the municipal government, their administration was left to the community committees and the joint-stock companies of the 'villages', run by the indigenous villagers. Though the traditional clan- and family-system and its collective structure have been preserved, the inhabitants could nevertheless take part in economic businesses, which resulted in the achievement of a constant modernization process. The building's ground floors were given commercial functions that provided opportunity to open

small shops, owned by original inhabitants but run mainly by migrants. Since these 'urbanized villages' offered the only affordable housing for the floating population in Shenzhen, they gradually became a place of integration and communication, defined by different groups of migrants coming from all over China.

Factories were built, enterprises got attracted through industrialization, and the 'villages' gradually started to interact with the surrounding areas.

Framed by high-rise buildings, these 'urbanized villages' are spread all over the city. Despite the rapid change of Shenzhen's cityscape, one can still find some relicts of traditional villages, though one has to know exactly where to find them, since most of the original structures have been demolished.

As the 'villages' experienced a densification and intensification over time, they are now among the most densely populated urban environments in the world.

Many 'urbanized villages' that are located in central parts of the city, are under high redevelopment pressure today [pic04]. However, the value of the land close to the Central Business District increases constantly and indigenous villagers became more self-confident in bargaining for higher compensations. So one can observe that many developers do not want to risk investments for redevelopment in those areas anymore. They recently prefer to invest in real-estate projects that are either supposed to

replace 'urbanized villages' in the urban fringe or are to be built on empty land in the suburban areas.

As a result the developers keep a 'wait and see' position towards the development of 'urbanized villages' in the city centre, as the price of the land increases and the chance to make a profit-maximization decreases with increasing centre-proximity.

A typical redevelopment debate involves three actors, the indigenous villager, the developer and the government. In case of such a debate, the indigenous villager knows exactly what to do and doesn't hesitate to fight for the best compensation he can get paid by the government.

“Slow growth equals stagnation and even retrogression. We must grasp opportunities; the present offers an excellent one. The only thing I worry about is that we may lose opportunities. If we don't seize them, they will slip through our fingers as time speeds by.”

[Deng Xiaoping, Shenzhen Tour, 1992]

[pic03] Shenzhen, View towards Luohu district





[pic04] Redeveloped city area bordering Gangxia South-West



[pic05] Surrounding city area bordering Gangxia North

The thesis, questions and expected outcomes:

My thesis will deal on a macro level - the urban scale - with the 'urbanized villages' of Shenzhen and on a micro level - the neighbourhood scale - with the living environment inside Gangxia village.

The main objective of this thesis will be to better understand and to provide an insight into 'urbanized villages' and their complexity. It aims to comprehend the dynamics and characteristics of Gangxia village and its persistence as the last surviving 'village' inside the Central business district of Shenzhen [pic05]. Different types of informal activities that shape Gangxia, that enable its flourishing economy and which may contribute to its survival, will be revealed. Through interviews with inhabitants of Gangxia, who are actively involved in those informal activities, main focus will be set on the perception and the requirements of the people, in order to reveal values and qualities of the living inside Gangxia village.

Following central questions will be analysed:

- **How** does an idiosyncratic urban formation like the 'urbanized village' arise and how can it still remain in a city that undergoes an enduring transformation process?
- **Which** actions and activities of informal businesses can we find inside Gangxia, and who are the actors involved in those activities?

- **How** do people, involved in the informal activities interact with the space and urban structure of Gangxia village and what do we discover by observing these diverse spaces?

- **Facing the fact** that 'urbanized villages' in Shenzhen are undergoing a constant transformation process – how does this affect Gangxia Village and its people, relating to their daily-life habits, their living environment as well as their interaction with space and the urban structure?

- **What** drives the persistence of 'Gangxia Village' and will it still exist in future years?

After I stayed at Shenzhen University in 2013, I went there for a second time in May 2015 and stayed until August 2015. During the first month of my stay I lived in a student dorm of Harbin Institute of Technology Shenzhen Graduate School, which allowed me to regularly meet Prof. Ma Hang, who wrote the Dissertation "Villages" in Shenzhen – Persistence and Transformation of an Old Social System in an Emerging Mega City'. She was my tutor and helped me with the conduction of my research. Besides, she introduced me to Wan Yan, a young architect who works in Shenzhen and who focuses on the research of 'urbanized villages'. Recently Wan Yan is doing a research project inside Gangxia village in cooperation with an NGO.

Through the support of this group of, I could obtain sufficient information and statistics about Gangxia village. After the first month of my stay at the HIT University, I moved to Gangxia Village, in the the Eastern part of Shenzhen's Central Business District [pic06]. Thanks to a Chinese research partner named Litao, I could rent a room inside Gangxia village, where I lived inside one of Gangxia's typical 'handshake' buildings. Through multiple observations inside the busiest street of Gangxia and face-to-face conversations with the inhabitants, I could obtain broad insights and lucrative information. My experiences as being part of the 'village' broadened my horizon and had a lasting effect on me professionally and personally.

[pic06] Birdview of Gangxia Village



01.1 INTRODUCTION

01.1.2 Facts & Information about China and Shenzhen

The Country:

People's Republic of China (PRC), [map01]

Composition:

It is the second-largest country in the world by land area, after Russia. China's total area is approximately 9,600,000 km². The Country has a population of more than 1,37 billion people of which 56% live in urban agglomerations (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2015).

Neighbours:

China holds the longest combined land border in the world, which measures 22.117 km. It borders 14 nations, which are Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, India, Bhutan, Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Russia, Mongolia and North Korea. Besides, China shares maritime boundaries with South Korea, Japan, Vietnam, and the Philippines [map02].

Languages:

There are about 292 living languages in China. The official national language of China and the most commonly spoken is Standard Mandarin (70% of the population). There are many other ethnic minority languages, i.e. in southwest China, including Zhuang, Thai, Dong and Sui. Chinese characters are a main part of the Chinese culture and have been used for thousands of years (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2015).

Politics:

The People's Republic of China remains one of the world's few socialist states that follow state communism and is ruled by the Communist Party of China (CPC). Its political, economic and ideological system gets defined through the 'people's democratic dictatorship', 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' and the 'socialist market economy' (China Encyclopedia, 2015).

The City:

sub-provincial City Shenzhen, [map04]

Location:

Shenzhen is a major city in Guangdong Province, located in the Pearl River Delta, [map03]. It is bordering the north of Hong Kong, Special Administrative Region. Shenzhen has a population of 10,6 million people living in the city [fig01].

Megacity:

Shenzhen's vibrant economy since the 'reform and open-up policy' in 1979 made it one of the fastest-growing cities in the world during the 1990s and the 2000s. However, about 6 million people of Shenzhen's total population are non-local migrant workers. Therefore, Shenzhen is the largest migrant city in China (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2015).

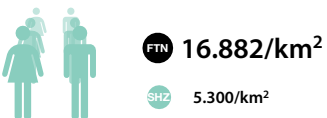
total population (million)



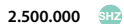
surface (km²)



population (million)



local hukou holders (permanent registration)



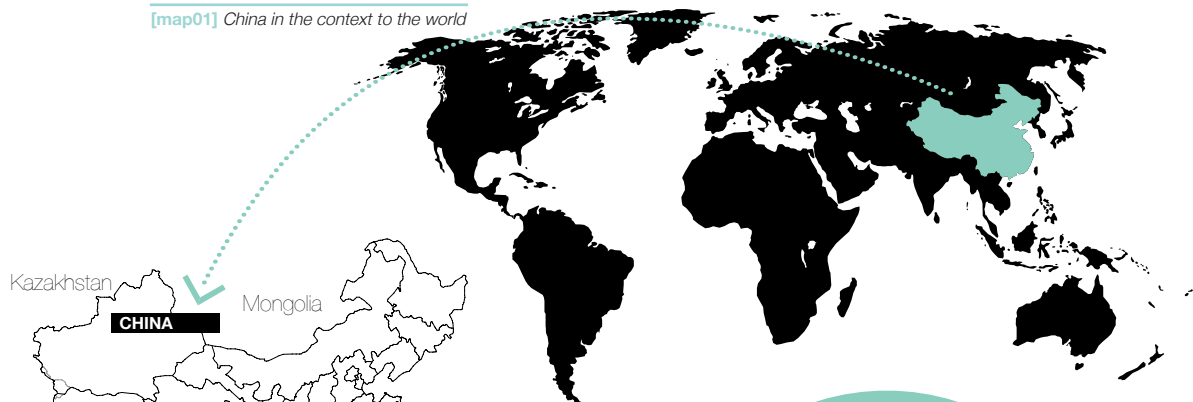
migrants (non-permanent registration)



[fig01] Shenzhen City and Futian District in numbers

- SHZ SHENZHEN CITY
- FTN FUTIAN DISTRICT

[map01] China in the context to the world



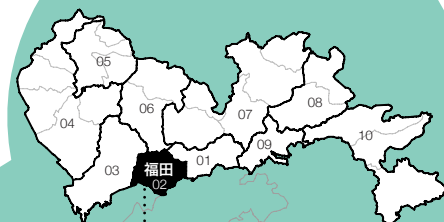
[map02] People's Republic of China

GUANGDONG PROVINCE



[map03] Guangdong Province

SHENZHEN 深圳



FUTIAN DISTRICT

[map04] Shenzhen City and Futian District 0 10km

- 01 LUOHU DISTRICT
- 02 FUTIAN DISTRICT
- 03 NANSHAN DISTRICT
- 04 BAO'AN DISTRICT
- 05 GUANGMING DISTRICT
- 06 LONGHUA DISTRICT
- 07 LONGGANG DISTRICT
- 08 PINGSHAN DISTRICT
- 09 YANTIAN DISTRICT
- 10 DAPENG DISTRICT
- BORDER DISTRICTS
- URBANIZED AREA FUTIAN DISTRICT
- URBANIZED AREA OTHER DISTRICTS

1950s - 1960s

Mao Zedong



1949

Politisation of chinese society and economic institutions.

Foundation of **People's Republic of China**.

Communist regime's birth - **'the rural besieging of the urban'**.

Cities regarded as the beachhead of capitalism and got strictly controlled, which caused a **stagnation of the cities' development**.



stagnation, because of:

1. replication of the **soviet model of planned economy**.
(concentration on excessive targeted outputs from agriculture) with capital for industrialisation, but no healthy and sustainable development of agriculture and cities.
2. **1947-1991**: Cold War and its focus on construction of **'third front' cities** (inland military cities).
3. **1958**: introduction of the **hukou system** (hukou - 户口) - household registration, population management and restriction of free rural migration to the cities.
4. **1960's**: Urban young people were sent to work on the countryside or on mountains, as a **'counter-urbanisation' process** evacuating 20 million people for the next 25 years, to relieve the problem of unemployment in the cities.



1949-1951

agrarian revolution - land got confiscated from the large landowners and handed over as either the farmer's collectives 'agricultural land' or the state's 'urbanised land'.



1958

In order to make the country operational, autonomy is given to

farmng villages and each farmer is obtaining an **equal share** of the harvest.

Productivity drops dramatically. Due to unusual weather and to poorly planned and poorly executed irrigation works a **huge famine** spread all over China, causing millions of deaths in the years between 1958 and 1961

1966

Cultural Revolution - 'Destroy the old to establish the new', and preserve 'true' Communist ideology in the country by purging remnants of capitalist and traditional elements from Chinese society to re-impose Maoist thought as the dominant ideology within the Party.

1970s - 1980s

Deng Xiaoping



1978

Deng Xiaoping's **Open Door Policy**

1978

At the shift from a planned to a marked economy **China's urban population is 18%**.



1980's

Economic reformation carried out **in rural areas** caused an economic growth, still using the strategy of planned economy.

1980's

Establishment of **Special Economic Zones** in coastal cities,

(opening the market to trade, communication and investment with the outside world), such as

Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou, Xiamen and Hainan Island.

Focus on the development of large cities and the formation of village enterprises in villages and towns.



1980

The **rate of urbanisation in China** was still **less than 50%** of the rate in most developed countries, and less than 70% of the rate in other developing countries.

1982

The 1982 constitution provided for the 'socialist public ownership' of the means of production, which takes two forms:

1. **state ownership**
2. **collective ownership**

1983

A new **wave of reforms** grants farmers new rights to sell crops directly to markets outside their hometowns and take up employment or set up 'their own businesses in cities, which caused **rural urban migration**.



1988

Marketization of land through adoption of Hong Kong's land policy - local governments started to lease land through the **transfer of land-use rights**.

The City's income now consists of:

1. industrial tax
2. commercial tax
3. **selling of leased land rights**



1989

Deng Xiaoping introduces **lease system in farming**, that offers the possibility to lease collective land without payment.

An immediate success shows up and the **'flourishing economic' miracle** starts to happen.



1989

Dissatisfaction of slowing economic reform and urbanisation after the **Tiananmen Square protest**. Deng Xiaoping's announcement of **'bigger reform steps to be taken'**.

1992

2nd Tour of Deng Xiaoping through Southern China.

The land use market combined with speedy expansion of new urban areas,

and productive use of the land with cheap human resources,

transformed China into an **economic wonderland** and a **'production factory of the world'**.



mid-1990s



Jiang Zemin

1994

Reformation of taxation system - raising and distribution of **land value-added taxes**.

Enforcement of central government's control over local income tax (arising from land revenues),

increasing local government's development of tertiary industry and real estate.

Intensified involvement of local government in commercial forms of property.



1998

Focus on **housing system reforms** on privatisation - new 'commodified' private housing for the masses.

Elimination of the old system of linking housing with employment, causing:

1. relocated residents quickly buying new homes
2. economic growth
3. contradictions because loans and subsidies for buying houses don't suffice, and result in a **bigger gap between rich and poor**.

2000s



Hu Jintao

2004

30,000 registered complaints to the ministry of construction, which **oversaw urban residents' relocation**.

2007

Landmark property law to protect **residents' private property rights**

2011

China's 12th Five-year Plan plans to accommodate the expanding urban population, by **establishing more than 36 million subsidised housing units**.



2012

For the first time a regulation of 2012 allows **migrant workers in Shenzhen** to receive **urban hukou**, through an **evaluation system**.



2014

Abolition of the decades old distinction between **urban and rural hukou** holders.

According to an estimate by the Ministry of Public Security and National Bureau of Statistics,

around **100 million migrant workers** are expected to have their **hukou transferred to cities** by **2020**

2015

China's **urban population** rate is **56% !!!** (within 37 years growth rate of 38%)

01.2 PROFILE OF SHENZHEN CITY

01.2.1 History & Urban Development

From a fishing village to a Megacity:

Before China's Open Door Policy was introduced in 1978, Shenzhen was just a small town bordering Hong Kong, in Guangdong Province, Southern China. Today it encloses an area of about 2050 km² and a population of almost 11.000.000 inhabitants (cf. Guo, 2015, p. 35). The Shenzhen Special Economic Zone (SSEZ) included an area of 392 km² and originally comprised the districts Luohu, Futian, Nanshan and Yantian (cf. Kam Ng, 2003, p. 429). In 2010 the SSEZ got expanded through the addition of the districts Bao'an, Longgang, Guangming, Longhua, Pingshan and Dapeng [map05]. Geographically the City expanded along its East-West axis. It gets flanked by Shenzhen Bay and the Pearl River Estuary in the West, the Hong Kong Border in the South and the Mirs Bay in the East. Dongguan and Huizhou are bordering Shen-

hen's Northern area.

Shenzhen is located within the once rural Bao'an County, which was set up in the fourth century. In the 17th century the Qing Dynasty government constructed defence towers in Bao'an. One of the towers was named 'Shenzhen'. 'Shen' means 'deep' and 'Zhen' means 'drains', referring to the deep drains in the baddy fields surrounding the area. In 1911 Shenzhen got a small railway station as a connecting point between Hong Kong and Guangzhou. After the introduction of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and its collectivization process followed by a Cultural Revolution in the 1960s, Bao'an County staid poor until the late 1970's (cf. Kam Ng, 2003, p. 430). The society by then was demoralized and unmotivated. Strictly controlled by the central government, the economy couldn't grow and the centrally planned economy was close to a col-

lapse. Hence various reforms were initiated, including the decentralization of administrative functions to the local governments.

Open Door Policy and the Special Economic Zone:

In 1979 the City of Shenzhen was officially set up and the open door policy initiated by Deng Xiaoping attracted foreign investment. According to the statistical yearbook of Shenzhen (1980) the total population by then was only 0.31 million, with an additional temporary population of 1500 people. In 2001 the total population increased to 4.69 million, with 3.3 million (72%) people living in Shenzhen temporarily. The developed land area of Shenzhen grew from only 20 km² in 1983 to 2050 km² in 2013 (cf. Shenzhen Government online, 2014).

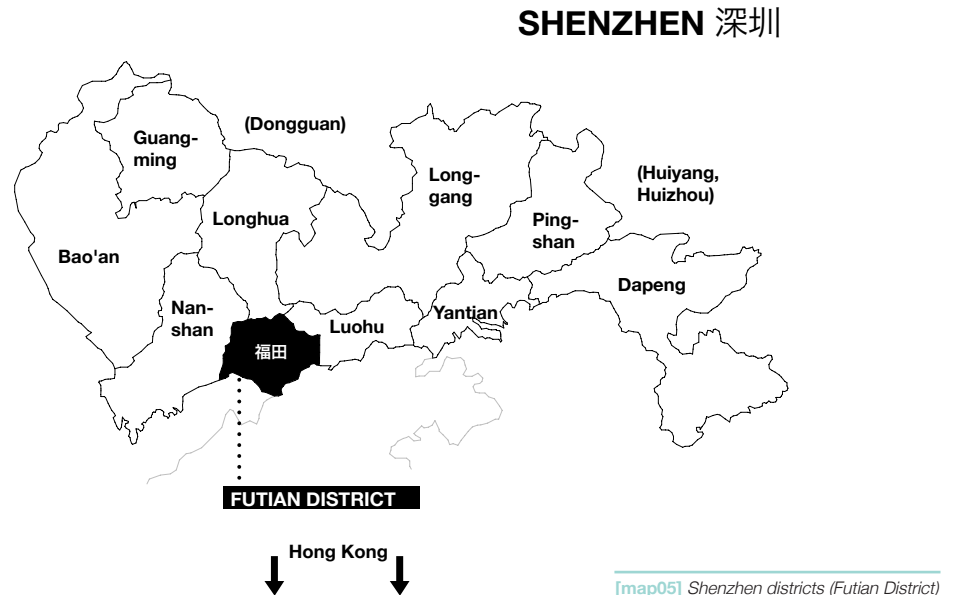
During the urbanization process, rural land was acquired and native farmers were left only their housing plots. As the Municipal Government didn't feel responsible for the management of these villages, rural committees of these villages developed the so-called 'joint stock companies', holding shares for every villager.

From 1980 until 1985 Shenzhen got ahead of almost all its socio-economic and production targets. During this phase, domestic capital was the main driving force behind the economic miracle. Foreign investors still didn't dare to invest, due to a lack of adequate physical and legal infrastructure in Shenzhen (cf. Kam Ng, 2003, p. 433).

Market forces and export:

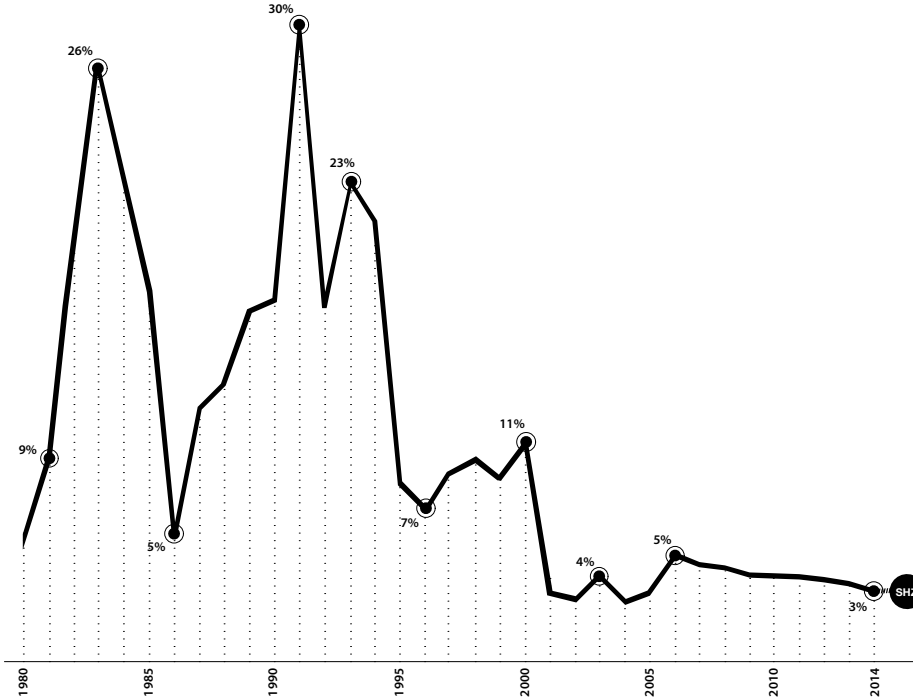
The second phase is characterized by the development of an export-oriented economy in 1986. This was realized through the construction of a better infrastructure and through five points of administrative reforms in the 1980s and 1990s, such as the decentralization of power in order to enhance efficiency. In 1986 Shenzhen already had an exporting rate of 30-40% (cf. Bai, Shi and Liu, 2014, p. 159). Through the distinction between the land ownership, that remained in the hands of the state and land use rights, which could be bought and sold, the land market in the SSEZ got introduced in 1988. The Government now increased its revenues by expropriating the urban land and then leasing it to private developers. Hence, in the 1990s, foreign investors didn't focus on industries anymore, but changed to real estate, commerce, finance and trade. Since housing market wasn't under the states control anymore but driven by market forces, prices for housing and shops increased enormously between 1990 until 1994. The city government changed wide areas of rural land to urban. The value of the surrounding areas increased automatically. Since investors now bought land-use rights in these areas, the local government could finance new projects. This is the main strategy that led Shenzhen to its enormous growth. In order to enable this growth, the government needed millions of cheap labour force. Nowhere else could these people be provided

affordable housings but in the 'urbanized villages' of Shenzhen'. From a spatial point of view those 'urbanized villages' may seem to be blocking the city's possibilities for expansion, but in fact they were the major catalyser and contributor to Shenzhen's economic miracle and urbanization.



01.2 PROFILE OF SHENZHEN CITY

01.2.2 Characteristics of the city



SHZ Shenzhen City annual population growth rate (%)

[fig03] Shenzhen population growth

Population growth:

Since the establishment of the SEZ Shenzhen's population developed rapidly. The numbers of inhabitants increased dramatically since the 1980s [fig03].

Shenzhen has a population structure of two opposing extremes: intellectuals who are highly educated on the one side, and migrant workers with poor education on the other.

Immigration into Shenzhen from Mainland China is still strictly controlled by China's hukou system. Though a relaxation of the hukou has been conducted in 2014, Shenzhen still applies a strict point system to control the immigration of millions of migrant workers who seek for a job in this Megacity [map06].



↑ ↑ ↑
GUANGZHOU 广州

DONGGUAN 东莞

SHENZHEN 深圳

HONG KONG 香港

[map06] Shenzhen in the context to Guangdong Province

01.2 PROFILE OF SHENZHEN CITY

01.2.3 The urban planning under the socialist market economy

The birth of the new urban planning:

Before the introduction of foreign investment and the high influx of population, the urban planners' job was to plan for the central ministries. As the population movement used to be strictly controlled and foreign investments didn't exist before, China's urban planners had no idea how to build a city that follows the market development [pic08]. There was a need for strategic planning and for 'restructuring a centrally planned economy into one with 'market' elements in a reforming socialist market economy. The planners basically had to change a 'more or less administratively set spatial pattern into one that facilitates 'market' mechanisms, that is the circulation and accumulation of capital' (Kam Ng, 2003, p. 435). In order to develop Shenzhen into a modern world city with a 'flourishing economy and a wealthy society' (Uehara, 2008, p. 53), the two counties Longgang and Bao'an outside the SSEZ were adjoined as districts to the Shenzhen Municipality in 1993.

At that time the chaotic industrialization and urbanization process led to confusing linear developments along major roads. Former indigenous farmers have built an enormous amount of illegal constructions on their compensated residential plots. Though they were only allowed to build a maximum of three storeys, the fees they would have had to pay in case of illegally added storeys were far less than the profit they could make by renting those illegal floors to migrants and increasing the building's heights regularly.

The spatial and economic structure of Shenzhen:

Spatially the city is stretching in a linear way from east to west. It is divided into urban clusters, framed by green belts that fill up the empty spaces in between these islands. The Eastern part of the City, where Luohu district is situated [pic07], has been planned for commercial, residential and industrial uses and was the first central business district area. In the 1990s Futian district became the second and new city centre.



[pic07] Shenzhen, Luohu District, 1985

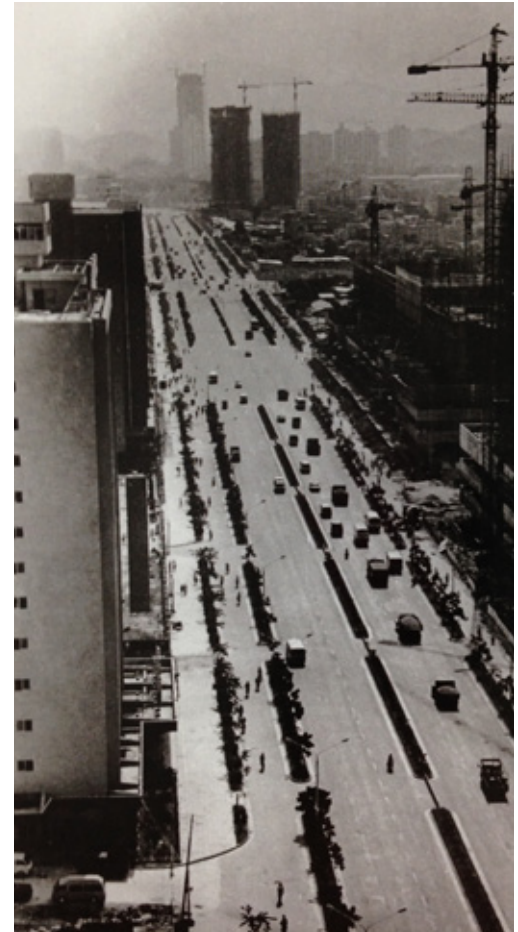
After the land market had been introduced in Shenzhen, different interests for development competed inside Shenzhen. The Shenzhen Municipal government by then realized that new reforms were necessary for better coordinating the planning and development of the City. Furthermore the problem of “illegal” constructions and land use changes couldn’t be ignored anymore if it was about to win the competitions for restructuring plans of the city. Although standard procedures have been established that should control unauthorized development, there are still illegal developments in Shenzhen.

The failed development controls and strengthened market forces led to the fact that the government underestimated the retailing and commercial needs of the constantly growing population in a city where consumption increased enormously. The market forces focused on maximizing the profits and exploiting the existing policy loopholes, for meeting the needs of the growing population.

Shenzhen had to deal with the birth and growth of a socialist market economy. It underwent a transformation from an industry led SEZ supported by domestic capital [pic09], to a booming city that attracts millions of migrants and foreign capital. It changed from a small border town to a regional centre of finance, trade, high tech and commerce in Southern China.



[pic08] Shenzhen, fishing village before development, 1960s



[pic09] Shenzhen, Shennan Boulevard, 1984

01.2 PROFILE OF SHENZHEN CITY

01.2.4 China's hukou system

The discrimination against rural migrants:

The Chinese hukou system (户口), which is a residence permit system, was introduced in the early 1950s under Mao Zedong and formalised in 1958. It divides the Chinese society into urban ('non-agricultural') and rural ('agricultural') residents. In order to ensure public security, but also to control migration, those with rural hukou were prevented from moving to Chinese Cities until the late 1970s. This system was successful in avoiding 'the emergence of shantytowns engulfing China's cities' (Goodburn, 2014, para. 2). Until today the state tries to control the population through formalized and controlled processes. The maintenance of some 'urbanized villages' in certain areas of the city is a welcome opportunity for the state to house thousands of migrants and avoid social discontent [fig05].

The introduction of the hukou system helped the state to control China's demographic development.

A hukou automatically passes from mother to child and therefore influences the people's migrations and their access to the state's services over generations. The rural people were seen as the 'grain producers' whereas urbanites were seen as 'grain-consumers' (Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 2014, para. 1). Depending on where they were employed, and where they lived, they were assigned to a fix location and had no other choice but being confined to a certain geographic position. Only urban hukou holders, who lived in the city, were allocated with basic goods, while rural hukou holders were supposed to live a self-sufficient life. Strict control regulated the stability of the system by reporting every new comer to the authorities. If a peasant, who

moved to the city, got caught, he was either sent back or prevented from obtaining food.

The relaxation and new regulations:

However after 1985 the growing urban private sector asked for a huge number of low-paid workers from the rural areas. Now the state urgently needed labour force in the cities and in areas that were supposed to be urbanized according to China's 5-year plans. The decrease of cultivated land led to a large surplus of peasants, who moved to the cities seeking for work, establishing migrants-networks and motivating others to migrate. The central government now started to decimate the restrictions for rural-urban migration and implemented a relaxation of the hukou laws that enabled a large-scale migration to urban China.

In the late 1990's prior hukou reforms got deepened and expanded, such as:

1. 'A national relaxation of limitations on migration to small towns and cities'
2. 'Moves towards streamlining hukou registration to small towns and cities'
3. 'Numerous individual local reforms'

(Goodburn, 2014, para. 1)

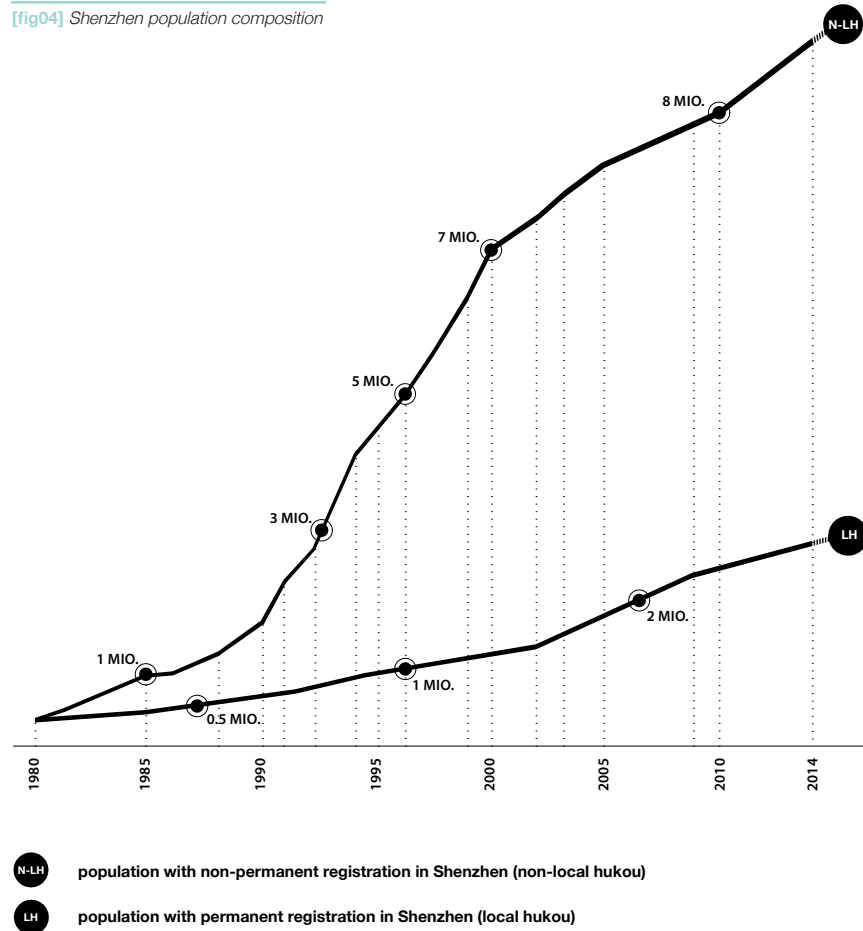
In 2003 migrants were no longer sent back to their place of origin, if being caught entering urban areas. However, the services one receives from the state (education, health- and social insurance, etc.) are until today still linked to the hukou one obtains and inequality keeps on continuing. It is still nearly impossible to transfer one's hukou registration place, especially from rural to urban, or i.e. from a township to one of China's Mega cities.

If a migrant wants to transfer her or his hukou registration to a certain urban area, she/he must still meet locally set criteria. These reforms ask rural migrants to:

1. Have a 'stable job or source of income'
2. Have a 'stable place of residence for over two years'

(Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 2014, para. 1)

[fig04] Shenzhen population composition



The end of the rural-urban distinction:

In 2013 President Xi Jinping announced a relaxation and restructuring of the system and in July 2014 the 'end of the hukou system' has been announced. A reform was outlined and a new policy will 'establish a uniform household registration system that does not distinguish between 'agricultural' and 'non-agricultural' (Goodburn, 2014, para. 5). It is changed to a 'resident's hukou', that registers the hukou holder at his place of origin. Still the difference between local and non-local hukou, which concerns the provision of state service like education, healthcare, housing and social welfare, remains unchanged. People, who plan to stay at a place where they are not registered, still have to apply for temporary residence permit in their chosen place. Consequently they will receive equal rights with the locals concerning health care, employment and education. If they stay for a long period of time and fulfill certain criteria, an application for a local hukou is possible.

The existing limits on hukou registration are removed in towns and smaller cities. Different restrictions in medium-sized cities are relaxed, while in the largest cities, strict registration control remains. It still strictly controls the scale of migration by using a points-based system that prefers the educated and wealthy ones. With these recent reforms, small cities should experience an influx of former

rural residents, and boost the local economy, especially in central and western China, as these areas are less developed.

As a conclusion, one can state that the new policies do not really benefit prospective rural-urban migrants. While small cities from now on have completely open hukou applications, medium and of course very large cities still retain various conditions, 'referring to the type and seniority of employment, the type of housing, the payment into urban social insurance schemes and the length of residence of the applicant' (The Wall Street Journal, 2014, para. 9).

Restrictions for migrating to Shenzhen:

Most cities can transform the reforms according to their own needs and preferences. So does Shenzhen, as it is located in the Guangdong province, which is regulated by a decentralised system, 'a point system determines the hukou eligibility. Older criteria included gender, age, level of education, hometown, and local sponsorship' (Goodburn, 2014, para. 6). Shenzhen has been loosening its requirements for educated workers from other cities to attract qualified labour force to the city. But local hukou holders are still extremely under-represented by the city's population [fig04]. A much higher amount of local hukou holders means that Shenzhen would have to offer more

schools, hospitals, and affordable housing.

Local and non-local hukou:

One has to make clear that the elimination of the 'agricultural/non-agricultural' hukou distinction in the hukou system isn't directly linked to local and non-local. Having an urban hukou, doesn't mean being able to enjoy the full benefits the state provides, like in case of possessing a local hukou. An urban-urban migrant i.e. is excluded from the services in the same way as a rural-urban migrants, because both of them are officially 'non-local'.

Besides, the current reforms do not address the questions related to the land use rights. To persuade the agricultural hukou holders of transferring it to a non-agricultural hukou might get a challenge, since for them it means relinquishing all their rights to rural land. Though the transfer would bring direct access to state resources, many of them still do not want to give up their possession of land inside the city, as it is of very high value.

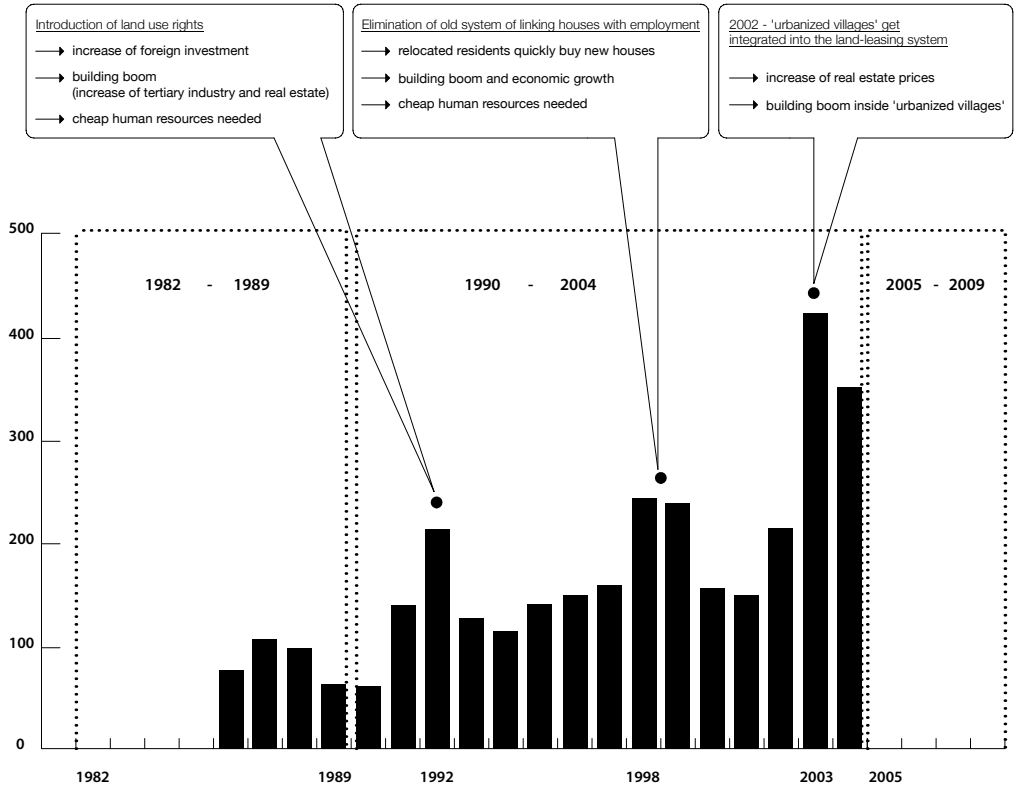
Since the Government's need for urban land is extremely high, until today the hukou reforms have set focus on the transfer of the agricultural hukou of urban residents, instead of hukou reforms, which address the migrants.

The vast majority of Chinese migrants is still excluded by most of the hukou system reforms. As a result, poor rural

migrants who arrive in urban areas 'fail to meet the criteria mentioned above, and are excluded from receiving the social services their neighbours enjoy' (Congressional-Executive Commission on China, 2014, p. 3). During the last twenty years, some protests of migrant workers took place throughout China, who aimed for higher wages and a better insurance system [pic10].



[pic10] Protests of migrant workers in China, 2004



Informal housing of Shenzhen's 'urbanized villages', rate per year
深圳城中村非正规住房历年建设面积

[fig05] Shenzhen informal housing

01.2 PROFILE OF SHENZHEN CITY

01.2.5 Limited rights of migrant workers

The majority of the population within ‘urbanized villages’ are migrants. Many residents from rural areas leave their homes and become migrants in order to find a job and an affordable place to stay. Since China’s agricultural land experienced a massive decrease during the last decades and the main economic development happens in the cities of China, many residents from rural areas leave their homes and become migrants moving to one of China’s booming cities. Once arrived in a urban agglomeration, they encounter many restrictions and exclusions from the local welfare system. Due to their rural hukou, which is linked to their homeplace, they cannot obtain the same services as they would do in the place where they come from. Whereas people who are highly educated have better chances to obtain the city’s subsidies, migrants who are mostly low-skilled find themselves in the lowest

level of the society’s hierarchy. Shenzhen basically divides its inhabitants into three types: The B-permit holder, the A-permit holder and the registered resident [fig06]. A person who finds an employment in Shenzhen, receives a B-permit. That means the person is officially allowed to work and to rent a place in Shenzhen. However, holding a B-permit doesn’t give a person the right to take part in the city’s welfare system, like public education, social insurance, etc. Once a person has a steady job which is based on a (at least) three-years contract, the higher ranked A-permit can be achieved. With an A-permit a person has the right to (in addition to the rights of the B-permit) receive a 90% coverage of medical costs, a right to loan from a bank, and the guarantee that the children can attend one of the city’s public schools. If an A-permit holder paid more than 240.000 RMB (= 33.600 euros,

November 2015) taxes in a time period of three years to the local government, she or he can get officially registered and subsequently take part in the city’s welfare system. Being registered is the highest level one can achieve in the local government’s welfare system. Another chance to get registered, besides the payment of taxes, is to earn a senior professional certificate, which can be obtained through long time employment in Shenzhen or employment as a specialist or expert. The indigenous villagers of Shenzhen’s urbanized villages can be regarded as an exceptional part of Shenzhen’s society, as they obtained official registration as a compensation for their relocated households, after the local government took their land for urban expansion. As these indigenous villagers are registered, they can take part in the city’s welfare system with all the subsidies it offers, normally just to the highly educated and wealthy ones. An additional advantage of being registered is that an unemployed person can obtain the driving licence for free.

Presently, the majority of people living inside ‘urbanized villages’ has a B-permit [fig09], which can be explained by the highly represented migrants inside the ‘villages’. Most of the people who are registered, move out of ‘urbanized villages’ as soon as they undergo the official registration, as then they can afford to live in more expensive places.

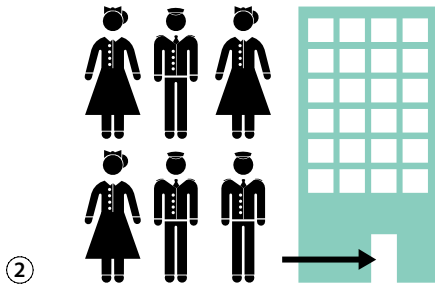
[fig06] Limited rights of the floating population in Shenzhen

B- PERMIT >>>>>>

° A STEADY JOB (3-YEAR CONTRACT)



①



②

① A PLACE TO LIVE

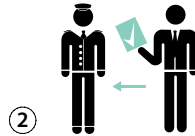
② A JOB

A- PERMIT >>>>>>

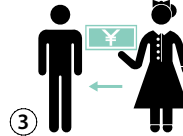
° HOUSEHOLD GETS RELOCATED DUE TO POLICY
° PAID MORE THAN 240,000 RMB TAX IN 3 YEARS
° EARNED SENIOR PROFESSIONAL CERTIFICATE



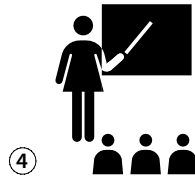
①



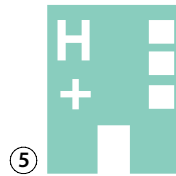
②



③



④



⑤

① A PLACE TO LIVE

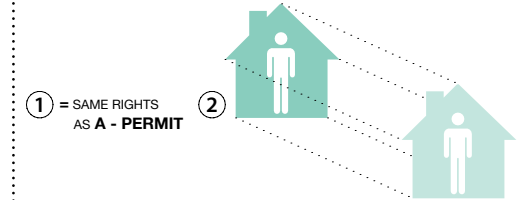
② A 3-YEARS JOB CONTRACT

③ RIGHT TO LOAN FROM BANK

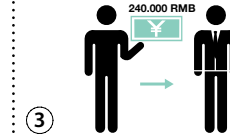
④ CHILDREN ATTEND SCHOOL

⑤ RIGHT TO COVER 90% MEDICAL COST

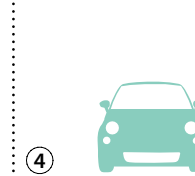
REGISTERED ✓



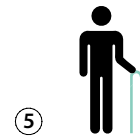
① = SAME RIGHTS AS A - PERMIT



③



④



⑤

① SAME RIGHTS AS A-PERMIT

② HOUSEHOLDS RELOCATED DUE TO POLICY

③ PAID MORE THAN 240,000 RMB TAX IN 3 YEARS

④ LEARN TO DRIVE FOR FREE WHEN UNEMPLOYED

⑤ EARNED SENIOR-PROFESSIONAL CERTIFICATE

LIMITED RIGHTS OF FLOATING POPULATION

01.3 THE 'URBANIZED VILLAGES' OF SHENZHEN - AN INTRODUCTION

01.3.1 Introduction & history

“Upon my first visit to a Village in the City, I saw a dense structure abruptly interrupting the cityscapes of Chinese urbanity. This anomalous fabric consisted of tiny towers, mostly seven floors high, in an extremely compressed layout, as if it were zipped up electronically. The impression was one of human scale, a feeling of place and space that was missing in the surrounding make-believe city. I was told that this settlement had previously been a farming village.”

[Yushi Uehara, Guangzhou, 2004]



[pic11] Rooftops of Gangxia Village, 2015

China's 'urbanized villages' are kind of an 'urban informality' (Al, 2014, p. 5). They are a formation of a very densely built urban structure that unfolds in the informal sector, rarely influenced by building regulations, zoning laws or land tenure. As many people in Chinese cities are excluded from formal housing, 'urbanized villages' are a welcoming alternative for affordable living [pic11].

Defintion of an 'urbanized village':

First one should make clear what the item 'urbanized village' exactly means. In China they are called Chengzhongcun (城中村), which can be literally understood as 'Village within a City'. Though local people call it 'village in the city', 'urbanized village' or just 'urban village'.

In my thesis I will use the term 'urbanized village', because it indicates the urbanization process those villages

went through in the past 35 years.

The 'urbanized villages' aren't congruent with the –at least in the west of our globe- widespread idea of a typical village. They turned into an urbanized version of a village, which previously was isolated, so to say an agricultural village that has been encroached and surrounded by the city [pic12]. As the surrounding urbanization process continuously moved forward, these villages have too become 'urban', but in a way different from the surrounding. Agricultural farms have been replaced by extremely dense formations, including shops and restaurants that are filled with vibrant life by inhabitants and people coming from outside.

As the urbanisation kept on consuming agricultural land, many 'urbanized villages' underwent four phases of transformation in forming urbanized settlements: From the

'freestanding village', to 'touching urbanity', then 'swallowed by urbanity' and in the last stage of 'erasure', many 'villages' got totally demolished (Zacharis & Tang, 2010, p. 220). In those 'urbanized villages' that still exist, the law that protects the 'villagers' ownership of housing in the urban districts is still legally valid.

The City takes the agricultural land of the 'villager', but because compensation for their housing and their relocation would have been too expensive, the municipal government only took the collectively owned farmland surrounding the houses for transferring it into real estate and factories [pic12]. Now that their agricultural land and save money income has been taken away, they start to rebuild their original village houses up to ten storeys in response to the increasing land values. As a result the farmers

turned into landlords by renting the new flats to migrants who urgently needed an affordable place to live close to their employment in the newly built nearby factories. The unstoppable growth of the 'villages' led to buildings that have heights of more than 10 storeys. The heights can be regarded as 'a barometer of urbanization and an indicator for the need of affordable housing' (Zacharis and Tang, 2010, p. 220).

The density of those urban formations is increasing at a higher rate than the city that surrounds them. Those dense areas accommodate the majority of the population, but have the minority of land occupation.

The buildings are situated that close to each other that one might get claustrophobic while walking through these very narrow alleys. In China they are known as 'kissing houses' or 'handshake buildings' because one can literally reach out from one building and shake the hand of the neighbour in the building next to it. Because of a lack of time, know how and budget, the constructions suffer from low quality and very bad foundations. The buildings literally popped up, serving the high influx of the floating population as an affordable shelter. So the houses have neither secure foundations, nor where they built based on any static calculations. As a consequence, the inhabitants of the 'villages' live a life under constantly unsafe conditions. Bundles of buzzing electrical wires cover the hous-

ing facades, dripping air-condition boxes hang on every house and iron bars on the windows hinder the sunlight from reaching inside the houses.

The indigenous villagers:

Most indigenous villagers are rich landlords by now and chose to live outside in much more expensive areas. It's quite an interesting phenomenon that Shenzhen's indigenous villagers are one of the richest people in Shenzhen and at the same time the least educated ones. During a meeting with Wan Yan, I got informed that many of them never attended school (May 6th, 2015).

The Beginning of Shenzhen's 'urbanized villages':

A fishing village called Caiwuwei in Shenzhen marked the origin of the 'urbanized village'. In 1977 the inhabitants of Caiwuwei village [pic13] had no other choice than to make way for the new construction of the Hongkong-Shenzhen railway line. The village land got relocated and positioned more west than before. From now on, Shenzhen started its expansion and rapidly surrounded the village [pic14], for that finally, in 1992, Caiwuwei was further relocated and got redesigned from an originally spontaneous urban formation into a tight grid. As the buildings kept on growing vertically it reached the



[pic12] Futian Village in the past, 1989

maximum that the Chinese urban code permitted without the using of elevators. From this very moment onwards the villagers, who are literally ex-farmers, step by step became one of the richest people in Shenzhen.

They underwent a transformation of being farmers into being builders by expanding their homes, landlords by renting their homes and investors by earning and reinvesting a lot of money. Since nowadays they don't have to run their business themselves anymore, many of them turned their daily-life habits into enjoying life and playing 'Ma jiang' all day long, a traditional and very popular Chinese parlour game. Though it has to be mentioned that there

are exceptions. Some of the indigenous villagers still have jobs, although they don't financially rely on employment anymore.

From the Government's point of view the 'urbanized villages' may be optically unwelcome but practically they are a helping hand in lodging millions of migrants and potential labour force, which the City needed desperately for the implementation of urban expansion and the economic growth. However, as these migrants do not obtain any subsidies from the government, they have no other choice than to rent a room in one of the still existing 'urbanized

villages', which are the only affordable housing option inside the city, being located close to their work place.



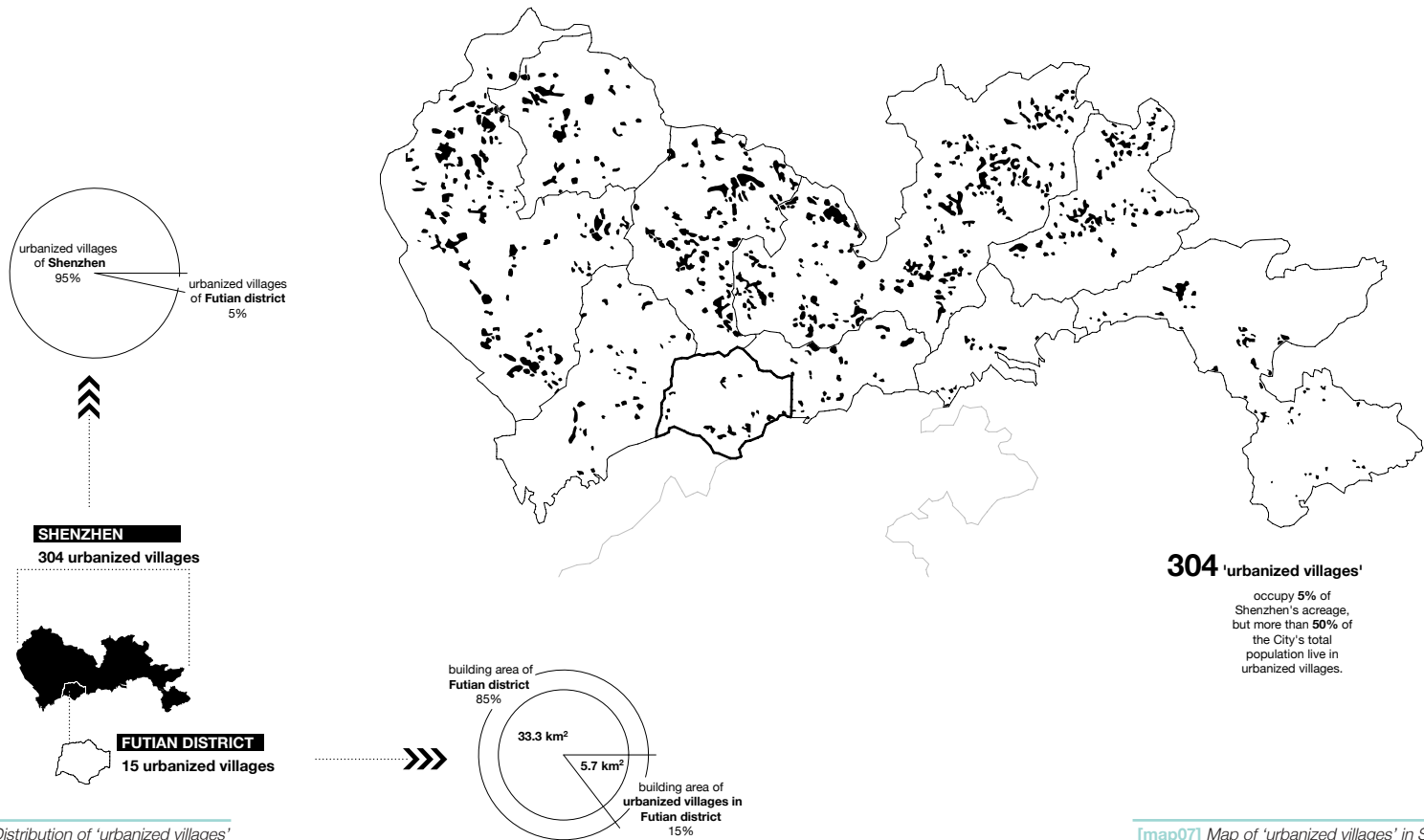
[pic13] Caiwuwei Village, villager's performance, 1977



[pic14] Early appearance of Huanggang and Shuiwei area, 1985

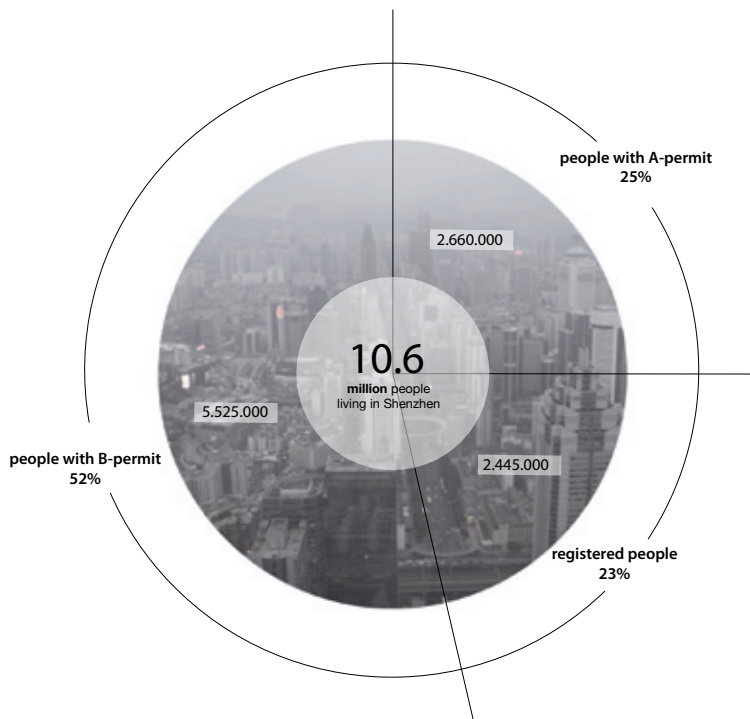
01.3 THE 'URBANIZED VILLAGES' OF SHENZHEN - AN INTRODUCTION

01.3.2 Statistical data of 'urbanized villages'



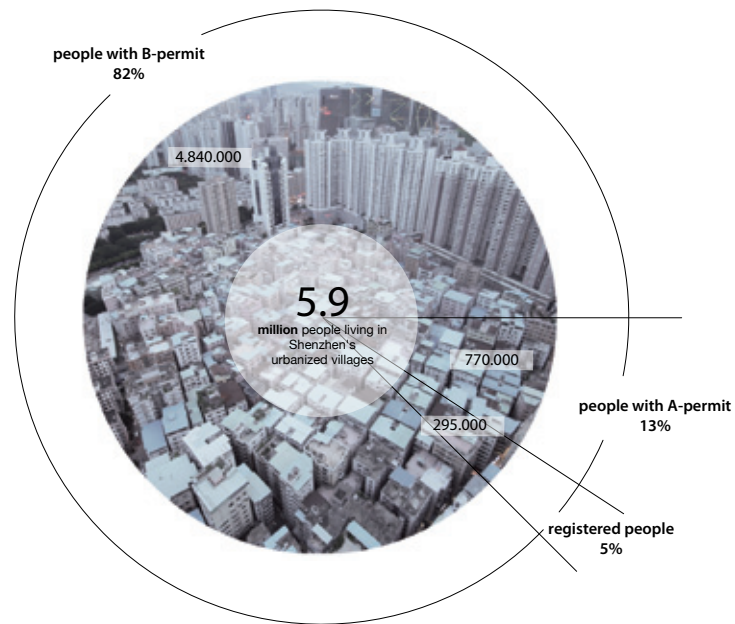
[fig07] Distribution of 'urbanized villages'

[map07] Map of 'urbanized villages' in Shenzhen



Population composition in Shenzhen

[fig08] Population composition in Shenzhen



Population composition in Shenzhen's urbanized villages

[fig09] Population composition in Shenzhen's 'urbanized villages'

01.3 THE 'URBANIZED VILLAGES' OF SHENZHEN - AN INTRODUCTION

01.3.3 The current situation in many 'urbanized villages'



The role of 'urbanized villages':

'Urbanized villages' spread all over Shenzhen, and some still exist even in centrally located areas [map07], [fig07]. The redevelopment pressure that lasts on the 'villages' varies, depending on their location and their context to the urban surrounding. As the 'urbanized villages' have the minority of Shenzhen's land occupation but accommodate the majority of its population, millions of migrants rely on the low-cost housing those 'villages' offer [fig08], [fig09]. But their persistence is threatened. Since the value of their land rises constantly, especially in central areas of the city, the government and the developers speculate in redeveloping 'urbanized villages'. However a demolition and new development of an 'urbanized village' is always accompanied by fraught procedures, debates and financial risks for the developers, as the owners of the houses first need to get convinced of a redevelopment and then financially compensated. Although the owners often do not live inside the 'villages anymore', they are still the ones who have to get convinced of giving their houses to investors and obtaining compensation for them, while the migrants who mainly inhabit the 'villages' have no voice at all.

The 'villager', the government and the developer:

A triangle system describes the relationship of urban actors that are involved in the land-use decision making

of 'urbanized villages'. On the one side there is the local government, together with the developer they form a powerful party in the decision making process. On the other side there's the indigenous villager. The local government tends to bulldoze the still existing 'urbanized villages', though eliminating these urban structures includes the need to compensate the indigenous villagers. They either get paid in cash or they are offered an alternative housing not far away from their original houses.

Long enduring discussions between the three actors marked the last decade of the 'urbanized village' development. During such redevelopment debates, the indigenous villagers are trying to receive the highest rate of compensation. According to Hao, Geertman and Hooimeijer (2012), the more central the 'urbanized villages' are located and the better they are connected to public transport, the higher is the compensation rate, their indigenous inhabitants ask for. Gangxia village as an example, is located inside the Central Business District, which is a decisive criterion for the indigenous villagers to ask for extremely high compensation rates (50.000 yuan per m²; interview with a shop manager in Gangxia, July 2015). In order to get an even higher rate of compensation paid out by the government and developers, the villagers quickly add as many storeys as possible on top of their already 6 storeys-houses right before they sell their land.

Then the villagers build groups of defence against the two other actors. Sometimes they successfully resist being bought out by the city government. 'They start a nested autocratic cohabitation system, forming an intriguing autonomy of village authorities in the form of privatised cooperatives', such as the joint stock company and the community committee that 'redistribute the profit' (AI, 2014, p. 13) within the indigenous villager's system.

Convincing the indigenous villagers:

The government usually presents plans for the areas that are to be rebuilt. In order to convince the villagers to sell their land, the government comes up with modern designs. In many cases those designs are just made for impressing the indigenous villagers, as new, fancy homes inside the newly planned real estates are offered to them as a compensation. But the developers who are the final responsible for the implementation of the redevelopment finally create new areas that totally differ from the initial plans due to economy of time and capital.

'The high concentration of young migrant workers, the poor sanitation, hidden unlawful activities and fire hazards make the 'villages', from a political point of view, be seen as a ticking time bomb.' (AI, 2014, p. 15).

The poor city image that the 'urbanized villages' represent makes the local government currently press for those



[pic16] Demolition of Gangxia's south-western part, 2010



[pic17] Bulldozing the houses of Gangxia, 2010

'villages' to be abolished [pic14]. But at the same time the government is aware of the fact that abolishment of those formations makes millions of migrants homeless people within just one day.

The floating population:

Concerning the amount of inhabitants, the migrant is the most represented actor inside the 'urbanized villages' but the one with no rights at all. One can state that the 'urbanized village' 'is a 'saviour of the poor and a sustainer of the rich' (Uehara, 2005, p. 55). The higher the amount of people who can afford a comfortable lifestyle gets, the higher is the percentage of people required to support the affluent and who depend on a living inside the 'urbanized villages'.

The migrants are excluded from the general housing distribution system as well as from homeownership. Because of their low incomes and their rural hukou registration, their rights and housing options are limited. As a result, they are forced to rent low-cost rooms inside the 'villages'. In case of a demolition, the indigenous villagers may get compensated by relocation schemes from the local government or the developer but the migrants are forced to leave the 'village' they inhabit. In most cases it is not just about the loss of their homes but also about their social environment and their employment [pic16].

The End of 'urbanized villages'?

The demolition of the 'villages' means bulldozing a valuable urban structure on the one hand, but also 'destroying an interconnected social and spatial network' (Cenzatti, 2014, p. 9) on the other [pic17]. Though it has to be mentioned that during the last 15 years some projects did establish, which focused on a soft redevelopment, keeping the existing structures alive, where only parts have been rebuilt and rehabilitated. However there are still many redevelopment projects that focus on a simple elimination of the existing structure for replacement by new residential blocks. In 2005 the Central government of China distributed the power to local governments in order to increase the GDP growth. This fragmentation of institutions allowed the municipal government of each province to individually set their own regulations according to the actual needs. From now on, developers had more freedom to implement their redeveloping interventions, at the cost of the migrants, who are always forced to leave the 'villages' and find other places to stay. The government supports the developers, who, from its perspective, act in the interest of the Nation and in the interest of the GDP growth. The developer participates in the regional competition and usually benefits from his good connections to the local government. In most of the cases developers are members of the party, as they know that this is a guarantee to increase the chance for winning competitions of

redevelopment projects and to contract the implementation of the project. Sometimes the developers even pay regional officials bribe money in case of illegal, non-licensed projects. The government keeps its eyes shut, as it welcomes the demolition of the 'villages' and resulting accumulation of capital through establishment of new residential high-rise blocks (Interview with Guo Man, July 2015). In case of Gangxia village, the developers paid member's of the Wen family (the indigenous villagers of Gangxia) the hotels and the accommodation during the demolition and the reconstruction of Gangxia's west area.

After the new high-rise blocks have been built, the 'villagers' received luxury flats on the top floors of the new buildings without the need to pay. Nowadays the developers know that 'villagers' try their very best to keep their still existing houses, as the price of the land in the central business district rises constantly. Through offering those fancy flats to the 'villagers', the developers can persuade them through an asset swap. Though these indigenous villagers are already the richest people in Shenzhen, due to longtime accumulation of rent income from their private houses, they get those fancy flats as a plus to their accumulated wealth. Now that they own very expensive, new flats, they do not move in. Since most of them already live in luxury villas at the urban fringe, they don't rely on the new flats but instead sell them for ridiculously high prices

to the high-income class of Shenzhen. This high-income class often buys flats without ever moving in. They just keep them as an investment, which they never inhabit.

During a redevelopment process, the migrants find themselves in the worst position. The government and the developers simply ignore their responsibility of providing alternative dwelling for them. Consequently the migrants have no other choice than to give up on their living, working and social environment and search for a new place to stay, most likely in another still existing 'urbanized village'.

However, from an urbanistic point of view, one can state that the demolition of 'urbanized villages' always goes along with gentrification, increasing marginalization and inequality, but also with the loss of a certain spatial quality [pic18]. In contrast to the urban surrounding and the isolated gated residential blocks, 'urbanized villages' kept their rural character in means of their flexible structure, their small human-scaled commercial streets and their intimate collective areas. They have a very special history and culture, spatial qualities, a highly efficient structure, offer mixed uses and have a higher amount of pedestrians compared to the oversized city area [pic19]. Their high grade of social and typological diversity makes them vibrant and vital places where anonymity is much lower compared to the urban surrounding.



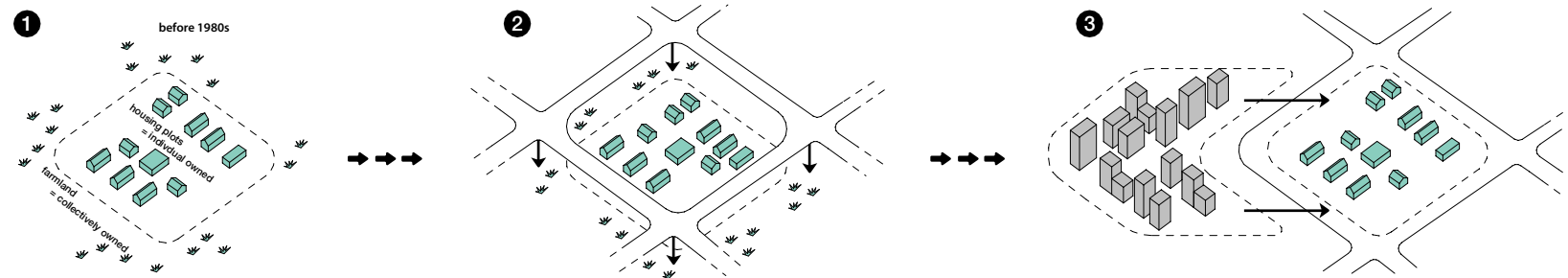
[pic18] Alternative use of Gangxia's abandoned area, 2010



[pic19] Construction site of redevelopment in Gangxia, 2010

01.3 THE 'URBANIZED VILLAGES' OF SHENZHEN - AN INTRODUCTION

01.3.4 The development of 'urbanized villages'



STAGE 1 - FARMLAND TRANSFERRING

farmers

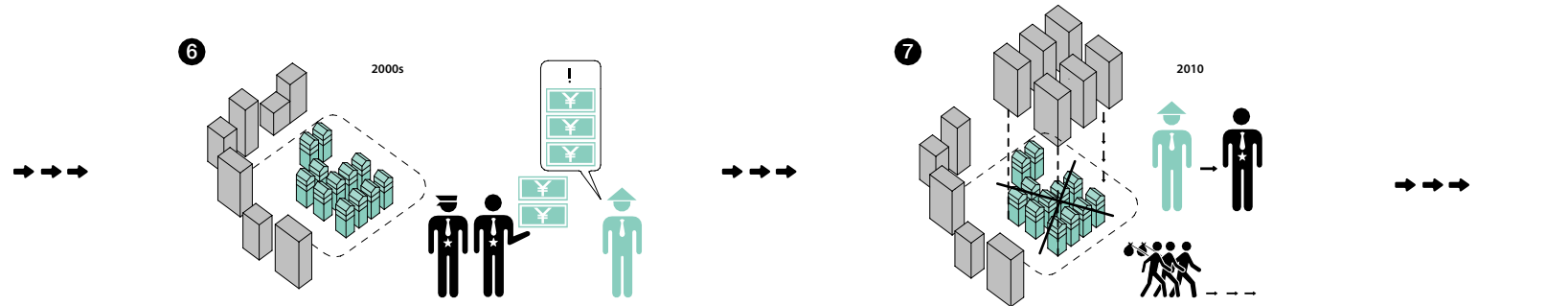
Until the 1980s Shenzhen was just a small town made up by agricultural and fishing villages. Farmers had the individual ownership of their residential land, while the area for cultivation was collectively owned.

Government's intervention

The top-down urban planning in Shenzhen was one result of Deng Xiaoping's Open Door Policy, set up in 1978, and soon affected the urbanized villages.

urban expansion

Due to the vast urbanization process in the surrounding area, the cultivated land of the villages got swallowed and made the farmers lose their source of income.



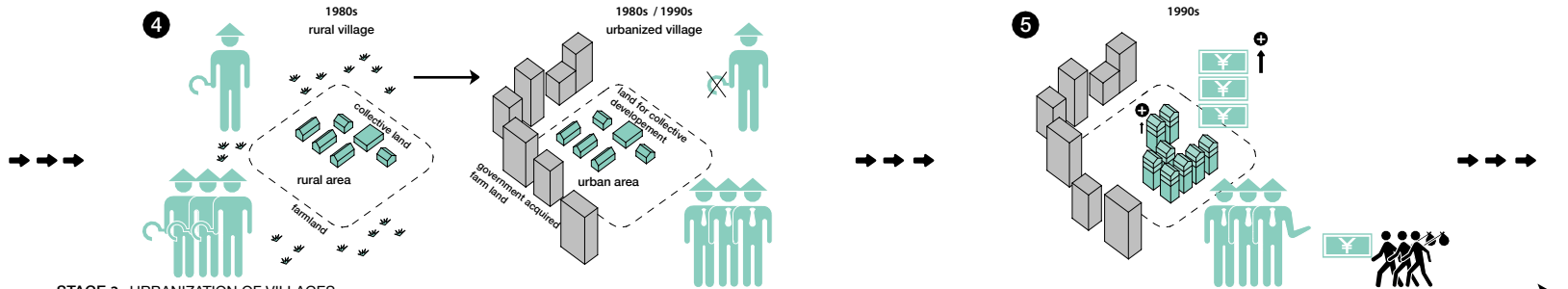
STAGE 3 - INVESTOR-GOVERNMENT-LANDLORD

conflict

As the only un-urbanized land left in the center of the city, urbanized villages attract the government and many investors. By offering a high amount of compensation, investors try to convince the original villagers to relocate. This process causes a lot of conflicts between the investors and the government on one side and the villagers on the other side.

status transfer

The original villagers finally turned into citizens by obtaining local hukou (as part of the compensation by the government) and moved to the newly constructed areas outside the villages or even to villas further away. After the government and the investor paid a huge amount of compensation and took over the land, the village-construction gets replaced by newly developed commercial buildings. Since many original villagers turned into billionaires, their attitude towards the village's demolition turned from resistance to acceptance. Without obtaining any compensation migrants are forced to move to other urbanized villages, as these are the only affordable places to live in the city.



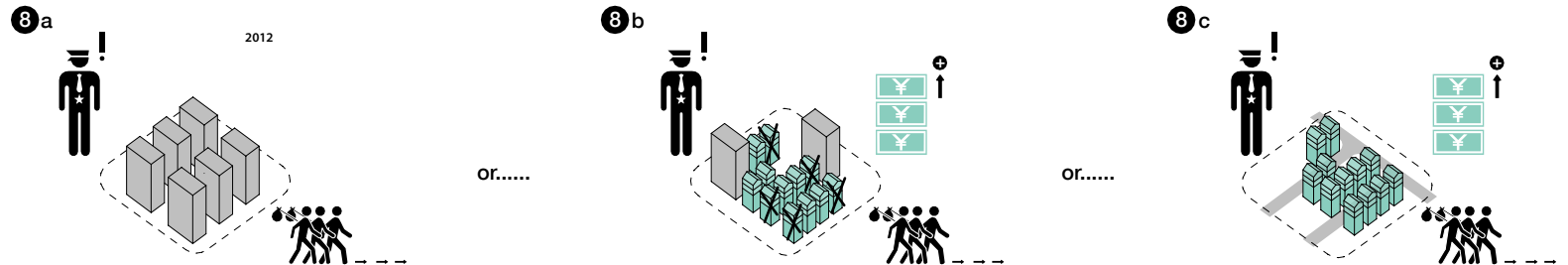
STAGE 2 - URBANIZATION OF VILLAGES

farmers become landlords

Because of the great influx of rural migrants coming to Shenzhen, searching for a place to live, the ex-farmers changed to landlords and made new income by reconstructing their housing and renting it to the rural migrants.

market-driven bottom-up urbanization

Driven by market and due to a lack of governmental interventions the houses of urbanized villages grew rapidly. By multiplying the amount of floors the villages literally became 'urban' at this stage. They offered a win-win situation through affordable housing for migrants on the one hand and through the increase of income for landlords on the other hand.



STAGE 4 - NEW POLICY - REHABILITATION AND UPGRADING

option A - replacement

The government introduced new policies for reformation of the villages after noticing the great value of them. They house most of Shenzhen's floating population which is the main catalyzer for economic growth. Additionally to the option of plain reconstruction there are two more approaches according to different situations and locations. Option A is a total relocation of the villagers followed by a total reconstruction. While original villagers get paid for leaving, the floating population is forced to leave without any compensation.

option B - partial relocation

Option B sets focus on a partial relocation and reconstruction in combination with improving the village's infrastructure. Although some of the rural migrants stay in their homes, the rental prices increase dramatically after the whole village got upgraded.

option C - improve infrastructure

In Option C only the village's infrastructure gets improved. None of the village's houses are reconstructed but rural migrants still have to move out due to rising rental prices after rehabilitation of the village.

01.3 THE 'URBANIZED VILLAGES' OF SHENZHEN

01.3.5 The status transfer of the indigenous villagers

Since Mao Zedong's land reforms in 1950, rural land is collectively owned, whereas urban land belongs to the state. Now that the 'urbanized villages' are based on rural land which underwent an urbanization process, the 'villagers' land reversed to the state, whereas the houses, which are based on this land still belong to the 'villagers'. In other words: A 'villager' owns a house standing on a land, which is now owned by the state. Before the villages got urbanized, villagers owned both, the houses and the land. After the urbanization process and after the national state took back the land ownership, the villagers only retained the houses. There is one basic rule that shapes China's land-use: A villager can turn into an urban citizen whereas an urban citizen cannot become a villager [fig11]. Since the 'villagers' farmland got urbanized, they now have to pay leasing fees for the land, where their houses

are based on. According to the land leasing system, introduced in 1992, they can keep those land-use rights for up to 70 years (see 'land leasing system', 03.2.1). It is still not clear, what will happen after those 70 years and whether the land-use rights can be extended. But one thing is certain: If the 'villagers' don't want to extend their land use rights, they have to return them to the state, whereas the state has to compensate for the building cost of the 'villagers'. Nowadays many urban citizens, who used to have a rural registration before, but became urban citizens during the expropriation of their land by the state, prefer to change their status back to rural again. Obtaining farmer status does have some advantages, such as: A farmer's child inherits the building and the land of its parents, whereas a citizen child inherits the building but has to pay regular land-use fees to the state. So a

rural citizen can own land but an urban citizen will always have to pay land-use fees to the state, the owner of urban land.

As Gangxia village is located inside the Central Business District, all land of the 'village' has already been 'urbanized' and is in the hands of the state now. As a result the indigenous villagers' rural status has been transferred to urban. On the one hand it means that they now have access to the city's welfare system, on the other hand they state that they regret not having the right to possess land anymore. Gangxia's indigenous villagers still own the houses inside the 'village' but the housing plots are in the hands of the state. Consequently their children inherit the building but have no property rights of the area where it is based on.



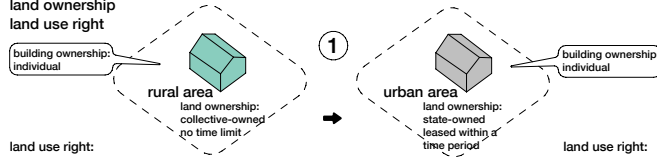
BEFORE

use value

AFTER

exchange value

building ownership
land ownership
land use right



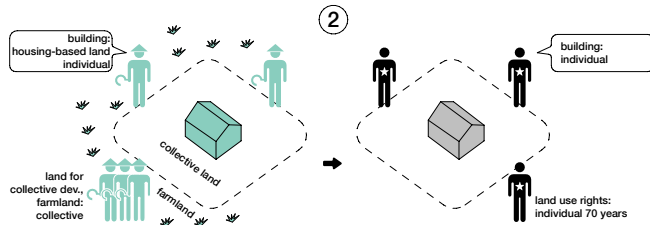
land use right:
can not be changed or transferred
only possible after the state changes the land ownership to
state-owned land

type:
housing-based land,
land for collective development,
farmland,
self-reserved land

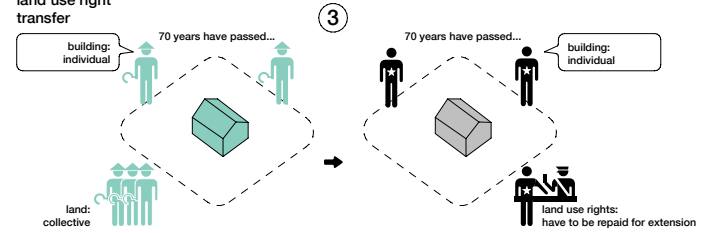
land use right:
leased within a time period
can be changed or
transferred

type:
commercial 40 years
industrial 50 years
residential 70 years

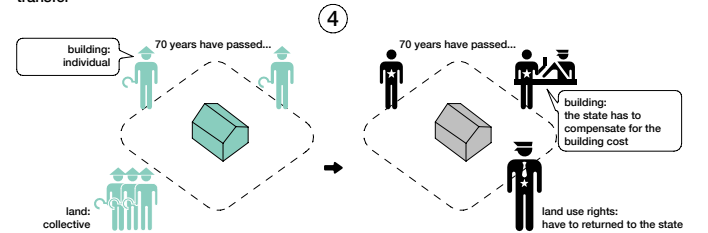
building ownership
land ownership
land use right



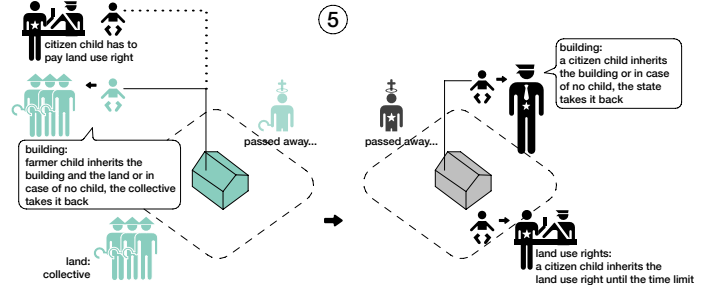
building ownership
land ownership
land use right
transfer



building ownership
land ownership
land use right
transfer



building ownership
land ownership
land use right
transfer



[pic20] *Futian District, View from a residential high-rise*
Gangxia South-east, Futian District, Shenzhen



调查 样式
RESEARCH
DESIGN
RESOURCES &
METHODS

02.1 CASE STUDY RESEARCH, APPLIED STUDY METHODS AND EXPECTED OUTCOMES

02.1.1 My case study research in Shenzhen



[pic21] University Campus, HIT University, Shenzhen, 2015

My stay in Shenzhen from April until August 2015 comprises two parts. I've spent the first half of my visit at Harbin University of Technology, Shenzhen Graduate School [pic21]. I lived in a student dorm on the 12th floor, which offered nice views of Pingshan Village, an 'urbanized village' bordering the University Campus [pic22]. One could easily observe the transformation of Pingshan. Within only a month some buildings got two additional floors. The retail business in the ground floor of the village' buildings underwent some transformation, such as from a KTV to a luxury restaurant or from a copy shop to a new Sichuan restaurant three weeks later.

Before I arrived in Shenzhen my tutor Sabine Knierbein introduced me to Ma Hang, who is a professor at the above-mentioned University. Thanks to her help and support in Shenzhen, I could easily conduct my research. Ma

Hang and me held regular meetings where we discussed the actual situation of Shenzhen's 'urbanized villages'. She gave me useful advice concerning the questionnaire of my interviews and helped me to find the right approach to the topic of my thesis. As Ma Hang introduced me to Wan Yan, a young architect who is cooperating with an NGO in doing a research project in Gangxia, I had the chance to always exchange my experiences with them, which helped me a lot in reflecting my impressions and ideas.

I've spent the second half of my stay in Gangxia Village, where I conducted my field research, mainly based on a 'direct' or 'participant-observation' (Yin, 2003, p. 93) and on interviews with the inhabitants of Gangxia. Thanks to my research partner Litao, who is an architect, recently working on his dissertation about Gangxia Village, I had a translator who accompanied me during my fieldwork. Before I moved to Gangxia, I had an interview with the community committee of Gangxia Village, who explained me that foreigners do not have the right to rent a room inside Gangxia, due to safety reasons and due to 'the respect of the grassroots of the Wen family' (Head of the community committee, June 25th, 2015). Since Litao is a Chinese citizen, we found a way for me to stay in Gangxia. The second landlord only agreed on offering a room to me, if I paid a double monthly rent. Consequently I shouldn't tell

anyone about my stay inside Gangxia. In that kind of way the second landlord could make her own financial profit and the community committee never got informed about my 'illegal' stay in Gangxia. We stayed in the same house for the following five weeks and supported each other in conducting our research. We cooperated in interviewing the residents and regularly discussed our findings. After my first visit to Gangxia I decided to change the interviews, which were originally supposed to be in written form (a questionnaire to be filled in), to oral conversations, as I have been told that 80 percent of Gangxia's residents are illiterate (cf. Wan Yan, May 2015). I could profit from Litao's help as his translations allowed me to better communicate with the people and to overcome a certain (not to be underestimated) cultural barrier. However, it has to be mentioned that I never encountered struggles in communicating with the residents. It was mostly easy to approach them, as many of them were curious to meet a foreigner and usually open to chat with me. As long as I smiled and kept a positive attitude, their reaction was positive and friendly.

All of my findings and the interviews have been recorded in two sketchbooks, which were a supportive tool in reflecting my thoughts and ideas.



[pic22] View from my dorm, Pingshan Village, 2015

02.1 CASE STUDY RESEARCH, APPLIED STUDY METHODS AND EXPECTED OUTCOMES

02.1.2 Applied methods



[pic23] *Playing Ma Jiang with the inhabitants of Gangxia, 2015*

My thesis is based on a 'linear-analytic structure' (Yin, 2003, p. 152). It is a general approach, which means that first, questions will be outlined and the relevant literature will be studied in advance. According to the outlined questions and based on a literature and an historical background research, subtopics will be generated in accordance to that prior research. Collected data and information will get evaluated and as a final step I will elaborate interpretations and conclusions. This structure has some advantages, as it is applicable to explanatory, descriptive and exploratory case studies (cf. Yin, 2003, p. 152). My thesis combines these three purposes of case study. The descriptive purpose is based on a written account with the subject of my thesis, accomplished through a detailed study of existing literature and of the historical background of China, Shenzhen and 'urbanized

villages'. The explanatory purpose is based on the draft of detailed graphics, and self-explanatory sketches that should help to visualize the subjects' inherent complexity, make it comprehensible and facilitate further discussions. The third part, the exploratory purpose, consists of my case study in Gangxia. This last part was carried out through 'direct' and 'participant observation' (Yin, 2003, p. 93). During my field study in Gangxia Village, I had the chance to partly participate in the daily-life of the inhabitants.

Multiple sources of research and information have been applied, in order to gain a wide range of insights. 'The use of multiple sources of evidence in case studies allows an investigator to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal and behavioural issues' (Yin, 2003, p. 98).

A main part of my case study consists of the personal,

orally conducted interviews. The outlined questions of the interviews have been separated into four different types according to four categorized profiles that are involved in the informal business of Gangxia (see chapter 04). The structure of questionnaire one can find in this thesis is based on the written interviews. It must be noted that those questionnaires have finally been individually and differently applied according to the actual situation and person interviewed. The questions have been asked in different order and have been adapted to the individual situation.

A specified schedule, which I prepared in advance of my fieldwork, helped me to stay in time with my case study and to avoid losing the theme amongst the variations of my research [fig15].

I applied different tools for the implementation of my observations. Sketches, photos, measurements and written notes should contribute to form a holistic research work [fig12, fig13, fig14].

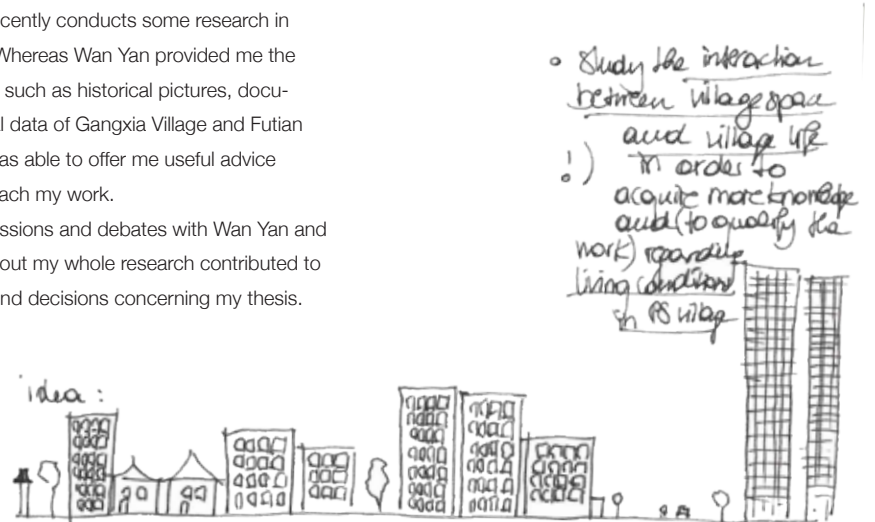
Through my investigations on site I analyzed different profiles, which are involved in Gangxia's informal economy, and different categories of space of informal economy. Measurements, such as a 'changing business pattern flow', counts of people's frequency inside the 'village', observations of mobile vendors and of the retail business and its spatial dimensions in the ground floors of a chosen street inside Gangxia, should enrich my findings.

A list of challenges, weaknesses, potentials and strengths should help to outline possible future interventions for spatially upgrading Gangxia Village. Based on a CAD file of Shenzhen's Central Business District, provided by Wan Yan, I could regularly map the results of my investigations (sections, floor plans, axonometric projections, etc.). With focus on the house I stayed in, I interviewed the people who inhabit it and could therefore hold very interesting and insightful conversations with them.

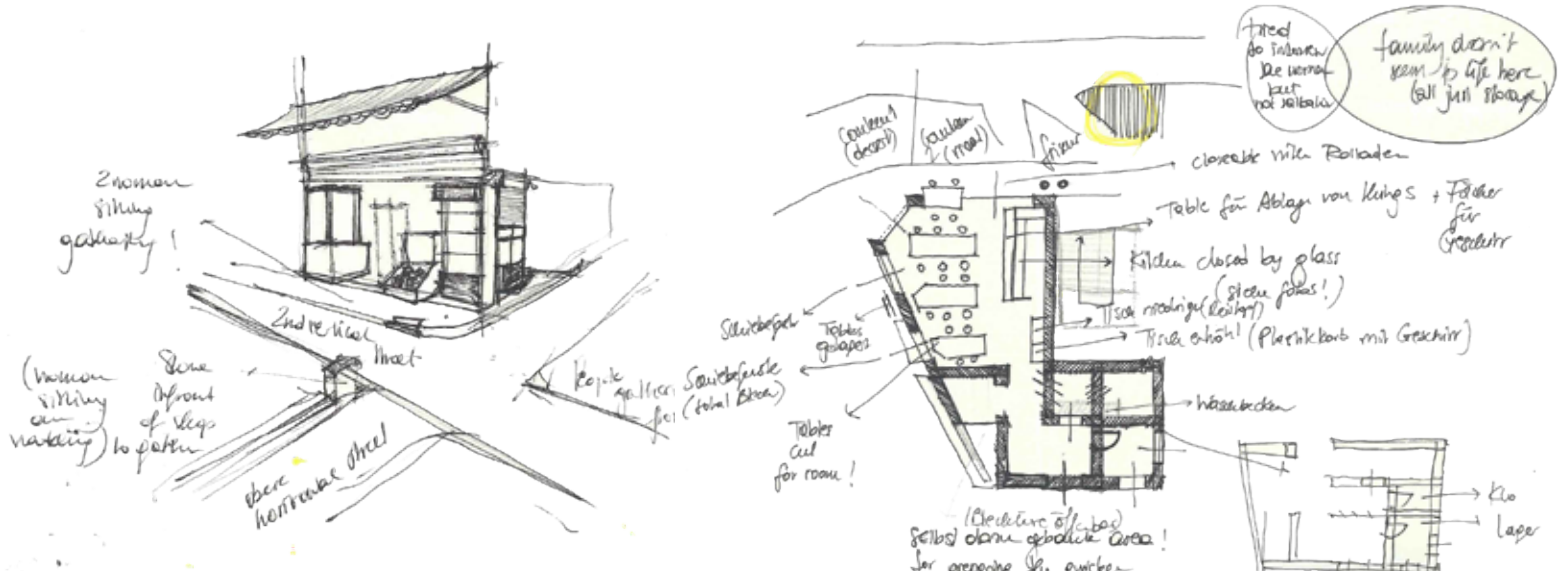
I used additional sources for my research, such as material from Wan Yan and from Mary Ann O'Donnell. Mary Ann is an American anthropologist, living and working in Shenzhen. She recently conducts some research in Baishizhou Village. Whereas Wan Yan provided me the material of Gangxia, such as historical pictures, documents and statistical data of Gangxia Village and Futian district, Mary Ann was able to offer me useful advice about how to approach my work.

Finally, regular discussions and debates with Wan Yan and her support throughout my whole research contributed to reinforce my ideas and decisions concerning my thesis.

Visiting other 'urbanized villages' in Shenzhen helped me to juxtapose my impressions of Gangxia to those of other 'villages' and to look at Gangxia from multiple perspectives. As a case study investigator, I tried my very best to integrate into and be part of the 'village's' daily life [pic23]. It is a matter of fact, that I do not share the same cultural backgrounds like the inhabitants of Gangxia, but I tried to understand, by taking a few steps back from what I carry in me and what I have learned and internalized, due to my personal and cultural background. I tried to understand and not directly judge from what I observed.



[fig12] Sketch elevation Pingshan Village and student dorm



15:55: Man comes out to water
→ good for the interview!

15:57: some feelings seem to slip!
Es beginnt zu regnen
→ alle Arbeiter gehen herein



Architecture is my mask now, but I need the people.

Observing the man at the wall, sitting here and gawking for business.



[fig13] Collage sketches Gangxia Village

SCHEDULE

| | |
|----------|--|
| 1 | <p>★ CHANGING BUSINESS PATTERN FLOW categories needed: - grid with time (0-24h) - distance (0,0-6,5m) - types vending (food, service, veg./fruit, street market) - duration-time (-----) - exact description (selling.....)</p> <p>prepare: time needed: 1 working day 0-24h 1 sunday 0-24h</p> |
| 2 | <p>★ FOTOS categories needed: - surrounding area - village - bird view 1 - bird view 2 - drone - facades (everything possible wide distance perspective) - 360° pics - from and of rooftops (check family to enter) - perspective and wideangle pics (handshake houses, highrise 'kissing' village buildings)</p> <p>prepare: time needed: 1 day surrounding area 1 day drone 1 day facades, 360° pics, and bird view 2 1 day village</p> |
| 3 | <p>★ DEFINE CATEGORY SPACES OF INFORMAL ECONOMY categories needed: STREET-LEVEL: - SPACE 1 (public) - SPACE 2 (semipublic) - SPACE 3 - ... HOUSING-LEVEL: - SPACE 1 (private) - SPACE 2 (semipublic) - ...</p> <p>prepare: time needed: observation at sight plus making notices, paper blancs, camera, pencils different colors 3 days in total</p> |
| 4 | <p>★ MEASUREMENT FREQUENCY categories needed: - count amount people's floatation at entrance of the street working day - count amount people's floatation at entrance of the street sunday</p> <p>prepare: time needed: blancs (A4) or sketchbook (maybe categorize pedestrian, bicycle, moto....) 1 working day 0-24h 1 sunday 0-24h</p> |
| 5 | <p>★ CAD-FILE GANGXIA + SURROUNDING categories needed: - define functions groundfloors of street (plus shop's extensions to outside) - make list of shops and sort by category (village's book Isi)</p> <p>prepare: time needed: CAD print (A3), pencils different colors for categories 1 day</p> |
| 6 | <p>★ OBSERVATION OF DIFFERENT MOVING PROFILES categories needed: - Profile 1 (mobile Vendor - tricycle carrying good) - Profile 2 (mobile Vendor - vegetable fruits basket) - Profile 3 (mobile Vendor - boxes of goods carried by pole) - Profile 4 (mobile Vendor - goods on a blanket)</p> <p>prepare: time needed: CAD File print (A3), pens different colors, Camera 1 day Profile 1 1 day Profile 2 1 day Profile 3 1 day Profile 4</p> |
| 7 | <p>★ OBSERVATION AND PLACEMENT OF DIFFERENT LESS-MOVING PROFILES categories needed: - Profile 1 (less-mobile Vendor - movable micro kitchen) - Profile 2 (less-mobile Vendor - instant food cart) - Profile 3 (less-mobile Vendor - vegetable display stand) -</p> <p>prepare: time needed: CAD File print (A3), pens different colors, Camera 1 day for all Profiles</p> |
| 8 | <p>★ LIST CHALLENGES/WEAKS VS. POTENTIALS/STRENGTHS categories needed: - category street and its public space (street outside area and shops outside area) - category street and its semipublic space (shops inside area) - category housing and its private space (flats) - category housing and its semipublic space (space for access, roof, space of communication and interchange)</p> <p>prepare: time needed: sketchbook, camera, drawing material, contact for CAD file of housing, printed CAD housing (plans, sections,..) 2 days street 3 days housing</p> |

| | |
|----|--|
| 9 | <p>★ DRAW SECTION OF STREET BOTH SIDES categories needed: - section north - section south - photos of surrounding area (draw section of formal and informal area) - photos of street level (people for section through houses)</p> <p>prepare: CAD File print, Camera, 1 day street north and south side 1 day surrounding area</p> |
| 10 | <p>★ INTERVIEW PEOPLE ONE WHOLE WORKING DAY MOVEMENT categories needed: - mobile vendor (1 whole day - where get the products from, where eat, important: place and duration,...) - vendor in shop groundfloor - vendor in restaurant groundfloor - pedestrian on the street - from village - pedestrian on the street - from outside - inhabitant of chosen house - if possible: original villager</p> <p>prepare: map of Shenzhen big scale (10 copies), best in colors for people to point at, blancs to make notices, voice memo on phone, and Camera 1 mobile vendor, vendor in shop, vendor in restaurant, pedestrian on the street, pedestrian from outside 1 day inhabitant of chosen house and original villager</p> |
| 11 | <p>★ INTERVIEW PEOPLE DIFFERENT PROFILES INFORMAL ECONOMY categories needed: STREET-LEVEL: -(PROFILE 1: mobile vendor) -(PROFILE 2: vendor in shop groundfloor) -(PROFILE 3: vendor in restaurant groundfloor) -PROFILE 4: property renting by joint-stock company commercial and service industry by joint-stock HOUSING-LEVEL: - PROFILE 5: renting private houses by villagers - PROFILE 6: floating population - housing inhabitants and mobile vendors</p> <p>prepare: write questionnaire different profiles, candy, voice memo, blancs for notices, camera 2 days for questionnaire and organizing candies 3 days for interviews in total</p> |
| 12 | <p>★ FOCUS CHOSEN HOUSE categories needed: - plans - sections (with people and furniture - see Village's book (s)) - photos of life inside - interviews inhabitants (monthly rent, usage of space, share of space,...) - facade (photos and CAD) - axonometry of house - interview maybe constructor of House (materials, layers, drainage,...)</p> <p>prepare: ask OFFICE for plans?, CAD File of the Village, Maßband / Disto, blancs, pencils, Camera 2 days interviews inhabitants, interviews constructor 1 week house measurement</p> |
| 13 | <p>★ VISIT SHENZHEN MUSEUM AND URBAN PLANNING EXHIBITION categories needed: - Visit</p> <p>prepare: paper blancs and camera 2 days</p> |
| 14 | <p>★ DRAW AXONOMETRIE OF VILLAGE PLUS CHOSEN STREET IN DETAIL categories needed: - pic of the village in bird view. (find second highrise building for photos) - amount of floor in each building - trees (position plus heights) - observe rooftops (just chosen street) - check windows and entrances (just chosen street) chose and access Highrise for Photos, camera, CAD File Village for marking the amount of floors/building and marking the trees....</p> <p>time needed: 1 day</p> |
| 15 | <p>★ INTERVIEW WITH NGO AND ARCHITECTURE OFFICE categories needed: - questionnaire - materials - informations</p> <p>prepare: prepare questionnaire, paper blancs for notices, USB-Stick, Camera 2 days preparation questionnaire 2 days for meeting</p> |
| 42 | <p>DAYS IN TOTAL</p> |

02.1 CASE STUDY RESEARCH, APPLIED STUDY METHODS AND EXPECTED OUTCOMES

02.1.3 Expected outcomes

Through highlighting certain conditions and decisive factors, which shaped the evolution of 'urbanized villages', a broad and comprehensive insight into the complex phenomenon of 'urbanized villages' should be achieved. Based on the application and combination of different strategies, the thesis aims to bring up a certain consciousness about 'urbanized villages' and their uniqueness, considering the contrasting juxtaposition to their urban surrounding.

As the 304 'urbanized villages' of Shenzhen accommodate the majority of its population but have only 5 percent of its land occupation (cf. Guo, 2015, p. 35), they play a decisive role in allocating millions of migrants coming from all over China. It is a matter of fact the a wide ranging

demolition of the still existing 'urbanized villages' would force millions of migrants to find alternative shelter, as they are still excluded from the state's welfare system and its subsidies.

Therefore, this thesis tries, on a macro scale, to reveal the evolution and the complexity of 'urbanized villages', and to find explanations for their persistence in a formal urban environ that transforms constantly.

On a micro scale, the case study research inside Gangxia Village, the thesis analyses the informal activities inside Gangxia, which contribute to its enduring existence and its stable economic pattern. Through a direct and participant observation on site, different profiles of informal activity are analyzed and consequently investigated, in

order to find out how the people interact with space and the urban structure of Gangxia Village.

Many interviews, in the form of oral conversations, have been conducted, that try to highlight the influence of Shenzhen's constant transformation process on Gangxia and its inhabitants, relating to their daily-life habits, their living environment, their social interaction, and their interaction with space and the urban structure.

Through a detailed study of Shenzhen's historical background and the extensive reforms concerning the government of land and housing allocation, the future persistence of Gangxia Village will be questioned, considering its existence under a prevalent development pressure.

The application of explanative graphics should help to illustrate and better understand the complexity of strategic interventions and regulations, introduced by the state, which constantly change the 'urbanized villages' conditions and chances for survival.

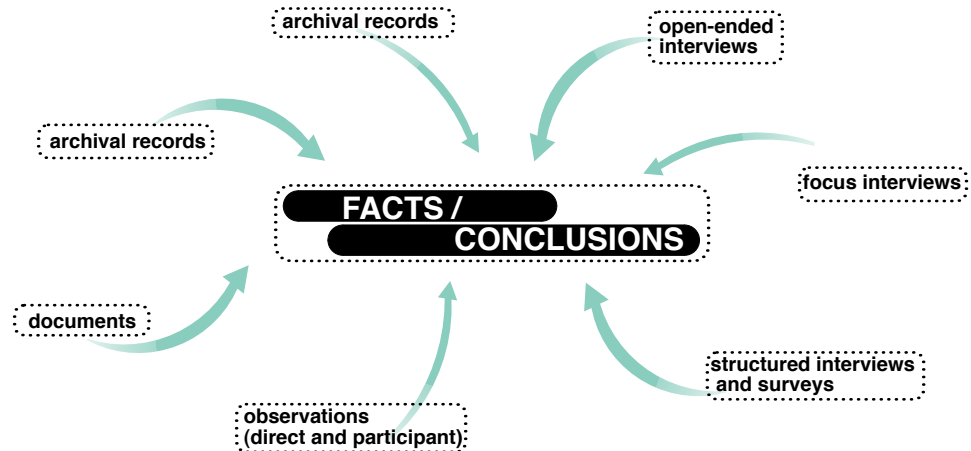
During the research process, different tools have been applied, in order to achieve a holistic output [fig16].

Using case study protocols, such as sketches, photos and written notes in combination with formal casual data collection activities should lead to valuable and decisive conclusions.

Being a resident in the neighbourhood as a participant observer (cf. Yin, 2003, p. 94) aims to bring up broad, and authentic insights of the daily-life in Gangxia Village, the last still existing 'urbanized village'.

Direct observations, such as sidewalk activities, utilisation of space and frequency measurements facilitate the achievement of an understanding and a consciousness for the 'urbanized villages' scale and its remarkable multifunctionality.

However, as this subject is very complex and as it entails a lot of facets that have to be taken into account, this thesis will leave some questions, which still need to be answered but which are definitely worth to be further investigated.



»»»»» CONVERGENCE OF EVIDENCE

35m² / person

2.3m² / person

[pic24] *Gangxia, View from the top of a residential high-rise*
Gangxia Village in Futian District, Shenzhen



正式系统
THE INFORMAL
SYSTEMS

SHZ, 'URBANIZED VILLAGES'
& GANGXIA

03.1 A GENERAL DEFINITION OF THE INFORMAL SECTOR

03.1.1 Definition by ILO and ICFTU

There are different ways to describe the informal sector and estimate its share in the total employment rate of a state. According to the World Bank the informal sector can be described as follows:

'The informal sector covers a wide range of labour market activities that combine two groups of different nature. On the one hand, the informal sector is formed by the coping behaviour of individuals and families in economic environment where earning opportunities are scarce. On the other hand, the informal sector is a product of rational behaviour of entrepreneurs that desire to escape state regulations.' (The World Bank Group, 1972)

In 1999 the ILO/ ICFTU (International Labour Organization/ International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) international symposium on the informal sector categorized the informal sector workforce as consisting of three

main groups, which are listed below:

(a) 'owner-employers of micro enterprises, which employ a few paid workers, with or without apprentices;'

(b) 'own-account workers, who own and operate one-personal business, who work alone or with the help of unpaid workers, generally family members and apprentices;'

(c) 'dependent workers, paid or unpaid, including wage workers in micro enterprises, unpaid family workers, apprentices, contract labour, home workers and paid domestic workers.'
(ILO/ ICFTU, 1999)

There are also different views regarding the definition of informal employment in China. The ILO classifies four types of Chinese workers involved in the informal sector.

The guidelines define the informal employment in China as follows:

1. Employees who hold informal jobs, which are characterized by no formal labour relations, no formal employment contract and no social insurance. Some do have formal contract but still cannot participate in pension and medical insurance.
2. Employers who participate in the informal sector and informally hire workers.
3. Self-employed workers in the informal sector and in households, who are mainly composed by rural migrant workers [pic25]. Their production scale is small so that they just hire family members and relatives. They mostly function as employers and employees at the same time. Due to their rural hukou registration they face a lot of job and business discrimination and they are excluded from the cities' welfare system. Since most of them 'aren't registered to the local business and taxation administrations, their business isn't guaranteed by relating laws and labour policies issued by the government.' (Xue, Gao and Guo, 2014, p. 86)
4. Contributing family workers.
(cf. ILO, 1999)

The large rural-urban migration leads to increasing numbers of people employed in the informal sector, because workers with rural hukou still face serious labour market discrimination. The lack of minimum wage regulations, the avoidance of payroll taxes and the evasion of social insurance payments by individuals in the informal sector result in a higher income inequality in the total employment.

In order to reduce the income inequalities and to formalize China's urban labour market, new regulations such as the labour contract law, the employment promotion law and the labour disputes mediation and arbitration law have been introduced by the government in 2008. In that kind of way the government hoped to successfully decrease the informal employment rate.

“The informal sector covers a wide range of labour market activities that combine two groups of different nature. On the one hand, the informal sector is formed by the coping behaviour of individuals and families in economic environment where earning opportunities are scarce. On the other hand, the informal sector is a product of rational behaviour of entrepreneurs that desire to escape state regulations.”

[The World Bank Group, 1972]



[pic25] Mobile vendor in Gangxia selling clothes, 2015

03.1 A GENERAL DEFINITION OF THE INFORMAL SECTOR

03.1.2 The informal employment in Shenzhen & its 'urbanized villages'

Estimating the informal employment:

The scale of informal employment development in Shenzhen is a field that still needs to be explored. During my research I couldn't find any statistical data about the informal economy in Gangxia Village, nor did the Shenzhen Statistical Yearbook 2014 give any information about the employed labour force of Gangxia or Futian district available. However some useful information about Shenzhen's informal employment sector could be collected.

There are some scholars, who use different methods to estimate the scale of informal employment. According to Ruizhi Wang (2012, p.195) the informal employment scale in Shenzhen (estimated from 2001 until 2011) showed a rapidly developing trend. The formal employment number increased as well, but slowly, compared to the informal employment number [fig17].

China's economy is still growing but slowed down during the last years. In 2013, China's GDP growth rate was at 10.5 percent (Statistical Yearbook Shenzhen, 2013, p. 23), whereas it actually reaches 6.9 percent (Trading economics, 2015, July). I presume, after having interviewed the informal vendors of Gangxia, that the growth rate of Gangxia's informal economy declined as well. This assumption is not based on statistical data, but many of the interviewed people (see 04.2.3 and 04.2.4, interview retail business and mobile vendors) of Gangxia's informal sector emphasized that they have less customers than just two years ago. According to these interviewed, the inhabitants and visitors of Gangxia do not consume as much as they used to some years ago. However, this finding is part of my personal impression of many interviews and, as mentioned above, not based on statistical information.

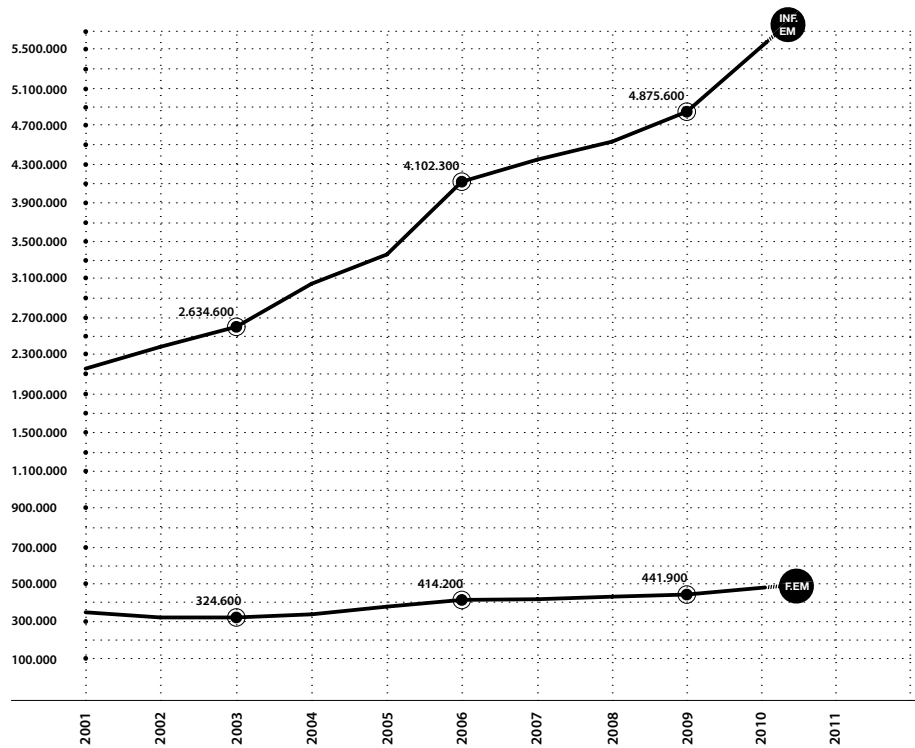
The informal sector in 'urbanized villages':

For better understanding the background and history of i.e. Gangxia's informal economy, one has to take some steps back to find out more about the development of Shenzhen's 'urbanized villages', which were the origin and the result of a massive urbanization process, starting in the early 1980's and remaining until today.

The informal economy is standing in direct relation to the acceleration of Shenzhen's urbanization [fig18]. Before the economic reforms in 1978 labour migration was strictly restricted and detained around 200 million surplus labourers in the rural areas. The influx of rural migrants, had its starting point in the early 1980's under Deng Xiaoping's Open Door Policy, when the demand for labour in urban areas increased enormously and the employment got market oriented [fig19]. The rate of migrant workers in Chinese cities climbed up from 62 million in 1993 to 159 million in 2011 (Xue, Gao and Guo, 2014, p. 85).

To get an idea of these proportions: Germany, as an example, has a population of 81.2 million inhabitants (Trading economics, 2014).

Many of China's rural migrants came to Shenzhen to find a job and a place to stay. Due to their lack of education, social networks and their rural hukou (household registration) most of them could only afford to rent a room in an 'urbanized village' and found informal employment as vendors or small business employees inside the 'village'.



FEM formal employment scale

INF. EM informal employment scale

[fig17] Formal and informal employment Shenzhen



FORMAL AND INFORMAL EMPLOYMENT SCALE SHENZHEN

As the Shenzhen City Government didn't provide enough affordable housing, the indigenous villagers started to rent out their rebuilt houses to the migrants.

As a producer, the migrants were the driving force behind the economic miracle of Shenzhen, because many of them were employed as cheap labour force in the booming industrial and construction sector.

After the price of land got more expensive during the 1990s, factories were forced to move outside of the centrally 'urbanized villages' to the urban fringes of the city. However many factory-employees stayed in the 'urbanized villages' inside the city centre and started their own business there. As a result most of the centrally located 'urbanized villages' experienced a transformation from an industry based to a service and retail based economy. The migrants who were originally employed in the 'urbanized villages' factories turned into self-employed vendors and employees of the informal service and real estate sector inside these 'urbanized villages'.

The informal employment inside the 'villages' is often related with poor employment conditions and associated with increasing poverty. The work in the informal sector makes all relevant people disadvantaged due to the lower and unstable wages, overtime working shifts, the lack of social protections, pensions and unemployment

insurance, no guarantees of social welfare, such as health and medical insurance and unsafe working conditions (cf. Xue et al., 2014, p. 92). Most of the migrants in China, who are – due to their hukou registration- excluded from any social benefits, have little choice but to take informal low-quality jobs.

The state's intervention:

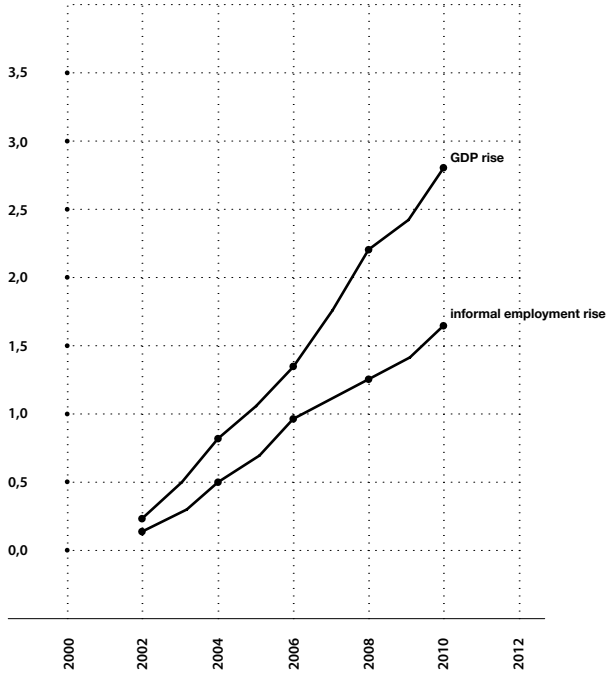
Shenzhen has tried to control the informal economy several times, but usually after the government had conducted some regulations and punishment, the activities reappeared after a short period of disappearance. This fact reveals the 'twinborn bodies' relation (Ma, 2006, p. 166) between the informal and the formal economy. If the government tries to regulate the informal economy, the formal economy correspondingly suffers from those regulations as well. As a result the income of the 'villagers' gets affected negatively. For that reason, some of the 'village'-managers keep an ambivalent attitude towards the illegal vendors. On the one hand they want to reduce the informal activities inside the 'village', on the other hand they even protect them, in order to keep the economy of the 'village' prosperous and stable.

The birth of the 'villages' prosperous economy:

The 'villages' provide spaces and facilities for small businesses and industries, which were cheaper than in the

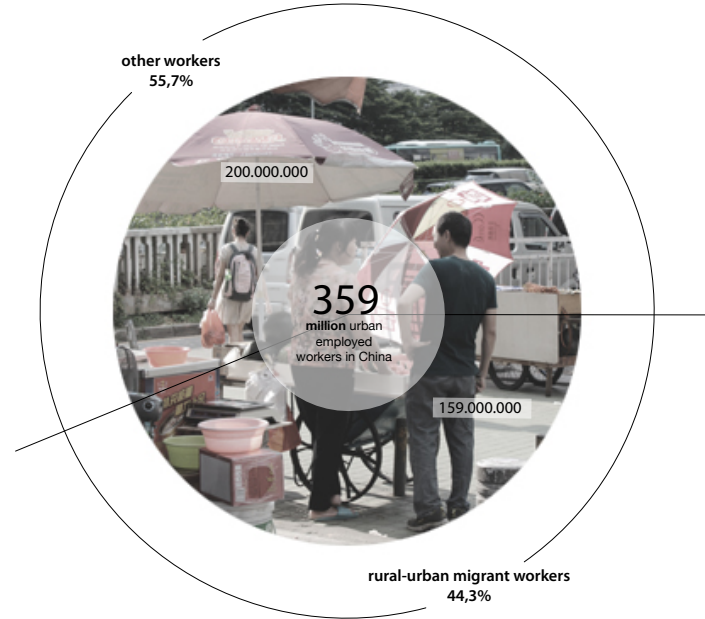
city surrounding. The fast and flexible economic growth of Shenzhen still relies on the less regulated, informally developed properties of the 'urbanized villages'. A very important economic sector inside these 'villages' was the industry. In the early 1980's the local villages, which were originally based on agricultural land, were the initiating spots of the industrialization process. They set up industrial areas, in order to attract the overseas investment. The so-called 'sanlaiyibu' industries were established, which were labour intensive manufacturing industries that got their materials provided by overseas companies. The villagers offered their land, their buildings and the labour force for the production. It was a win-win situation for both, the villagers on the one side and the overseas companies on the other side. They supported each other and shared the income and the tax liabilities, which were lower inside the 'urbanized villages'. But new transportation and traffic road systems outside the main urban areas got improved by time. Now these outside areas became more attractive to industry, since the land was cheaper and the housing costs for the workers were lower. As a result the manufacturing and labour intensive industries located inside 'urbanized villages' in the central area moved to the suburban, rural areas. What was left in the centrally located 'urbanized villages' was free land. Now the focus was set on real estate development, commercial facilities and consumption. Some villagers even built modern

[fig18] Interrelation GDP and informal employment



>>>> proof for the interdependence of GDP and informal employment

[fig19] Urban employment in China



>>>> 2011



URBAN EMPLOYMENT IN CHINA & SCATTER DIAGRAM OF GDP AND INFORMAL EMPLOYMENT

shopping malls and department stores on their land and attracted retail and financial businesses. The integration of the centrally located 'urbanized villages' with the surrounding areas increased and people from all over China came to Shenzhen's 'urbanized villages', in order to find a chance for employment or to start an own business.

The favourable locations inside the city and the year-by-year increasing land values made the 'urbanized villages' an excellent spot of business opportunities. The municipal government avoided taking responsibility for the social, the economic and the infrastructural development and kept its very weak position concerning the management of the land-use inside the 'villages'.

The ground floors that were located along Main Streets became vibrant places of consumption. Shops offering all kinds of daily necessities and restaurants with cuisines from different Chinese provinces settled in those areas and attracted clients, not just the ones living inside the 'villages' but also people from the outside areas [pic27, pic28, pic30, pic31]. Initially the owners themselves ran the shops and restaurants. But then the rental income increased, the owners became richer and started to rent those places to the migrants.

The commercial and business opportunities offered by the urban villagers have changed over time. During the

stages of village transitions the 'village' residents were the main consumers of shop', restaurant' and office' supplies inside the 'villages'. But after the 'villages' became commercially more established and more surrounded by the formal built-up area, the supply inside the 'villages' became more sophisticated and it started to attract people from the urban environs.

The most profitable informal business:

However, the informal activities inside the 'villages' aren't just reduced to retail business. Beside the mobile vendors [pic26, pic29] and the shops or restaurants in the ground-floors of the houses, the most profitable informal activity is the indigenous villagers' property renting. As millions of migrants, who come from all over China find affordable allocation in the self-built houses of the indigenous villagers, an enormous amount of capital can be constantly accumulated by the latter.

Since the 'villagers' constructed most of the additional floors without obtaining any commission from the government, the renting of the rooms inside those houses is informal as well. In most cases the indigenous villagers themselves, who already moved to a place outside the 'village', hire a so-called 'second landlord' who lives in the houses and who is responsible for the management of the monthly rent income, the contract signing procedures

and the maintenance of cleanliness and order inside the houses. In other words, these second landlords are the main contact persons and the intermediary between the indigenous villager and the informal subtenant.

[pic26] Mobile vendor selling toys, Gangxia, 2015



[pic27] Fruits and drinks, Gangxia, 2015



[pic28] Women's clothes and canteen, Gangxia, 2015



[pic29] Mobile vendor selling kitchenware, Gangxia, 2015



[pic30] Household goods, Gangxia, 2015



[pic31] Vegetables and drinks, Gangxia, 2015

03.2 THE LAND STRUCTURE & ITS TRANSFORMATION

03.2.1 The urban land policy in China (land leasing system)

The reforms of the 1980s:

On the one hand, Urbanization in China may have led to certain improvements in the welfare system, though one shouldn't omit that there are still huge steps to be taken concerning the access to welfare for rural migrants. On the other hand it placed a huge pressure on the land resources of China. The increasing gap between China's accelerating population growth and the shrinking supply of farmland doesn't only affect just China but also the global food supply. To manage the rapid urban expansion and the access to land, the municipal government introduced important reforms in the 1980s. While the state and collective ownership was maintained, China started

to focus on 'a system in which market forces shape the process of urbanization', resulting in changes like 'the establishment of land use rights, the commercialization of housing, and a restructuring of the urban development process' (Ding, Chengri and Knaap, 2003, para. 4).

The dominance of the state:

The farming villages' autonomy together with Deng Xiaoping's Open Door Policy and the establishment of the Special Economic Zones in the late 1970's, served as a fertile soil for the development of 'urbanized villages'. From that very moment, the 'economic miracle' of the 'urbanized villages' started to begin.

During the 1960s and 1970s land confiscation, strict controls on rent and investments in public housing, in short words the dominance of the state in urban land and in the housing market of cities grew and at the beginning of the 1980s, almost all land was owned either by collectives or by the state. Private property rights literally disappeared and land transactions became prohibited.

The Introduction of market forces:

In the 1980s Shenzhen started an experiment by copying the land use and trade/sale system of its neighbour Hong Kong, which turned out to be an immediate success for the Government, as it could now count on an additional income source. Shenzhen's Government began to lease state-owned land to foreign corporations and in the late 1980s the rest of China followed this experiment and introduced the land leasing system by assigning land use rights to urban land users. Through the payment of land-use fees, the user profits from a use-value through obtaining land use rights for a certain period of time (70 years residential, 50 years industrial, 40 years commercial), given by the state (cf. Ya Ping, Yanglin and Jiansheng, 2009, p. 962). These governmental regulations determined that the state, companies and individuals could pay for obtaining usage rights [fig20]. In that kind of way the Chinese government could profit from an exchange-value through the trade with land use rights that provided new

revenues, but still maintaining the ownership of the land. From now on foreign capital was invested in China's land, which increased the real estate development and the local government's revenues enormously and created a booming market that is constantly on the fast track [pic32].

The expiration of the land use rights:

However some questions came up recently. Since the limited leasing period of some users will expire one day, these questions will become an urgent issue as time passes. What about users who need to continue using the land? According to the 'Beijing State-Owned Construction Land Supply Procedures' (2010) application should be submitted one year before the expiration of the land use. Those people, who didn't apply or who apply 'but were not approved, have to return their land use rights to the government without obtaining any compensation' (Zhuoy, 2013, para. 2).

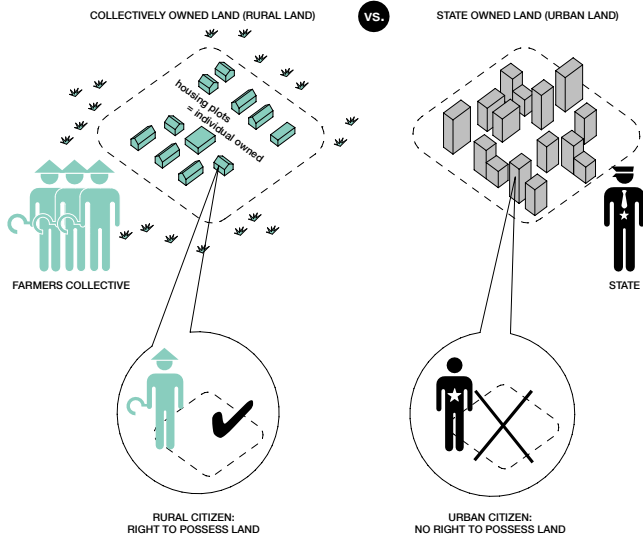
Fact is, that after 70 years, those land use rights have to be returned back to the country, while the buildings that are constructed on that land remain the owner's property. However, an expiration of the land-use rights of a land actually implies the expiration of the ownership of the building as well. There is a big doubt about what happens when the existing leasing expires, but even if the tenants extend their land use rights through a renewal payment, it will be a challenge for the government to collect the

payments of renewal if most of the users share rights that were originally purchased by a single developer. Another option would be, that people would have to pay for the cost of the land according to the market price that is valid at that time. But it's a matter of fact, that the value of buildings will drop by time as they get older and the building fabric needs to get renovated, while the value of land in the city does the exact opposite, as land is scarce and the development pressure on centrally located land rises by time and by urban expansion. If the government decides to take back the land including the buildings after the 70 years have passed, it will have to expect enormous social and economic costs. Hence it would be reasonable for the government to adjust policies by time and to enact a new law before the land-use rights expire. More than 25 years have already passed since the 70-year limited laws have been introduced. With the increasing age of many residential buildings, the problem that was put aside to be solved in future times, is putting more and more pressure on the land system reform to be defined more clearly.

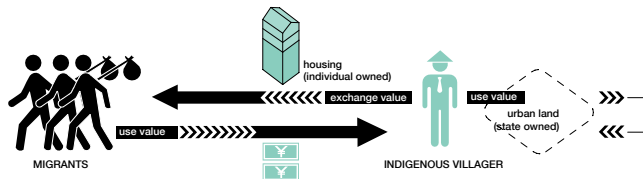
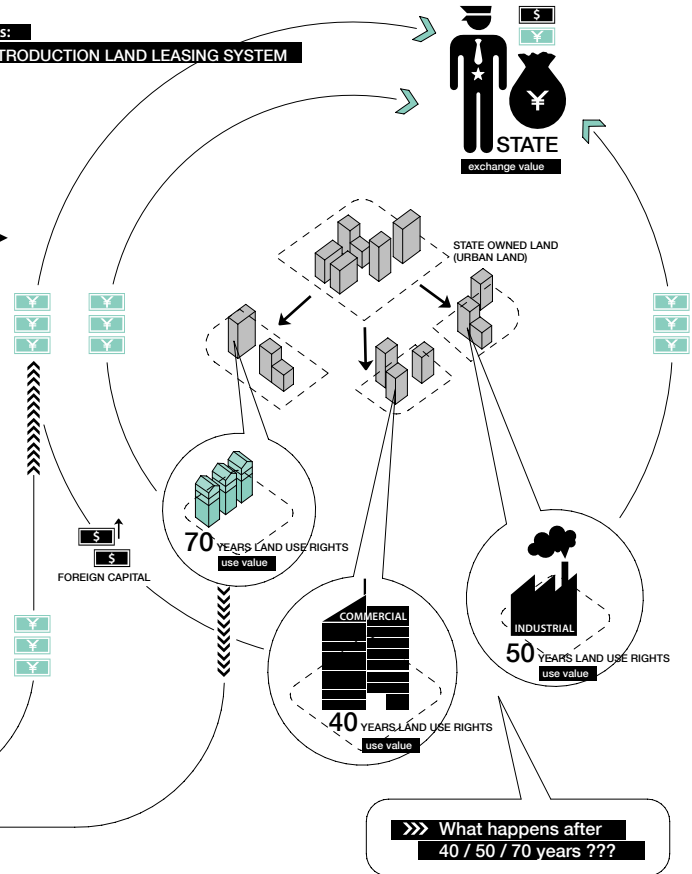


[pic32] Ping An Finance Center, Shenzhen, 599 m height, 2015

BEFORE 1980s:
2 TYPES OF LAND OWNERSHIP



1980s:
INTRODUCTION LAND LEASING SYSTEM



The socialization and commercialization of housing:

Another reform, which was introduced, was the commercialization of housing. After Deng Xiaoping came into power in 1978 he totally restructured the public housing system and 'introduced market forces into the housing policy arena' (Altrock & Schoon, 2011, p. 40). The period before these reforms was marked by the socialization of housing, which was a characteristic of Chinese communism. Although in the 1950s private ownership still remained the dominant housing system in urban areas, the government gradually began to intensify its control of the rents. Because the state already owned the land, potential developers didn't dare to invest in building. As a result the 1960s and 1970s were marked by very little construction of private housing and at the end of the 1970s, after the Cultural Revolution, privately owned housing had literally disappeared. Since private housing markets didn't exist anymore, the government was responsible for offering housing to millions of workers as part of the social wage provided by the state. A typical element of the centrally planned economy and the promotion of the socialist society was the so-called danwei (单位). It was kind of a work unit, a state owned enterprise that served the workers as a physically and socially exclusive system, which controls the everyday-live procedures of the people [pic33]. Social and economic activities were predetermined and defined the danwei as a 'a multi-functional place of employment,

residence, education and commerce' (Altrock & Schoon, 2011, p. 42). The social status and the length of employment of a person defined the allocation of housing. The current system of distinction between the A-, B-permit and registration [fig06] still has some similarities with the old exclusive system.

After the introduction of market forces into the housing system, developers started to invest and prices and the income of people became the main criteria for housing allocation. Before that, housing used to develop according to the need of workers. If the state needed to realize a larger development project, housing was constructed just because workers were needed and workers needed to get shelter. The overall project defined the need of services, canteens, schools, grocery stores, housing, etc. Through categorizing communities and the proximity of the people's work and their housing, people should stay content and any kind of unrest should be avoided (cf. Ding, Chengri and Knaap, 2003, para. 14).

But inequalities were still strongly represented, because housing allocations were 'based on criteria such as occupation, administrative rank, job performance, loyalty and political connections' (Ding, Chengri and Knaap, 2003, para. 14). Furthermore the quality and maintenance of housing suffered extremely due to insufficient rent revenues. An additional side-effect was the lack of motivation

for constructing private rental housing or housing that is occupied by owners and provided by private developers.

After the introduction of the reform program under Deng Xiaoping, which included privatization of the state controlled housing, several points that characterized the privatization were outlined: '(1) private individuals invest in public housing, (2) encouragement of private and foreign investments in housing, (3) increases in rents to market levels, (4) decrease in construction of new public housing, (5) encouragement and protection of private home ownership, (6) construction of commercial housing by profit-making developers and (7) promotion of self-built housing in cities' (Ding, Chengri and Knaap, 2003, para. 17). These interventions were the main reasons for the rapid growth in the housing industry and the housing stock. The government's role in the investments in housing decreased dramatically and the explosion of the housing stock led to an expansion of the average living space per Chinese resident. However inequalities in housing quality remain strongly represented in Chinese society. The gap between the rich owning flats that equal western standards and the poor relying on affordable, underdeveloped housing enlarges continuously. Too many high-rise luxury apartments owned by the rich remain uninhabited, while 'urbanized villages' struggle to offer sufficient housing for millions of migrants and state-provided, affordable

housing for the low-income class remains scarce. The danwei housing got replaced by new apartment blocks that offer the end-user a higher flexibility of location and individual decision making, though those new blocks still share some typical characteristics with the danweis, as being designed in a way of closed neighbourhoods with exclusive characteristics like Hassenpflug describes in detail (2013, p. 62). However, one has to consider that the replacement of the danweis means a loss of 'multi-functional integrated settlements' (Hassenpflug, 2013, p. 63), where communities were built through tight integration of accommodation, work, supply, education, health and leisure.

'Furthermore, the rapid rise of commercial housing undermines the longstanding tradition in which access to affordable housing is an integral part of the social contract. As a result, the commercialization of housing, far more than a mere change in ownership structure, represents a fundamental change in the core institutions of Chinese society' (Ding, Chengri and Knaap, 2003, para. 17).

The influx of migrants and the state's management:

The emerging land and housing markets had some positive influence on the hukou system, as it weakened, but it still indicates the social status, the access to urban welfare benefits and still serves as the main instrument to control urban migration and development. As the state's

land- and housing regulation reforms caused an increase in private construction, which needed an enormous amount of work force, the influx of migrants came as a by-product of these changes. So China needed to manage urban growth by transforming rural to urban land uses. This can be undertaken by the municipalities through either developing land, which is acquired from the rural collectives, or through leasing this acquired land to developers.

These are the procedures that resulted in the expropriation of the agricultural land of farmers and consequently in the development of 'urbanized villages' in cities like Shenzhen and Guangzhou.

As most of the indigenous villagers got rich through the accumulation of rent income, they don't live inside the 'villages' anymore, but bought expensive villas in the countryside. As a result they don't associate their remaining houses inside the 'villages' with their homes. Now that they don't regard those houses as of personal value anymore, they recently tend to sell them to developers. Of course, this only happens if the financial compensation they receive exceeds the income they would make through continuing the rent out business of their houses inside the 'village'. Otherwise they keep their houses and continue accumulating as much capital as possible.

During the last decades, China turned from a tightly state-controlled system to one that is strongly defined by changing market forces. These market forces influenced and shaped the structure of Shenzhen and its 'urbanized villages' in just a few decades. As 'urbanized villages' are the only low-cost housing system that allocates millions of migrants, the government should find a way that allows the market forces to provide safe and affordable housing for all residents, especially the poor, who are highly over represented in China's urban population.



[pic33] The urban fabric of danwei housing, rendering, 2012

03.2 THE LAND STRUCTURE & ITS TRANSFORMATION

03.2.2 The land ownership of 'urbanized villages' as a ground for informal housing

State-owned and collective-owned land:

The dualistic ownership structure of land in China also shapes the land ownership system of 'urbanized villages'. As mentioned in the previous chapter, China has two types of landownership, the state-owned urban land and the collective-owned rural land. The land of 'urbanized villages' was originally rural land and therefore collectively owned. If the state needs land for urban expansion, it expropriates the collectively owned rural land. For accomplishing its own interest, the state officially 'excuses' these processes as 'acting in the interest of the public' (Ma, 2006, p. 137).

The land ownership can be transferred from collective-ownership to state-ownership, which goes along with

expropriation of collective land by the state. However, state-ownership cannot be transferred to collective-ownership, as a citizen status cannot be transferred to a rural one.

Though the government has established some policies that legitimate the expropriation of farmers, such as land requisition fees, compensation fees and relocation fees, many owners of land in rural areas had no other choice than to accept inadequate compensation fees that didn't meet the economic, social and personal losses they experienced after expropriation.

The indigenous villagers of the 'urbanized villages' were not allowed to sell, lease or transfer their collective-owned

land, but because the 'villagers' knew exactly that the land compensation fees they would receive from the state for expropriation wouldn't meet the market value of their land, they often illegally transferred their land property rights according to the market price. If an investor offered more than the state for their land, they sold it to the former through underhand dealings.

Since 1992, inside every 'urbanized village' that is located in the districts Luohu, Nanshan and Futian, all the collective land was changed to state-owned land under Deng Xiaoping. As a consequence, every 'indigenous villager's' hukou registration was changed from rural to urban.

'Urbanized villages' that were located in suburban areas of Shenzhen were still divided into parts that belonged to the state and parts that were owned by the collective until 2001. However, after the year 2001, all collective land of 'villages' in Shenzhen, also inside the Non-SEZ (Non-Special Economic Zone), has been integrated into the state-ownership [map08]. So now, all land ownership of Shenzhen was in the hands of the state. But the ownership of the houses inside the 'urbanized villages' still belonged to the indigenous villagers. So the 'villagers' were unhindered from continuing to add even more floors on their buildings, as houses are still in their possession and as profit maximization is their main goal to achieve.

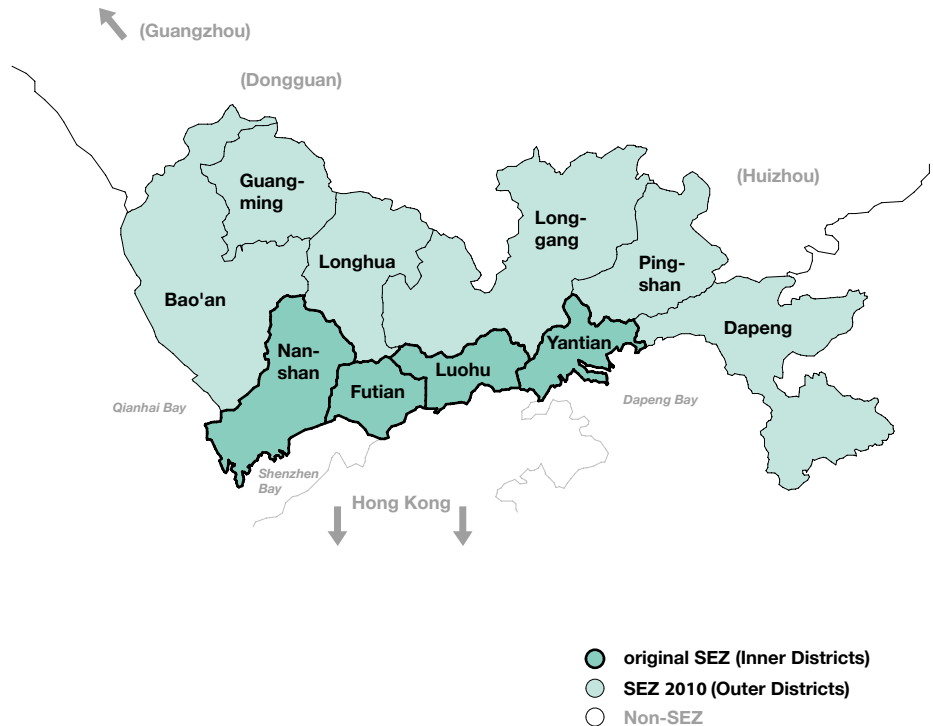
Excessive GFA and penalty fees:

In 2001 the state tried to control this unhindered growth of the 'villages' by partly legitimizing the illegally constructed buildings. Consequently the 'villagers' had to pay a penalty for excessively extending and increasing their houses. So if they i.e. possessed more than one building per household, they had to pay penalty fees. But most of the 'villagers' didn't follow the land allocation rules, which were set by the state already in 1980 (maximum 80 m² GFA per registered household). They encountered loopholes in the system and started to divide their family into smaller households, for that they could obtain more allocation. As a result in the mid 1980s when the migrant workers influx already boomed, villagers totally ignored the regulations and illegally constructed more building area and higher constructions than allowed. As these houses weren't built by professionals but mostly by the 'villagers' themselves, they lack foundations and static calculations. With the increasing height of these buildings, such deficiencies in the construction become a dangerous threat for the inhabitants.

After extruding their houses, the 'villagers' additionally subdivided the rooms into smaller parcels for housing even more migrants. Since there were no consequences for their illegal interventions, the 'villagers' kept on ignoring the regulations by taking advantage of encountered niches, which allow to continue their excessive business.

SHENZHEN MUNICIPALITY 2013

Special Economic Zone and Non-Special Economic Zone



[map08] SEZ and Non-SEZ, Shenzhen

After the government didn't enforce the controls and requirements for years, building approvals by the state were finally suspended in 1995. As a consequence the above-mentioned new regulation by the government in 2001 included the 'urbanized village's land into the land leasing system of Shenzhen, as all the land was in the hands of the state now. From now on, illegal buildings could get legitimized in hindsight, by paying penalty for the excessive GFA for those households, which possessed more than one building. However, one has to mention that for the indigenous villagers, the penalty fees they had to pay for their excessive GFA were still marginal compared to the financial profit they made through the rent out business.

The indigenous villagers of 'urbanized villages' benefit from the previously described rural-urban dualistic system. If there is some land left (mostly located outside of the SEZ), which the state has not yet taken back and which is mostly free of fees, they make an enormous profit. Collectively owned land is still the most profitable one for the indigenous villagers, as they don't have to pay leasing fees for it. As soon as the real estate price increases, they immediately extend the illegal construction on the collectively owned land and subsequently make a huge economic benefit [pic34].

However, as soon as the state takes back the collective land of the indigenous villagers, the collective ownership

inside 'urbanized villages' automatically ends and the traditional freehold land ownership gets forfeited. Previously collectively-owned land is now in the hands of the state and gets integrated into the land leasing system.

But this land leasing system includes a limited duration of use rights. When the lease of the state owned land expires after 70 years, the government can decide whether to withdraw the lease or not. If the government decides to take back the land use rights after 70 years passed, some things will remain unclear. It is still not decided, what will happen to the houses based on the state owned land. As these houses still belong to the indigenous villagers, the state will have to pay a compensation to the owners after taking back the land use rights. If the state decides to use this land for new real estate and commercial development projects, millions of migrants who inhabit the buildings based on this land will be forced to leave and find alternative dwelling.

*construction
of 9th floor
in progress*

*construction
of 6th floor
in progress*



03.2 THE LAND STRUCTURE & ITS TRANSFORMATION

03.2.3 The land use diversity of 'urbanized villages' & their multifunctionality

According to Hao, Geertman and Hooimeijer (2012), an 'urbanized village's land use pattern is linked to its location in the urban fabric, its phase of development, and the development level of its environ. Depending on whether an 'urbanized village' is located inside or outside the special economic zone of Shenzhen, different patterns of land use appear. Many 'villages' are characterized by the coexistence of multiple land-use types, though the 'villages' can hardly be generalized, as their land use shapes according to the previously mentioned criteria and therefore unfolds in diverse patterns. However, numerous industries, commercial facilities, and various public services turn 'urbanized villages' into 'multifunctional neighbourhoods' (Hao, Geertman and Hooimeijer, 2012,

p. 2743). The mix of land use enables multiple activities, providing migrants with basic living necessities, services, and a source of job opportunities. According to where the 'village' is located (SEZ, Non-SEZ, CBD, etc.) they face different policy environments and different forces on their development [map09].

Until today 'urbanized villages' show a high rate of multifunctionality. Today most of the centrally located 'villages' replaced the industries by a high percentage of residential housing, which may result in a decrease of multifunctionality but due to the establishment of commercial, entertainment and other service supplies, inner city 'villages' are still marked by their multifunctional uses.

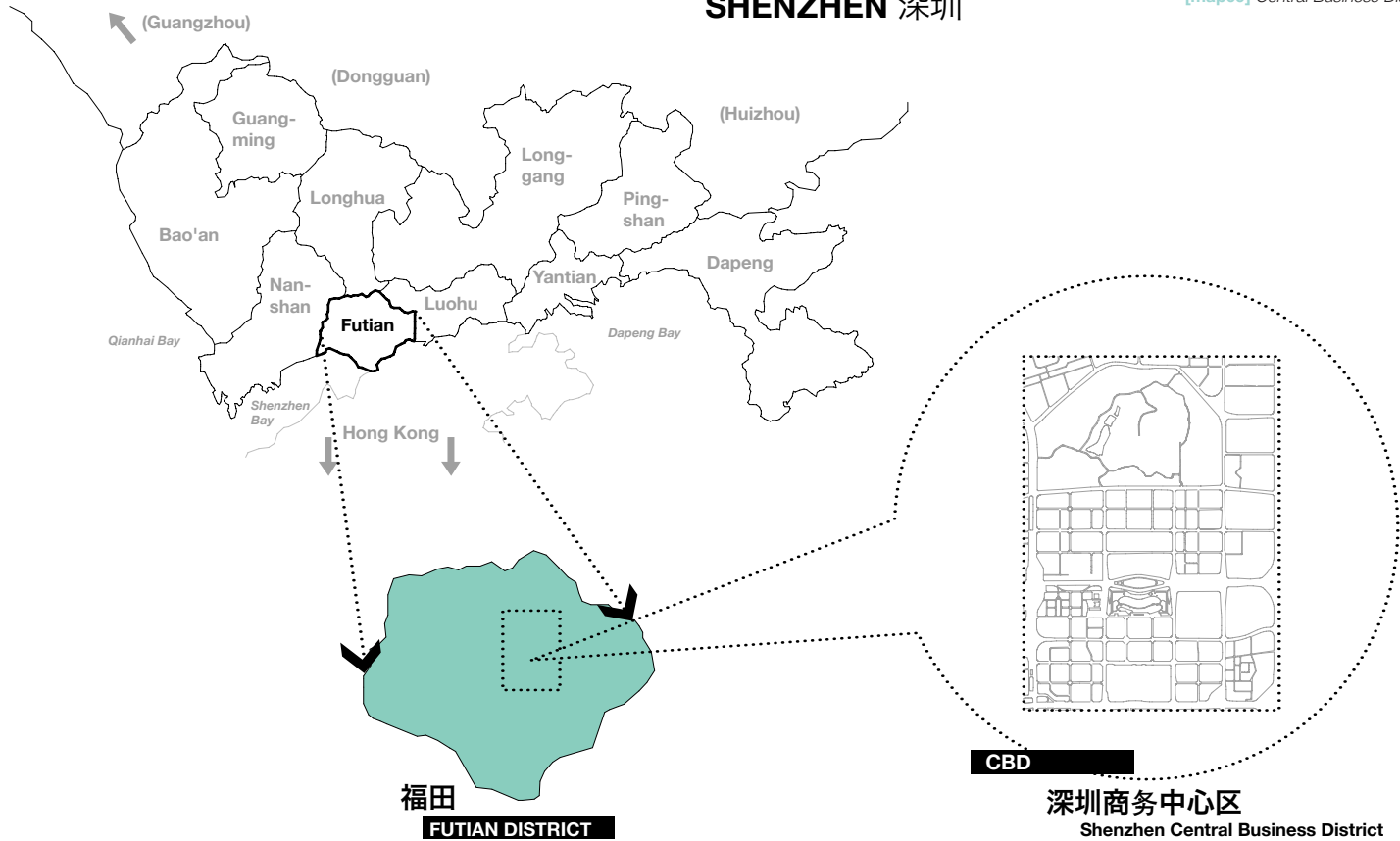
The background of the 'villages' and their land use:

Since the early 20th century, the western nations' modernist planning, i.e. in European cities, was marked by the spatial separation of urban functions, which led to the outsourcing of labour and production. Industrial areas concentrated on new townships and suburban areas. Zones defined by one single use promoted a production and development of the same types. As a consequence new roads and traffic systems have been established, which again separated the residential from the industrial and commercial from others. People had to drive to work, and had to overcome long distances. The daily errands one had to run were separated into differently categorized zones in different parts of the city.

China's 'urbanized villages' experienced totally different developments, which differ from a modernist urban planning, known in western nations. They have a high density and a centralised urban form with mixed uses, resulting in social, economic and environmental advantages. However, one has to take some steps back, to better understand the evolution of 'urbanized villages'. Since 1953 China's urban development is defined by five-year plans. Since the late 1980's China followed western ideologies of planning policies. Later, international, western urban planners have been invited to participate in the competitions for the new five year plans.

SHENZHEN 深圳

[map09] Central Business District, Shenzhen



Since the early 1990s, single-use zones, new suburban towns, and infrastructure based on mobility have been introduced into the urban planning of China, resulting in the establishment of 'large-scale development zones, specialisation in multiple business and service centres and increased district specialization' (Hao et al., 2012, p. 2745). These spatial developments and the reorganisation of existing urban areas needed land for their expansion. Therefore, existing villages got encroached by the formal urban surrounding and transformed into 'urbanized villages' in many parts of Shenzhen.

Since 'urbanized villages' have their own management systems and are mostly independent of the government's urban planning and land management policies, their land use totally distinguishes from the formal, outside urban area. The buildings inside 'urbanized villages' serve for various functions. Supermarkets, restaurants, grocery stores, schools, kindergartens, and many other services can be found inside a 'village'. They are arranged and coordinated inside a manageable area and their are all in walking distance.

China's dual land system is a decisive reason for the 'villages' economic profit. As explained in the previous chapter (The land ownership of 'urbanized villages' and the construction of informal housing) 'villagers' are free of paying land use fee for their collectively owned land, as

their land used to be rural land before, which was allocated by the state to the farmers and village committees, free of charge.

After the expropriation of the village's rural land by the state, the houses and some additional land for streets, infrastructure, health, culture, public facilities, businesses and industrial establishments, etc. have been left to the farmers.

In that kind of way the ex-farmers could still make a living, now that their agricultural land has been taken. This spare land is collectively owned. It cannot be sold to someone else, nor can it be legally used for residential development and is therefore used by the villagers to develop collective economic activities.

Every 'urbanized village' has a joint stock company, which is based on these activities. Every 'villager', who holds a stock in the joint stock company, obtains a regular income, medical care, pension and education. Beside the income that the 'villager' makes through the rent out of the privately owned dwellings, additional capital can be obtained through the profit of leasing out collective properties. The joint stock company assigns different uses to the collective land and rents out space for different businesses, such as industrial or commercial buildings. An example is the huge market hall inside Gangxia village.

The joint stock company of Gangxia manages this area by renting out small parcels to migrants inside the collectively owned market hall, where the migrants offer products such as vegetables, meat and fish for sale.

Through the supplies offered in 'villages' the demand of the local population can be covered.

During the first phase of local entrepreneurial strategy the 'villagers' tried to use the collective land for running the industrial business on their own, but they soon found out that property rental is much more profitable than 'conducting their own industrial activities' (He, Liu, Wu and Webster, 2010, p. 678). Hence, they started to construct low-cost industrial space in order to attract investors from outside.

However, during the second phase, after the year 2000 the rising costs of land that went along with institutional and economic costs of industrial production, as well as competition from other cities and were decisive reasons for many enterprises inside the 'villages' to move to the outskirts or even to inland cities where production costs were lower. Today, most of the 'urbanized villages' inside the inner city area focus on tertiary sector businesses. The influx of migrants increased by time and as soon as many migrants found a job inside the 'village' or in the formal urban environ (receiving a regular income), they

become a potential consumer force. As result, a high influx of migrants often goes along with an increase in the demand for affordable commercial facilities and services inside the 'village'. The requirements for shops, restaurants, canteens, hair saloons, etc. were rising and the need for kindergartens and schools for the kids came up as a by-product. Consequently these services flourished, not just because they offered a cheaper price than their urban environs but also because inside a 'village' every single service is in walking distance, which makes managing errands extremely convenient and even attracts the middle-income group, who lives close to the 'village'.

As 'urbanized villages' supply housing, employment and services, they work like a 'self-sufficient town, with some links to the global marketplace' (Hao et al., 2010, p. 2748). The cheap labour force moves to the cities in order to serve the global market place and mostly finds allocation inside an 'urbanized village', while being employed in the urban environ. In that kind of way, a capitalist growth machine can be sustained, whose productivity totally relies on the informal economy. This capitalist system goes along with a high social cost, resulting in a marginalization, gentrification and high inequality (cf. Tang, Yeung and Li, 1997, p. 5). This phenomenon is reflected in the coexistence of the formal urban formation of high-rises and the 'urbanized villages', spread all over Shenzhen.

The 'villages' in the SEZ area:

According to where the 'villages' are located, they are in different stages of development. 'Urbanized villages' inside the SEZ are in a more advanced phase. Since their environs are economically more developed and the Shenzhen municipality's demand on the 'villages' land inside the SEZ is higher than in the outside areas, they are under bigger redevelopment pressure.

As Gangxia village is situated inside the Central Business District, it underwent an unbelievably fast transformation process in just 30 years. Located right next to the border of Hong Kong, it used to be a small village, relying on fishing and agricultural land. Since the 1980s, its environ has changed constantly, from agricultural fields to industrial areas and afterwards to the central business district. In 2010 the western part of Gangxia has been demolished in order to make place for shopping malls, residential high-rise blocks and offices. The pressure that the government and the developers exerted on Gangxia village was too high. If in addition to that pressure, the social cohesion of the 'village's community is too loose to resist the redevelopment intentions of the government, the 'village' might not have any chance to survive.

According to the experiences I made during my research on site, I would rather state, that the indigenous villagers are by now profit making, calculative business man. They rarely feel irritated by the pressure of the government, but

try to bargain for the highest possible compensation rate. Therefore it isn't mainly about whether the social cohesion of the 'community' is too loose, but rather whether they want to resisit the government or whether they want to sell their properties to the government. If they don't see a financial profit in selling their properties, then they don't plan to come to a conclusion with the government and therefore don't need to make use of this cohesion and vice versa.

During my research in 2015 the south-western part of Gangxia got demolished as well. At the moment there is a huge abandoned area, which gets prepared for the construction of new high-rise buildings. Today Gangxia's central and eastern eastern sections are the only parts that remain untouched, still housing thousands of migrants, who are hoping to stay there longer than just until another developer persuades the indigenous villagers to bulldoze the rest of Gangxia. 'The village' has been reduced by two third of its original area, causing a huge internal migration. Therefore it still houses thousands of inhabitants who found an alternative home inside the still remaining part of Gangxia. This could be realized through a period of intensive construction and building extension in the remaining central area in the year 2010, which was the result of the broad demolition of Gangxia's West. Therefore Gangxia is still a vibrant place and full of

prosperous commercial activities. However the constant changes of the urban surrounding do have an impact on Gangxia's land use. Due to the fact that Gangxia is located inside the CBD of Shenzhen, an economically highly developed area, which provides a lot of job opportunities and services, some of Gangxia's tenants found jobs in the formal urban surrounding, who do not rely on an employment inside Gangxia in contrast to the residents of 'villages' in the suburban area, which are based on industry that offers a higher rate of employment inside the 'village'. As the suburban surrounding of those 'villages' is not yet highly developed, their inhabitants rely on the jobs inside the 'village'. However, according to my impression, Gangxia still offers a high rate of employment inside the 'village' and therefore houses a lot of inhabitants who rely on these jobs. Gangxia might experience influences by the CBD, yet it still serves as a main job provider itself.

Gangxia's industries moved to the urban fringe more than fifteen years ago, which resulted in an increase of its residential land use. As Gangxia has already been redeveloped, it is influenced by and intermixed with the homogenous, non-multifunctional urban environ. These transformations have an impact on Gangxia's land-use diversity. As it experiences more influence of its surrounding, it might consist of a more complex system than the enclosed, economically self-sufficient suburban 'villages'.

Estimating the land use diversity:

According to Hao, Geertman, Hooimeijer and Sliuzas (2012, p. 2752), the estimation of land use diversity in 'urbanized villages' can be achieved through defining four different categories: residential, industrial, commercial and public services. Though every 'village' is usually dominated by residential use, one can still distinguish a 'village' of high diversity from a 'village' of low diversity according to the four categories mentioned above.

While in the central districts of the city, such as Futian one can find low-diversity 'villages', the 'villages' with the highest land use diversity can mostly be encountered in the transition areas between the central districts and the periphery of the city. This can be explained through the high residential function of 'villages' in the city centre, that reduce the possibility of other functions due to its high residential occupancy, resulting in a lower land use diversity. Therefore the middle zone of the city shows a higher diversity as it has a lower residential density.

Since industries moved to the suburban 'villages', they are based on the highly represented industrial category there, resulting in a lower diversity than the 'villages' in the middle zone of the city.

However the land use diversity of 'urbanized villages' is very complex and also shapes through other, additional processes. Land use development forms out of the local market demand and the 'encroachment of redevelopment

on urban-village land' (Hao et al., 2012, p. 2757). So according to where exactly an 'urbanized village' is situated and according to its stage of redevelopment, the land-use diversity shapes differently.

Conditions in the SEZ and the Non-SEZ area:

Further results can be obtained through the comparison of 'villages' in the SEZ and 'villages' outside of the SEZ. On the one hand, one can state that if an 'urbanized village' is located inside the Special Economic Zone, which is economically more established, it attracts a larger variety of developments, causing a higher land-use diversity after new developments have been implemented. On the other hand, 'villages' that lie within the SEZ are more likely to be redeveloped, as the built intensity of the environs grows constantly and the government urgently demands land for formal urban expansion. Due to a higher value of the land inside the SEZ and its promising profitable property development, the redevelopment pressure inside that area is often higher. Besides, the government usually takes the collective land of the 'villages' in case of redevelopment. As a result the diversity inside those 'villages' might decrease, because of the higher concentration of residential land after the redevelopment.

In the non-SEZ area usually the total opposite happens. If the built intensity of the non-SEZ 'village' environs grows,

the land use diversity of the 'villages' tends to grow as well, as the level of development in the non-SEZ is still lower than in the SEZ. So if the non-SEZ environs grow, they influence the growth of the 'villages' diversity. The non-SEZ area is driven by a market-regime, where redevelopment mostly didn't occur yet, whereas in the SEZ area various formal urban development and redevelopment interventions inside the 'villages' led to other concentrations of land use types that can be distinguished from the ones in suburban 'villages'. Yet, according to my experience, 'urbanized villages' still have a high rate of land use diversity, irrespective of whether they are located inside or outside the SEZ. Once placing them into a contrasting juxtaposition to their urban surrounding, they show high rates of multifunctionality, heterogeneity and land use diversity.

Those results may give interesting insights into a variety of processes and pre-conditions influencing the land use diversity of 'villages'. However, it is important to consider, that each village has a different culture, a differently cooperating collective community and therefore different grades of political power. These features shape the 'villagers' ability to deal with the investors and the government. According to these different features of every 'village', the impact on formal urban interventions varies considerably and leads to different grades of land use diversity.

Individual characteristics of each 'village' and the floating population:

As a conclusion, one can state that the ongoing urban redevelopment interventions by the government are influencing the land use diversity of 'urbanized villages'. As Hao, Geertman and Hooimeijer (2012) explain, different grades of land use diversity can be observed according to the 'villages' location in the urban fabric, their phase of development, and the development level of their environ, and their location inside or outside the SEZ, one has to state, that criteria such as different culture, the different collective communities of the 'villages', etc. still have an impact on the 'villages' land use diversity, which shouldn't be underestimated.

However, the urban renewal processes constantly changes the 'villages' land-use diversity. According to Smith (2014, p. 210) until the year 2009 already 137 partial or complete redevelopment projects of 'urbanized villages' were to be realized. If a 'village' undergoes a redevelopment, it doesn't only mean forcing thousands of migrants to leave their social environment, but also to lose a huge amount of job opportunities, commercial and service supplies that meet the daily needs of the migrants and partly of the formalized population. If such large-scale redevelopment projects will be widely realized, the government will have to deal with socio-

economic side effects such as a shortage in affordable housing, a shortage in employment and service supply and a loss of a diversity and multifunctionality, that only an 'urbanized village' can offer. As a consequence, migrants will be banished to other suburban 'urbanized villages' or even to another city (see 'Urban nomads', Bronner and Reikersdorfer, 2011).

From an economic and political point of view, the city relies on the rural migrants as a cheap labour force, usually involved in sectors, such as manufacturing, construction, social services, hotels and restaurants. The government should be aware of the fact that a simple demolition and redevelopment of the 'urbanized villages' is not a sustainable solution, neither for the migrants, who are economically and socially integrated into the network of the 'villages', nor for the city itself as an economic system, that totally relies on the 'urbanized villages' and their migrants as a main driving force behind the 'villages' prosperity. From a political and socio-cultural point of view, the status of these migrants inside society should be enhanced. As the migrants lack access to basic rights, they need to be provided with social and political minimum standards, which could, on the long-term outcome, lead to a decrease in the discrimination against them.

03.3 THE INFORMAL ACTIVITIES INSIDE THE 'URBANIZED VILLAGES' OF SHENZHEN

03.3.1 The four types of informal economy in 'urbanized villages' - Gangxia Village as an example

Inside Gangxia village, the informal economy is an ubiquitous phenomenon. The slack control and management inside the 'urbanized villages' attracts a lot of self-employees to start an illegal business.

There are four main reasons for the chance of economic prosperity inside 'urbanized villages', especially in Gangxia, because of its central location inside the city centre:

1. As 'urbanized villages' are located close to or some even inside the city centre and its central business district, they are very likely to profit from their geographical proximity to business.

2. The high population density inside 'urbanized villages' offers a variety of opportunities for business to satisfy the needs of its inhabitants.

3. The 'urbanized villages' and the surrounding city have different management systems, leading to blank areas of management. The coexistence of these urban and rural systems lead to a slack of control and a lower taxation system, attracting people from all over China to use those loopholes as a chance for working as self-employees.

4. 'Urbanized villages' work like enclosed systems. One can find all kinds of shops, restaurants and services inside

the 'village'. Nowhere else in the city exists such a high concentration of supply-varieties. Due to low taxation, the offered services and products are less expensive compared to the city resulting in an unbeaten competitiveness of the 'villages'.

The actors involved in the informal economy of Gangxia can be divided into two categories. On the one hand, there are those informal activities, which are legitimate, such as the shops and restaurants in the main streets, but they never go through the procedures from the departments of revenue, business administration or the quality control of the government [pic36, pic 37].

On the other hand, there are activities, which are not even legitimate, like the rent out business run by the indigenous villagers and their second landlords, and the mobile vendors selling their goods. Both the indigenous villagers as well as the mobile vendors don't have any kind of licence for their business, and consequently do not have to pay any taxes or fees.

Categorizing four profiles:

In my thesis I categorize and outlined four different profiles, which participate in the informal activities of Gangxia:

1. The inhabitants who run their own business in the ground floors of the buildings (grocery stores, restaurants, supermarkets, electronics shops, clothes shops, etc.)

2. The indigenous villagers or their deputies, who rent out their self-built houses to the floating population.

3. The mobile vendors who sell their self-made or bought products (clothes, DVDs, food, electronics, daily necessities, etc.) on their vehicles inside Gangxia and the border to the surrounding city [pic35].



[pic35] Mobile vendor selling toys, Gangxia, 2015



[pic36] Supermarket and spirits-store, Gangxia, 2015



[pic37] Restaurant and grocery store, Gangxia, 2015

4. The joint stock company (definition and explanation see 03.4.1) of Gangxia Village, which is administrating certain areas and their business inside Gangxia, such as commercial and service industry. The joint stock company is also responsible for the property renting of collective land inside the 'village'. In some 'urbanized villages' the joint stock company works in close cooperation with the community committee (definition and explanation see 03.4.2).

Number 1 are those informal activities, which are managed either by the joint stock company or by the indigenous villagers and their deputies. If the property they rent is built on collective land and therefore under the management of the joint stock company, the 'villagers' who run those businesses pay some amount of management fees to the collective joint-stock company. If the business is located in the groundfloor of a housing which is owned by an indigenous villager, the fees have to be paid to the owner of the house or its deputy.

Number 2 are the informal activities of the indigenous villagers, who built partly illegal properties on their land [pic38]. As these constructions are higher than allowed and built under conditions of missing regulations and restrictions by the government, their rent-out business is informal and can flourish due to missing interventions and controls by the state. One can say that the opening-up

urbanization process was faster than the set-up of regulations by the Government, which led to this enormous amount of informal houses.

Number 3 are the mobile vendors. The community committee of Gangxia (definition and explanation see 03.4.2) regularly controls the 'village's streets and alleys and in case they find vendors who range the streets of Gangxia with their movable stalls, they simply try to shoo them away. Mobile vendors are seen as needless people and as threatening the shops' and restaurants' business inside Gangxia. However, as mentioned above, some 'village-managers' accept them and tend to ignore their informal business inside the streets.

The vendors sell their items by adapting their daily schedule according to the working hours of the securities, both inside Gangxia, employed by the Gangxia Community Committee, and the securities outside of Gangxia, employed by the City government. (For a detailed description of the mobile vendors and their daily business see 04.2.4). There are some small areas at the border between Gangxia Village and the city surrounding, which are controlled less frequently, as they are the intersection of the management of Shenzhen City Government and of Gangxia Village. Since the risk of getting penalized in these areas is quite low, the street vendors take

the chance to sell their items in those blank spaces of management and control. Such street vendors are mostly represented in those 'in-between' areas of 'urbanized villages' and their urban environs.

Number 4 is the joint stock company, which functions as a self-management institution. It supports the village's

public security, conservancy sanitation and other public managements. If houses inside the village are built on collective land, the joint stock company manages the collection of the monthly rent of the commercial and service industries inside those houses. According to Ma Hang (2006, p. 164), the taxes from property renting that the collective joint stock company should pay takes

up only ten percent of its total rent income. Besides the joint stock company regularly collects the fees for streets cleaning services that it offers inside Gangxia Village.

The regulation of taxes of business inside 'villages':

Usually all trades in the 'urbanized villages' are registered as so-called 'individual enterprises'. In contrast to



[pic38] Elevation houses, Gangxia, 2015

'corporations', the 'individual enterprises' in the 'villages' only have to pay 'sales taxes' to the 'urbanized villages'. Normally other additional management taxes (i.e. taxes for individual income, taxes for corporation income, etc.) should be paid to the departments of the government. An officially enrolled enterprise in the City should pay state taxes, local taxes and additional taxes, which are regulated by an administration department of the government (i.e. sanitation management fees, security fees, employment enrolment fees, birth-planning fees, education appending fees, etc.). Every department can set them up individually according to its need for income- and welfare-increase (cf. Ma, 2006, p. 164).

It has to be mentioned that there are also other types of informal activities inside Gangxia, such as illegal smuggling, prostitution and organized criminality. The characteristic features of densely built structures in 'urbanized villages' and a labyrinth of alleys facilitate conducting illegal activities, such as criminality, etc. There is one 'urbanized village', which is situated close to the Hong Kong border. It was known as the home of so-called secret second wives during the 1990s. As many entrepreneurs from Hong Kong regularly came to Shenzhen for business reasons, it was not uncommon that they secretly bought a wife of that 'village' as their second spouse, in addition to their first wife, who lives in Hong Kong. However, it has

to be mentioned that illegal activities, such as smuggling and prostitution aren't just to be found inside 'urbanized villages' but are existing in the formal city as well.

Before I moved to Gangxia, I was warned that it would be an unsafe place and not recommendable for a young woman to stay there. Yet during an interview with a shop owner of Gangxia, I got informed that due to the Olympic games, which were held in China in 2008, new restrictions and regulations were set up throughout the whole country. Even Gangxia changed according to some new regulations and underwent some formalization processes. Since then informal activities, such as prostitution and criminality have been controlled more strictly and regular security checks caused a decline of illegal smuggling, prostitution and criminality inside Gangxia.

How to address the 'urbanized villages' informality:

Informal practices of the economically and administratively self-sustaining 'villages' may be similar to other types of urban informality. Yet, 'urbanized villages' in Shenzhen developed out of unique socio-economic and spatial conditions. The economic and administrative pattern of 'urbanized villages' is not totally independent but rather tightly linked to the policy interventions introduced by the government. The 'villages' should therefore not be seen as an informal, economic system that shapes by ignoring

the state's established guidelines but rather as an ability of flexibility and adaptation (through incorporation of the 'villages' collectives) to the state's ambiguous policy-making (cf. Wu, Zhang and Webster, 2009, para. 5).

The informality that nurtures the 'villages' of Shenzhen might rather be defined as an adaptive solution to the ambiguity of property rights. Based on the dualistic land ownership in China (see sub-chapter 03.2.2), this informality arises and can persist until today. It is thus decisive as a main contributor to the stability of the state-apparatus. Due to certain preconditions, such as ambiguities of ownership and responsibility based on the dualistic land market, and due to a land allocation management that lies in the hands of the 'villages' collectives, supported by a lax control of the state on the development inside the 'villages', a political, administrative organisation could arise, which works as a strong institution, parallel to the state's governance. The organisation established an individual, small-scale economic system with self-governing representatives. This kind of 'alternative formal' system shaped on various levels, adapted to the market oriented growth and might be in itself comparable to state-apparatus, though different in its dimension (cf. Wu, Zhang and Webster, 2009, para. 6). Thus, the alternative formality of the 'villages' supports the maintenance of a circle of dependence. By allocating millions of migrants who rely

on the low-cost housing, they enable a continuation of low wages that the migrants live on and consequently the state can continue to focus on low-cost production. Hence, it is important to highlight the fact that a simple redevelopment and formalisation of the 'villages' and their 'informality' would not lead to a more profitable economic system of the state apparatus. The formalization would result in a decrease of low-cost housing and -service supply (as it usually goes along with the development of high-end real estate projects) and therefore instead of eradicating the informality it would rather push it further to the suburbs (as migrants would be forced to move to other, affordable 'urbanized villages'), where 'the villages' are not (yet) of a redevelopment-concern for the government.

If the state wants to keep its economic growth stable, it would be important to perceive this 'informality' as a massive reality, as a part of the state's body. Since the state officially declares itself as a 'formal' apparatus, it contains of this massive part (in the sense of population, not land mass occupation) of 'informal, urbanized villages'. As a result, 'urbanized villages' and their 'informality' should rather be understood as a flexible, individual type of formality adapting to the state's interventions on several dimensions, instead of an informality that simply ignores the rules of the state.

“I have used the term urban informality to indicate an organizing logic, a system of norms that governs the process of urban transformation itself. Against the standard dichotomy of two sectors, formal and informal, we suggest that informality is not a separate sector but rather a series of transactions that connect different economies and spaces to one another.”

[Ananya Roy, 'Urban Informality', 2005, p.148]

03.4 THE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM IN 'URBANIZED VILLAGES' & ITS COLLECTIVE ECONOMY

03.4.1 股份公司 The joint stock company - Gangxia Village as an example

35 years ago, Shenzhen's peasants used to cultivate land. Since the government has taken their agricultural land for urban expansion, the peasants started to focus on 'cultivating buildings' [fig21].

Every 'urbanized village' has a joint stock company. Shared beliefs and blood relationship are a decisive factor for the compilation of a joint stock company. As in the past rural peasants used to form collective communities and distributed their harvest into an equal share for every member, the joint stock company is a modernized version of this administrative management system. The

indigenous villagers 'start a nested autocratic cohabitation system, forming an intriguing autonomy of village authorities (in the form of a privatised cooperative governed by villagers that redistribute profits) within the state authority' (Uehara, 2008, p. 54).

The joint stock company's capital is based on firstly the 'village properties', such as hotels, business buildings and diverse retail businesses, secondly the self-reserved collective land of the village and thirdly the compensations it receives from land acquisition by the state. It makes its main financial profit through the rent out business of the land and rent out of properties on the collective land,

which is under its administration [fig22].

In 'urbanized villages' management systems constitute of three levels: The sub district office on the top [map10], the joint stock company as the second level and the community committee as the lowest representative in the hierarchy.

As an entity that integrates economy, society and administration it manages the economic activities inside the 'village' and the floating population, which is the lessee of the original villagers. Many businesses inside the 'village', mainly run by the floating population, are under the administration of the joint stock company.

The joint stock company is cooperating with the original villagers, as they conduct property-renting activities, such as the 'house rent business and the workshop and business service facility rent business' (Ma, 2006, p. 147). The lessees of the houses and workshops inside the 'village' become the joint stock company's and the indigenous villager's customers as they have to regularly pay rent for the rooms, workshops, etc.

Gangxia's joint stock company:

Gangxia village has 917 people holding a share in the Gangxia joint stock company, which is regularly paid out to every shareholder [fig23]. According to how long the 'villagers' and their children already lived in the 'village', and where they are employed (in government offices or inside the 'village'), their amount of share varies. 'Villagers' who left China or just moved to another province, cannot be allotted any stock.

The targets of the economic development of the 'village' are regularly updated for that the joint stock company can conduct its plans for public facilities inside the 'village', such as the construction of infrastructure, i.e. the establishment and maintenance of the road system, the water supply, electricity supply, the sewage system, etc. The joint stock company is also responsible for the safety inside the village. As a result the exits of a 'village' are

usually gated and attached with a small stall occupied by a security, such as Gangxia, which has four gated entrances, occupied by securities. The company also employs a group of securities, which walk through the 'village' during day and partly at night time.

The maintenance of the 'villages' culture and roots:

In many 'villages' the joint stock company promotes and highlights the community's culture. The devotions for their ancestors and their traditional blood relationship are still a representative and important factor of many 'villages'. During my research I had the chance to visit Xiasha village, where I attended a traditional ceremony. Once a year, people from one family clan meet their relatives and worship their ancestors for a whole day inside the maintained temples of the 'villages'. In these cases, the joint stock company is responsible for financing these traditional ceremonies, and the maintenance of the 'villages' cultural relicts, such as the ancestral halls.

Two other important functions of the joint stock company are the management of the welfare system and the pension of the 'villagers'. A regular payment of fees to the company allows the shareholders to obtain 'cooperative medical care' (Ma, 2006, p. 157). If 'villagers' have to get medical treatment they can either go to the hospital inside the 'village' or to one of the assigned hospitals outside. In

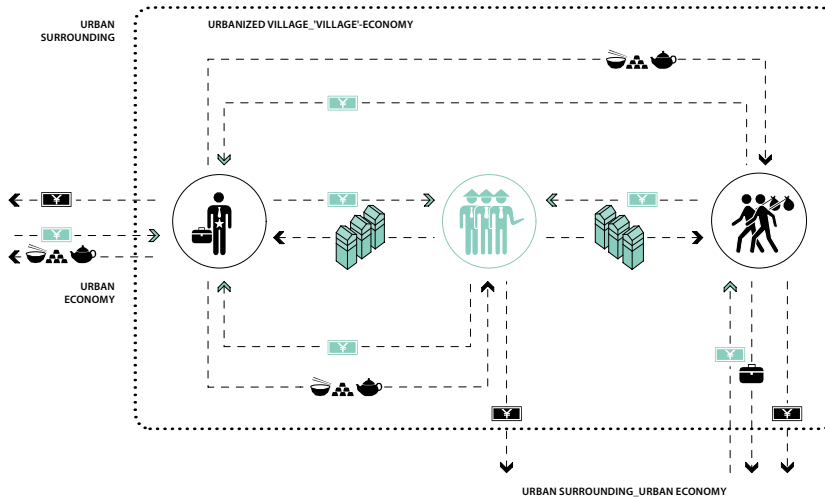
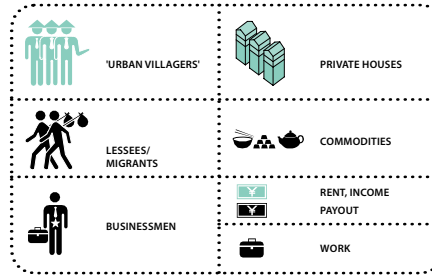
both cases, the 'villagers' get 50 percent refunded by the joint stock company. Besides, every senior who holds a stock in the company receives a monthly pension.

The role of the floating population and the 'villager':

The advantage of the joint stock company's subsidizations is that the community resources get equally distributed among the shareholders. As a result, the gap between rich and poor among the 'indigenous villagers' community declines. However, the floating population, which is vastly over-represented in every 'urbanized village', has no chance for obtaining a share in the stock. Hence, being excluded from receiving subsidizations from the joint stock company, and still holding their hometown hukou, the migrants have no chance to participate in the welfare system, neither provided by the city they recently live in, nor provided by the 'urbanized village' they stay in. Pushed by a surplus labour in their rural areas or pulled by higher wages in the urban areas, the migrants moved to the cities and once they left their homes, they are forced to be the subordinated part in the hierarchy of the city's society. Ironically enough, that the indigenous villagers of 'urbanized villages' are now that privileged over the migrants, considering that these 'villagers' used to own and cultivate land before, exactly like the migrants coming from rural areas. Though these two groups share a similar background (rural farmers, owning land), they can

The economic activities of Gangxia village basically include following actors:

- The indigenous villagers, who are the shareholders and employees of the joint stock company and who individually run the rent-out business of their private houses.
- The floating population as lessees and as individual operating salespersons. They are the backbone of the 'village'-economy, as they operate and consume in various retail businesses of the 'village'.
- The joint stock company as the organization manager of these two actors and their economic activities.



[fig21] The economy of 'urbanized villages' and its activities

diagram of 'urbanized villages' economy

The joint stock company
 917 original villagers hold a share in Gangxia's joint stock company. They are all members of the Wen family.
 The tasks of the joint stock company are to meet the targets of the 'villages' economic development. It plans and also constructs the public facilities inside the 'village', i.e. the establishment and maintenance of the road system, the water supply, electricity supply, the sewage system, etc.
 The 'village' community gets subdivided into small governing institutions that are each responsible for different targets. Public facilities are financed by the collective economy, established through the component paid by each 'villager' who holds a stock in the community.

A certain percentage of the joint stock company's yearly income gets divided and paid out to the 917 shareholders. The seniors even receive a monthly pension. The joint stock company also finances the healthcare of the 'villagers'. If a shareholder has to get medical treatment, he/she can go to the village's health-center or to an appointed hospital outside.

Every 'urbanized village' has a community committee, which is a subdivision of the joint stock company. The head and the main leaders of the village founded this community in order to do additional administration of the 'village' and its economy. As the community committee is a department of the joint stock company, it gets financed by the latter.

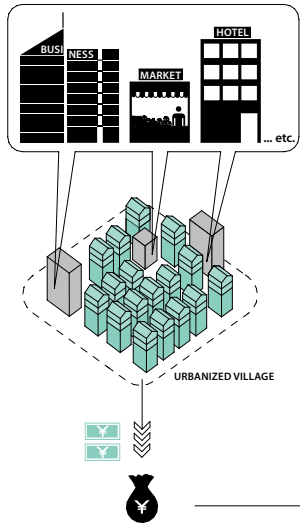
In terms of population, the migrants are the most strongly represented residents inside an 'urbanized village'. As they do not belong to the family of the original villagers, they are excluded from participating in the self-supportive system of the 'village'. Since they are not allowed to hold a share in the stock, they can't obtain any subsidies provided by the village's joint stock company, such as health insurance, or pension.

constitutions of joint-stock company's capital

1 'cultivation of buildings'

In the past the peasants used to cultivate land, today they 'cultivate buildings'. The joint stock company's income constitutes of three categories: The first one is the income from 'village properties', such as business buildings, hotels, trade markets, etc.

1

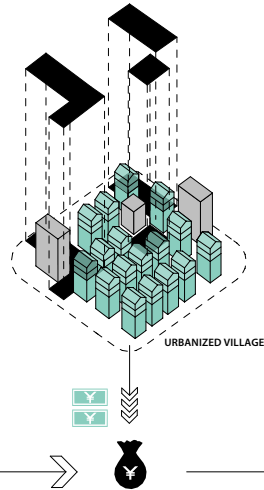


2 self-reserved land

The second component of income is achieved through the self-reserved collective land of the village. As investors and businesses rely on this plots inside the villages, this 'land rental economy' and 'property rental economy' is an important income resource for the joint stock company.

2

SELF-RESERVED LAND OF VILLAGE

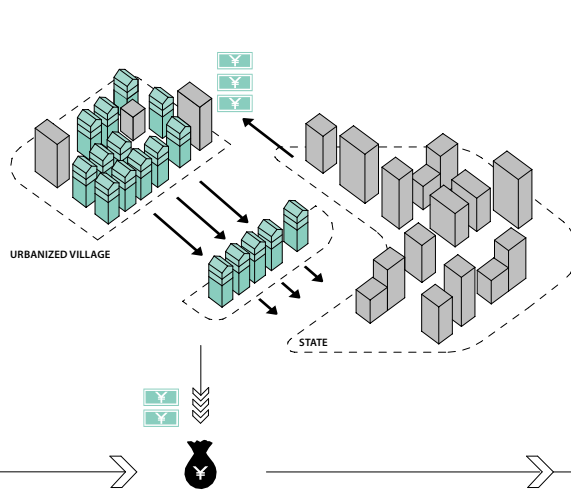


3 compensation from expropriation

The third part of income is gained through compensations that the joint stock company receives from land acquisition by the state. As the government permanently needs land for its urban expansion, it has to pay the 'villages' for expropriating their land.

3

COMPENSATION FROM LAND ACQUISITION



917

joint stock company



The joint stock company of Gangxia village

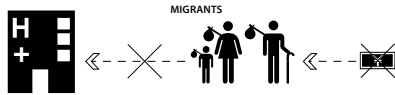


COMMUNITY COMMITTEE



917 'URBAN VILLAGERS'

a
b
c

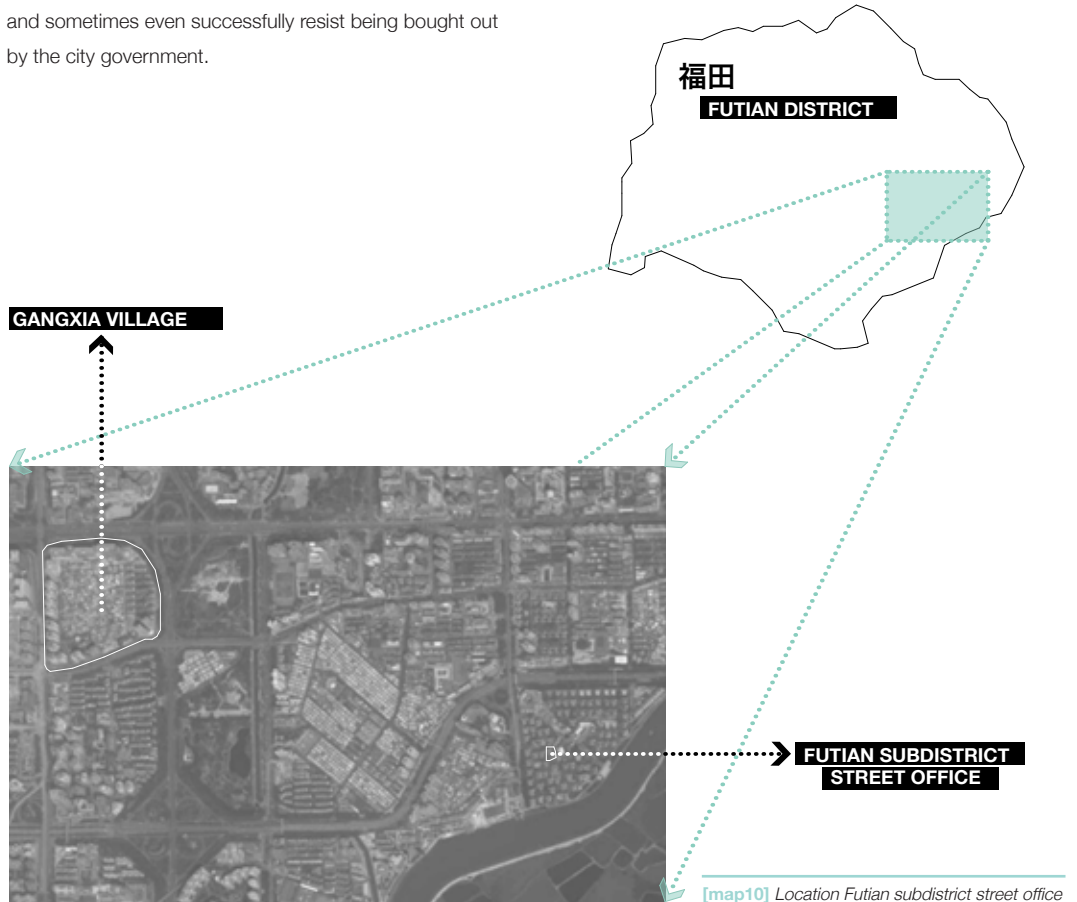


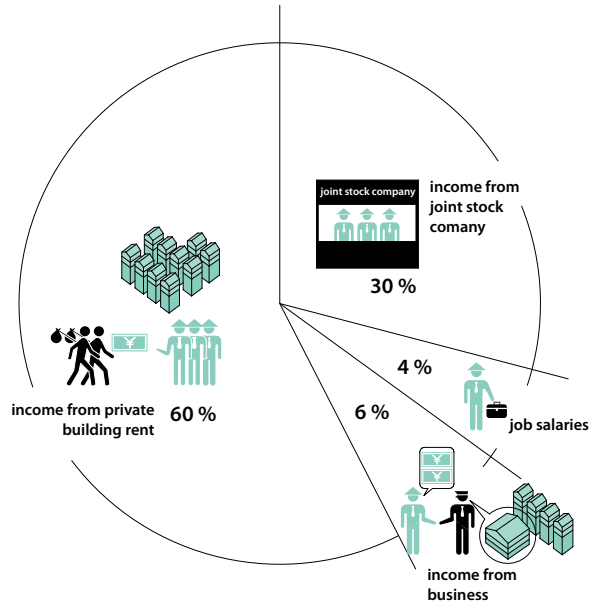
[fig22] The joint stock company, Gangxia

be regarded as two totally different groups who do not interact with each other. The indigenous villagers mostly moved to urban fringes, where they bought luxurious apartments, whereas the migrants rent rooms inside the 'urbanized villages' owned by the indigenous villagers. They may interact with each other indirectly, as the migrant becomes a customer of the 'villager' through the renting of a room inside his house, but there is no other social relation between those two groups. When moving to a city, migrants mostly coordinate in groups with family members or with their neighbours from their hometown. During my research in Gangxia, I observed that those groups of migrants, once arrived and settled in an 'urbanized village', remain in their social environment and mostly avoid any kind of interaction with locals or groups coming from other places.

Through the establishment of the joint stock company, the management of the 'village' changed from an old, irregular and verbal way to a regulated and formal one [pic39]. The indigenous people, who used to be higher officials of the village changed into higher shareholders after the joint stock company was introduced. Now the shareholders are well informed about their rights and obligations, which help them i.e. in the case of disputes with developers and the government concerning a potential redevelopment of their 'village'. This 'tightly cooperating collective commu-

nity' (Hao et al., 2012, p. 2762) develops a political power and sometimes even successfully resist being bought out by the city government.





>>> average income composition of 'villager' in 'urbanized villages' of Futian district

[fig23] The income of 'villagers' holding a stock in the joint stock company



>>> joint stock company's office in Gangxia Village

[pic39] Entrance to the joint stock company in Gangxia

03.4 THE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM IN 'URBANIZED VILLAGES' & ITS COLLECTIVE ECONOMY

03.4.2 岗夏社区介 The community committee - Gangxia Village as an example

The constitution and functions of the committee:

The community of a 'village' gets subdivided into small governing institutions that are allocating different tasks. Usually it gets financed by the joint stock company, which 'subsidizes the salaries of the community committee, provides cars and office sites, subsidizes office expense and other necessities.' (Ma, 2006, p. 153)

The community committee is set up by a group of indigenous village authorities that all hold a share in the stock system of the 'village'. It is governed by the upper government institution, which is usually the street office and by the joint stock company. In other words, the sub district or street office manages the joint stock company,

whereas the joint stock company is the upper institution of the community committee. The sub district office 'refers to the basic government delegated institution of district government'. It is part of the district government that is responsible for managing the social and economic activities. 'But the implementation of its management function to the economic development, construction (including municipal infrastructure construction, real estate development, etc.) of 'villages' inside its administrative region is realized by the cooperation by the community committee and joint stock company' (Ma, 2006, p. 154). Consequently, the 'urbanized villages' work as enclosed systems through a more or less tight cooperation of the joint stock company and community committee [fig24],

which are based on kinship relations. The joint stock company and the community committee are not managed by the municipal government, which is -compared to the former- based on contract relations.

The 文 (Wen) family:

The community committee of Gangxia village is set up by indigenous villagers of the 文 (Wen) family. Their ancestors were farmers, who cultivated the fields and fishing villages. Hence the representatives are all members of the Wen family, holding a share in the stock of the 'village' company. People who aren't members of the Wen family (except those who marry a family member) have no possibility to hold a share. An intergenerational governance

manages the joint stock company and the community committee. Whereas the former constitutes of the young generation, Gangxia's community committee is set up by the older generation of the Wen family.

The establishment of the community committee:

In 1992, all rural land in Shenzhen has been urbanized and consequently the 'villagers' have changed their rural into urban status. The establishment of the community committee inside 'urbanized villages' was a by-product of this rural urbanization. What first has been an administrative village committee now turned into the community committee and formed, in cooperation with the joint stock company, a managing system inside the 'villages'.

Basically one can distinguish between three different ways of managing a 'village':

One option is that the community committee and the joint stock company work independently and have their separated tasks. Another option is that the joint stock company and the community committee have tasks that overlap and ask for a tight cooperation of the two. In this case, the joint stock company and the community committee share the same chairman. The third way, which is mostly represented in small 'urbanized villages', is that the joint stock company and the community committee work as one group and constitute of only one crew.

In Gangxia village the joint stock company and the community committee are two separately functioning entities with differentiated tasks. The original village community first established a community committee and introduced the joint stock company a few years later, which consists of representatives, who are the descendants of the community committee.

There are so-called 'shareholder representatives' who elect the 'directorates of the joint stock company'. They are chosen for taking certain decisions, concerning the administration of the company itself, 'the village issue management, the operation of the management of all the collective land of the 'village', and the distribution of the share to each indigenous villager' (Ma, 2006, p. 155).

An interview with the community committee:

Thanks to a professor called Guo Man, who works at Harbin University of Technology in Shenzhen, I was allowed to visit the Gangxia Community Committee office. As Guo Man knows some family members of the Wen family personally and is standing in regular contact with them, we went to the office of Gangxia's community committee, where we could interview two representatives of the comprehensive committee office of Gangxia community. They held a very interesting presentation about Gangxia and provided us with important facts and information about the village and its community committee:

1. The Gangxia Community was established in June 2002. The total area it manages is 0.9 km². The area borders Huangang road in the east, Fuhua road in the south, Jintian road in the west and Shennan road in the north. Following institutions are under the management of the community committee:

15 real estate neighbourhoods inside the community, the 'Shenda new village' (Eastern part of Gangxia), the 'Gakeli mansion', the dormitory of 'Gangxia primary school', the 'Wenwei Community Hall', the 'Futian Police Station', the 'Star elderly home', the 'Social Health Service Station', the 'Futian fire hydrant station' and the original, still existing area of the village.

2. The community's management consists of 9 administrative community workers and 48 additional employees. The community has established all kinds of regulations concerning the service and consultancy for the resident's daily needs.

In December 2010, the 'Gangxia Joint Stock Company' was established as a subunit of the community committee and as a member of the communist party (114 communist members).

3. During an interview with the head of Gangxia's community committee in July 2015, some useful data about Gangxia could be collected:

The 'village' has an amount of 50.000 temporary residents (B-permit) and 20.000 permanent residents (A-permit). Around 70.000 people make up the total population of Gangxia, whereas 1000 people are officially registered, holding a local hukou. They are the original villagers of Gangxia village. Inside the 'village' there are 414 self built houses, with 6.422 accommodation units and 13.168 rooms.

4. The indigenous villagers of Gangxia and their descendants are all named 文 (Wen), after their ancestor Wen Tian Xiang. In total there are seven villages, spread in Shenzhen and Hongkong, which are inhabited by the 文 (Wen) family, such as Feng Hua village, Tian Shui Wei village and Tai Heng village in Hong Kong, etc. Until today they share a close relationship with each other and their shared beliefs hold them strongly together. Every year there is a traditional meeting of all the family members, celebrating their ancestors and roots. If i.e. one of the villages would tend to collapse financially, the other six villages will immediately offer help. As they share the same roots and beliefs, they have a tight cooperation and support each other.

5. Gangxia has a history of 700 years and 25 generations. Their ancestors originally came to Shenzhen from Jiangxi Province. After the indigenous villagers' culti-

vated land got expropriated, the government only paid compensation for the crops, which was about 1.000 RMB per Chinese acre (147 EUR). For other items, like cattle breeding, farmer's houses and wells, there were different compensation standards. However the ex-farmers couldn't live just from the compensations, so they started to build new houses and rent out their additional floors to the high influx of migrants coming from all over China. Those collected rents and the shares of their newly constituted joint stock company became their new main income.

6. Around 1.000 of the locals of Gangxia Village hold a Shenzhen citizen identity, though according to the Wen-family tree, there are supposed to be 4.000 to 5.000 local hukou holders. This can be explained by the fact that 3.000 to 4.000 of the Wens obtained the Hong Kong citizenship, after fleeing to the nearby-situated Hong Kong in the years 1958 until 1962, due to poorly planned and poorly executed irrigation works and dramatic drops in farmer's productivity which caused a great famine in whole China.

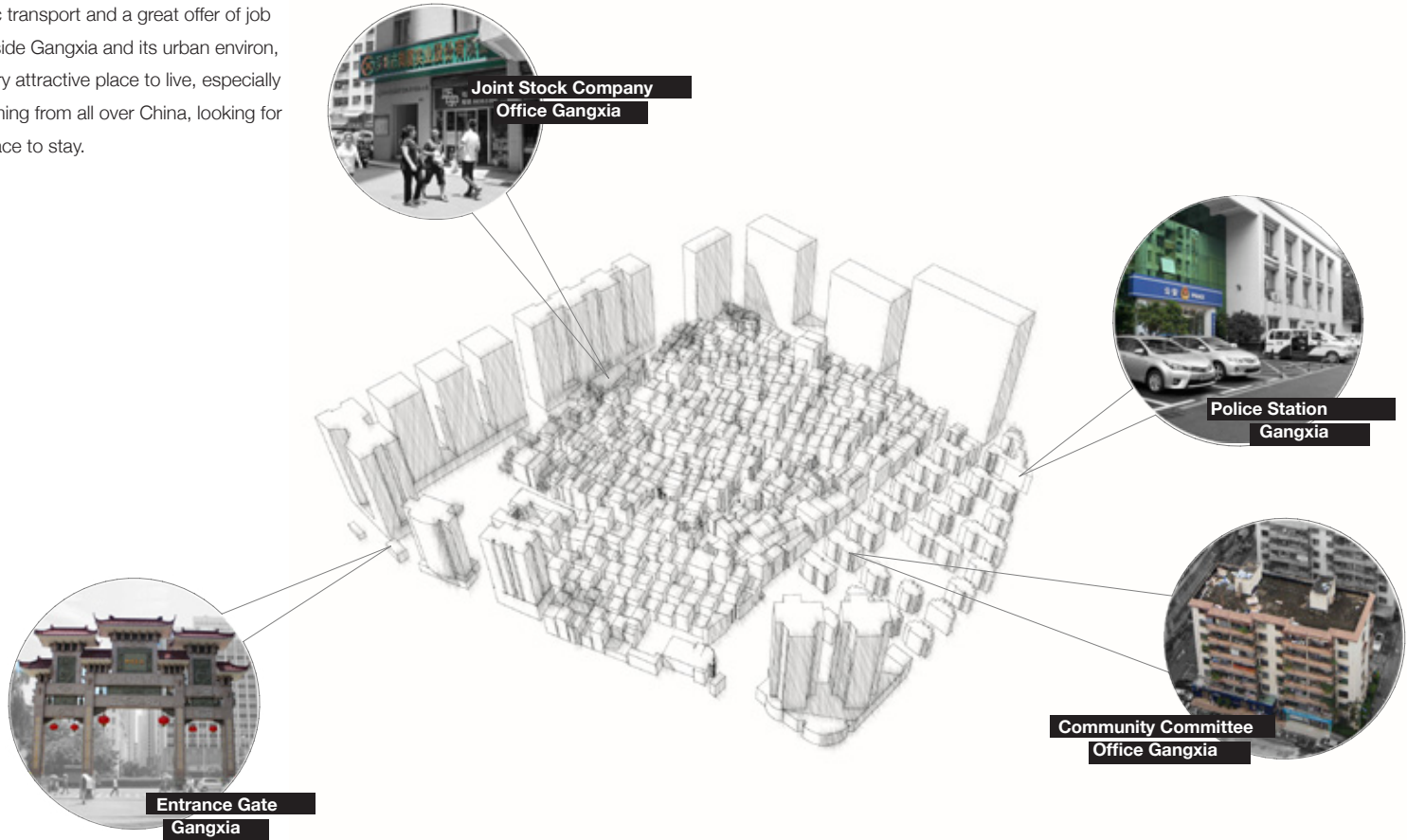
7. Historically speaking, it is still Gangxia village, but in an administrative sense, it's a community, which is ruled by the Futian subdistrict street office, which is located in the East of Futian.

8. The Wen family established a kinship organization in Hong Kong. Every Year during the Spring Festival, representatives of the Wen family worship their ancestors in a get-together, celebrating the 'happy day' of the Wens. Every 5 years, descendants who live abroad all come to Hong Kong to participate in this celebration.

9. Before the Open-up in 1979, Gangxia was much bigger. It extended to the north to the 'Meilin vehicle administration Office', to the south to Fuhua road, in the west it extended to the area which lies between Yitian and Jintian road, including the south of Lianhua Mountain and Bijia Mountain. During the process of expropriation and road construction surrounding Gangxia, some real estate had been given back to the 'villagers' as compensation, i.e. the housing units in the west and 'Gangxia west Xincheng garden'. Today there are no historical buildings left in Gangxia. The oldest structures date back to the early 1980's, when farmers built new houses for financial profit. While some 'urbanized villages' in Shenzhen still have ancestor halls and some old, rural architecture, Gangxia's temples and original houses were removed before the reform and opening-up. The oldest ancestral hall of Gangxia got abandoned during the Cultural Revolution and later it was demolished during the construction of Caitian road. In the 1990s a community hall was built in order to replace the demolished hall.

10. Gangxia village is surrounded by the central business district. Its central location, the direct connection to public transport and a great offer of job opportunities inside Gangxia and its urban environ, still make it a very attractive place to live, especially for migrants coming from all over China, looking for an affordable place to stay.

[fig24] Location community committee and joint stock company, Gangxia Village



[pic40] *Space in-between the 'urbanized village' and the city*
Gangxia Village in Futian District, Shenzhen

岗夏村
GANGXIA
VILLAGE

SPATIAL & SOCIO-ECONOMIC
ANALYSIS



04.1 HISTORY & LOCATION

04.1.1 Metropolitan Area and its background



[pic41] Crossing the border to Hong Kong to grow crops, 1980



[pic42] Villagers from Gangxia fishing in the lakes, 1984

Gangxia is located in the southeast of Shenzhen's Central Business District. It underwent a breath-taking transformation during the last 35 years. Since Shenzhen's 'Open-up' in the late 1970's, Gangxia's spatial and economic pattern changed constantly.

The history of Gangxia village dates back more than 700 years. The indigenous inhabitants of this village are relatives of the Wen family that still exists until today and manages the village's community and economy. Originally the village's income was based on agriculture and fishing [pic42]. As it is located not far from the Hong Kong border, Gangxia has a close economic and social relation to Hong Kong. In the 1960s many villagers fled to Hong Kong, due to horrendous agricultural and economic conditions resulting in a great famine, forcing many Shenzhen-residents to move to Hong Kong in order to live a life under better conditions [pic41].

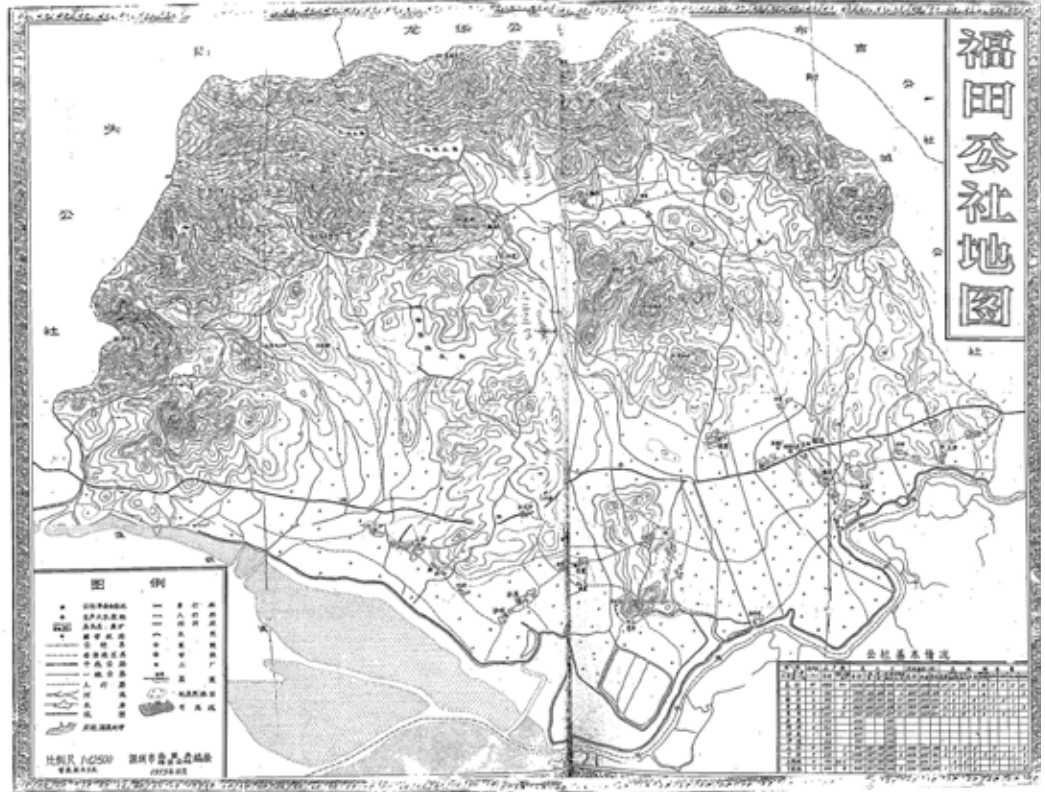
Gangxia Village is located in Futian district, one of the four original districts that formed the so-called 'Special Economic Zone'. Before the economic miracle of the 1980s brought along an extremely fast urban development, the

whole Futian district was more or less untouched green land, just inhabited and cultivated by farmers [map11]. Today Futian encloses Shenzhen's Central Business District, the economic and strategic heart of Shenzhen. Gangxia is the only 'urbanized village' that still exists inside Shenzhen's CBD, which strongly influences the 'village's economy and its spatial development. However, two-third of its surface have already been demolished and redeveloped by investors in 2010 and its southwestern part is under redevelopment recently. As Gangxia is located in the centre of Shenzhen, it struggles resisting a high redevelopment pressure. Yet the land price inside Shenzhen's CBD increases constantly, so that many developers recently hesitate to invest in Gangxia's land and prefer to speculate on land in the urban fringes. It remains unclear, whether the remaining part of Gangxia will be demolished soon or not.

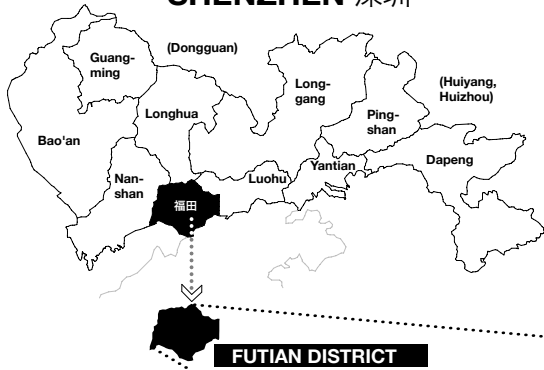
Gangxia has 70.000 inhabitants at an area of 0.16 km² (interview with the head of Gangxia's community committee, June, 2015). Compared to its urban surrounding, it is extremely dense, with an average living space of 2.3 m² per person, whereas its urban environ provides dwell-

ings with an average living space of 35 m² per person. The phenomenon of 'urbanized villages' in general was discussed in the previous chapters. This chapter zooms in and sets focus on Gangxia Village. It aims to offer insights into the present situation of the last remaining part of Gangxia. Explanatory graphics, maps and pictures of my research on site should help to demonstrate the actual socio-economic and spatial situation inside Gangxia. Interviews with different profiles provide statistical information about Gangxia's inhabitants on the one hand, and a detailed insight into their individual circumstances, and daily-life habits on the other hand. Observations on site helped to map and visualize the spatial profile of Gangxia and to find answers to the question whether an 'urbanized village' like Gangxia has a chance of persistence as a part of a city that undergoes an apparently unstoppable transformation. Spatial qualities, that distinguish the 'village' from its urban surrounding were revealed as were observed the resident's interaction with space inside the 'village'. Through the application of different research tools, the importance of Gangxia itself will be emphasized, not just as a simple shelter-provider but as a complex socio-economic environment of Shenzhen's inhabitants.

[map11] 'Old' map of Futian district with Gangxia Village in the east-central part, 1979



SHENZHEN 深圳



Futian district is one of the four original Special Economic Zone-districts (Yantian, Luohu, Futian, Nanshan). In 2010, the outer districts have been attached to the SEZ (Dapeng, Pingshan, Longgang, Longhua, Guangming, Bao'an), [map12]. Futian borders Hong Kong in the South and has close economic and geographical links with it. It has a checkpoint, where people can move from Mainland China to Hong Kong and vice versa.

Shenzhen has two central business districts. The first one, introduced in the 1980s, is located in Luohu district and the second one, existing since the late 1990s and located in Futian district [map13]. The district has an area of 78.65 km² and a population of 1.3 million inhabitants (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2015). Futian is lo-

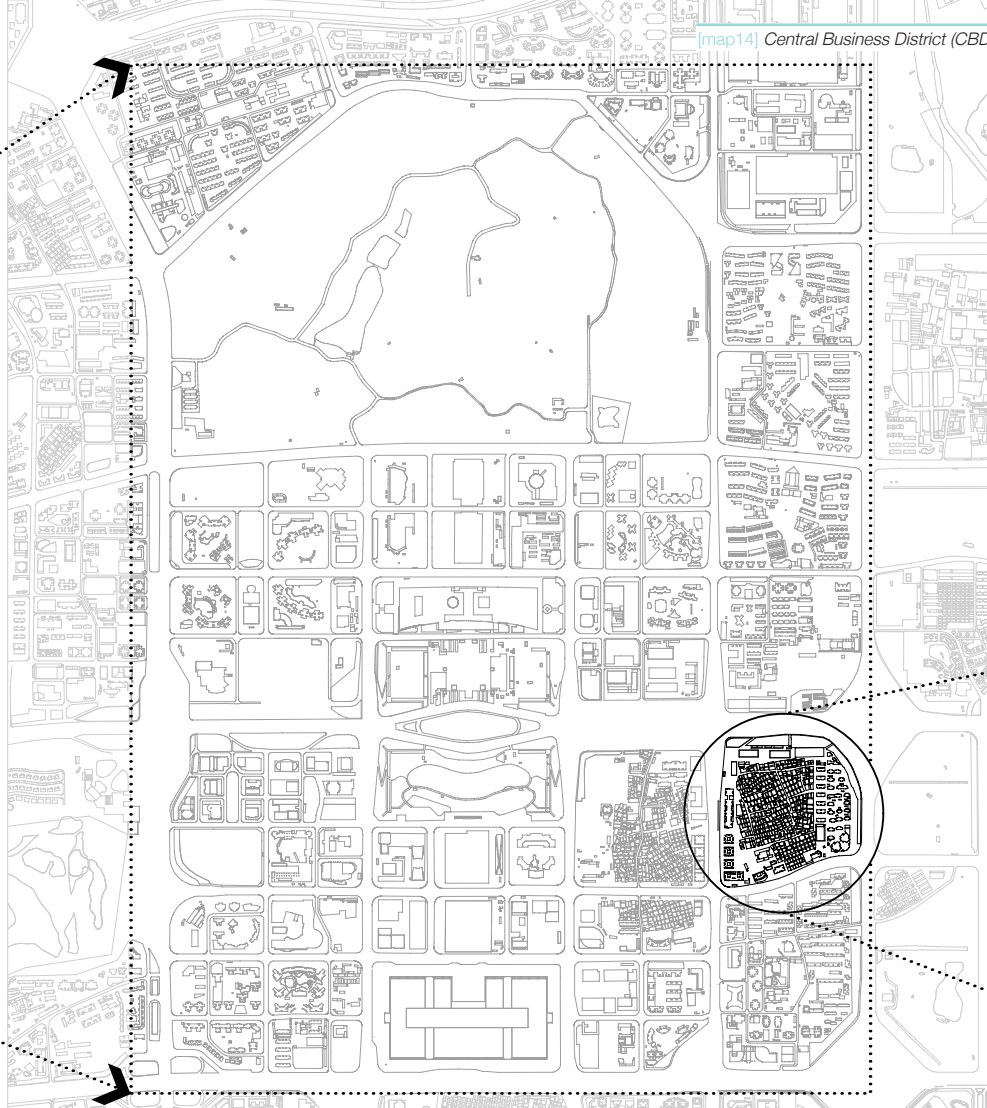
[map12] Location Futian District in Shenzhen

[map13] Futian District with CBD, Shenzhen



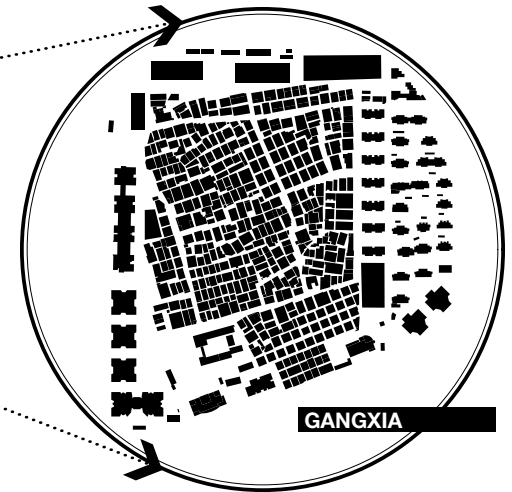
FUTIAN DISTRICT

[map14] Central Business District (CBD)



CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

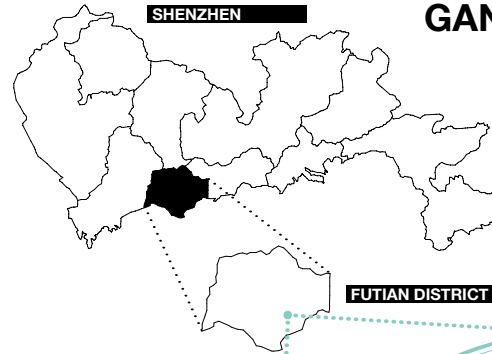
cated along Shennan Road Central, which is a main east-west transport axis in Shenzhen. The total area of Futian gets bounded by four major roads: Xinzhou Road, Caitian Road, Binhe Road and Hongli Road. In the 1990s the local government's planning strategy was to make Futian district the 'new centre of Shenzhen to perform business, cultural and administrative functions in the 21st century' (Tang, Yeung and Li, 2003, p. 17). Most of Shenzhen's newly constructed commercial and business buildings are located in Futian district. The Shenzhen City hall is located in the middle of the CBD [map14]. The stock exchange headquarters, designed by the 'OMA' architecture of-fice, are in the south-west and the recently constructed, highest building of Shenzhen lies next to Gangxia Village [map15], in the southeast of the CBD.



[map15] Location Gangxia Village in the CBD

04.1 HISTORY & LOCATION

04.1.2 Graphics of statistics (Gangxia and Futian)



GANGXIA VILLAGE 岗厦村

[map16] Location Gangxia Village in Futian District



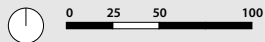
[fig25] Gangxia Village in numbers

Shennan Avenue 深南大道

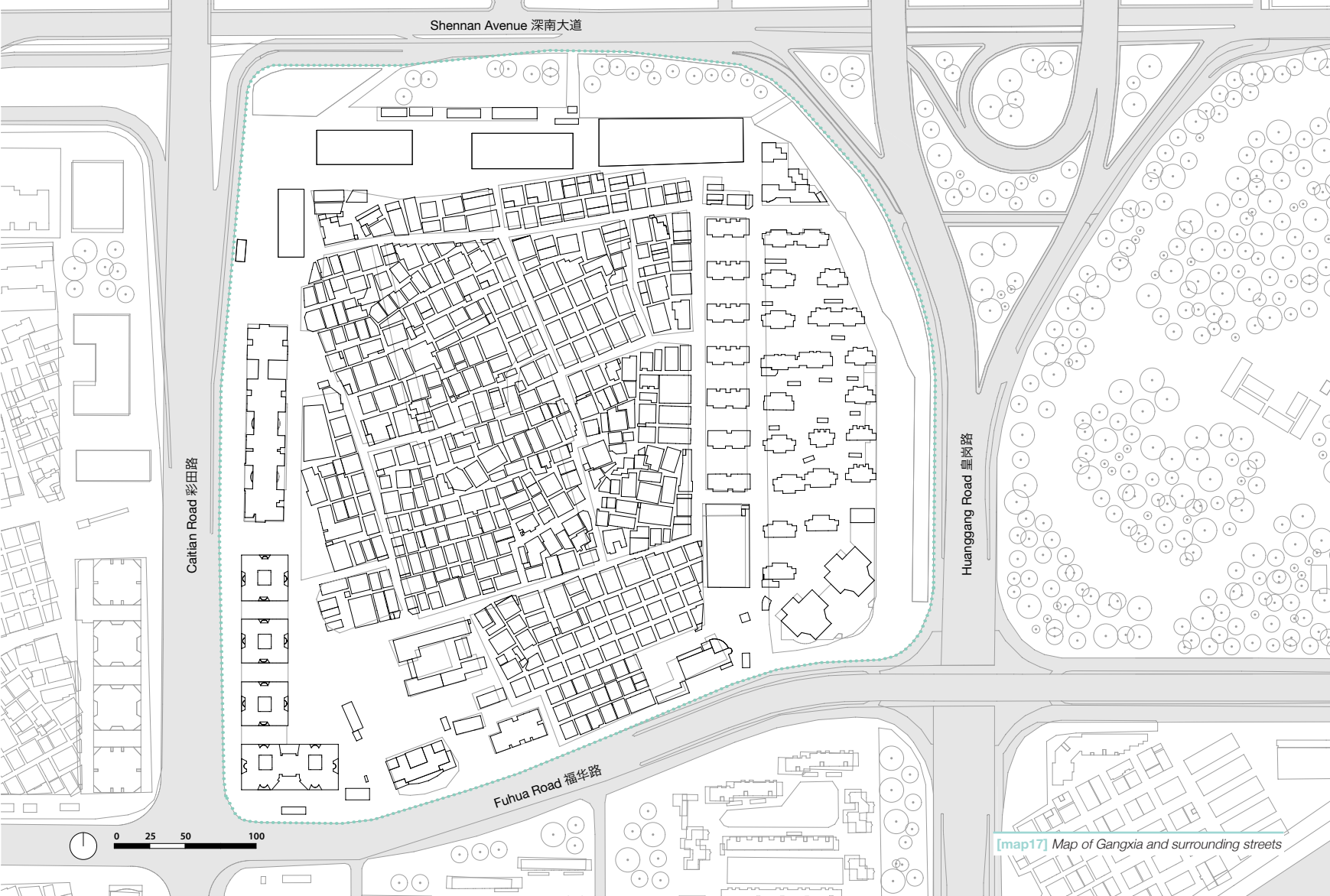
Caitian Road 彩田路

Huanggang Road 皇岗路

Fuhua Road 福华路



[map17] Map of Gangxia and surrounding streets





»»» Futian district in 1983

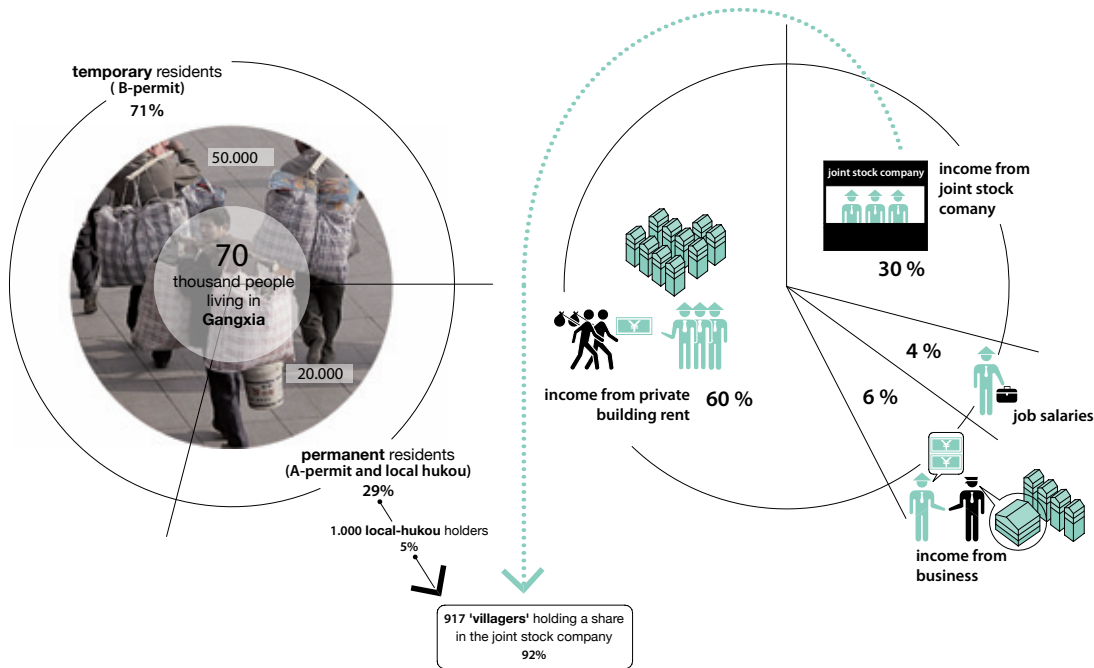
[pic43] Birdview Zhuzilin landscape and Futian district, 1983



»»» Futian district in 2015

[pic44] Birdview Futian district, 2015

Futian district has a population of 1,32 million residents (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2015). Some 'urbanized villages' inside Futian district still exist, although many of the centrally located 'villages' have already been demolished and redeveloped [pic43, pic44]. One of these still remaining 'villages' inside Futian is Gangxia. Out of the 1,3 million inhabitants of Futian district, 70,000 are living in Gangxia Village. Whereas 71% of them, the temporary residents, hold a B-permit, 29% are permanent residents, holding an A-permit or even a local hukou (interview with the head of Gangxia's community committee, June, 2015). By obtaining a local hukou, direct access to the local welfare system can be provided to the holder [fig26].



»»» composition of residents in Gangxia Village

[fig26] Population composition, Gangxia, 2015

»»» average income composition of 'villager' in 'urbanized villages' of Futian district

[fig27] Income composition of indigenous villagers, Futian, 2006

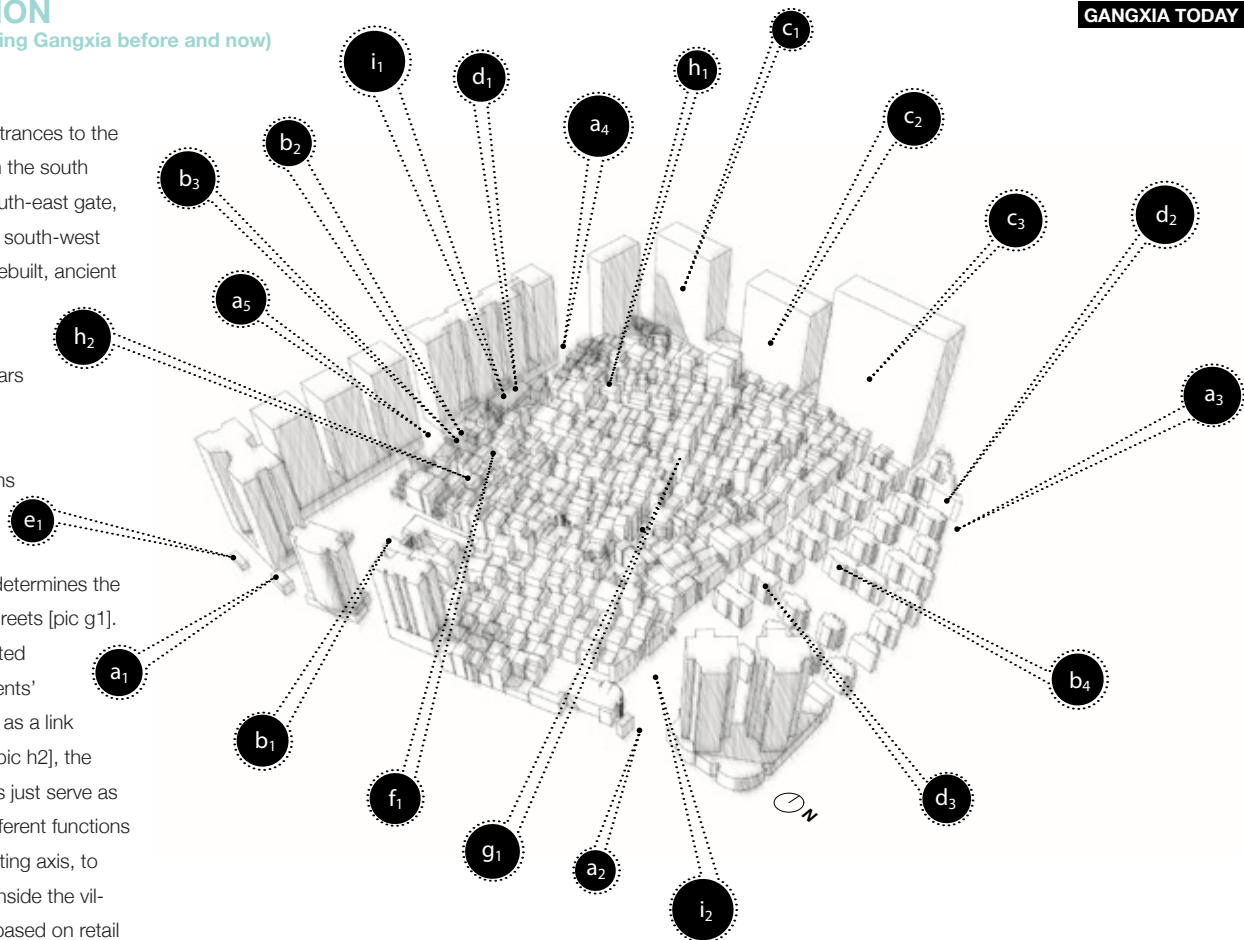
About 1000 of Gangxia's residents are privileged to own such a local hukou registration. These residents are all descendants of the Wen-family, who came to Shenzhen more than 700 years ago. Due to their blood relationship and their ownership of the houses based on Futian's land, they can make immense income through the rent-out of their self-built houses. Their main profit consists of this rent-out business but they additionally earn money through their share in the Gangxia's joint stock company [fig27]. After years of capital accumulation, these indigenous villagers are one of the richest people in Shenzhen today.

04.1 HISTORY & LOCATION

04.1.3 Physical development (visualizing Gangxia before and now)

Gangxia has five gates, which mark the entrances to the 'village' [pic-group a1-a5]: the main gate in the south right next to Gangxia Metro station, the south-east gate, the east gate, the north-west gate and the south-west gate. Whereas the main gate of Gangxia (rebuilt, ancient chinese gate) obviously marks the border between 'village' and city, the other four entrances are just defined by barriers for cars and provide open access for pedestrians.

Different streets with different main functions characterize the structure of Gangxia [fig28]. With an average width of 6 meters, the main streets define a certain grid that determines the structure of the subordinated secondary streets [pic g1]. The secondary streets and their subordinated tertiary streets provide access to the residents' houses. While the secondary streets serve as a link between main streets and tertiary streets [pic h2], the narrow, winding alleys of the tertiary streets just serve as access to the houses. The streets have different functions according to their importance as a connecting axis, to their width and of course to their location inside the village. The main streets primary function is based on retail



[fig28] 3D model of Gangxia Village, 2015

a₁

Gangxia main gate

a₂

Gangxia south-east gate

a₃

Gangxia east gate

a₄

Gangxia north-west gate

a₅

Gangxia south-west gate

business and commercial activities in the ground floors of the buildings, but they do as well offer direct access to the buildings that are situated alongside those streets. Secondary streets also offer commercial uses in the ground floors. Small businesses, such as barber shops, grocery stores and lots of ma jiang bars (a chinese parlour game), can be found in the secondary streets, though rather small in quantity compared to the ones along the main streets, which are densely occupied by restaurants and shops. The tertiary streets are extremely narrow, winding alleys (1 meter width), where it gets challenging to ride a bicycle. Therefore those alleys just serve as links to the houses and are accessed mainly on foot [pic h1].

b₁



Gangxia primary school

b₂



Gangxia kindergarten

c₁



recently constructed Hilton hotel

b₃



basketball court & playground kindergarten Gangxia

b₄



Shenzhen University teacher's dorms in Gangxia

c₂



recently constructed 'Greater China International Finance Centre'

c₃



formal urban environ 'touching'
Gangxia Village

d₁



office joint stock company
Gangxia Village

d₂



office police station
Gangxia Village

d₃



office community committee
Gangxia Village

e₁



metro station
Gangxia Village

f₁



health clinic
Gangxia Village



Gangxia has a high use-diversity. Its main function is to house thousands of Shenzhen's residents. Yet, many of the inhabitants are employed inside the 'village', so it is not just an allocation provider but also an important place of employment supply. The 'village' can be regarded as a housing provider of two types of labour-force: one the one it houses people who found employment in the formal urban environ and who therefore serve the maintenance of the city on a macro scale. On the other hand it houses people who found employment inside the 'village' and who therefore

serve the city on a micro scale, by maintaining the village's socio-economic system.

Besides the densely inhabited buildings, Gangxia provides a lot of different utilities, making it a multifunctional place of demand, supply and consequently consumption. Most of Gangxia's inhabitants can actually stay inside the 'village' and usually do not need to go outside for running their daily errands. Though many of them found employment in the urban environ, they still rely on the 'village', as its supply (housing, commodities and services) is cheaper than in the formal urban surrounding.

The houses' ground floors along the main streets of Gangxia are occupied by restaurants, retail business, hotels, entertainment, administrative bureaus and services. There's a primary school right next to the main gate of Gangxia [pic b1]. Most of the students who visit this school, live inside Gangxia. A kindergarten with an attached, frequently visited basketball court and playground marks the entrance of the south west gate [pic b2, b3]. The buildings in the east part of Gangxia are easy to be distinguished from the rest as they are built as separated blocks, obviously a less densely clustered urban formation than the rest of Gangxia. Those houses used to provide dormitories for the teachers of Shenzhen University [pic b4]. Today they provide allocation for the residents,

just like all the other residential blocks in Gangxia.

Recently constructed high-rise buildings flank Gangxia's north, i.e. the new Hilton Hotel [pic c1] and the 'Greater China International Finance Centre' [pic c2]. One of the three blocks almost touches the houses of Gangxia. It's just a thin gap of 3 cm that separates the buildings from each other [pic c3].

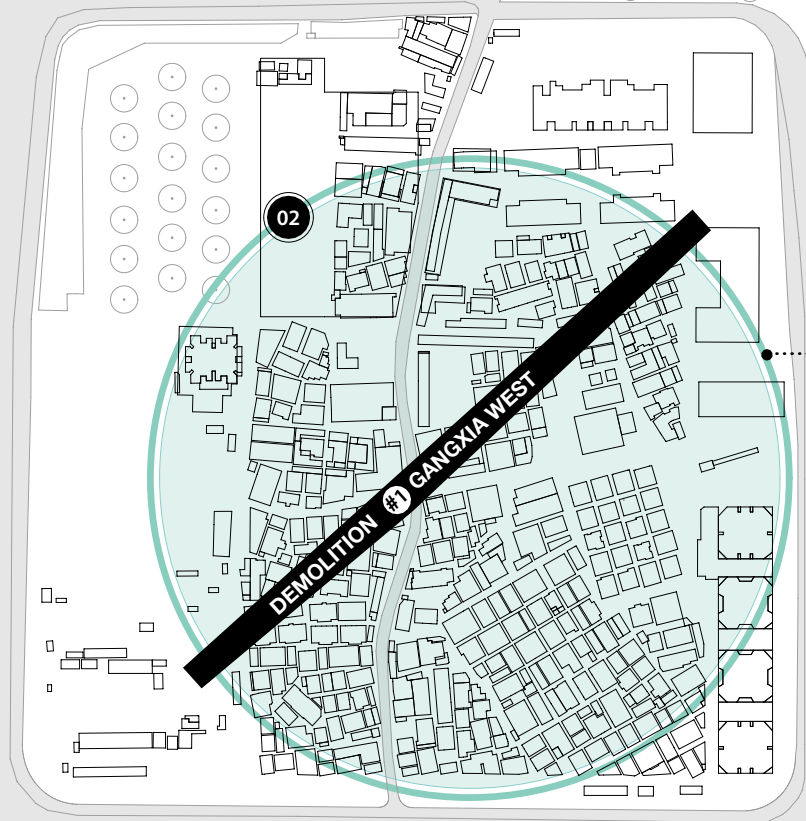
Gangxia gets managed by the joint stock company, the community committee and the Futian sub district street office. Whereas the joint stock company's and the community committee's office lies inside Gangxia [pic d1, d3], the sub district street office lies in the south-east of Futian [map10]. The joint stock company also manages Gangxia's big market in the west of the 'village' [pic i1]. It rents out small plots to some residents of Gangxia, who sell their vegetables, fruits and meat, which they buy themselves each day at the 'BUJI market'. This market is a central hub for all kinds of agriculture products and dry goods. It serves as main provider for the whole Pearl River Delta, including Shenzhen and even Hong Kong. Further details about the 'BUJI market' will be described in the subchapter 04.2.5.

A police station next to the east gate that lies within the territory of Gangxia Village is also responsible for the management of the southeast of Shenzhen's Central Business District [pic d2].

A health-clinic and a dental clinic can be found inside the two north-south axis of the 'village' t [pic f1]. The residents of Gangxia who hold a local hukou (relatives of the Wen family) have direct access to the health service inside the 'village' or to certain assigned hospitals in the urban environs. Migrants who do not hold a local hukou do not have any access to the health service system, neither inside the village, nor in the urban environ.

Gangxia still has some free land left, i.e. an area in the south-east, which is under construction now, and which will soon offer additional housing to the influx of migrants coming from all over China [pic i2].

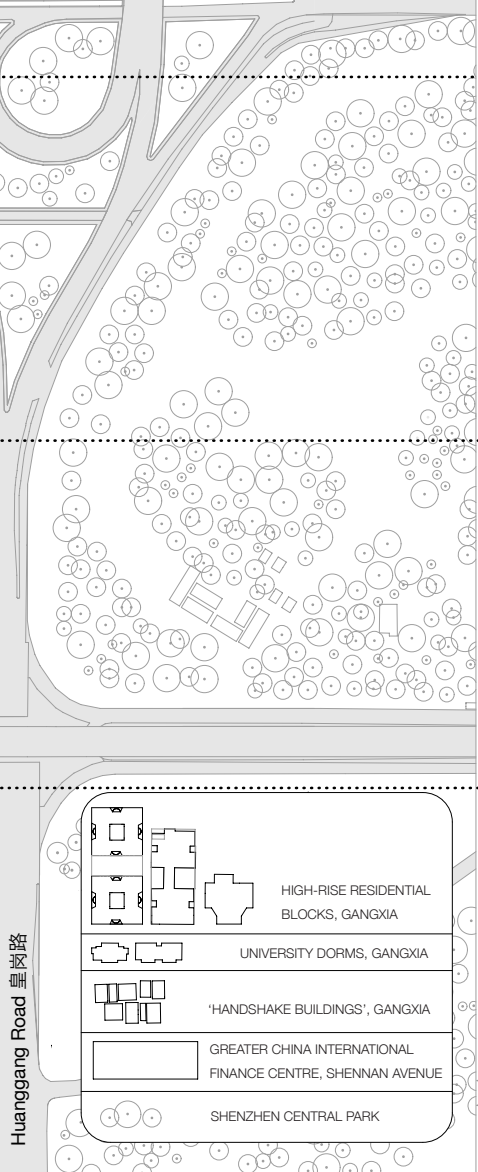
GANGXIA BEFORE AND AFTER 2010



Caitian Road 彩田路

01





01

2015

REMAINING PART OF GANGXIA VILLAGE

#3 DEMOLITION???

[pic45, 46, 47] Remaining part of Gangxia, 2015



02

2010

#1 DEMOLITION AND REAL ESTATE DEVELOPMENT

GANGXIA WEST

[pic48, 49, 50] 1st demolition and redevelopment of Gangxia west, 2010



03

2015

#2 DEMOLITION AND REAL ESTATE DEVELOPMENT

GANGXIA SOUTH-WEST

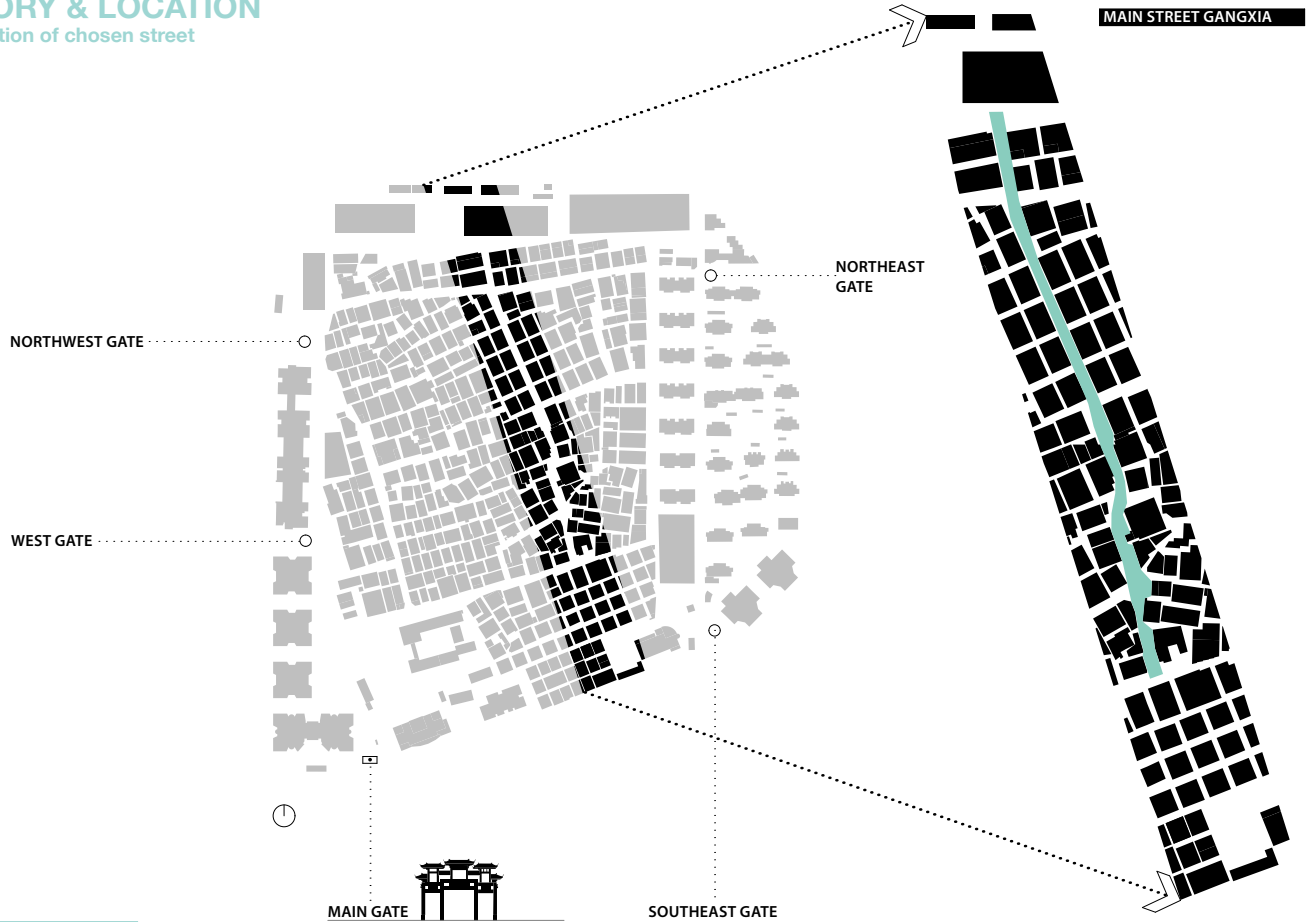
[pic51, 52, 53] 2nd demolition and redevelopment of Gangxia SW, 2015



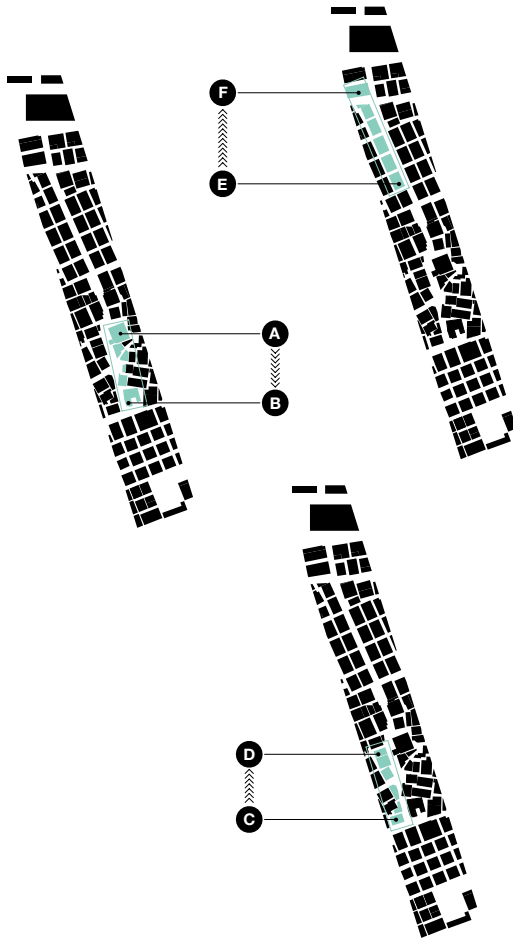
[map18] Demolished and remaining parts of Gangxia, 2015

04.1 HISTORY & LOCATION

04.1.4 Introduction of chosen street



[map19] Chosen street inside Gangxia



[map20] Visualized section A-B, C-D, E-F

In order to achieve a more qualitative research outcome I decided to select one of Gangxia's main streets and focus on a detailed research within that area. With an average width of 6 meters, the chosen street is one of the main connecting links inside the 'village' [map19]. It serves as an important north-south access, not just for the pedestrians and motorcyclists, but also for big vehicles and their transportation of goods from and to the shops and restaurants in that street. As a connecting line between the two main east-west links of Gangxia, this street is busy all day, full of pedestrians and motorcyclists passing by.

The photo collage on the following two pages shows the ground floor shops of the street [fig29], visualized in sections A-B, C-D and E-F [map20], for better understanding the exact location of each shop.

As a first step the retail business of that street has been categorized according to its utility and as a second step, floor plans and sections of chosen houses have been studied. The plans were first drawn by hand, using the sketchbook that accompanied me during my whole research on site, and finally they were edited and digitalized.

Another part of my research inside that area was interviewing people who are involved in the retail business of the chosen street. Point 4.2.3 of this chapter shows the results of the questionnaire that addressed the involved

profiles. A changing frequency pattern, which varies according to the daytime and weekday, could be analyzed through traffic counts inside the street. Additionally a diagram of the changing rate of spatial extension to the street side has been outlined, investigated and documented. There are strict regulations set up by Gangxia's community committee that prevent the owners of shops and restaurants from extending their business to the street side. However observations on site showed that the shops and restaurants are in fact extending (products, tables, chairs, etc.) to the outside by taking advantage of loopholes in the regulations. Further explanations can be found in the following pages of this chapter.

These strategies and research methods aim to find out how the people, involved in the informal activities interact with the space and urban structure of Gangxia village. They should help to reveal the daily-life habits of the people inside Gangxia, and offer insights into their living environment. These tools should support the conduction of a detailed observation and help to find out which qualities and advantages we can discover by observing those spaces and the interaction with them, considering the contrasting juxtaposition to their urban environ.



[fig29] photo collage of ground floor shops and restaurants



04.2 THE INFORMAL SECTOR OF GANGXIA VILLAGE

04.2.1 Introduction of actors involved in the informal economy

My research on site was based on observations and interviews addressing three actors, who are involved in the informal economy inside Gangxia Village.

These two pages aim to take the reader back to the previously described types of Gangxia's informal economy of chapter 02.3.1 and serve as an intro for the following chapter.

1: The first profile of informal economy that is going to be described are the actors involved in the retail business [pic54, pic55, pic56]. Through collected interviews of the people who run a shop or a restaurant along the main streets of Gangxia, and through observations on site, plus the collection of the shops' and restaurants' floor plans, diverse information could be collected in order gain deci-

sive insights into the present daily-life situation of Gangxia and to achieve a broad research outcome.

2: The second involved and observed profile is the mobile vendor [pic57, pic58]. Different kinds of vendors who move around and inside Gangxia have been categorized according to their type of business and to the vehicles they use for their work. The vendors change their vending spots and their movement-pattern according to the working shifts of the securities, both inside Gangxia and in the urban surrounding. Different research methods have been applied to map the mobile vendors' spatial interactions and working habits. Further results and outcomes of the conducted research will be described and visualized graphically in the following chapter.



[pic54] Shop vending household goods in Gangxia



[pic57] Mobile vendor selling fruits in the southwest of Gangxia



[pic55] Shop vending clothes in Gangxia



[pic56] Hotpot and snacks kitchen in Gangxia



[pic58] Mobile vendor selling veggies in the west of Gangxia



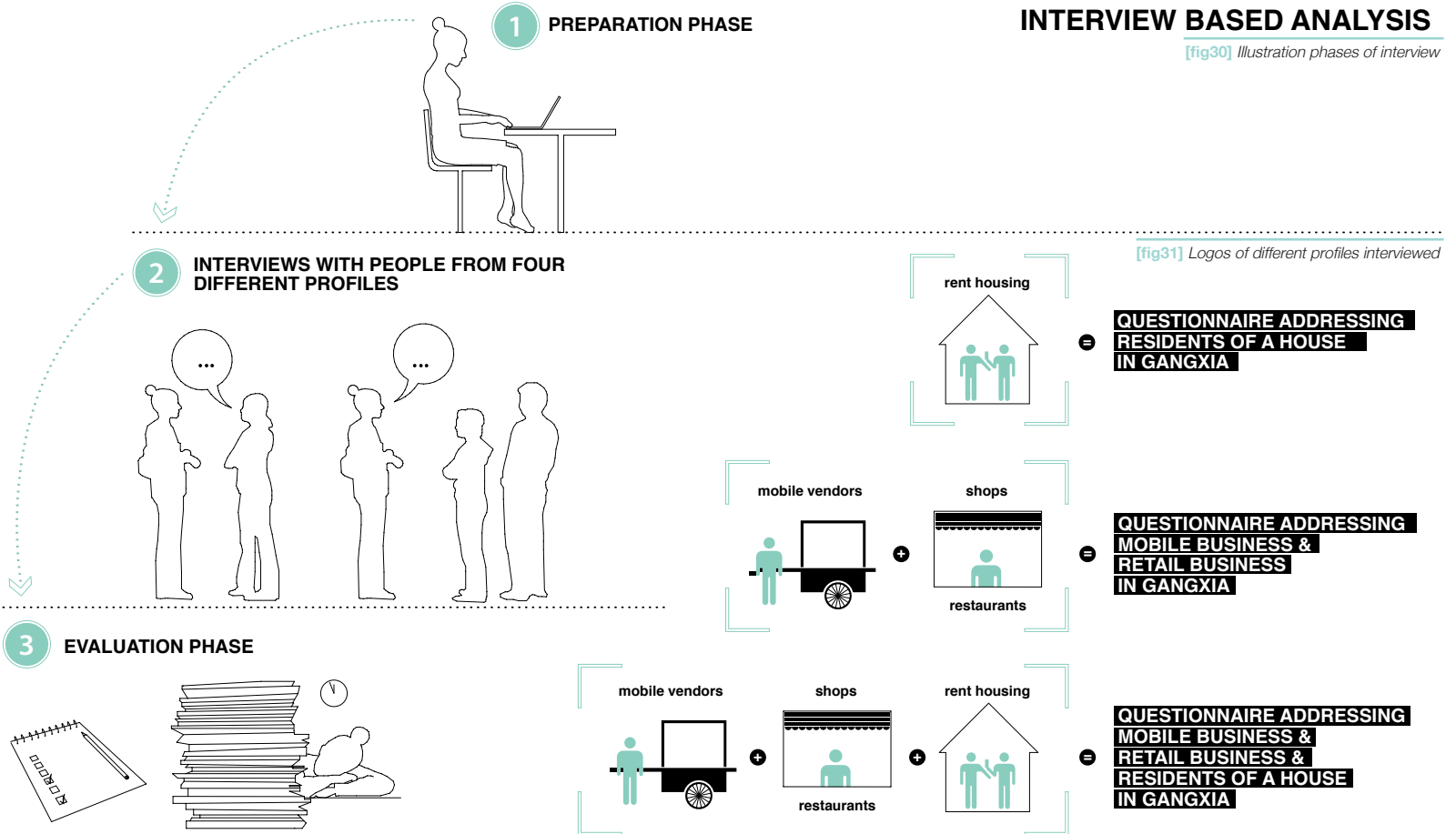
[pic59] Housing as allocation for rural migrants in Gangxia

3: The third and most profitable economic business in Gangxia is the rent-out of the indigenous villagers' houses to the migrants who search for an affordable place to stay in Shenzhen [pic59]. The indigenous villagers still own the houses inside the village, but most of them live outside, in villas located at the urban fringe. Due to the constant influx of rural migrants moving to Shenzhen, the demand for financially affordable (compared to apartments in the city centre) apartments and dorms inside Gangxia is still growing. The indigenous villagers can therefore make an immense financial income by renting their houses to the low-income group of Shenzhen. In order to avoid a lot of work and to save time, the indigenous villagers hire so-called 2nd landlords who live in Gangxia. They pay these landlords to manage the rent-out business of the buildings they inhabit. The 2nd landlords usually manage the collection of the monthly rent and the maintenance of the shared corridors, bathrooms and kitchens inside the houses. However, since many indigenous villagers don't live inside the 'village' anymore and therefore can hardly control the 2nd landlord's work, the latter often deceive the indigenous villagers and the tenants by collecting higher rents for their own financial profits.

A detailed description of the three actors' business and the results and findings of my daily observations on site will be presented in the following pages of this chapter.

04.2 THE INFORMAL SECTOR OF GANGXIA VILLAGE

04.2.2 Interview based analysis



[fig30] Illustration phases of interview

[fig31] Logos of different profiles interviewed



SET-UP INTERVIEWS

According to Yin, a researcher has two jobs throughout the interview process: '(a) to follow your own line of inquiry, as reflected by your case study protocol, and (b) to ask your actual (conversational) questions in an unbiased manner that also serves the needs of your line of inquiry' (2003, p. 89). Before I moved to Gangxia, I prepared a questionnaire addressing the residents of Gangxia. Based on the first preparation and research phase, I worked out certain questions according to the four different profiles, which were previously outlined [fig30]. As explained in the introduction of this chapter, there are four profiles that are actively involved in the informal sector of Gangxia:

- **PROFILE 1:**

The joint stock company, who is responsible for the management of the village.

- **PROFILE 2:**

The retail business in the ground floors of Gangxia's houses, which is a decisive component of Gangxia's informal economy.

- **PROFILE 3:**

The mobile vendors, who struggle not being caught by the securities, both from Gangxia village and from securities employed in the formal surrounding area bordering Gangxia.

- **PROFILE 4:**

The rent-out business of Gangxia's houses by the indigenous villagers and their second landlords, which forms the backbone of Gangxia's stable economy.

After my first meeting with Wan Yan, I have been informed that 80 percent of Gangxia's residents are alliterates. Consequently I had to change the interviews, which were supposed to be in written form. This caused a drop in the amount of interviewed people, but an increase in the outcome-quality, as the interviews changed to individual conversations. Hence, the evaluation of the

results became more complex, as questions and answers varied according to the respondent. However, different questions have been outlined, addressing the four profiles and consequently a statistical evaluation and a portrayal of the different actors with their individual stories have been combined. These 'focused interviews' and a 'formal survey' (Yin, 2003, p. 90) helped to balance the collected quantitative and qualitative data and covered the extensive information I could collect during the interview-phase of my research.

The questionnaire addressing the first profile, the joint stock company [fig32] has been outlined separately, as it doesn't stand in direct relation to the questionnaires of the other three profiles. The interview addressing the joint stock company is listed in the following pages, yet the evaluation of the interview can be found in the description of subchapter 02.4.1. The interrelated interviews of the other three profiles are based on a pool of questions that appears in all the three different questionnaires. Logos were designed for better understanding the order of questions addressing the different profiles [fig31]. The interview results of those questions represented in the three profiles, are listed in this chapter, whereas the results of the other questions that were separately outlined according to the individual profiles, are listed in each subchapter respectively (retail business, mobile vendors, housing).

In a total **81 people** (including the manager of the joint stock company) were interviewed, though it has to be mentioned that the numbers vary according to the certain profiles. The largest number, about **35 people**, were interviewed in the category 'retail business' [fig38] as it was easy to talk to the people, while being a consuming guest in the restaurants or a customer in the shops of Gangxia. In the category 'housing' **30 people** were interviewed [fig37] and in the category 'mobile vendors' **15 people** were asked the outlined questions [fig34], [fig35]. The manager of the joint stock company is so to say the 81st person interviewed.

The duration and intensity of each interview varied according to the mood, age and gender of the respondent and the current interview-situation the interviewer and the person concerned were in. While some interviews were finished after five minutes, others lasted up to an hour, mostly due to very talkative respondents. Although less people were interviewed in the category 'housing', qualitative and informative outcomes were nevertheless achieved, as I tried to establish a relationship between my neighbours and me. I conducted the housing interviews as the very last part of my research, after I could gain some trust from my neighbours, for achieving better and deeper interview results. In Addition to the statistical interview outcomes, the daily live habits of the residents

inside and around Gangxia could be mapped graphically. I tried my best to reduce prejudices and barriers on both sides, the interviewer's and the respondent's. Thanks to the cooperation assistance of the respondents, deep, sometimes even very personal conversations with my neighbours were held and their role became more of 'informants rather than respondents' (Yin, 2003, p. 90), which helped me to gain qualitative insights into the daily lives and the living situation of Gangxia's residents.

“Overall, interviews are an essential source of case study evidence because most case studies are about human affairs. These human affairs should be reported and interpreted through the eyes of specific interviewees, and well-informed respondents can provide important insights into a situation.”

[Yin, Case study research, 2003]

Interview joint stock company Gangxia Village 岗厦村股份公司调查

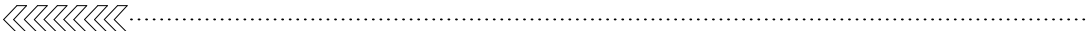


- ① **When was the joint stock Company of Gangxia founded?**
股份公司哪一年成立的？
- ② **Who are the members of Gangxia's joint stock company and how is it composed?**
哪些成员在股份公司工作？
- ③ **For which administrative managements of Gangxia is the joint stock company responsible?**
哪些管理部门是岗厦管理公司负责的？
- ④ **Which properties (supermarkets, shops, restaurants, hotels, etc.) in Gangxia are managed by the joint stock company (collection of the rent, etc.)?**
有哪些产业（超市，商店，旅馆等等）？股份公司是否负责收租金？
- ⑤ **How many retail businesses (supermarkets, shops, restaurants, hotels, etc.) inside Gangxia do not pay any taxes to the joint stock company? (if possible, please give information about the percentage)**
有哪些产业（超市，商店，旅馆等等）不需要支付额外的税收给股份公司？（请给出具体的百分比）
- ⑥ **Does the joint stock company cooperate with the official government of Futian district (Shenzhen) and if so, to what extent?**
股份公司是否需要支付额外的税收给福田区（深圳市）政府？如果需要，这些支付部分由什么组成？
- ⑦ **How are the community committee and the joint stock company of Gangxia related to each other? (cooperation?)**
村委会和股份公司是什么样的关系？

[fig32] Questionnaire addressing joint stock company



[fig33] Office joint stock company

- 
- ① **Are you earning your main income through this work?**
这是你最主要的工作吗？
 Yes No
 - ② **How many hours per week do you work?**
你每周工作多少小时？
..... hours per week
 - ③ **How many RMB per month can you save through the earnings of your business?**
你每个月赚多少钱？
..... RMB per month
 - ④ **Do you work here every day?**
你每天都来这里吗？
 - ⑤ **Can you describe your daily working-day schedule?**
请描述一下您一天的工作安排。
 - ⑥ **At what time do you usually come here and at what time do you close your business?**
你每天什么时候来这里和你每天什么关闭你的商业？
 - ⑦ **Do you also sell in other places in and around Gangxia or are you always selling at the same spot?**
你每天会在深圳其他地方卖物品吗？
 - ⑧ **Do you live inside Gangxia Village?**
你住的地方在岗厦村吗？
 - ⑨ **What do you like about Gangxia Village?**
你喜欢岗厦村的什么？
 - ⑩ **Where are you originally from?**
你的家乡在哪里？
 - ⑪ **How do you get here everyday and how do you transport your goods (metro, bicycle, by feet)?**
你每天怎么来到这里？你怎么搬运你的货物（地铁、自行车或者步行）？
 - ⑫ **Did you face any troubles with the 'Gangxia security / police' or with the 'Futian-district security / police' before?**
你会面临城管或者警察检查的问题吗？
 - ⑬ **If the spatial conditions for mobile vendors inside Gangxia Village would be improved, which spatial renovations would you wish to be undertaken?**
如果有一个投资商想为了个体户改变岗厦村的空间现状，你希望什么被改变？

Interview mobile vendors Gangxia Village 岗厦村卖手机的小贩



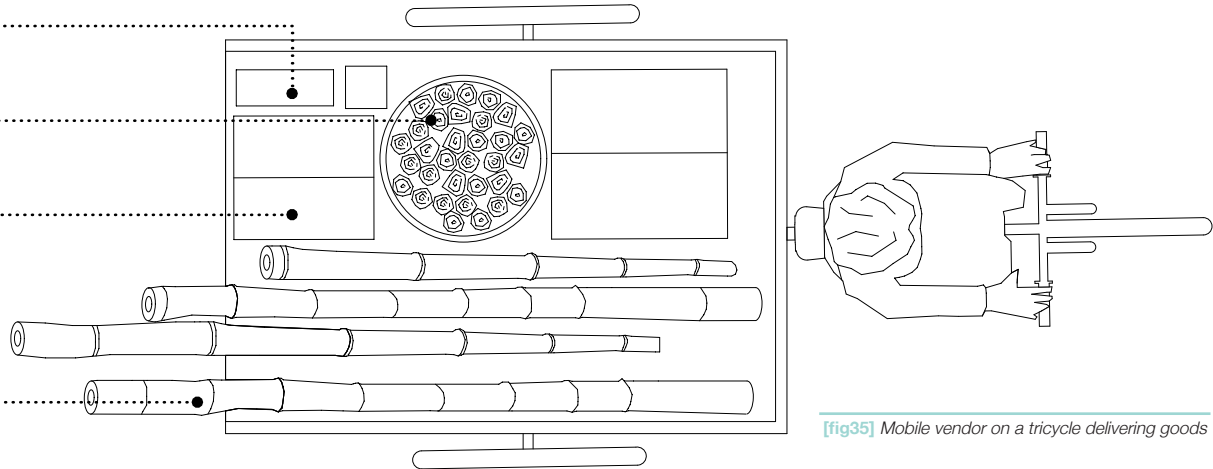
- ⑭ **If you had the chance, would you like to participate in the decision-making processes and in the renovation activities of Gangxia Village?**
如果你有机会，你愿意参与到岗厦村的变化中来吗？
 Yes No
- ⑮ **Which qualities do the renovated or newly created areas need to offer?**
新建的区域中，哪些品质应该被提供？
- ⑯ **How long are you planning to stay in Gangxia Village?**
多久您打算住在岗厦村？
- ⑰ **Do you think Gangxia Village will still exist in 5 years and how will it be like compared to its present appearance?**
你觉得岗厦村5年后还存在吗？和现在的模样相比会有什么变化？

spare parts
for carpenter's
workshop

household
goods for shop
delivery

bamboo sticks
for carpenter's
workshop

collected food
for recycling



[fig35] Mobile vendor on a tricycle delivering goods

- ① **Since when do you live in 'Gangxia Village'?**
您是从什么时候开始住在岗厦村的?
- ② **Where are you originally from?**
您是哪里来的?
- ③ **Since when do you rent this room?**
您有多久住在这里?
- ④ **Why did you choose to live in Gangxia Village?**
您为什么会选择住在岗厦村?

- ⑤ **How comfortable do you feel in your flat?**
您觉得您的公寓/住房的舒适程度如何?

- very comfortable I can get by with it
非常舒适 过得去
- quite comfortable I don't feel comfortable
比较舒适 不舒服

- ⑥ **What do you like about your flat / room?**
您对自己的公寓/住房喜欢的地方有哪些?

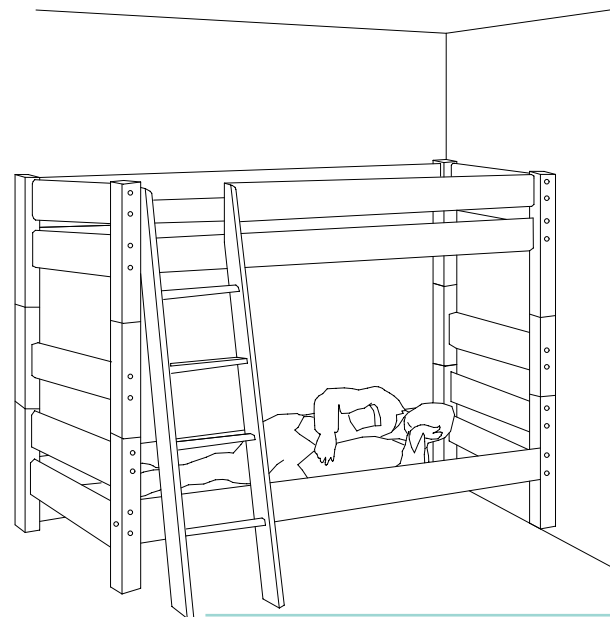
- ⑦ **What don't you like about your flat / room?**
您对自己的公寓/住房不喜欢的地方有哪些?

- ⑧ **With how many people do you share your flat / room and how are they related to you?**
您和多少人合租并且您和他们的关系怎么样?

- ⑨ **How much do you have to pay for your flat / room?**
您每个月要付多少租金?

..... RMB per month
.....人民币一个月

- ⑩ **Who collects your monthly rent (Joint stock company, the original villager or their deputy)?**
您每月租金交给谁? (股份公司/原村代表)



[fig36] Interviewed resident of Gangxia on a bunk bed

Interview informal housing Gangxia Village 岗厦村非正式住房调查

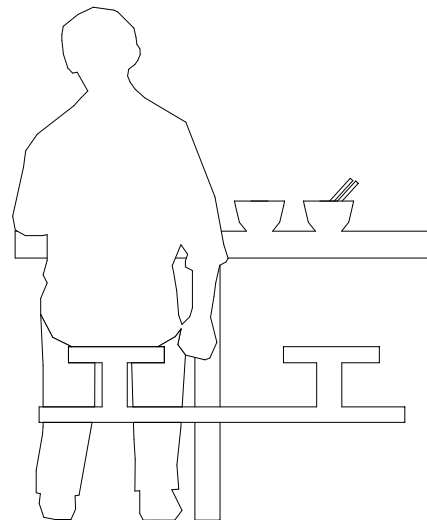


- ⑪ **Can you easily afford the renting of this flat?**
您能轻松地负担您公寓的租金吗？
- Yes No
是 否
- ⑫ **Can you describe your daily working-day schedule?**
请描述一下您一天的工作安排：
- ⑬ **What do you like about Gangxia Village?**
您喜欢岗厦村的什么？
- ⑭ **How long are you planning to stay in Gangxia Village?**
多久您打算住在岗厦村？
- ⑮ **Do you think Gangxia Village will still exist in 5 years and how will it be like compared to its present appearance?**
你觉得岗厦村5年后还存在吗？和现在的模样相比会有什么变化？
- ⑯ **Would you like to participate in the decision-making processes concerning Gangxia's future?**
如果您有机会，您想参与岗厦村的空间改变吗？
- ⑰ **Gangxia Village is a place I identify with:**
岗厦是我这样认同的一个地方：
- Yes, very much 是的，非常认同 I can identify with it 我不能认同 Not so much 不太多 I can't identify with it 我无法认同

Interview retail business Gangxia Village 岗厦村店调查



- ① **Kind of business:**
您从事什么行业？
- ② **Where are you originally from?**
您是哪里来的？
- ③ **Where do you live?**
您的住址？
- ④ **Since when do you live in Gangxia / Shenzhen?**
您有多久住在这里？
- ⑤ **With whom do you live in Gangxia?**
您与谁一起住在岗厦村？
- ⑥ **How many people in total run this shop / business?**
一共多少人经营这家店？
- ⑦ **What are the opening hours of your shop / restaurant?**
您一周工作时间：(小时)
- ⑧ **How much is the monthly rent for this shop / restaurant and how is it collected?**
这家店每月的租金多少，怎样进行收租？
- ⑨ **Where do you buy the products that you offer in this shop/ restaurant?**
您的店里的东西是从哪里买的？
- ⑩ **Can you describe your daily working-day schedule?**
请描述一下您一天的工作安排：
- ⑪ **What do you like about Gangxia Village?**
您喜欢岗厦村的什么？
- ⑫ **How long are you planning to stay in Gangxia Village?**
多久您打算住在岗厦村？
- ⑬ **Do you think Gangxia Village will still exist in 5 years and how will it be like compared to its present appearance?**
你觉得岗厦村5年后还存在吗？和现在的模样相比会有什么变化？
- ⑭ **Would you like to participate in the decision-making processes concerning Gangxia's future?**
如果您有机会，您想参与岗厦村的空间改变吗？

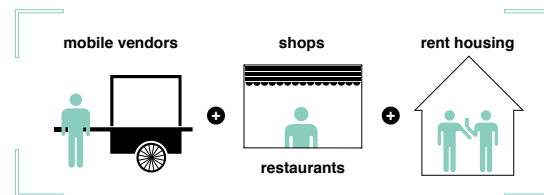
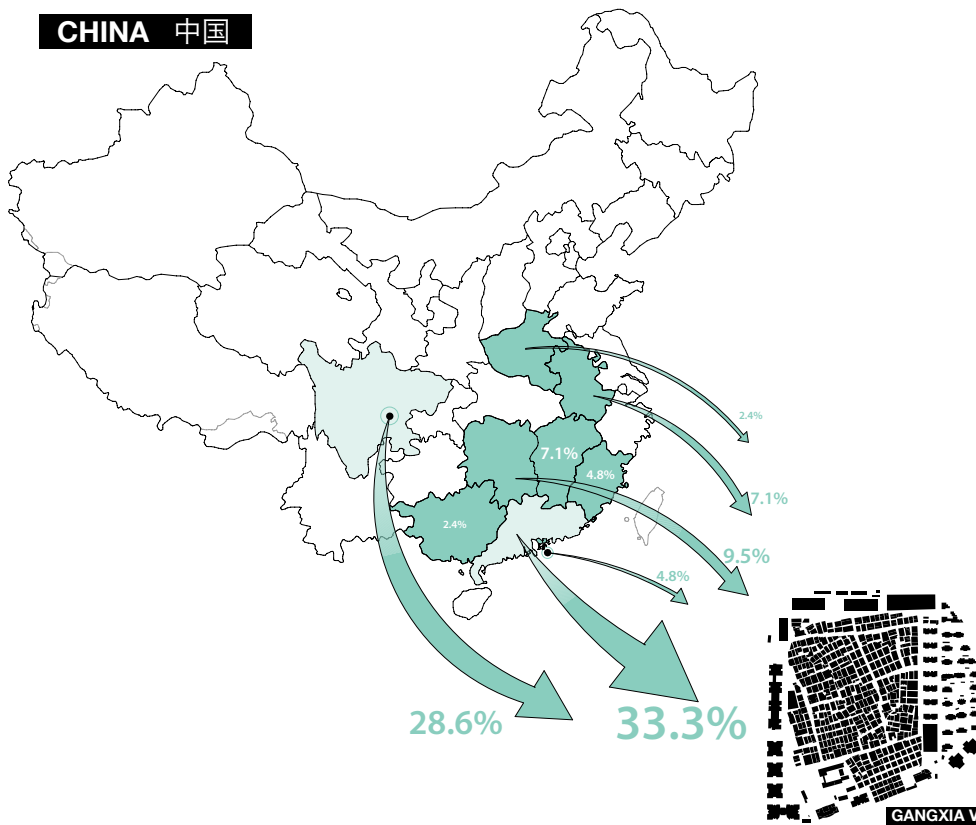


[fig38] Questionnaire addressing retail business in Gangxia

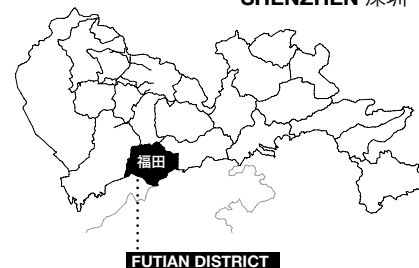
[fig39] Customer inside a canteen on Gangxia's main street

Where are you originally from?
您是从哪里来的?

CHINA 中国



SHENZHEN 深圳



Guangdong 广东 33.3%

Sichuan 四川 28.6%

Hunan 湖南 9.5%

Anhui 安徽 7.1%

Jiangxi 江西 7.1%

Fujian 福建 4.8%

Hong Kong 香港 4.8%

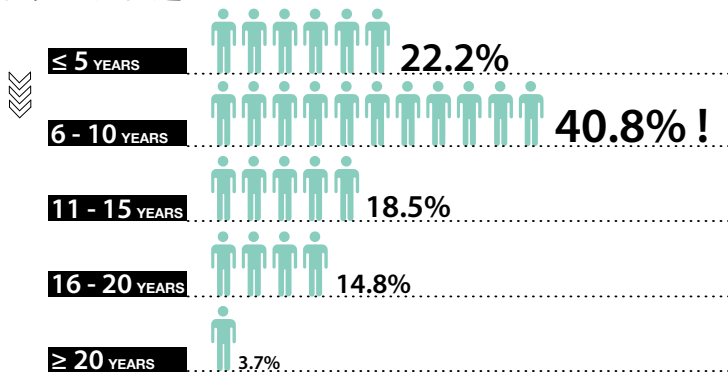
Henan 河南 2.4%

Guangxi 广西 2.4%

GANGXIA VILLAGE

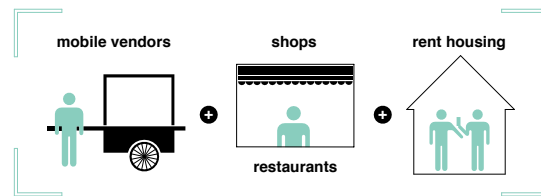
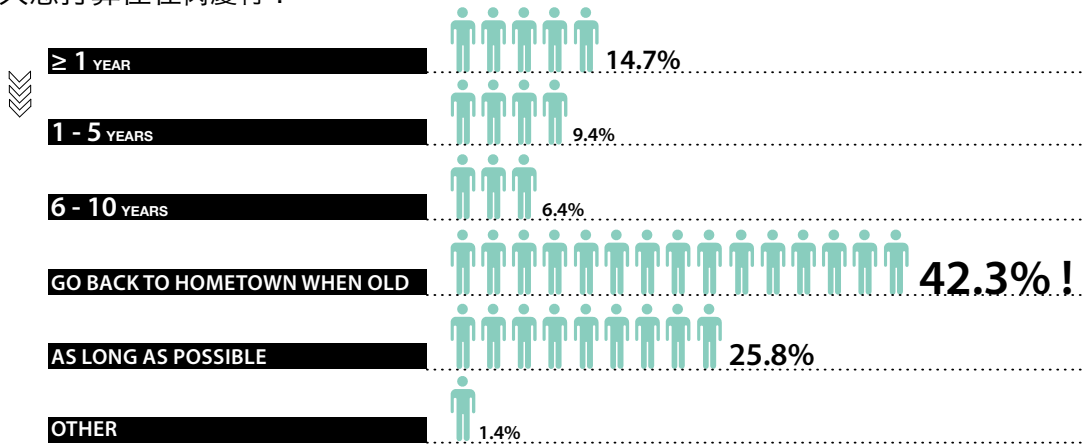
[fig40] Illustration results place of origin

»»» Since when do you live in Gangxia Village?
您有多久住在这里？

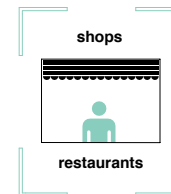


[fig41] Illustration results duration of stay in Gangxia

»»» How long are you planning to stay in Gangxia?
多久您打算住在岗厦村？



How much is the monthly rent for your shop? 这家店每月的租金多少?



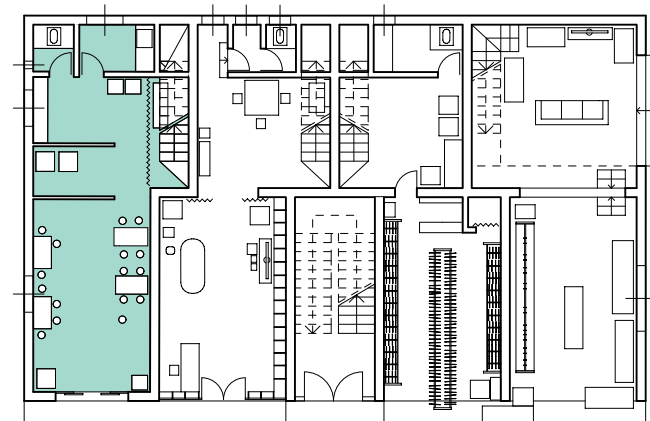
» AVERAGE MONTHLY RENT-PRICE / m²: 130 RMB (= 18 EUR)

» AVERAGE SHOP COMPOSITION GROUND FLOOR : 4 SHOPS / HOUSE; EACH SHOP ABOUT 60 m²
(2ND LEVEL STORAGE INCLUDED)

» AVERAGE MONTHLY RENT-PRICE FOR GROUND FLOOR SHOP; 6000-8000 RMB (= 850 -1140 EUR)

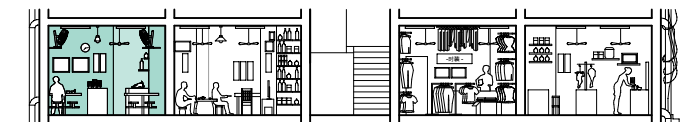
» ! NOTE: ° PRICES DIFFER ACCORDING TO RELATIONSHIP TO THE OWNER AND THE LANDLORD.
° RENT-PRICES INCREASE CA. 2 TIMES / YEAR

[fig42] Illustration results opening hours and monthly rent retail business

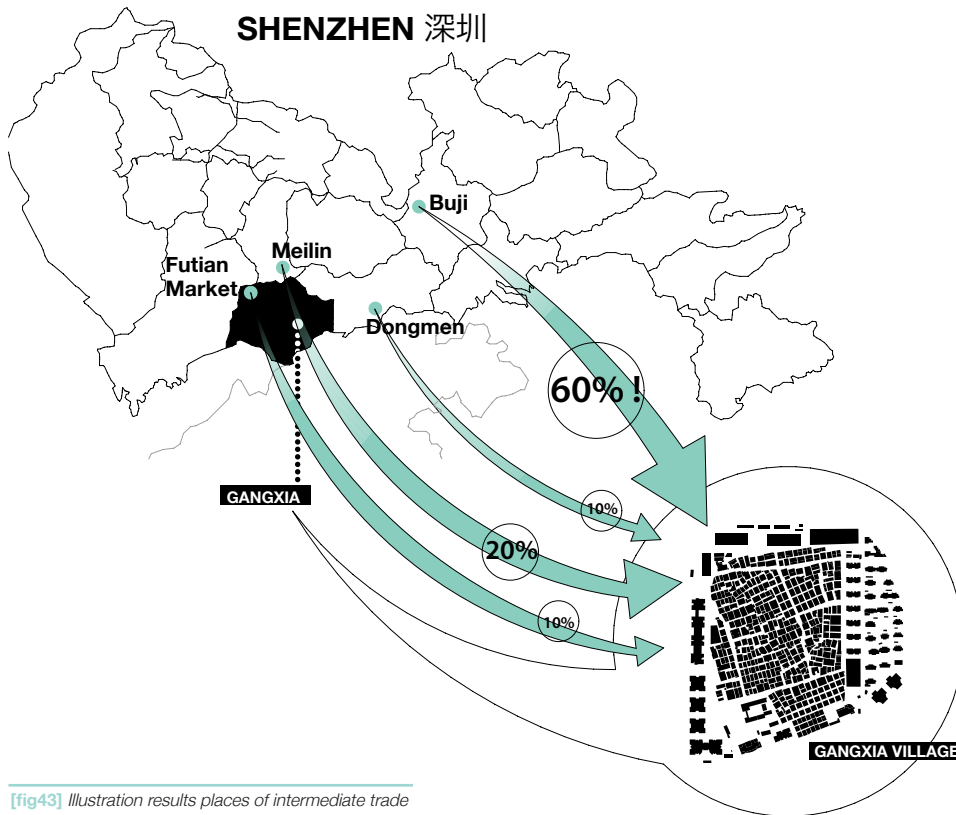
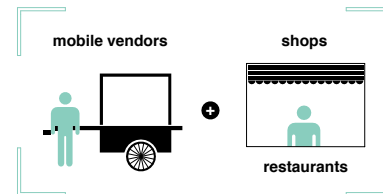


What are the opening hours of your shop / restaurant? 您一周工作时间: (小时)

» AVERAGE DAILY OPENING TIME: 11-13 HOURS



»»» Where do you buy the products that you offer (in this shop / restaurant)?
 您的店里的东西是从哪里买的?



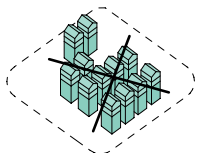
- »»» **Buji Market** 布吉市场 **60%!**
- »»» **Meilin Market** 梅林市场 **20%**
- »»» **Futian Market** 福田市场 **10%**
- »»» **Dongmen Market** 东门市场 **10%**



[fig43] Illustration results places of intermediate trade

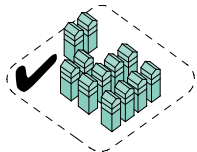
Do you think Gangxia Village will still exist in 5 years?

你觉得岗厦村5年后还存在吗？



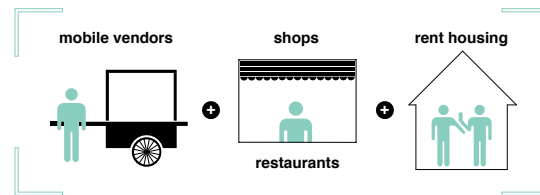
IT WILL NOT EXIST ANYMORE 35.4%

OR



IT WILL STILL EXIST 47.6%!

IF IT WILL BE DEMOLISHED, I WILL MOVE TO A 'VILLAGE' IN THE SUBURB !!!



Would you like to participate in the decision-making processes concerning Gangxia's future?

如果您有机会，您想参与岗厦村的空间改变吗？

YES 71.3%

NO 28.7%

Gangxia Village is a place I identify with:

夏是我这样认同的一个地方：

YES 73.4%

NO 26.6%

[fig44] Illustration results personal perceptions about Gangxia and its future

04.2 THE INFORMAL SECTOR OF GANGXIA VILLAGE

04.2.3 The retail business

Along the main streets of Gangxia there are plenty of shops and restaurants that fulfil the daily needs of Gangxia's residents and also of the people coming from outside the 'village' [fig29], [pic-group A5-G10]. The restaurants and canteens try to outdo their business competitors who are located in the same street by offering special, traditional cuisine from different Chinese provinces. The competition is extensive and the actors who run a business in Gangxia have to be flexible in order to quickly adapt to the permanently changing conditions inside Gangxia. During my research on site, I observed some ground floor shops totally changing their interior from i.e. a supermarket to a fashion store within just two weeks in order to immediately reopen a new business. However interviews with the managers of Gangxia's shops revealed that the increasing rent prices are a decisive reason for some of them to give

up on their business in Gangxia and move to other places (mostly 'urbanized villages' in suburbs) where the land and rent prices are still comparatively low. The variety of shops and restaurants inside Gangxia's main streets is huge: there are supermarkets, 24 hrs grocery stores, bakeries, canteens, restaurants serving all kinds of Chinese food, fashion stores, hairdressers, beauty and cosmetic boutiques, teashops, shops for electronically devices, etc., all transforming Gangxia into a multifunctional area of commerce and entertainment [map21, fig45]. The streets turn into vivid and heterogeneous places that never sleep and which are full of bustling activities [map22]. Whereas the main streets are densely occupied by these above-mentioned businesses, the ground floors in the secondary streets are mainly occupied by small shops offering beverages and tobacco,

though most of these houses' ground floors are inhabited by Gangxia's residents. The small shops in the secondary streets usually compose of one room attached to the flat of the shop owners. As the shops can be opened by rolling shutters, which face the street side, they mostly serve as an entrance for the inhabitants and as a shop at the same time [pic61]. If you buy something in one of these places you can take a glance to the back of the houses, where you will usually encounter a bed room and a kitchen or sometimes even some Ma jiang tables, for playing the traditional Chinese parlour game. They mainly serve for Gangxia's inhabitants, it rarely happens that someone coming from outside the 'village' will ever 'get lost' in the narrow side streets in order to consume or to play Ma jiang in one of the small shops. By comparison, the shops located along the main streets are usually bigger and highly frequented by customers, also those coming from outside the 'village', due to cheaper prices and a wider range of supply than in the urban environ.

Some of the ground floor areas that are occupied by retail business are in the hands of the joint stock company, but most of Gangxia's houses are actually owned by the indigenous villagers. However the contract for renting such a place is always limited to a maximum of six months, for that the rent could be increased regularly, according to

the constantly rising market price of the land. Due to its central location and the still lower rent prices compared to the urban surrounding, Gangxia's retail business is flourishing. There is an enduring demand for starting a business inside one of the shops located on the main street. Therefore shop managers found a way to make a lot of money by selling their business to new investors. In case someone wants to take over the shop, a certain amount of transition fees has to be paid to the current shop manager. The price varies according to the location of the place inside Gangxia between 50.000 Chinese RMB (about 7.010 euros), up to 130.000 RMB (about 18.220 euros). However as the prices are usually rising enormously fast, it may be already more expensive today, than during my research in summer 2015. There is often a third person, who gets involved in the exchange process: the so-called second landlords. They are usually residents of Gangxia, who are hired by the indigenous villagers to manage the rent out business of their houses. Since the indigenous villagers don't live inside Gangxia anymore, managing their rent-out business became a complicated process. Therefore they pay the second landlords to do the managing work. As soon as the second landlord finds out that the retail business in the ground floor of the house concerned will be run by another business, they immediately intervene and take half of the fees for their own financial profit. Sometimes enduring debates

between the three actors involved complicate the process of overtaking a business in one of Gangxia's groundfloor shops.

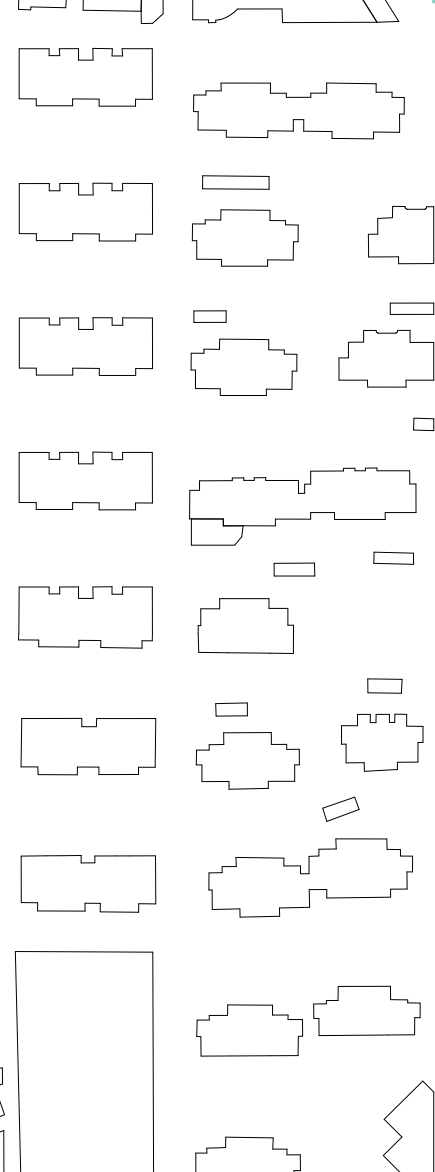
Another highly represented business in Gangxia's streets is the rent-out of Ma jiang tables. Many shops in the secondary streets have additional attached rooms, mostly hidden in the back of the ground floor area. If you walk around Gangxia in the evening or during night time you will encounter a lot of rooms occupied by Ma jiang tables [pic60]. The residents of Gangxia go there regularly to play with their neighbours or people coming from the same province. To open a 'Ma jiang' place is often accompanied by complications, as it depends on the mood of the landowners, whether they honour this business or not. The Futian police sometimes controls the shops in order to collect penalty fees in case of detecting Ma Jiang tables. In 1949 new Communist government of the People's Republic of China forbade any gambling activities, as they were representing capitalist corruption. After the Cultural Revolution, the prohibition was revoked but without gambling elements. However, the people participating in Gangxia's Ma Jiang activities all play for money, which is still regarded as illegal by the government. But the owners don't want to give up on their lucrative Ma Jiang business. Consequently, they sometimes even pay bribe money to the Futian police to have a chance of persistence.

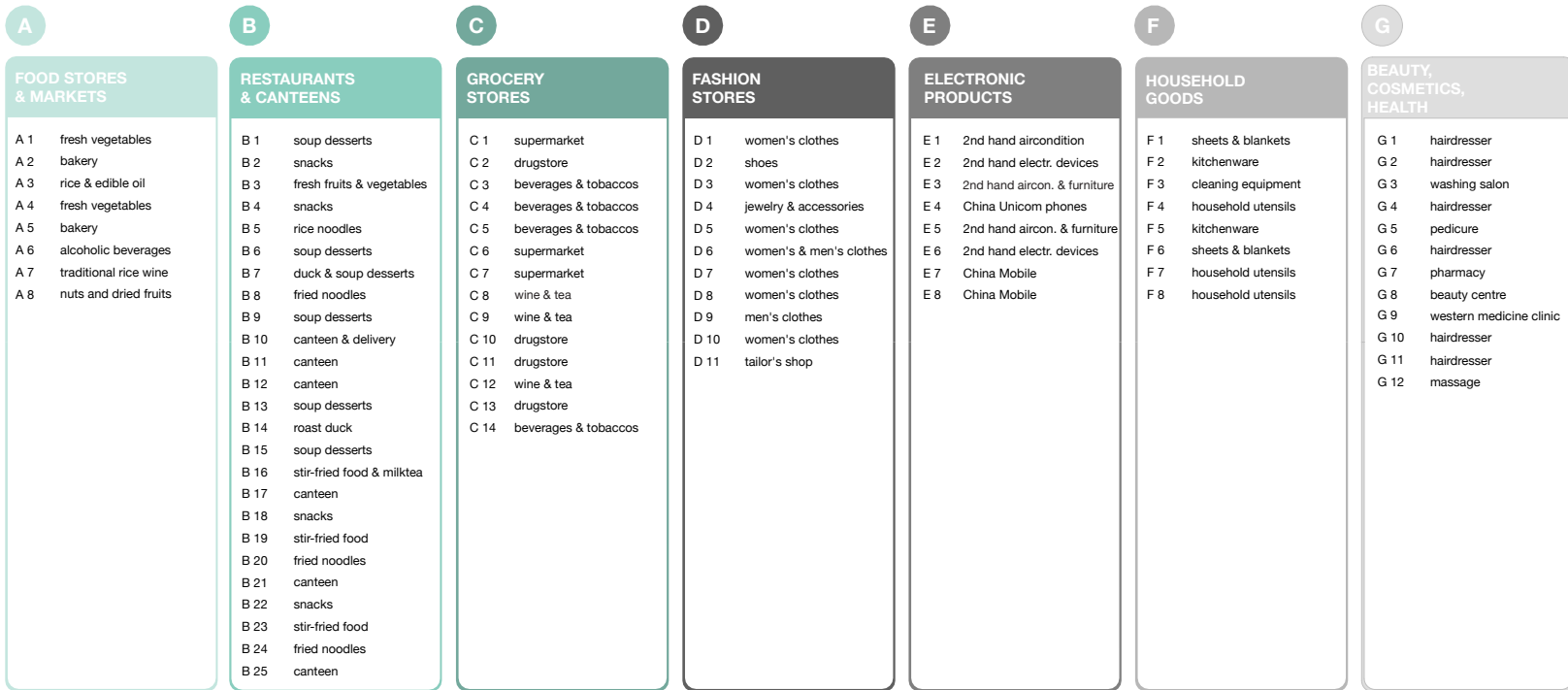


[pic60] Typical Ma jiang room in a secondary street of Gangxia



[pic61] Typical shop and entrance to the flat in a secondary street





[map21] Retail business in ground floors of Gangxia's main street

[fig45] Categories and numbers of shops and restaurants



[map22] Ground floor plans of Gangxia's main street

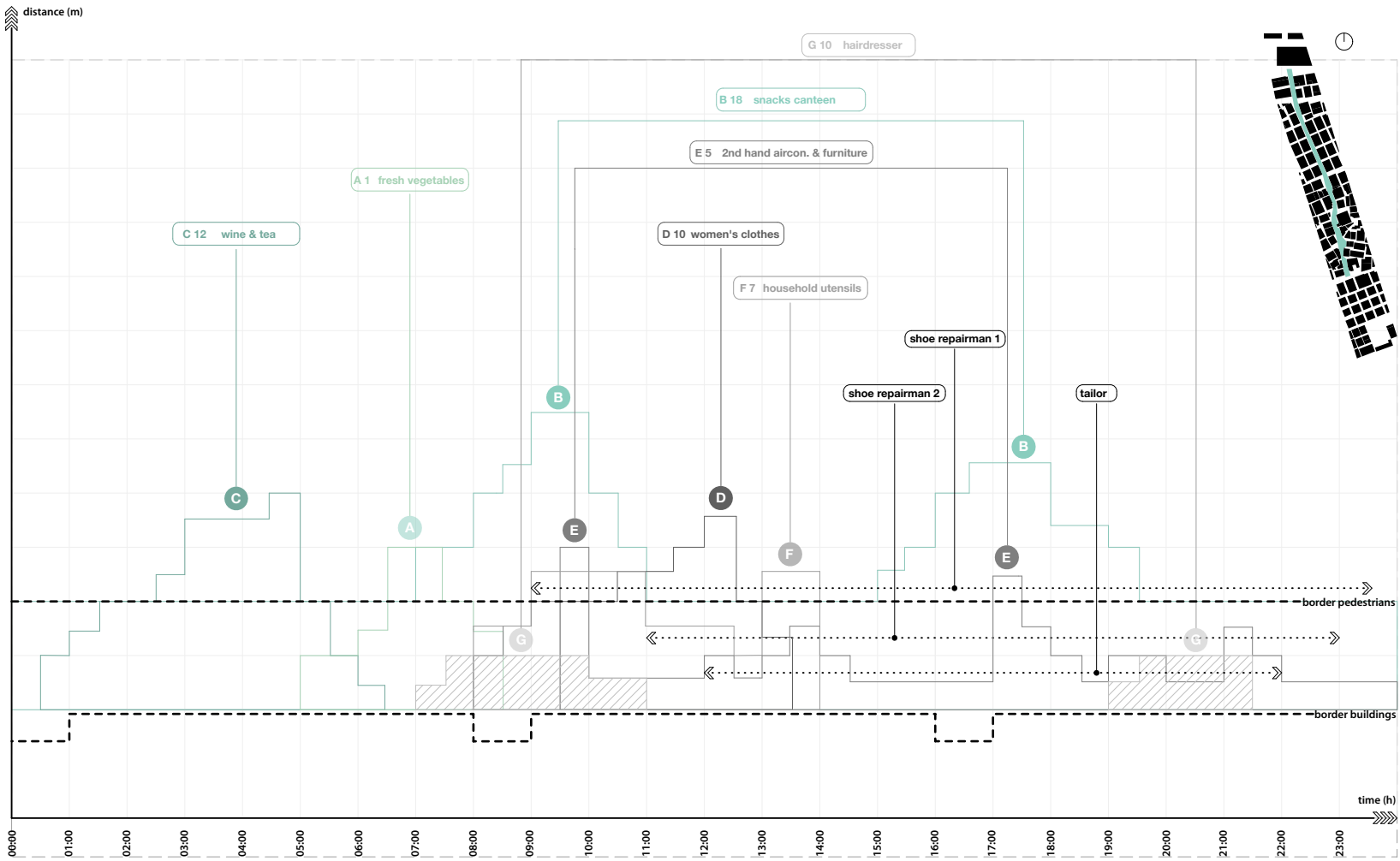




Diagram of spatial extension:

Amongst all the different kinds of businesses, restaurants are highly represented along the main street of Gangxia. As their inner space is limited, they extend to the street side. The diagram on the right shows the results of a one-day observation inside the main street. Certain shops and restaurants have been selected and observed according to their opening hours. Depending on the time of the day, the businesses extend more or less intensively [fig46].

[pic-group A5-G10] Examples of retail business in the main street of Gangxia, 2015



CHANGING RATE OF SPATIAL EXTENSION TO THE MAIN STREET_ONE DAY OBSERVATION

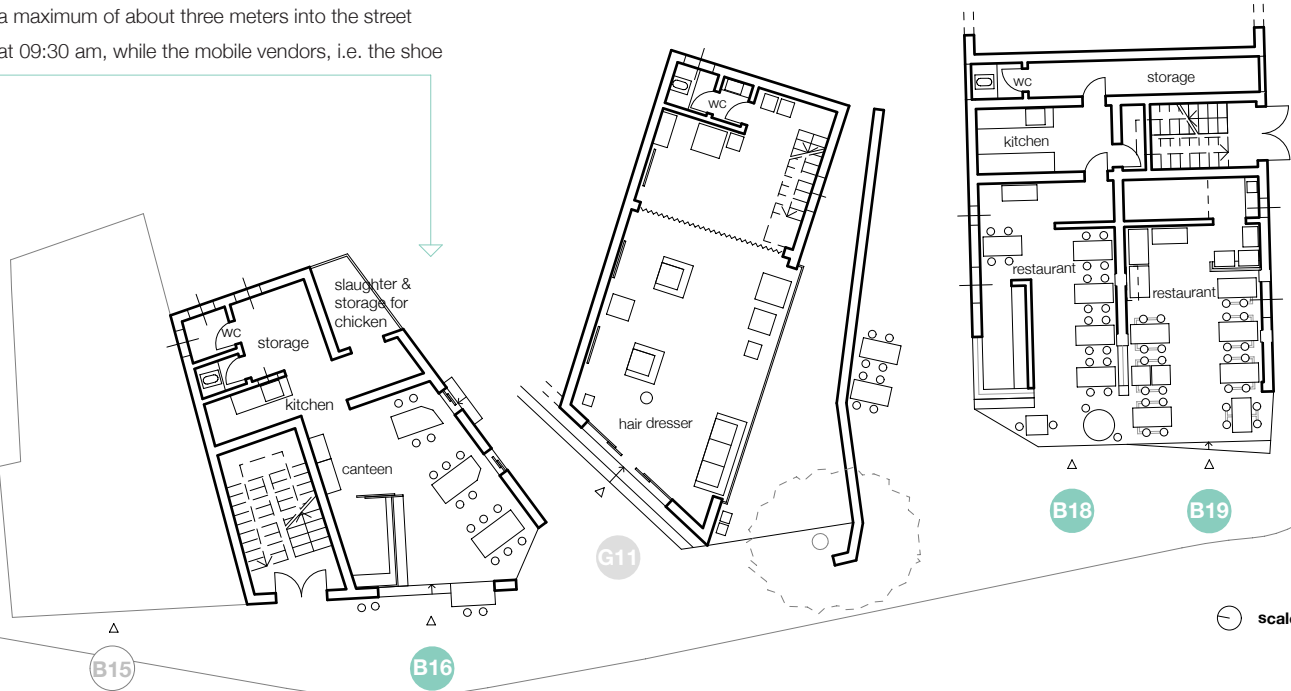
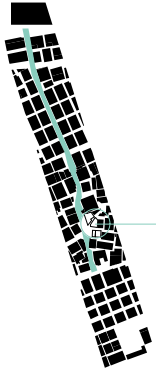
[fig46] Diagram spatial extension of retail business

Whereas canteens and some restaurants extend permanently, as they have steaming kitchens and some tables and chairs at the street side, supermarkets and other shops that depend on the daily delivery just extend temporarily.

During my observation, the big supermarket and the snacks-canteen showed the highest rate of extension with a maximum of about three meters into the street side at 09:30 am, while the mobile vendors, i.e. the shoe

repairman and the tailor showed a lower extension rate of about one meter. Though the mobile vendor's rate of extension is more constant as they stay at a certain place once they found a spot to sit down and start their business, the shops' extension-rate is higher but time-limited as they mostly quickly extend at delivery-hours.

[fig47] Ground floor plans B16, B18, B19, G11



»»» FLOOR PLAN CANTEEN, RESTAURANTS & HAIRDRESSER

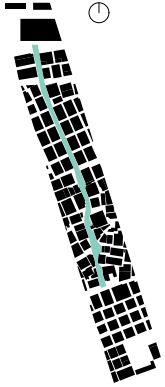
Traffic counts on the main street:

Concerning the traffic in the street that I decided to set focus on, one can state that it is highly frequented by pedestrians, but also by two-wheel, three-wheel and four-wheel vehicles, though in a comparatively rather low amount [fig48]. Even big trucks regularly enter and exit the street, as they deliver the goods for shops and restaurants. The cars that can be encountered in the main street are mostly owned by the indigenous villagers who come to visit Gangxia. The traffic inside the observed street

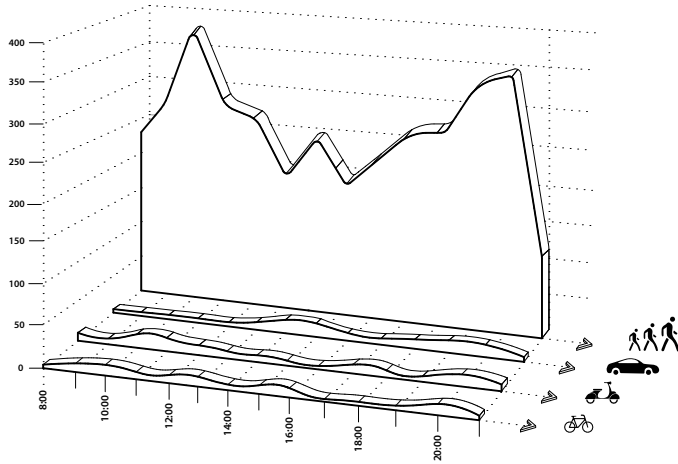
mainly consists of pedestrians, bicyclists and e-bike drivers during day and night time, both on working days and on Sundays. Whereas on working days they are highly represented during after work- and night time, on Sundays the amount of pedestrians also increases after 2:00 pm in the afternoon.

Consequently, one can interpret the two diagrams as a prove that Gangxia village is an urban formation, which is highly pedestrian friendly, compared to its formal sur-

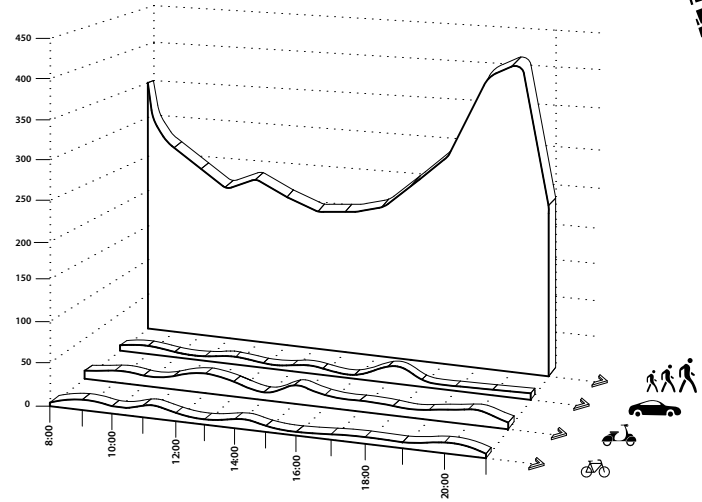
rounding, which consists of an urban design that totally adapted to the infrastructure for cars and the public transport.



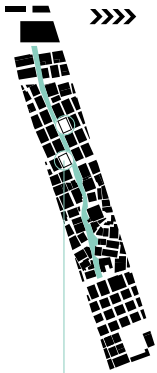
[fig48] Traffic counts on the main street



»»» SUNDAY 8:00 AM - 9:00 PM



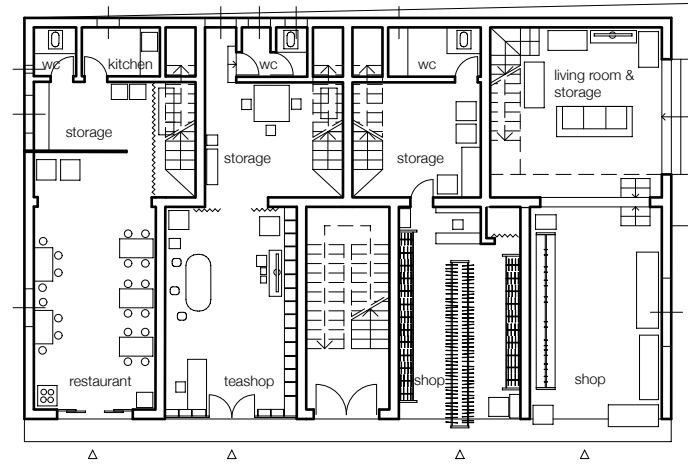
»»» WORKING DAY 8:00 AM - 9:00 PM



»»» FLOOR PLAN

RESTAURANT, TEASHOP, WOMEN'S CLOTHES, GREENGROCERY & AIRCONDITION

According to the size of a building block and its structure, there are different ground floor layouts. Due to informally built houses, each building inside Gangxia is different. [fig50]. The ground floors on the main street have different layouts compared to the ground floors in the secondary and tertiary streets. While the latter mainly serve as living space and consist of a rather small number of retail busi-



E 3

B 7

B 4

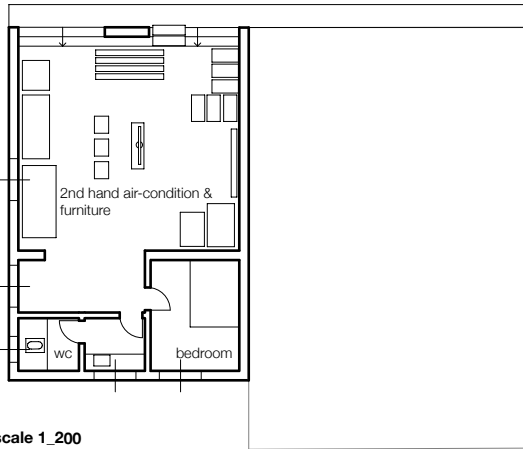
C 8

D 5

A 1

scale 1_200

[fig50] Ground floor plans B4, C8, D5, A1



scale 1_200

nesses, the ground floors of the main street usually don't have space for living, with the exception of a few shops, like the second hand air-condition and furniture shop E3 on the main street [fig49].

A typical and probably the most represented building type consists of four shops in the ground floor, accessible through the main street. The main staircase divides the building into two almost identical parts which house two groundfloor shops each. The front part, which is facing the busy street is used as vending or restaurant

[fig49] Ground floor plan E3

>>>> FLOOR PLAN BEVERAGES AND TOBACCO & RESTAURANT

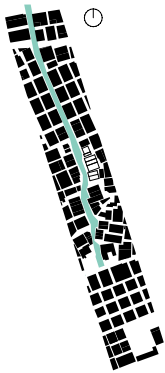
⊙ scale 1_200



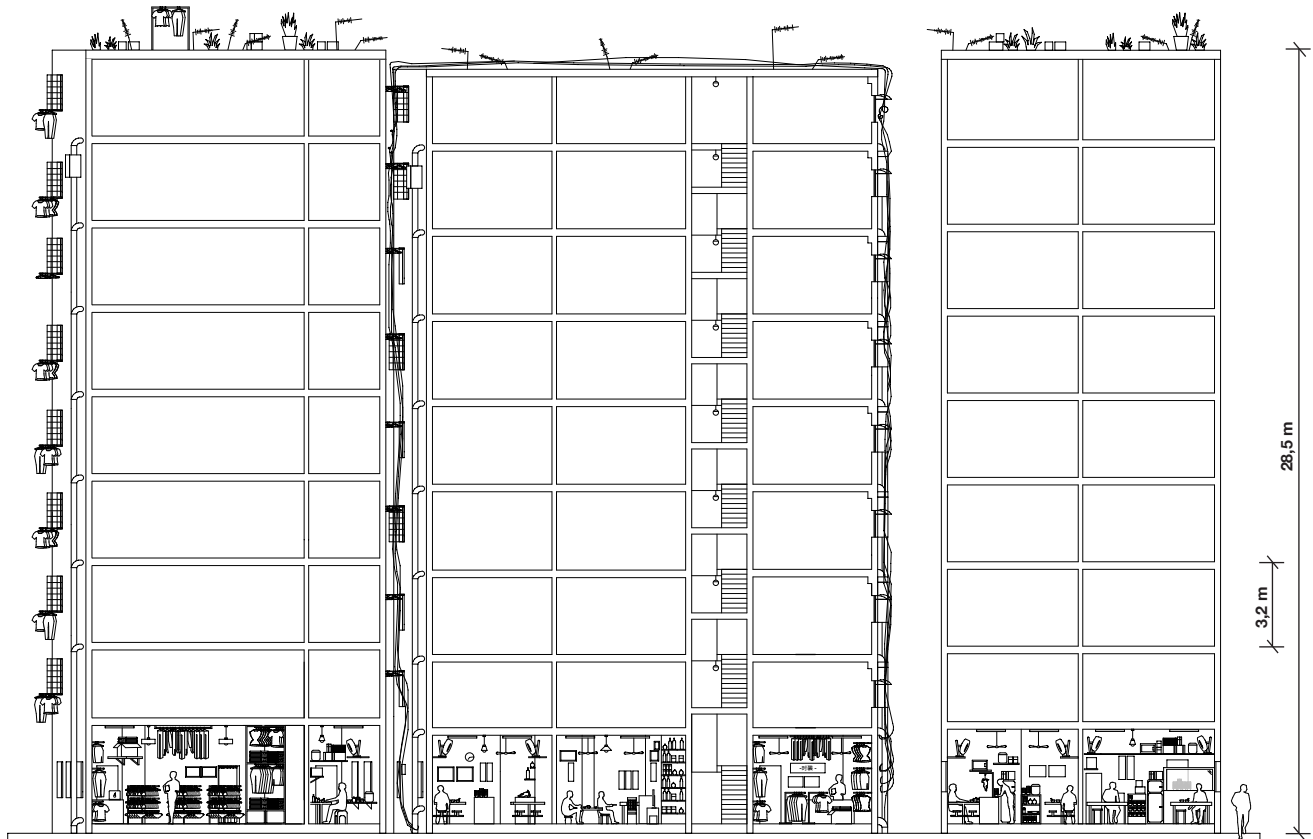
area, whereas the part of the building facing the backside is usually used as storage or as a kitchen [fig51]. Many shops and restaurants have an additional second floor which is accessible through an individual single-flight stair inside the shop, i.e. the hair dresser G11 [fig47]. This second floor is mostly used as storage. If the second level has windows, the managers who run the shops and restaurants are allowed to use it as living space. If the second floor does not have any windows it is not allowed live there and it can only be used as storage. Yet there are people who live in the second level of their shops, although these don't provide any windows. The community committee regularly checks the upper levels of the main street's ground floors. If they catch someone who uses this space for living purposes, the rental contract will be cancelled immediately, both of the ground floor shop and the second level and the tenant will be forced to find another place to stay.

The blank layouts on the floor plans (B7, B15, B23, B24) couldn't be studied in detail during my research, because it was either not possible to enter due to different reasons or the manager of the shop concerned didn't allow me to stay there for research. Therefore the blank spaces on the plans just serve for better understanding the urban context in which the buildings are standing to their neighbouring houses.

[fig51] Ground floor plans C14, B22



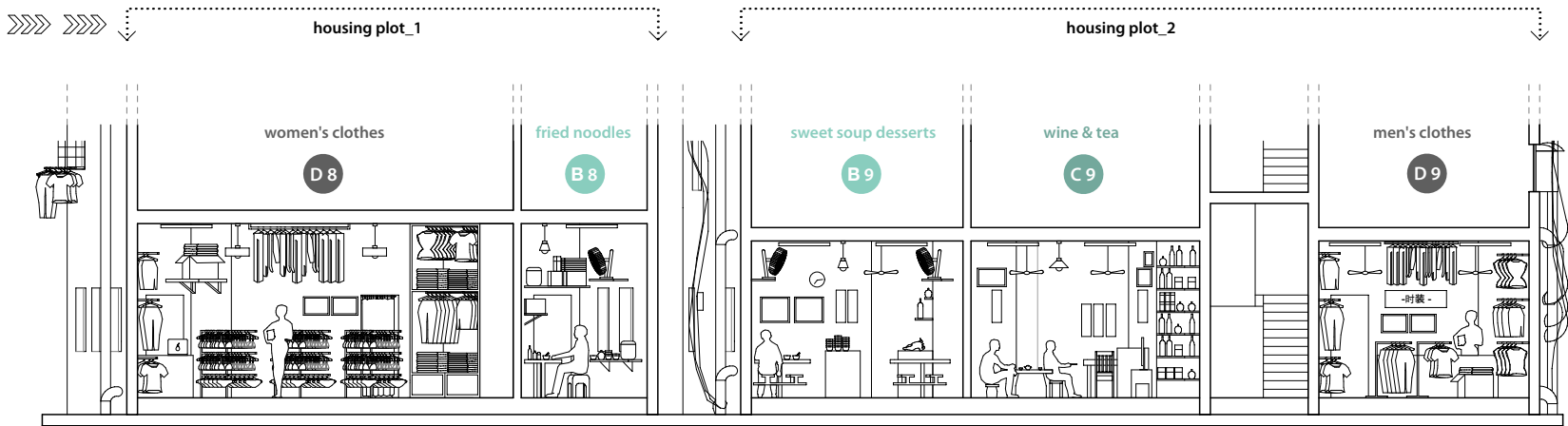
housing plot 1 housing plot 2



scale 1_200

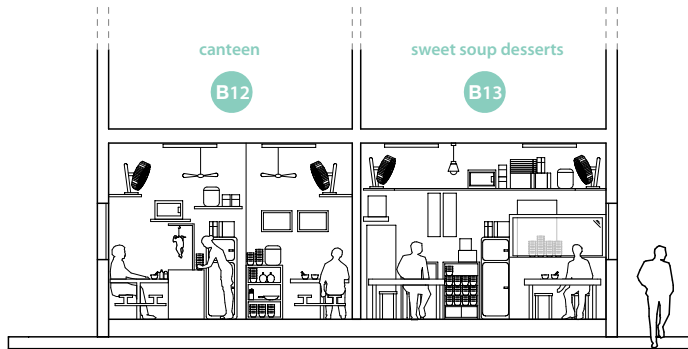
housing plot 3

[fig52] Section A-A, main street



[fig53] Zoom in section A-A, detail of ground floors

[fig53] Zoom in section A-A, detail of ground floors



housing plot_3

As the first and the second level of the buildings are reserved for business and storage uses [fig53], the third level and all other upper levels serve for living uses only. The buildings, which are located along the main street are five up to eleven floors high with an average ceiling height of three meters [fig52].

According to an interview with a shop manager in July 2015, the regulations for opening a business inside Gangxia changed in 2008. Since the level of requirements was lowered, it is easier nowadays to get a licence for opening a retail business and the demand for renting such a place inside Gangxia stays .

港 誠 糖 水

花 叶 香 茶 行 兼 營 烟 酒

'My name is 李国庆 (Li Guoqing). I am from Guangdong Province. I came here 20 years ago to open this 'chinese tea, wines and liqueurs shop'. I live here with my wife and my two children. My flat is upstairs. It is very convenient because my shop is directly linked to my home. I have to pay 4000 rmb (= 590 euros) each month for the flat and the shop in total. Business is going quite well, the people always consume alcohol, so my income is quite stabil. I have a lot friends here in Gangxia, they come from the same hometown as me. We got to know each other here in Gangxia. The products I offer are all from Hongkong. They get delivered to the east gate of Shenzhen every day, where my cousin picks them up twice a week to bring them to my shop.

I usually open from 3:00 pm until 11:00. I don't have to work very hard and I really enjoy spending time with my friends here. One day, I want to go back to the village where I come from, though I am sure, that Gangxia will not be demolished in the future, because the risk of investing in Gangxia's area is to high for the developers nowadays.'

[pic62] Wine & teashop, main street, Gangxia





'My name is 王荣 (Wang Rong). Together with my wife I run a 'dry fruits & nuts' shop in one of the busiest streets in Gangxia. We are from 安徽 (Anhui) Province. In my hometown I used to be a police man until I decided to come to Shenzhen to start my own business. We rent two more places in Gangxia. One is a very small workshop where I have an oven for roasting the nuts. The other place is the room I share with my wife and two kids inside another house of Gangxia. In winter I have to work a lot, because people buy most of my products during the colder seasons. When we are old and when we saved enough money, we want to go back to our hometown. I am used to the life in Gangxia but I don't have a lot of friends here. We don't trust the people who don't come from the same province like we do.

Besides, I have to wor all day, because it is just my wife and me running this shop, so we don't have any free time. After I openend the shop I got a licence from the Joint Stock Company but still I don't have to pay any taxes.

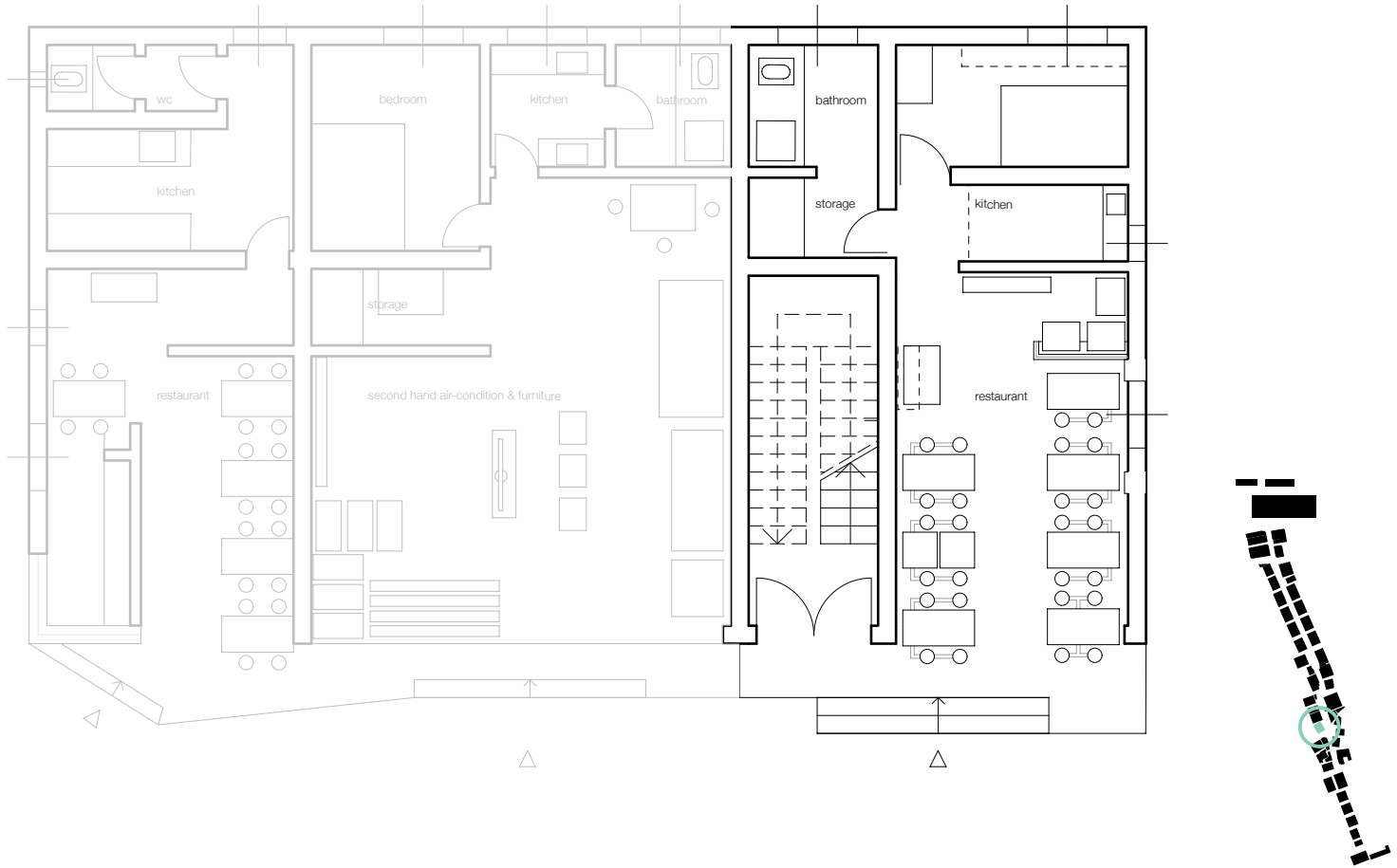
If we would earn more than 90.000 rmb (= 13 200 euros) per year we would have to pay taxes to the City Government.'

[pic63] Dried fruits & nuts shop, main street, Gangxia

'My name is 麻连 (Ma Lian). I am from Maolin in Guangdong Province and I live in Gangxia since 1997. I share a flat inside this building in the fourth floor together with my wife and two family members. I rent this canteen and the flat upstairs for a total price of 6500 rmb per month. I would like to extend my canteen more to the outside with additional tables but the Gangxia Community Committee set really strict regulations which I have to follow. Until 2008 it was much easier to extend to the outside area. Most of the shops and restaurants extended their tables and stands to the street but after new regulations have been introduced by the Government, the controls are much stricter. In my canteen I offer sweet chinese desserts, it is a speciality from Southern China. I usually open from 10:00 am until 04:00 am, so I have two employees. They are my family members and they help me with all the work. The competition of the retail business inside Gangxia is very high. In this street, there are two more sweet dessert canteens. My desserts are a little bit cheaper than the ones of the canteen on the opposite side, that's why I have a lot of customers, especially in summer, when the demand for my dishes is higher. I really like my life in Gangxia, because it is a very convenient place, you can get everything right here, you actually never have to go outside of Gangxia. Since I have so much work to do, my children stay at my parents place in Donguang. I can only see them once a month. I don't have a lot of friends here, just some regular customers with whom I can chat here in my canteen. I am planning to stay in Gangxia as long as possible.'



[pic64] Sweet soup dessert canteen, main street, Gangxia



[fig54] Ground floor plan cold soup dessert canteen

04.2 THE INFORMAL SECTOR OF GANGXIA VILLAGE

04.2.4 The mobile vendors and the street business

Gangxia an its mobile vendors:

The mobile vendors can be encountered all over Gangxia. Though there are certain hotspots where most of them stay for selling their goods, there are also some vendors who walk around and inside Gangxia [map25, map26, map27]. They adapt their working shifts according to those of the securities inside and outside Gangxia.

At the west border of the 'village' there are many vendors parking their tricycles, their moveable kitchens, foldable tables, and blankets to sell their goods. It's an optimal vending place, as the securities don't control this area regularly and as there is enough space for spatial extension [map24].

Mobile vendors have different kinds of vehicles, which they use for the preparation, the transportation, and the vending of their goods, such as: fresh fruits, fried tofu, sushi, barbecue, hot pot, etc. Besides, some of them sell clothes, second hand books, household goods, CDs and DVDs, laid out on blankets or on foldable tables [fig55].

Those vendors, who don't stay in the area bordering the 'village', move around, mainly on tricycles or with moveable pushcarts. The typical moveable kitchen, the instant food pushcarts and the sack barrows can be found all around and inside Gangxia. Some of them even move inside the narrow streets, passing each house.

Although they are all defined as mobile vendors, they can

be distinguished i.e. according to their rate of mobility, depending on the kind of business they conduct and the type of vehicle they use [fig58]. The vendors, who stay at specific spots inside and around Gangxia, sell their items only at certain times of the day. But those, who constantly move around can be encountered conducting their business all day and night. During my research, I observed the mobile vendors who move inside Gangxia and mapped my findings graphically [map23, 24, 25, 26, 27]. I found out, that many vendors take more or less the same path everyday. Every morning I heard the same vendors as the day before passing the street where I lived, promoting CDs, DVDs, breakfast, etc. transported on a sack barrow, using the same verbal advertising slogans every day.

The securities inside and outside Gangxia:

There are two different groups of securities: One group are those dressed in blue uniforms, formally employed by the Futian sub district government and responsible for the area surrounding Gangxia.

The other group of securities are the ones dressed in green uniforms and employed by the Gangxia community committee [pic66].

The border between Gangxia village and the urban surrounding is therefore a popular spot for mobile vendors, as it is kind of a blank zone between the management of the two different security groups. Whereas the Futian

[fig55] Collage of mobile vendors inside and around Gangxia



sub district-securitys work everyday until 6:00 pm, the Gangxia-securitys also work during night. Consequently, the mobile vendors who stay at the west gate of Gangxia start their business after 6:00 pm. They park their vehicles at the west gate, but outside of Gangxia in order to not be caught by the Gangxia securitys. Since the formally employed securitys outside of Gangxia already ended their shift, the vendors feel free to start their business there, as long as they don't cross the border to Gangxia village. The formal urban surrounding is officially under the management of the blue uniformed securitys and therefore negligible for the securitys in the green uniforms.

Once I observed an interesting scene, when two mobile vendors were selling their items inside Gangxia. It was evening time and four guys in a green uniform were approaching the vendors. The mobile vendors parked their vehicles about 15 cm across a yellow line. The securitys in the green uniform told them to immediately move their vehicles beyond the yellow line. It seems ridiculous, as a dispute began, which was about just 15 cm. Afterwards I was told that this yellow line is the official border between Gangxia village and the formal urban surrounding. As the securitys of Gangxia do not feel responsible for the happenings outside this yellow line, the debate was about simply moving the vehicles 15 cm further away. The Gangxia-securitys usually finish their business at

12:00 pm. That's when the mobile vendors start to move their vehicles to the inside of Gangxia for continuing their business there. As Gangxia is a very busy 'village', they can make a financial profit even at night.

The Gangxia-securitys keep an ambivalent attitude towards the 'villages' mobile vendors. Whereas some seem to immediately shoo them away, once they see them, I also observed situations when they seemed to accept the vendors. The securitys passed by, greeted them or even talked to them in a friendly way. It seems to me as if it depends on each individual mobile vendor, whether being accepted by the securitys or not. Some vendors seem to be known better, might have some connections or are living next to a security inside Gangxia and therefore enjoy the advantage of being tolerated.

The interviews addressing the mobile vendors:

The results of my interviews reveal that almost all of the vendors are residents of Gangxia (95%). The area where they move for selling their items is mainly reduced to Gangxia and its direct urban surrounding. They do not move any further, or choose other places for selling their goods, as it would be complicating and time consuming to move their vending vehicles to other spots that are further away. Most of the mobile vendors obtain their main income by conducting this business. Only four of

the interviewed people stated that their mobile business was an additional work to their main income. The mobile vendors have average working shifts of 12 hours a day, mostly 7 days a week. Many told me that they were exhausted and that they suffer both physical and mental stress. However, all of the interviewed are a not registered as Shenzhen citizens, which makes it very hard to find an official employment in the city. As most of them have to provide for their families, they have no other choice than to pursue this kind of work.



'My name is 王成秀 (Wang Cheng Xiu). I am from Sichuan Province and I live in Gangxia since eight years. I share a flat together with my whole family, which costs me 600 yuan (= 84 euros) per month. I am originally from the countryside, where it is very hard to find work, that's why I came to Shenzhen together with all my family members. I got divorced just a year ago, now I am struggling because I have to provide my daughter. Luckily she found a job in a restaurant in Gangxia. During the day, I do some cleaning work at my brother's office. At night, I sell fruits at this spot. Nowadays it is very difficult to make money. Just some years ago it was much easier. People don't buy that much anymore.

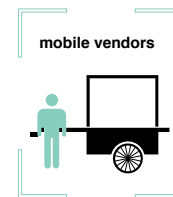
I usually come here, to the west gate of Gangxia at 6:00 pm, that's when the securities outside finish their work. I stay until 12:00 pm or sometimes even until 01:00 am, it depends on the customers. Through this business, I can earn about 1500 yuan per month (= 210 euros).

Once the securities of the city government took away my goods and my blanket, I was very sad that day. They are stricter than the securities inside Gangxia, that's why I have to be cautious. First, this was the business of my brother's son, but he found a job in the city, that's why I overtook it. He showed me where to buy the products and helped me to organize a truck for the transportation. I always go to BUJI market, in the north of Shenzhen, for buying the fruits.

Until five years ago, we lived in the west of Gangxia, but as they destroyed it, we had to move to the centre of the 'village'. We weren't paid any compensation by the government or the investor. Only the indigenous villagers were compensated financially. It is very hard to survive here, because the rent prices increase constantly. If you wanted to buy a flat in one of the high-rise buildings surrounding Gangxia, it used to cost around 7000 yuan (= 980 euros) per m² just some years ago, today it costs min. 50 000 yuan (= 7000 euros), though the average price is at 100 000 yuan per m². The prices inside Gangxia increase as well.

Last year I got ill, and I couldn't get out of bed for three months. It was a very hard time, because I didn't earn any money. I got used to the harsh life in Gangxia, though I don't like it that much.'

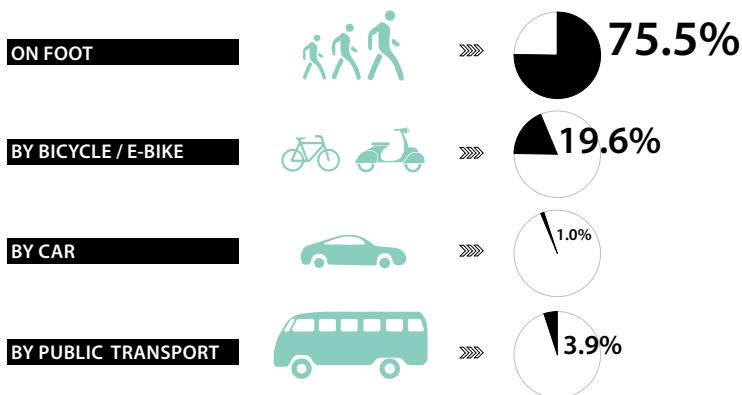
Do you live in Gangxia?
你住在岗夏马？



Do you work here every day?
你每天都来这里吗？



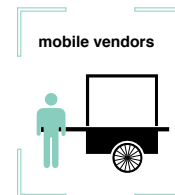
How do you usually get here and how do you transport your goods (by metro, on bicycle, by foot)?
你每天怎么来到这里？你怎么搬运你的货物（地铁、自行车或者步行）？



[fig56] Illustration results working and living conditions of mobile vendors

How many hours per day do you work?

你每周工作多少小时？



»»» AVERAGE DAILY WORKING SHIFTS / PERSON: **12 HOURS (7 DAYS / WEEK)**

»»» ! NOTE: ° DURATION OF DAILY WORKING SHIFTS DIFFERS ACCORDING TO KIND OF BUSINESS.

Do you also sell in other places in and around Gangxia or are you always selling at the same spot?

你每天会在深圳其他地方卖物品吗？

YES 6.7%

NO 93.3%

Are you earning your main income through this work?

这是你最主要的工作吗？

YES 72.3%

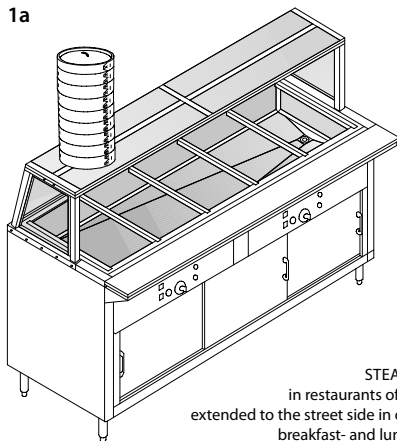
NO 27.7%



1

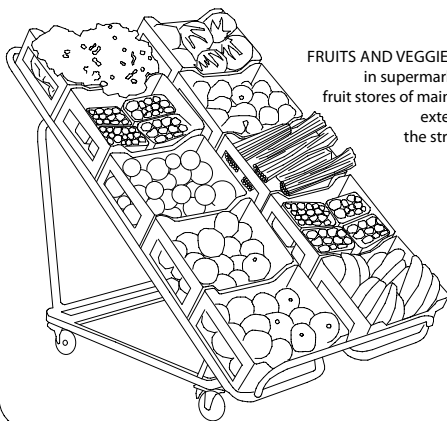
low-mobility street vending objects

1a



STEAMING TABLE:
in restaurants of main streets;
extended to the street side in order to serve
breakfast- and lunch- fast food.

1b

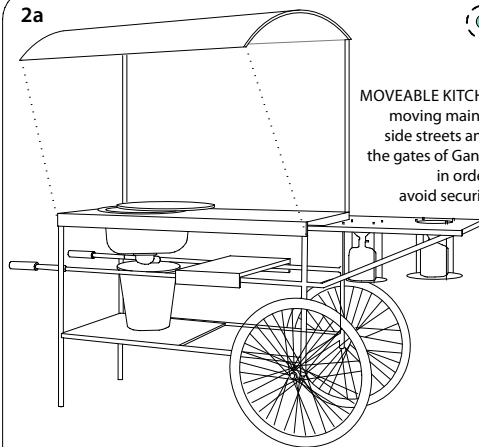


FRUITS AND VEGGIE STAND:
in supermarkets and
fruit stores of main streets;
extended to the street side.

2

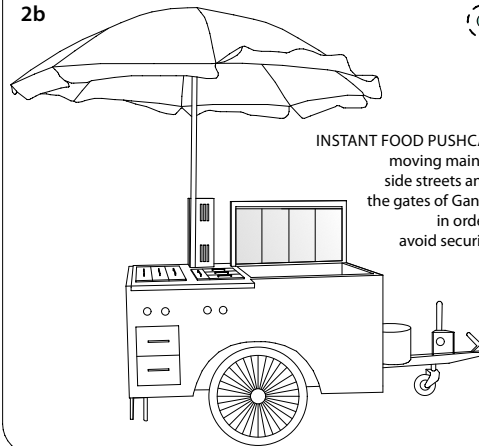
medium-mobility street vending objects

2a



MOVEABLE KITCHEN:
moving mainly in
side streets and at
the gates of Gangxia
in order to
avoid securities.

2b

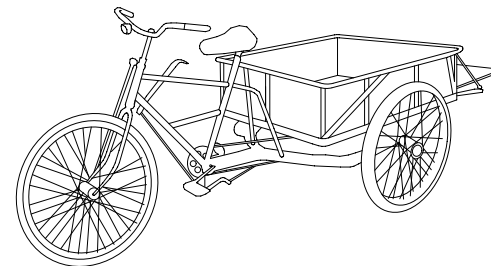


INSTANT FOOD PUSH CART:
moving mainly in
side streets and at
the gates of Gangxia
in order to
avoid securities.

3

high-mobility street vending objects

3a



**TRICYCLE VENDING COMMODITIES AND
TRADING WITH 2ND HAND PRODUCTS:**
mainly at the gates of Gangxia in order to avoid securities;
Inside Gangxia only for direct transportation of goods.

3b

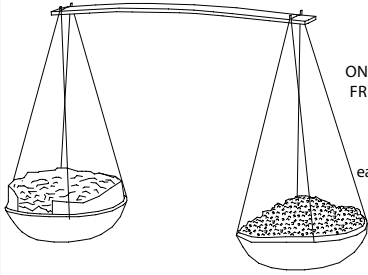


FOLDABLE TABLE SELLING BOOKS, DVDS AND CLOTHES:
only at the gates of Gangxia, as security-checks are rare there
and because of frequently passing by pedestrians.

[fig58] Illustration street business objects with varying rate of mobility

high-mobility street vending objects

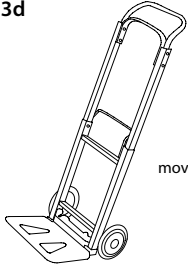
3c



TWO BASKETS ON A BEAM OFFERING FRUITS AND VEGGIES:
moving inside and around Gangxia;
high-mobility;
easy to quickly move, if being caught by securities.



3d

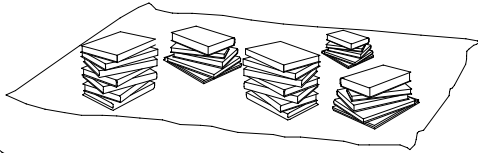


SACK BARROW:
moving inside main and side streets of Gangxia;
vending dvds, cds, household articles, etc;
carried in boxes placed at the barrow;
high-mobility and high flexibility;



3e

BLANKET OFFERING VARIOUS GOODS:
i.e. books, dvds and clothes;
mainly displayed around the gates of Gangxia,
as these areas offer a wider space and because of rare security-checks and frequently passing by pedestrians.



Do you live in Gangxia?
你住在岗夏马?

YES



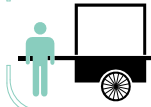
95.5%

NO



4.5%

mobile vendors



| | |
|--|--|
| | = movement of mobile street vending objects |
| | = extension of shops and restaurants to the street |
| | = position of low-mobility objects |
| | = position of medium-mobility objects |
| | = position of high-mobility objects |



GANGXIA'S SECURITIES:

The mobile vendors' business spots and movements vary according to the working shifts of Gangxia's securities. As the security's main task is to maintain order inside the village, they regard most of the mobile vendors as needless and usually shoo them away, once they are caught.

[pic66] Gangxia's securities dressed in green uniforms



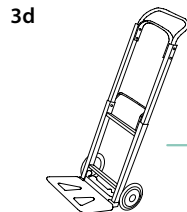
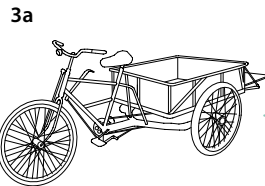
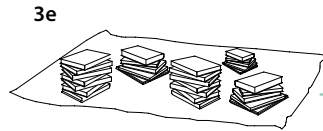
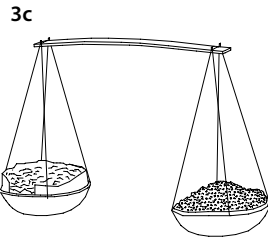
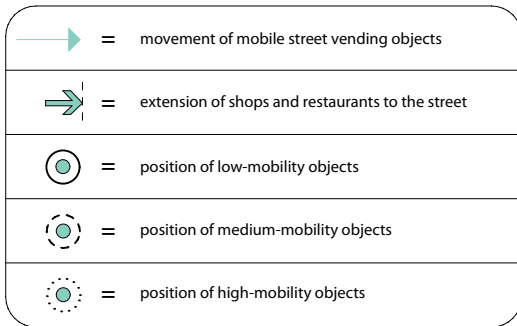
EXTENDED RESTAURANTS & SHOPS:

As the inside space is limited, many shops and restaurants in Gangxia extend their business to the street side in order to increase their profit and to attract people.

[pic67] street business extending restaurant



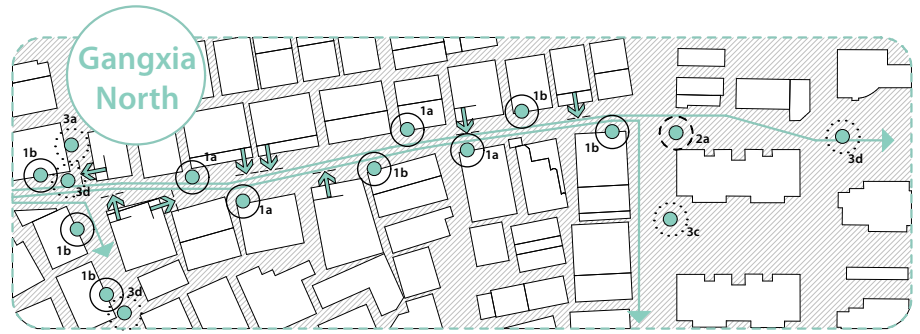
[map23] Outline subdivided area: West, North, Central and S-W Gangxia



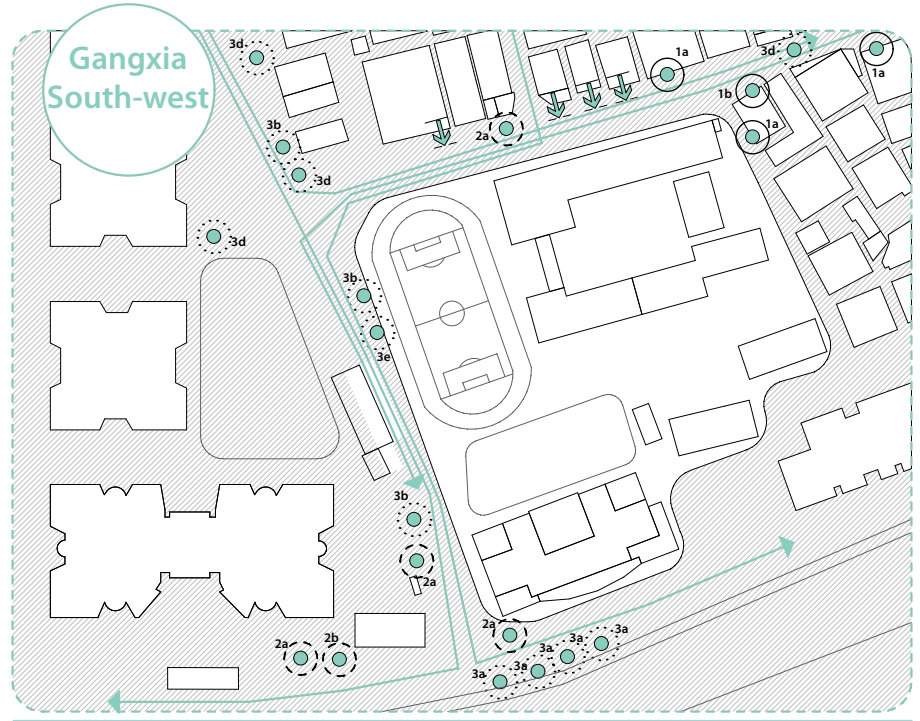
[map24] Subdivided area: Gangxia West



[map25] Subdivided area: Central Gangxia



[map26] Subdivided area: Gangxia north



[map27] Subdivided area: Gangxia South-West

04.2 THE INFORMAL SECTOR OF GANGXIA VILLAGE

04.2.5 The big market of commodities - 龙岗平湖海吉星农批市场

The Longgang Pinghu Hai Ji Xinggong market:

On July 8th, 2015 a group of researchers and me visited the Longgang Pinghu Hai Ji Xinggong Grant market in the north of Shenzhen [map29], also called 'BUJI market'. We went together with Sam (chinese name: 李树良), a supermarket owner in Gangxia.

Being located inside Shenzhen's Central Business District, Gangxia village is a place that highly contrasts its urban surrounding. Whereas the spending power in the Central Business District is very high, Gangxia's residents represent the low spending capacity of Shenzhen's society. Compared to the urban environ, the prices in Gangxia are

respectively lower. Hence, Gangxia's shop and restaurant operators rely on low-priced products, obtainable from nearby markets, avoiding expensive and time-consuming transports. But also high-end shopping centres and brand supermarket chains in various regions of Shenzhen purchase their goods from the Longgang market. The results of my interview reveal that about 60% of the interviewees in Gangxia obtain their goods from this market (including the mobile vendors and the retail business).

The market is as a central hub for all kinds of agriculture products (such as grain, vegetables, spices, fruits, tea etc.) and dry goods. It therefore serves as main provider

for the whole Pearl River Delta, including Shenzhen and even Hong Kong. It consists of the largest dry goods wholesale base, accounting for 60% of the amount of Shenzhen's wholesale dry goods (Interview with Sam, July, 2015). Though there are four big markets in total providing Shenzhen, the Longgang market is the biggest and most important one. The prices at the other three markets are mainly more expensive than the prices of Longgang, as the three markets mostly purchase their goods from the Longgang market, and therefore have additional fees and transport costs. According to Sam, the Longgang market itself obtains the products from the country of purchase, either through manufacturers or

directly through agricultural production and land, which was acquired from farmers or agricultural companies. The offered products come from all over China, such as rice from Shan Dong Province or sugar from Kunming in Yun-nan Province [map28].

The formal inside and the informal outside area:

Walking around the area on site one can easily notice that the Longgang market is subdivided in an inside and an outside area [pic68, pic70]. Whereas inside, there are stalls offering all kinds of commodities, run by managers with an official licence, most of the suppliers outside offer products laid out on blankets or stacked in plastic boxes [pic69, pic71]. Of course, the informally sold products outside are cheaper, than the ones offered inside [fig59]. According to Sam, about 20 % of the market supply is informal. There are a lot of self-employed mobile vendors who buy goods in the outside area. While the products sold in the formal inside area can quite easily be traced back to their place of origin, it becomes pretty complex, when it's about finding out where exactly the informally sold products come from. Sam stated that the informal market outside can sell the products for a cheaper price, not just because they are free of taxes but because they were produced in Shenzhen's suburbs, transported and distributed through informal, local networks and offered at this market.

[pic68] Formal inside sales area Longgang grant market



[pic69] Informal outside sales area Longgang grant market



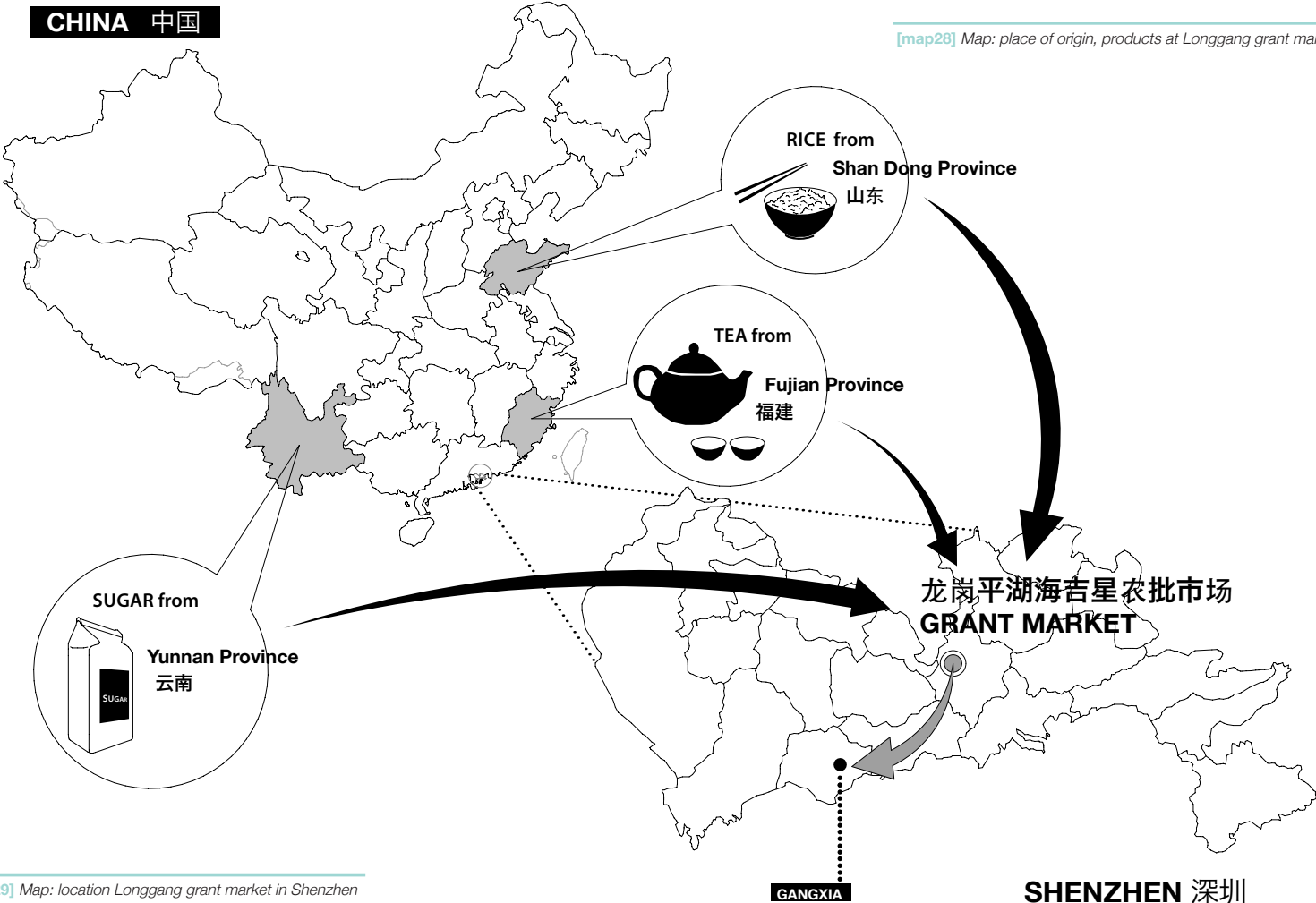
[pic70] Formal inside sales area Longgang grant market



[pic71] Informal outside sales area Longgang grant market

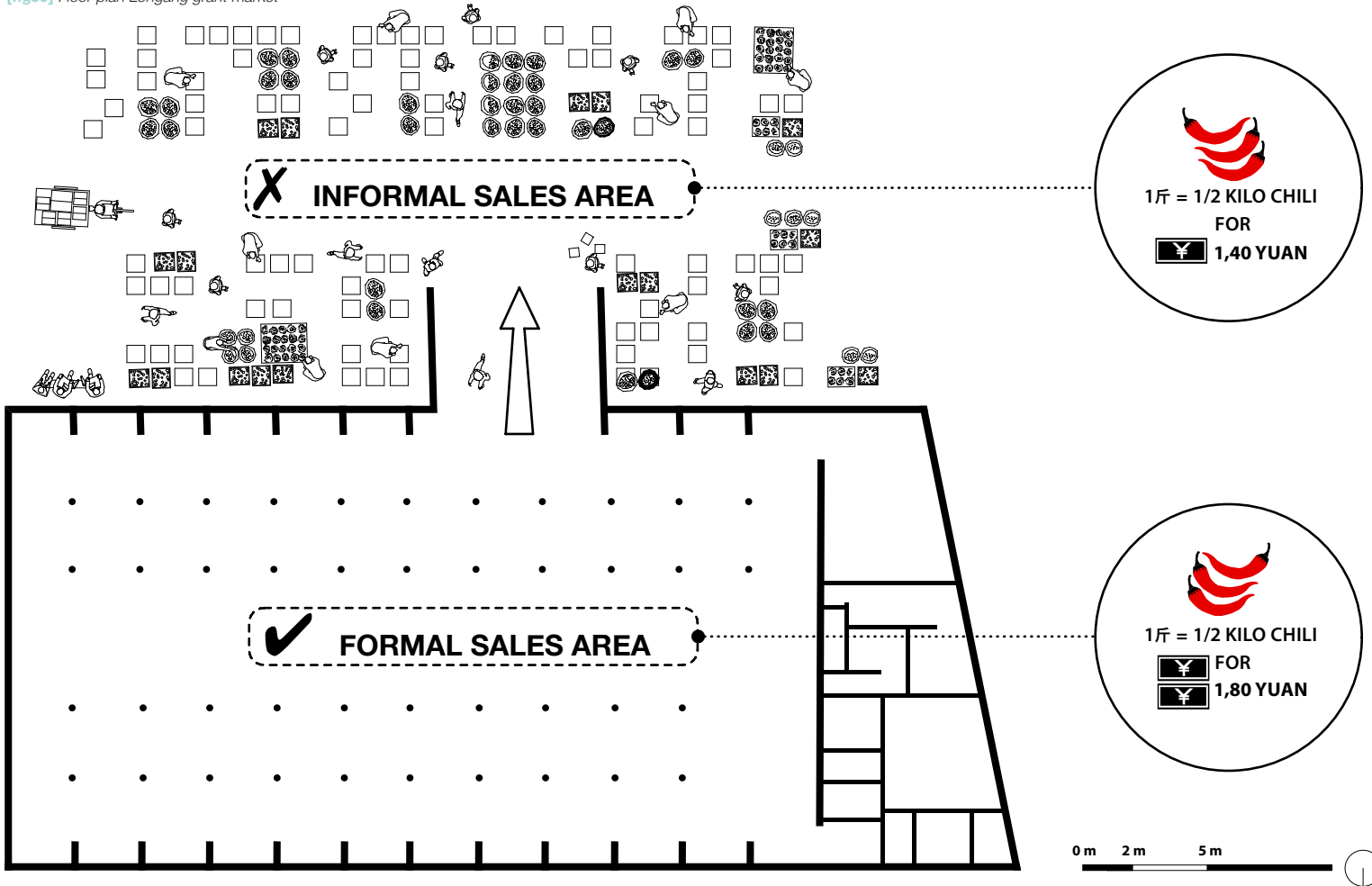
CHINA 中国

[map28] Map: place of origin, products at Longgang grant market



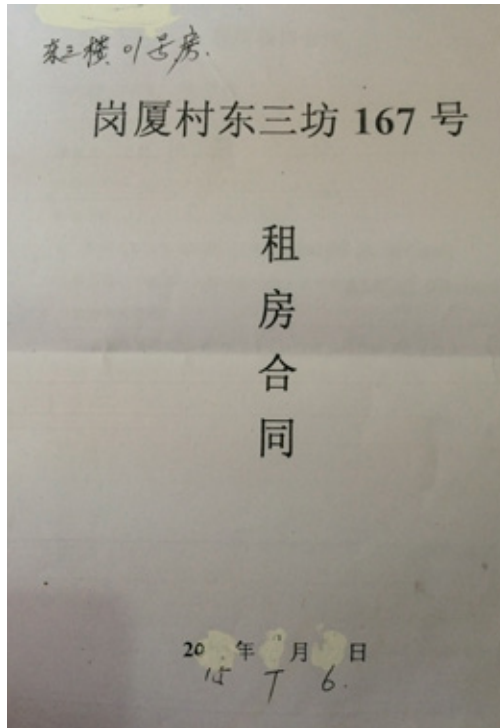
[map29] Map: location Longgang grant market in Shenzhen

[fig59] Floor plan Longang grant market



04.3 MY STAY IN GANGXIA VILLAGE

04.3.1 Introduction living environment



[pic72] Rental contract for my room in Gangxia village

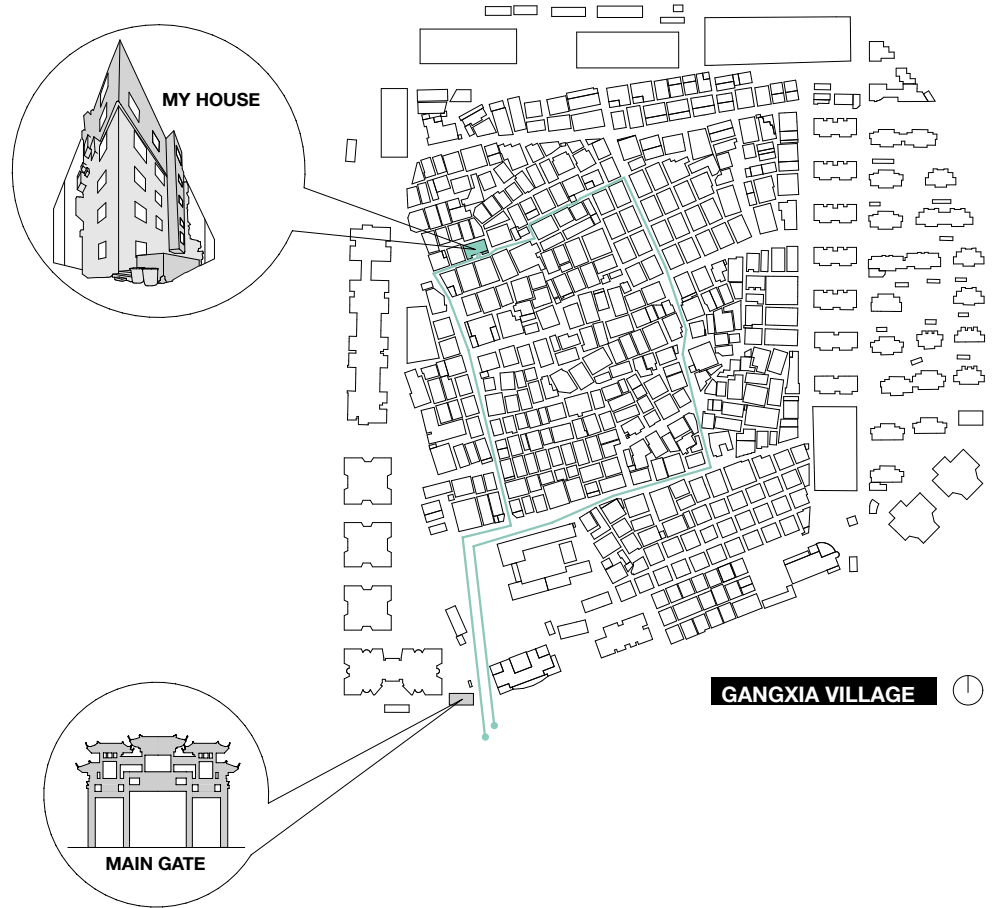


[pic73] Inside of my room in Gangxia village

In July 2015 I moved to Gangxia village where I spent two months on my research on site. Together with a research partner, we rented a room in the third floor of a typical 'handshake building' [pic75]. Initially there were some difficulties complicating my stay in Gangxia. During a first interview with the community committee's manager I was told that it would be impossible for foreigners to move to Gangxia, as they have to undergo complicating and enduring registration processes at the Futian police station. Furthermore is it only allowed to officially rent a room in Gangxia if the habitation is for at least six months. Thanks to the help of my research partner Litao, who is a Chinese citizen, we could finally manage to rent a room and get the chance to gain deep insights as being part of Gangxia's unique and vibrant life [pic73].

The house I lived in is one of Gangxia's typical high-rises that are built extremely close to the neighbouring houses, which together form a pattern of narrow alleys that don't face any sunlight all day. If you find yourself in one of those narrow alleys you can encounter a small strip of daylight if you move your head towards the sky, also called 'thin skyline' by Chinese residents.

The building I inhabited gets typically framed by dripping air conditions on the façade and has balconies and windows that are filled with hanging clothes. Electrical wires surround all the buildings, creating a chaotic cable-





potpourri, a typical characteristic of 'urbanized villages' in Shenzhen [pic74].

Tough the building heights of the 'village' increased at an extreme pace, the original housing plots didn't change. Like almost all buildings in Gangxia, the house I stayed in, is constructed on the original, old foundations that were initially built for the farmer's one storey buildings. Gangxia's high-rise constructions of today are therefore a ticking time bomb. The last period of intensive vertical extension in Gangxia was 10 years ago, when two or even more additional floors were built on top of the buildings at a record-breaking pace. Some of them are built by professionals and therefore rent-prices in these newly constructed upper levels are more expensive. As a result those apartments are inhabited by white collars or people with higher incomes.

The house I lived in has also two levels that were built in hindsight in the 2000s, more professionally and with more expensive materials compared to its basement.

The house can be accessed through two main streets [map30], one in the west and one in the east of Gangxia. The main street in the east is linked to a secondary street that connects with the tertiary street, where the house is situated [pic77].

According to the year of construction, the first four floors of the building have the same layout, whereas the fifth and sixth is differently subdivided [fig60, fig61, fig62, fig63]. The staircase divides each storey in a left and a right part. Each floor gets subdivided by very thin cardboard-walls that have cut-outs facing the corridor, all built by the second landlord, who is allowed to change the layout of the housing without the permission of the owner. According to interventions concerning the outside structure of the houses, the indigenous villager has to be asked for permission. Each room of the house is inhabited by 1 up to 6 persons, with an average size of 3 m² up to 7 m². Each half of a storey has a shared kitchen and two bathrooms [pic76].

The house gets managed by two so-called 'second landlords' (二房东). Like in most cases, the owner of the house lives outside the village and therefore hires the second landlords to manage the collection of the rent and maintenance of the house, etc [pic72]. Those indigenous villagers, who still live in Gangxia usually inhabit the roof-top floors of their houses. In that case they still conduct the management by themselves. One family, who lives in the ground floor of the house where I lived, manages the whole building. While the wife is responsible for collecting the rent and cleaning the corridors and kitchens, the hus-

[pic74] Facade of the house in Gangxia village

band has to do the entire repair works inside and outside the house. The owner of the house usually comes to the 'village' every second month in order to check whether their deputies are working trustfully.

There are some houses in Gangxia that have extremely bad constructed rooftop floors. As many rural migrants come to Shenzhen looking for work, they cannot afford to rent a room, not even a cheap, shared one inside an 'urbanized village'. Consequently they often come to an oral agreement with the owner of the house. In that case, the migrants themselves construct 50% of the rooftop floor, whereas the owner builds the other half. However, those 50%, which are not owned by the migrant, have to be paid as normal monthly rent to the owner of the house. Many rooftop floors of Gangxia's houses were built in this kind of way, inhabited by migrants living under very bad conditions.

During the last years, the rent prices in Gangxia increased enormously. The rent of an average 6m² room increased from 500 yuan per month (= 70 euros) to 1000 yuan per month (= 140 euros). As the 'village's economy depends on the local market, the 'village' adapts its prices according to the increasing rent prices in the urban surrounding encroaching Gangxia.



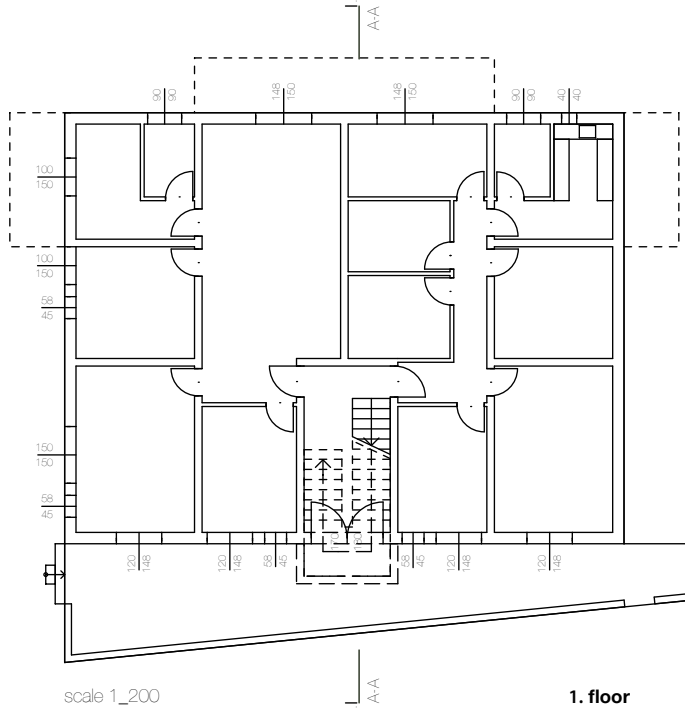
[pic75] Access to the house in Gangxia village



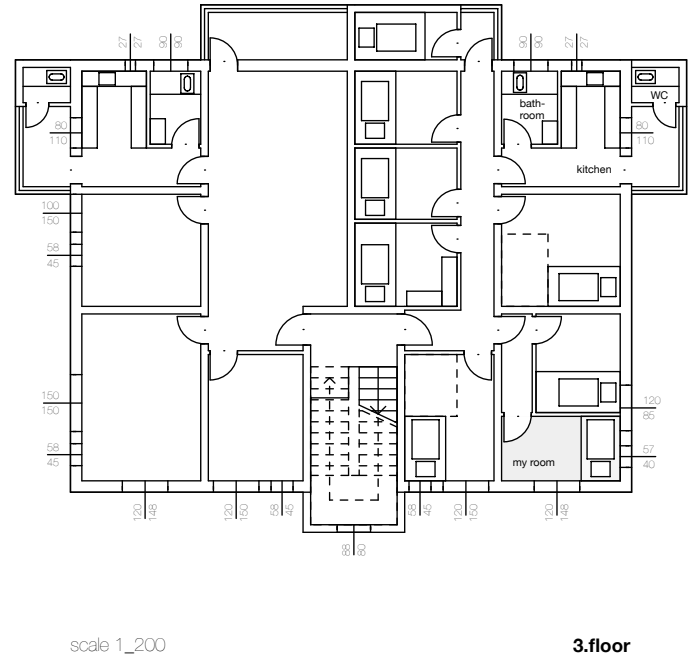
[pic76] Shared kitchen on each floor of the house



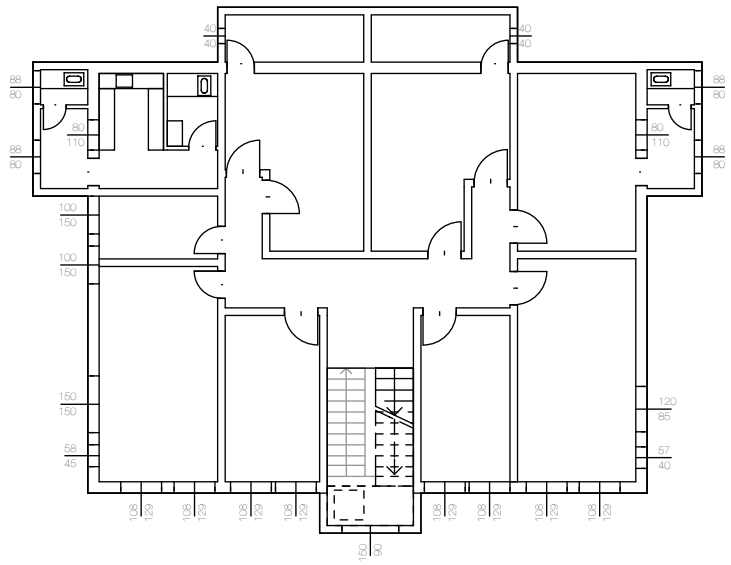
[pic77] Tertiary street, alley to the house in Gangxia village



[fig60] Floor plan of my house in Gangxia, 1. floor



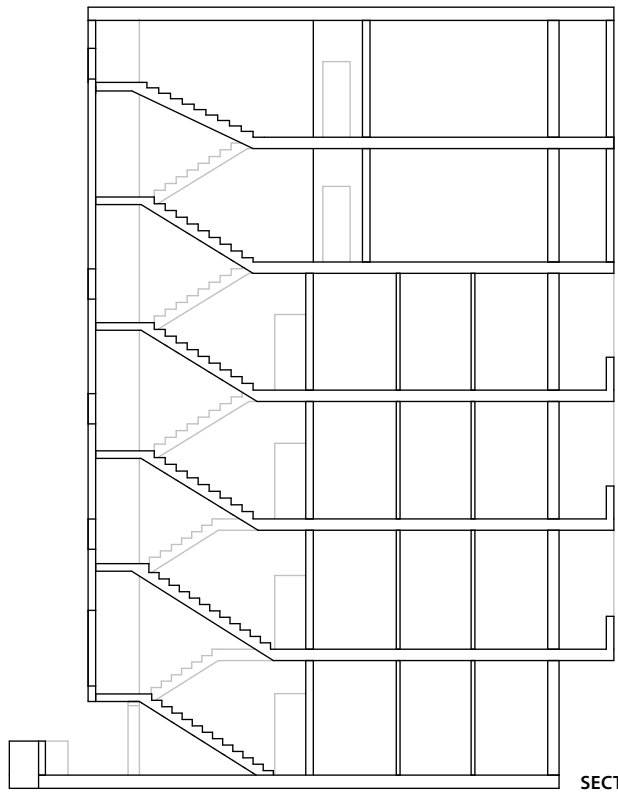
[fig61] Floor plan of my house in Gangxia, my room, 3. floor



scale 1_200

6.floor

[fig62] Floor plan of my house in Gangxia, 6. floor



SECTION A-A

[fig63] Section of my house in Gangxia, scale 1_200

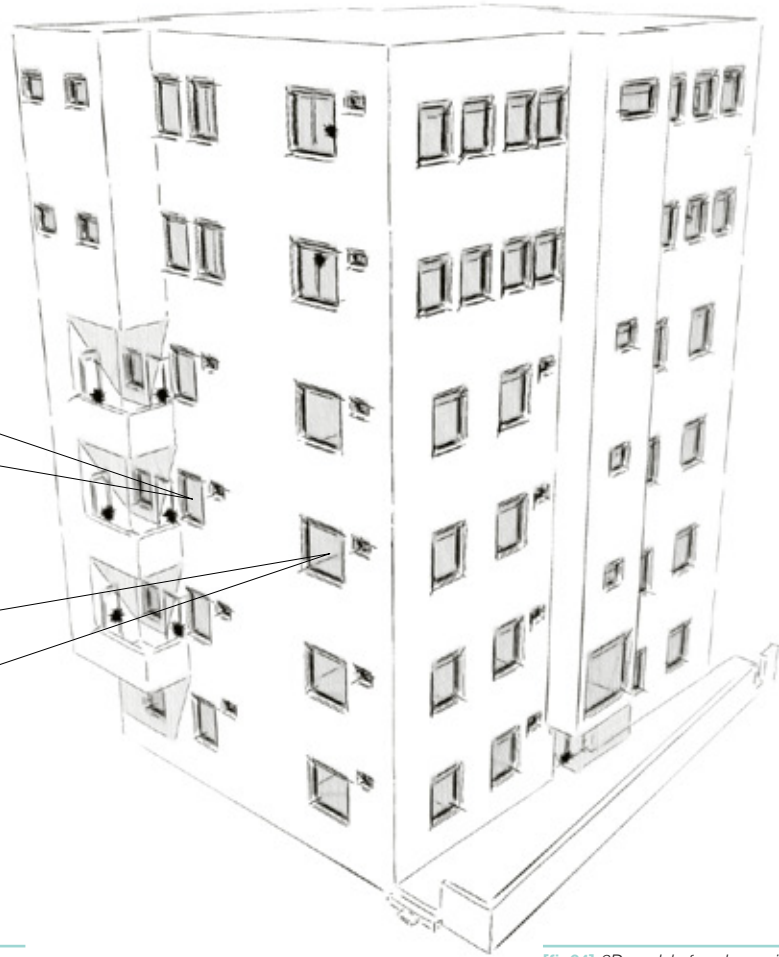
04.3 MY STAY AT GANGXIA VILLAGE

04.3.2 Interview housing

[pic78] Room of my neighbours in Gangxia village



[pic79] Inserted beds on top as additional space



[fig64] 3D model of my house in Gangxia

'We are a family from Sichuan province. I came here in the year 2000, looking for a job in Shenzhen. When I arrived here, I had no idea where to go. Luckily I found some friends from my hometown here, who helped me to find a place to stay in Gangxia. After I worked for a while and I could save some money, my wife came here six years ago. At the moment, I am a flexible worker. I work at construction sites, where we have to demolish buildings making place for new high-rise constructions. Sometimes there is a lot of work to do, and sometimes not. There are days, when I have to work for more than 14 hours. I share this room together with my wife, but on the weekends my whole family comes here to stay over night, then we are six people sharing this room. We all fit in easily, as we have additional beds on top. This room is actually like a three storey apartment. Previously, we used to live in the west of Gangxia, but as they destroyed that part, we had to move to this place. You know, I did part of the demolition of Gangxia west in 2010 by myself, as I was employed at that construction site. I literally demolished my own home.

We have to pay 1100 yuan (= 154 euros) per month for this room. The situation is quite complicating, because the second landlord of this house sometimes increases the monthly rent without the permission of the house-owner. The second landlords are not allowed to change the rent prices, but this landlord doesn't care. Her own financial profit is the most important to her. However we like our life here in Gangxia with all our family members living here. Though at the very beginning, I personally didn't feel comfortable because of the densely built structures inside Gangxia. As I am from the countryside, I wasn't used to being that close to neighbours and buildings. Concerning Gangxia's future, I am not worried. I am convinced that this central part will still exist for a long time.'



[pic80] Interview with my neighbours in Gangxia village



》》》 Average monthly rent for a room (How much do you have to pay for your flat / room?) 您每个月要付多少租金？

》》》 AVERAGE MONTHLY RENT-PRICE / m²: 150 RMB (= 21,30 EUR)



》》》 MY ROOM: 1000 RMB (= 142,40 EUR) FOR 6 m²



》》》 AVERAGE ROOM COMPOSITION MY HOUSE: 14 ROOMS / FLOOR; EACH ROOM CA. 6 m²



》》》 ! COMPARE AVERAGE MONTHLY RENT-PRICE / m² IN FUTIAN DISTRICT: 285 RMB (= 40,60 EUR)



》》》 ! NOTE: ° PRICES DIFFER ACCORDING TO RELATIONSHIP TO THE OWNER AND THE LANDLORD.
° RENT-PRICES INCREASE ABOUT 2 TIMES / YEAR



》》》 Can you easily afford the rent of your room / flat? 您能轻松地负担您公寓的租金吗？

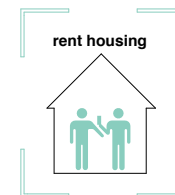
I CAN EASILY AFFORD IT 3,4%

I CAN AFFORD IT 35.1%

I CAN HARDLY AFFORD IT 44.2% !

I CAN'T AFFORD IT AT ALL 17.3%

[fig65] Illustration results financial position of Gangxia's residents



How comfortable do you feel in your flat?

您觉得您的公寓/住房的舒适程度如何？

VERY COMFORTABLE 非常舒适 11.0%

QUITE COMFORTABLE 比较舒适 39.5%

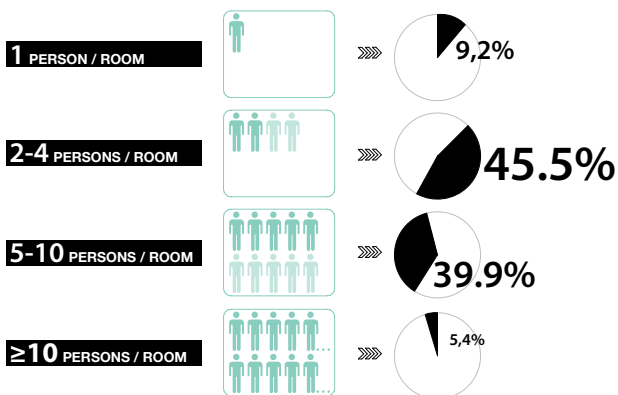
I CAN GET BY WITH IT 过得去 46.3%!

I DON'T FEEL COMFORTABLE 不舒适 3.2%

The extended version of the 'housing-interview' results can be found on the following two pages. Additionally to the outlined questionnaire addressing the residents of a

With how many people do you share your flat and how are they related to you?

您和多少人合租并且您和他们的关系怎么样？



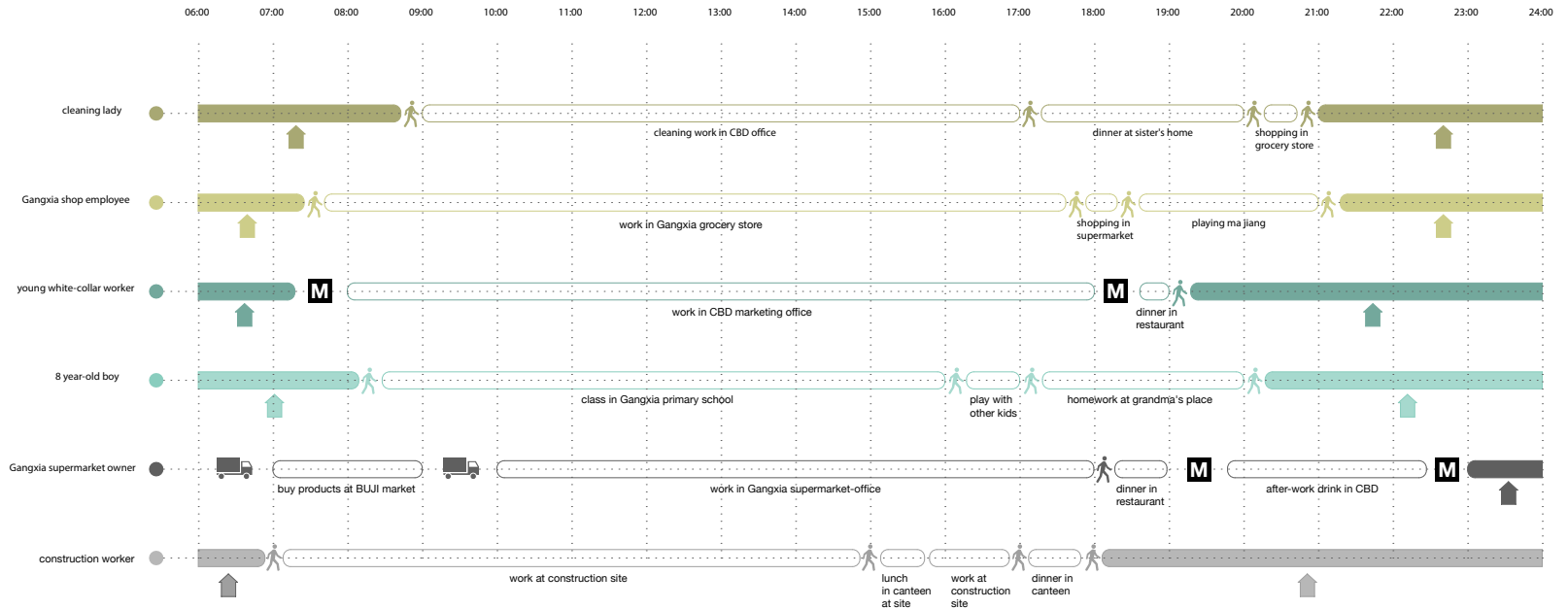
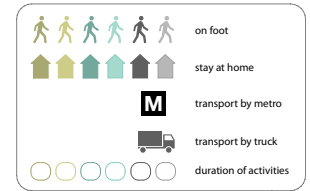
house in Gangxia, some interviewees were also asked to describe their daily working schedule and the errands they usually have to run [map31]. Afterwards the results were mapped graphically. The conversations with the inhabitants revealed that most of their daily life happens inside and in the direct surrounding of Gangxia. Many of them found work in Gangxia, have their family members living right next to them, do shopping and spend their free time inside the 'village'. As a result, most of them don't rely on public transport, and therefore move mainly on foot, as their errands are in walking distance [fig66].

[fig66] Illustration results living conditions of Gangxia's residents

04.3 MY STAY IN GANGXIA VILLAGE

04.3.3 The residents' everyday life habits and routines

1 DAY SCHEDULE INHABITANTS OF GANGXIA

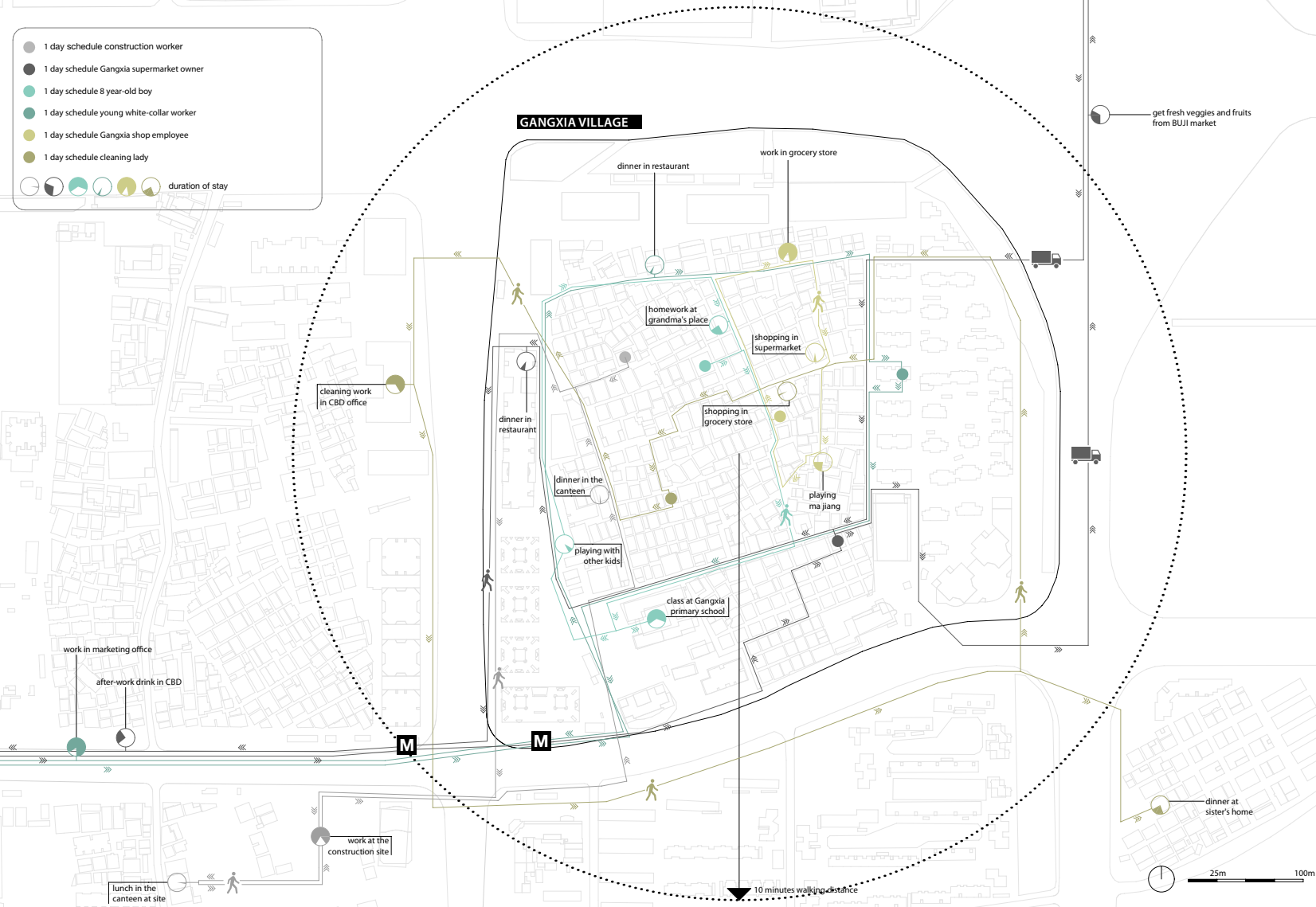


[fig67] Diagram daily schedule and movement of Gangxia's residents

[map31] Map daily schedule and movement of Gangxia's residents

- 1 day schedule construction worker
 - 1 day schedule Gangxia supermarket owner
 - 1 day schedule 8 year-old boy
 - 1 day schedule young white-collar worker
 - 1 day schedule Gangxia shop employee
 - 1 day schedule cleaning lady
- duration of stay

GANGXIA VILLAGE



[pic81] *View inside one of Gangxia's pedestrian friendly streets*
Gangxia Village in Futian District, Shenzhen



分析部分与解释
ANALYTICAL
PART &
INTERPRETATION

SHZ, 'URBANIZED VILLAGES'
& GANGXIA

05.1 ANALYSIS OF THE CASE STUDY

05.1.1 Summary and research reflections - background Shenzhen

This chapter includes a summary of the two research parts of my thesis, which should serve as a reflection of the research itself. Main findings are summarized in this chapter and set in a context to the initially outlined questions. The research on a macro scale, the urban scale, set focus on the analysis of the unique development and persistence of Shenzhen's 'urbanized villages', providing insights and creating an awareness for their complexity. As a next step, this chapter analyzes and interprets the concrete findings of the second part of my thesis. Through zooming-in on a micro scale, the neighbourhood scale that deals with the informal activities and their spatial dimensions inside Gangxia village, policies and regulations that influence Gangxia in a socio-economic

and spatial way were revealed. With regard to the utilisation of space and its social structure, the phenomenon of Gangxia's persistence as the last surviving 'village' inside the Central Business District of Shenzhen was analyzed and will be summarized in this chapter. Observations on site helped to better understand the informal management system of Gangxia village, which lies outside the municipal government's control. The interaction with space of those actors involved in the informal activities of Gangxia were observed and graphically mapped. After the concrete results of the interview-based analysis were presented through graphics in the previous chapter, part of this chapter deals with the evaluation and interpretation of the interview outcomes.

Through analyzing and categorizing different types of informal activities that shape Gangxia, and through the conduction of interviews, which addressed the actors involved in the informal activities, main focus was set on the perception and the requirements of the people, in order to reveal values and qualities of the life inside Gangxia village. Conversations with the inhabitants of Gangxia helped to better understand the people, their daily-life habits and their living environment. As these inhabitants are the main sustainers of the 'village' and its economy, as a consumer of both, the housing and the retail business, those people were given a voice by actively involving them into discussions concerning their life in Gangxia and their perception of Gangxia's future persistence.

The ambiguous coexistence of formal urban formations and 'urbanized villages' is a ubiquitous phenomenon, spread all over Shenzhen. Initially there were villages, which were based on agriculture and fishing. They existed in the area where the City Shenzhen is located today and got overrun by an enormous amount of high-rise buildings, gradually becoming part of the city, causing a development from traditional villages to so-called 'urbanized villages'. The typical 'urbanized villages of Shenzhen are extremely dense structures, which abruptly interrupt the city's large-scale silhouette, leaving an impression of human scale, contrasting their over dimensioned urban environs. They are kind of an 'urban informality' (Al, 2014, p. 5), that unfolds in the informal sector, rarely influenced by building regulations, zoning laws or land tenure.

Whereas in many developing countries informal settlements are the result of illegal land occupation, 'urbanized villages' consist of characters that are distinctive. Other informal settlements expand and undergo a rapid densification as well but their construction conditions are mostly more precarious and many do not develop further by increasing buildings heights, like typically seen in 'urbanized villages'.

As 'urbanized villages' have an autonomous economic system, they can quite easily afford better constructions

and infrastructure. The tap water, sanitation and electricity provision is more sufficient and therefore easier to accommodate a larger amount of inhabitants. Compared to other informal settlements, 'urbanized villages' are still ruled by a clan-system based family with a long history and culture. The family members built a strong, self-sufficient, social and economic cohabitation system that can lead to better resistance against the regulations and interventions of the government.

Another decisive characteristic, which distinguishes 'urbanized villages' from other informal settlements, is the fact that they are spread all over the city. Being located in the central business district as well as in urban fringes, they are urban formations that are 'embedded in their immediate locale and the city transport network. Their development is influenced by their location in the urban fabric' (Hao, Geertman, Hooimeijer and Sliuzas, 2012, p. 18). Besides, the indigenous villagers of 'urbanized villages' have better chances of land security, as enduring and complicating debates are required before the government can overtake the land. Slum dwellers in other informal settlements may face more direct threat of demolition (cf. Hao et al., 2012, p. 18). Only the indigenous villagers have the land use rights and the property rights of housing and they are not allowed to transfer or sell these land use rights, except the government needs the land for

urban expansion. Consequently 'urbanized villages' are a fertile soil for a flourishing income gained through intensification of the houses based on the land and through subsequently renting them to the influx of migrants.

In order to enable the enormous growth of the city Shenzhen, the government needed millions of cheap labour force. Nowhere else could these people be provided affordable housings but in the 'urbanized villages' of Shenzhen'. These 'villages' are the result of a vast urbanization process, which needed 'un-urbanized land' for its expansion. As a result, the cultivated land of the villages got swallowed and made farmers lose their source of income. Since a certain amount of 'urbanized villages' exists until today, they may seem to be blocking the city's possibilities for further expansion, in fact they are the major catalyser and contributor to Shenzhen's economic miracle and urbanization.

The 'villages' experienced a densification and intensification over time and are now among the most densely populated urban environments in the world.

As Shenzhen's urban land expands at a record pace and endangers the persistence of 'urbanized villages', millions of migrants, who inhabit these 'villages' are forced to live a life under constant threat of leaving their homes, their employment and their social environment in order to find

another home, most likely in another still existing 'village'. Due the high influx of rural migrants from all over China, Shenzhen has to deal with immense demographic pressures. However, strict regulations on the migration into Shenzhen still determine Shenzhen's demographic development. The so-called hukou system exists until today. After 1985 the restrictions of the hukou system have been loosened as the growing urban private sector asked for a huge number of low-paid workers from the rural areas. The decrease of cultivated land led to a large surplus of peasants, who moved to the cities seeking for work, establishing migrants-networks and motivating others to migrate.

China's urbanization may have led to significant improvements in the welfare system on the one hand, however China's hukou system still excludes millions of migrants from making individual decisions and from obtaining social and health insurance. Since the Government's need for urban land is extremely high, until today the hukou reforms have set focus on the transfer of the agricultural hukou of urban residents, instead of hukou reforms, which address the migrants. As a consequence, Shenzhen has millions of 'illegal' migrants arriving, not being registered and accordingly not having the chance to participate in the local welfare system and getting integrated into the local society.

As Shenzhen still lacks an affordable subsidized housing for rural migrants, 'urbanized villages' are likely to persist in the following years to come. Since complicating debates with the indigenous villagers prevent the developers from demolishing 'urbanized villages' and establishing new constructions, some of the 'villages' have a real chance of persistence until today.

Karl Marx analyzed societal changes and urban development, stating that the problem roots in 'underlying dynamics of the capitalist system of production' (Tang, Yeung and Li, 1997, p. 5). Capital accumulation is the motivation of capitalists for city growth. The members of the capitalist class strive for making financial profit and subsequently make use of this profit to further increase the rate of profit making, while maintaining their dominant socio-economic position in the capitalist society. This can be realized through the exploitation of the subordinated social class. By centralizing the control in terms of production, the dominance of upper classes over lower classes can be maintained. The urban development is therefore the result of political interventions (rather than economic forces), introduced by forces that pursue capital accumulation that is concentrated in fewer hands of the upper class. The developers cooperate with institutions, such as the government and the financial sector, in order to shape market decisions and define the land use pattern of the city. As a

cooperating union (developers, government and financial sector) they are the dominant part in shaping the uses of space inside a city and its surrounding as a 'function of the power to dominate class relationships both politically and economically' (Kleinberg, 1995, p. 32).

The domination of the representatives of the capitalist society over the exploited class is described in detail by Karl Marx' so-called reserve army of labour. The capitalist organization of work, he explained, means that fewer workers could produce all that is necessary for society's requirements. Governments totally control the employment/ unemployment rates, as they implement job-creating and other policies (e.g. China's hukou-system is a decisive controlling policy) and therefore make employment and unemployment levels mainly a political result. Marx further argues that the law of capitalist accumulation means that the size of the working class depends on the growth of capital in size and value. In other words, as soon as the working class becomes bigger, and as long as the pauperized sections of the working class and the industrial reserve army keep on growing, the more capital becomes concentrated in fewer hands. Marx distinguishes four different profiles of the relative surplus population. Two of them can be found represented in Shenzhen's migrant population: The stagnant part on the one hand and the latent part on the other hand. The former consists

of people who find irregular employment in the city. They are usually paid below average and have to work mainly temporary under dangerous conditions (cf. *worldsocialism*, 2009, para. 6). The latter, the so-called latent part consists of the population who comes from poor areas in the countryside, where their life is based on non-capitalistic values, to industrialized cities where they find employment and get integrated into the capitalistic system. This description matches the profile of many Chinese migrant workers, who leave the countryside and their agricultural land in order to find work in a developed city.

As Shenzhen urgently needed the labour force it literally built up a reserve army of labour that serves the state to realize its megalomaniac dream of economic growth and the concentrated accumulation of capital, but at the same time the state couldn't or consciously ignored to integrate this army into the state's welfare system, to change their status inside the society and to offer affordable housing and access to subsidies for these migrants. Stigmatised and relegated to the fringes of society, the low-income group has no other choice than to live a more or less isolated life inside the 'urbanized villages' under partly horrendous conditions. These 'villages' and their increasing low-cost housing supply are therefore a 'saviour of the poor and a sustainer of the rich'. (Uehara, 2005, p. 55). In that kind of way, a vicious circle can be sustained,

where the higher the need for accumulation of capital concentrated in fewer hands, the higher the percentage of people required to support the affluent is.

Today Shenzhen has 304 'urbanized villages', housing about half the city population by only 5 per cent of its landmass (cf. Guo, 2015, p. 35). In that regard, the state welcomes the persistence of the 'villages', as they help to avoid social discontent. In case of wide demolitions, the government would have to deal with immense demographic pressures initiated by migrants.

A main reason why some 'urbanized villages' can survive until today is without doubt the fact that many agricultural hukou holders still do not want to give up their possession of land inside the city, as it is of very high value. 'As long as there are no further institutional changes in the property rights of urban village land, 'urbanized villages' have a chance of persistence in the future' (cf. Hao, Geertman, Hooimeijer and Sliuzas, 2012, p. 20). Furthermore, there's a lack of interventions by the state cornering building regulations and zoning laws, resulting in immense intensification of built structure in 'urbanized villages'.

The redevelopment pressure that lasts on the 'villages' varies, depending on their location and their context to the urban surrounding. Especially the 'urbanized villages'

that are located in central parts of the city are under high redevelopment pressure. The value of the land close to the Central Business District increases constantly which makes a redevelopment attractive for the government on the one hand. However, the government and investors have to offer high rates of compensation, in order to convince the indigenous villagers to relocate. This process causes a lot of conflicts between the investors and the government on one side and the indigenous villagers on the other side. The indigenous villagers became more self-confident in bargaining for higher compensations as they are informed about the increasing value of the land. They form a strong system of cohesion, through the establishment of a joint stock company and a community committee, which manage the 'village' and sometimes successfully resist the government's redevelopment pressure. Consequently, one can observe that many developers recently tend to not risk investments for redevelopment in the central areas anymore, as a demolition and new development of an 'urbanized village' is always accompanied by fraught procedures, debates and financial risks. The developers keep a 'wait and see' position towards the 'urbanized villages' in the city centre, as the price of the land increases and the chance to make a profit-maximization decreases with increasing centre-proximity. Developers therefore recently prefer to invest in real-estate projects that are either supposed to replace

'urbanized villages' in the urban fringe, which is much cheaper or are to be built on empty land in the suburban areas.

'The high concentration of young migrant workers, the poor sanitation, hidden unlawful activities and fire hazards make the 'villages', from a political point of view, be seen as a ticking time bomb' (Al, 2014, p. 15). On the one hand this makes the government press for those 'villages' to be abolished. On the other hand, the government is aware of the fact that an abolishment of those houses would make millions of migrants homeless people within just some days. Relocation schemes by the local government or the developer focus on compensating indigenous villagers, whereas migrants do not obtain any compensation.

Though during the last 15 years some redevelopment projects did arise, which focus on a soft redevelopment, where only parts of 'urbanized villages' have been rebuilt and rehabilitated, there are still many redevelopment projects that focus on a simple elimination of the existing structure for replacement by new residential blocks. existing 'urbanized village'.

Summary - reasons for persistence of 'urbanized villages':

- The high influx of migrants, who needs allocation inside the City.
- 'Urbanized villages' remain the only affordable housing in Shenzhen, as there is a lack of subsidized housing supply.
- The economic a urban growth of Shenzhen relies on cheap labour (Marx' reserve army of labour). Besides, the state relies on the 'urbanized villages', not just as a housing supply for labour force, but as a holistic service and facility provider for collective consumption, that the low-income group can financially afford. The 'villages' are places, where the labour force reproduces itself in terms of housing, education and other social services.
- The persistence of the dualistic land-use system (indigenous villagers still own land and housing plots) enables the existence of 'urbanized villages'.
- An autocratic cohabitation system built by indigenous villagers (joint stock company, community committee) resists the redevelopment pressure.
- There's a lack of new institutional interventions by the state cornering building regulations, zoning laws or land tenure, resulting in immense intensification of built structure in 'urbanized villages'.
- The ambivalent attitude of the state towards the existence of 'urbanized villages' contributes to their persistence.
- 'Urbanized villages' still accommodate the majority of population and occupying the minority of land, while avoiding social discontent. In case of wide demolitions, demographic pressures initiated by migrants would last on the City.
- Each 'village' has an individual chance of persistence, according to its location in the urban environ (SEZ/Non-SEZ/CBD/Middle-Zone), so each 'village' faces different development pressure.
- Marked orientated forces that shape the process of urbanization since the early 1990s strongly influence the 'villages' development process.
- The fast and flexible economic growth of Shenzhen still relies on the less regulated, informally developed properties of the 'urbanized villages'.
- The persistence of the 'villages' is threatened: As all land in Shenzhen is already state owned, will the government decide to take back the land use rights after 70 years passed? What will happen to the houses based on the state owned land? They still belong to the indigenous villagers, so the state will have to compensate the owners after taking back the land use rights.
- Most of the indigenous villagers got rich through the accumulation of rent income and became more self-confident in bargaining for high compensations. Developers and the government tend to avoid a redevelopment, now that the indigenous villagers ask for very high compensation rates, adjusted to the increasing market prices of land.

05.1 ANALYSIS OF THE CASE STUDY

05.1.2 Summary and research reflections – informal systems

The urban land policy in China:

Deng Xiaoping's Open Door Policy and the introduction of the Special Economic Zone in the late 1970s formed a fertile soil for the development of 'urbanized villages'. These pre-conditions allowed the 'economic miracle' of the 'urbanized villages' to arise and flourish subsequently. However, to manage the rapid urban expansion and the access to land, the municipal government introduced important reforms in the 1980s. China started to introduce market forces, which define the urbanization development, resulting in changes like the establishment of land use rights. These reforms strongly influenced the development of 'urbanized villages'. The right to possess land has nevertheless still been directly linked to the rural farmer- or the urban citizen-status. The farming villages' still kept their autonomy and their free holdings of land. As the increase in foreign investment and private con-

struction needed an enormous amount of work force, the influx of migrants came as a by-product of these changes and were a welcoming sign of luck for the indigenous villagers, as they offered allocation to the migrants by extending their low-cost housing structures and consequently accumulate capital.

During the last decades, China turned from a tightly state-controlled system to one that is strongly defined by changing market forces. As 'urbanized villages' are the only low-cost housing system that allocates millions of migrants, the government should find a way that allows the market forces to provide safe and affordable housing for all residents, especially the poor, who are highly overrepresented in China's urban population. The inequalities in housing quality remain strongly represented in Chinese society. The gap between the rich

owning flats that equal western standards and the poor relying on affordable, underdeveloped housing enlarges continuously. Too many high-rise luxury apartments owned by the rich remain uninhabited.

The profit-maximization of the 'villagers' by increasing informal housing:

The land of 'urbanized villages' was originally rural land and therefore collectively owned. If the state needs land for urban expansion, it expropriates the collectively owned rural land. For accomplishing its own interest, the state officially excuses these processes as 'acting in the interest of the public' (Ma, 2006, p. 137).

The 'villagers' keep on building additional floors on their buildings until today, as the profit they can make is higher compared to the penalty fees they have to pay for excessive GFA. Since there are no massive consequences set up by the state, the 'villagers' keep on breaking the regulations. Besides they profit from their collectively owned land. The 'villages', which lie outside the SEZ still have collectively owned land left. It is the most profitable land as the 'villagers' don't have to pay land leasing fees for it. As soon as the real estate price increases, the 'villager' extend the illegal construction on the collectively owned land and consequently make a huge economic benefit by accumulating an enormous amount of capital.

Informal employment in SHZ and its 'villages':

The large rural-urban migration leads to increasing numbers in the informal sector, because workers with rural hukou still face serious labour market discrimination. The lack of minimum wage regulations, the avoidance of payroll taxes and the evasion of social insurance payments by individuals in the informal sector result in a higher income inequality in the total employment.

The informal economy is a part of the 'villages' informal system and standing in direct relation to the acceleration of Shenzhen's urbanization. Due to their lack of education, social networks and their rural hukou (household registration) most of the migrants couldn't find formal employment in the city and consequently many became informal vendors or small business employees inside the 'villages'. As many of them were also employed as cheap labour force in the booming industrial sector, they were a driving force as a producer behind the economic miracle of Shenzhen.

Inside 'urbanized villages', informal economy is highly represented. Advantageous locations, a high population density and land use diversity offer a variety of business opportunities. Due to blank areas of management with slack controls and an unbeaten competitiveness with lower taxation and prices inside the 'urbanized villages',

those places become highly attractive for many self-employees to start an informal business.

The year-by-year increasing land values made the 'urbanized villages' an excellent spot of business opportunities. The municipal government didn't take responsibility for the social, the economic and the infrastructural development and kept its very weak position concerning the management of the land-use inside the 'villages'.

The land use diversity of 'urbanized villages' and their multifunctionality:

Numerous industries, commercial facilities, and various public services turn 'urbanized villages' into 'multifunctional neighbourhoods' (Hao, Geertman and Hooimeijer, 2012, p. 2743). The mix of land use enables multiple activities, providing migrants with basic living necessities, services, and a source of job opportunities.

According to Hao, Geertman and Hooimeijer (2012), an 'urbanized village's land use pattern is linked to its location in the urban fabric, its phase of development, and the development level of its environ. Depending on whether an 'urbanized village' is located inside or outside the special economic zone and inside or outside the Central Business District of Shenzhen, different patterns of land use appear. However, the land use diversity of 'urbanized villages' is very complex and also shapes through other,

additional processes. Besides, land use development forms out of the local market demand and according to where exactly an 'urbanized village' is located and according to its stage of redevelopment, the land-use diversity shapes differently. Furthermore, it is important to consider, that each village has a different culture, a differently cooperating collective community and therefore different grades of political power. These features shape the 'villagers' ability to deal with the investors and the government. The impact of formal urban interventions on 'urbanized villages' therefore varies considerably and leads to different grades of land use diversity.

However, according to my personal experience on site, 'urbanized villages' in general still offer a high use diversity and multifunctionality, once being juxtaposed with the formal, homogenous urban environ. As the 'villages' offer a certain heterogeneity, based on a management system that is independent of the urban surrounding, one can state that they work like a 'self-sufficient town, with some links to the global marketplace' (Hao et al., 2010, p. 2748).

The management system in 'urbanized villages' and its collective economy:

'Urbanized villages' work as enclosed systems through a cooperation of the joint stock company and the community committee and are not influenced by the municipal government. Through the establishment of the joint stock company, the management of each 'urbanized village' changed from an old, irregular and verbal way to a regulated and formal one. Shared beliefs and blood relationship are a decisive factor for the compilation of a joint stock company. Composed of some higher representatives of the 'village', who integrate economy, society and administration, the joint stock company manages the floating population, the economic activities inside the 'village', and the welfare system that serves its indigenous villagers. The shareholders of the joint stock company are well informed about their rights and obligations, which help them i.e. in the case of disputes with developers and the government concerning a potential redevelopment of their 'village'.

However, the floating population, who isn't part of this community and who is vastly over-represented in every 'urbanized village', has no chance for obtaining a share in the joint stock company. Having no chance to participate in the welfare system, pushes them into the subordinated part of the city's hierarchical society.

Conclusion:

If large-scale redevelopment projects that bulldoze 'urbanized villages' and their high grade of land use diversity will be widely realized, the government will have to deal with socio-economic side effects such as a shortage in affordable housing, a shortage in employment and service supply and a loss of a unique diversity and multifunctionality, that only an 'urbanized village' can offer. From an urbanistic point of view, the demolition of 'urbanized villages' always goes along with the loss of a certain spatial quality. In contrast to the urban surrounding, 'urbanized villages' kept their rural character in means of a flexible structure, small human-scaled commercial streets and their intimate collective areas. They have a special history, culture and characteristics such as a highly efficient, pedestrian friendly structure that offers mixed uses, contrasting the oversized city area. Their high grade of typological diversity concentrated on a small area makes them vibrant and vital places where anonymity is much lower compared to the urban surrounding.

The migrants, who are economically and socially integrated into the network of a 'village', would lose everything, in case of its demolition. Therefore it is important to understand that the 'villages' persistence is a decisive contributor to a stable environment. Furthermore, as the migrants lack access to basic rights, they need to be pro-

vided with social and political minimum standards, which could, on the long-term outcome, lead to a decrease in the discrimination against them.

05.1 ANALYSIS OF THE CASE STUDY

05.1.3 Summary and research reflections - Gangxia village

The results of my research presented in this thesis aim to highlight the uniqueness of Gangxia village. If the remaining parts of this 'village' are ever going to be demolished, parts of this book can be regarded as a potential historical back up, a documenting snapshot that captured the then-prevailing environment of Gangxia. Being located in an environ that undergoes constant transformation, Gangxia regularly changes its spatial and socio-economic pattern that reflects in an ephemeral environment. One day, Gangxia village might belong to history. Then, the data that this collection offers may be of increasing value.

Gangxia village is the last still existing 'urbanized village' inside Shenzhen's Central Business District, which influences the 'village's economy and its spatial development. It underwent a breath-taking transformation since Shenzhen's 'Open-up' in the late 1970's. However,

two third of its surface have already been demolished and were redeveloped by investors in 2010. During the process of expropriation and new construction, some real estate had been given back to the indigenous villagers as compensation, while migrants were ignored and left without any chance for financial or housing compensation. Consequently, many migrants moved to the still remaining central area of Gangxia, causing a densification of its built-up structures.

As Gangxia is centrally located, it struggles resisting a high redevelopment pressure. Yet the land price inside Shenzhen's CBD increases constantly, so that many developers recently hesitate to invest in Gangxia's land and prefer to speculate on land in the urban fringes. It remains unclear, whether the remaining part of Gangxia will be demolished soon or not.

Explanatory graphics, maps and pictures of my research on site helped to demonstrate the actual socio-economic and spatial situation inside Gangxia. Interviews with different profiles provided statistical information about Gangxia's inhabitants on the one hand, and a detailed insight into their individual circumstances, and daily-life habits on the other hand. Observations on site provided useful material for mapping and visualizing the spatial profile of Gangxia and for finding answers to the question whether an 'urbanized village' like Gangxia has a chance of persistence.

Compared to its urban environ, Gangxia composes of a high use-diversity. Its main function is to house thousands of Shenzhen's residents. Besides the densely inhabited buildings, Gangxia provides a lot of different utilities, making it a multifunctional place, offering everything residents need for daily-life. The houses' ground floors along the main streets of Gangxia are occupied by restaurants, retail business, hotels, entertainment, administrative bureaus and services.

Through collecting interviews addressing the people who run a shop or a restaurant along the main streets of Gangxia, plus the collection of the shops' and restaurants' floor plans, diverse information could be collected. Different questionnaires were outlined, addressing four

profiles of people involved in Gangxia's informal business, a statistical evaluation and a portrayal of the different actors were combined. These 'focused interviews' and a 'formal survey' (Yin, 2003, p. 90) helped to balance the collected quantitative and qualitative data and covered the extensive information I could collect during the interview-phase of my research. During the conduction of interviews, efforts were made in trying to avoid prejudices on both sides, the interviewer's and the respondent's. Thanks to the cooperation assistance of the respondents, deep, sometimes even very personal conversations with my neighbours were held.

INTERVIEW RESULTS OF PROFILES INVOLVED IN GANGXIA'S INFORMAL BUSINESS:

Reponses to the question concerning the place of origin of Gangxia's inhabitants revealed that most of them come from places not very far away from Shenzhen. 33,3% of the interviewed come from the countryside somewhere in Guangdong Province. The rest of the respondents comes from provinces neighbouring Guangdong. 28,6% come from Sichuan Province which is a little further away, situated in the central west of China. 4,8% stated that they are originally from Hong Kong, but moved to the neighbouring Shenzhen as life is much cheaper in Mainland China, especially inside 'urbanized villages'. Besides, some of them argued that Hong Kong has an extremely reduced average living space, which has a high impact on their life quality and therefore was a crucial criterion for moving to Gangxia.

During my conversations with the residents of Gangxia I found out, that most of them form social networks and stay inside their social groups, mainly consistent of people coming from the same province in China. They do not

interact with people coming from other places, especially not with the indigenous villagers as they feel a strong hierarchical gap between themselves and the former. As a result Gangxia can be regarded as inhabited by clusters of different social groups that do not interact and rarely influence each other. According to my perception, these groups seem to function as isolated networks that live a life beside rather than with each other. My observations on site underlined this theory, as the group's exclusive behaviour reflects in their interaction with space (certain spots inside the 'village' seem to be occupied by the same groups gathering together, same as certain shops, restaurants and ma jiang places have different groups of customers, who form tightly cooperating networks that only interact inside their social environment). As a decisive reason for their introverted behaviour most of them stated their language barrier, as they speak totally different accents depending on their place of origin. Of course reasons such as different cultures, backgrounds and shared beliefs that vary strongly according to their personal, cul-

tural and geographical backgrounds shouldn't be underestimated. However, these findings reveal a very complex phenomenon that includes various aspects, which exceed the scope of this thesis and could be further investigated in future research projects.

Almost half of the interviewed (40,8%) are living in Gangxia since 6 up to 10 years. 22,2% stated that they live there since less than 5 years. Concerning the question how long those people plan to stay in Gangxia, many of them (42,3%) answered that they plan to inhabit Gangxia for a long time but would prefer to go back to their hometown once they are retired. Interestingly a certain amount of people (14,7%) also stated that they would plan to move to another place within a year, mostly to an 'urbanized village' in the suburb, as prices keep on increasing inside the centrally located 'Gangxia village', which they cannot financially afford anymore.

Gangxia's chance of future persistence - according to the perception of its inhabitants:

The respondents were also asked about their opinion concerning Gangxia's future and its chance of persistence. The responses I received addressing this question vary substantially. Whereas 47,6% believe in Gangxia's future and its persistence within the following 5 years to come, 35,4% are convinced that Gangxia's still remaining

urban structure will be demolished soon. The rest of the interviewed (17%) wasn't sure about Gangxia's future. According to a man who runs a teashop in Gangxia, there are four main reasons for the persistence of Gangxia village (besides the general facts of 'urbanized villages'' persistence previously mentioned):

1. 1m² costs 10.000 yuan compensation that has to be paid to the owner. As Gangxia west is already demolished, the developers paid the 'villagers' 10.000 yuan per m² but sold the land for 50.000 yuan per m². Consequently the landowners felt betrayed and now argue that in case of a demolition of Gangxia's still existing part they would demand a payment of 50.000 yuan per m². However the developers cannot or do not want to afford this sum, as the risk of finally making a loss-making business increases.
2. The Western part of Gangxia used to consist of a less densely built-up area and had much more free land. Therefore it was cheaper for the developers to compensate the indigenous villagers. As Central and East Gangxia consist of an extremely dense built-up area, compensation fees would be much higher.
3. Gangxia is embedded within the CBD, a formally planned urban environ that follows a different develop-

ment pattern. The direct formal surrounding of Gangxia is designed as a less densely built-up structure and situated right next to main transport axes. Investments in the formal built-up area entail less risk of financial loss for a developer. The formal commercial blocks are designed to attract a lot of customers. As this formally built-up high rise belt encroaches Gangxia village, free access to the 'village' is somehow blocked. Therefore, if a developer would invest in Gangxia, only secondary commercial areas with a lower rate of financial profit would be possible to realize. In combination with the high rate of compensation the 'villagers' recently demand, the developers hesitate to invest and rather keep a 'wait and see' position towards the development of Gangxia village.

4. The compensation fee is calculated by the ground floor GFA. Through multiplying the size of the ground floor GFA by the amount of floors of each building, the sum of compensation that the developer has to pay can be calculated. As each house inside Gangxia has typically setback ground floor areas, the ground floor GFA is smaller than the floor area of the upper levels. Therefore the 'villagers' argue that this type of calculation is not fair, since the total volume of their buildings is much higher than they would actually get paid for. As a result 'villagers' tend to refuse a redevelopment of Gangxia, by arguing that their chance of making profit is too low.

According to the interviewed men, these are the reasons for Gangxia's persistence. However, other criteria, mentioned in the previous pages should be as well taken under consideration. Whether Gangxia is really going to be demolished soon, remains unclear. As long as investors keep on focusing on more profitable areas in the suburbs, Gangxia will have a realistic chance of persistence. Besides the question addressing Gangxia's future, the residents were asked whether Gangxia village is a place they identify with. 73,4% of the interviewed agreed on that question and said they would identify with the place, whereas 26,6% stated that they could not identify with their living environment in Gangxia. Hence, it has to be mentioned that some interviewees didn't or couldn't give a precise answer to that question. Some of them explained that they simply accept the fact of living inside Gangxia. They argued that they don't question their current circumstances of living and that they have no other choice than to live inside this village due to financial reasons. They simply got used to this life.

As part of the thesis' outcome strategy is to involve the inhabitants into the future development of Gangxia and to increase their awareness and perception of the place they inhabit, the residents were asked whether they could imagine being part of future decisionmaking processes concerning Gangxia. 71,3% stated that they could imag-

ine participating, the other 28,7% said that they were not interested in participation. This part of the interview and the concept of participation will be further discussed in the following chapter.

Interview results retail business:

The competition of the retail business inside Gangxia is extensive and the actors who run a business have to be flexible in order to quickly adapt to the permanently changing conditions inside Gangxia. However interviews with the managers of Gangxia's businesses revealed that the increasing rent prices are a decisive reason for some of them to give up on their business and move to other places (mostly 'urbanized villages' in the suburb) where the land and rent prices are still comparatively low. The contract for renting such a place is always limited to a maximum of six months, for that the rent could be increased regularly, according to the constantly rising market price of the land. Due to its central location and the lower rent prices compared to the urban surrounding, Gangxia's retail business is still flourishing.

The average monthly per m² rent for a shop is 130 yuan that equals 18 euros. It has to be considered that the rent prices can vary depending on the relationship to the second landlords and the owner of the houses.

The average daily opening hours of a shop lie between

11 and 13 hours (there are even some 24 hours shops). Therefore the main streets are busy all day long.

Amongst all the different kinds of businesses, restaurants are highly represented along the main street of Gangxia. As their inner space is limited, they extend to the street side. Different methods were applied to investigate the interaction with space inside Gangxia. People counts and a diagram that helps to evaluate the extension of inside space to the streets were implemented. The results revealed that Gangxia's space is used much more efficiently than its urban environ. As the streets are densely populated by pedestrians, shop owners reacted to these circumstances by extending their business to the outside area. But also inhabitants occupy this area by placing self-brought chairs and small tables in front of the shops to use it as a collective space. The streets of Gangxia therefore transform into inclusive ground floor areas of vibrant life.

Finally, one can conclude that Gangxia village is a highly pedestrian friendly, urban formation, contrasting its urban surrounding. This surrounding consists of a pattern that totally adapted to the over-dimensioned infrastructure for cars and public transport, excluding the pedestrians, whereas Gangxia shapes spontaneously and follows patterns of multifunctional, inclusive, small-scaled spaces.

Interview results mobile vendors & street business:

The mobile vendors, with their typical moveable kitchens, tricycles, instant food pushcarts and sack barrows, etc. can be found all around and inside Gangxia. Some of them even move inside the narrow streets, passing each house. There are certain hotspots where most of them stay for selling their goods, but also vendors who walk around and inside Gangxia. They adapt their working shifts according to those of the securities inside and outside Gangxia. The mobile vendors can be distinguished according to their rate of mobility, depending on the kind of business they conduct and the type of vehicle they use. The border between Gangxia village and the urban surrounding is a popular spot for mobile vendors, as it is a blank zone between the management of two different security groups, the ones employed by Gangxia village and the ones employed by the government. The Gangxia-securities keep an ambivalent attitude towards the 'villages' mobile vendors. Depending on the relationship between the vendors and the securities of Gangxia, some vendors enjoy advantages of being more tolerated than others.

The results of my interviews reveal that almost all of the vendors are residents of Gangxia (95,5%). They obtain their main income by conducting this business (72,3%). Only four of the interviewed people stated that their

mobile business was an additional work to their main income. The mobile vendors have average working shifts of 12 hours a day, mostly 7 days a week. Many told me that they are exhausted and that they suffer both physical and mental stress. However, all of the interviewed are not Shenzhen citizens. Still holding a rural hukou and therefore being excluded from the local welfare system, makes it very hard to find an official employment in the city. As they have to provide for their families, they have no other choice than to pursue this kind of work.

The spatial environment of Gangxia village excludes these migrants from easily conducting their business, due to a lack of legal vending spots, and due to the fact that they aren't tolerated by the securities of Gangxia. Spatial and strategical interventions should be introduced, which deal with enhancing the working conditions of mobile vendors. Therefore, Ideas for potential solutions that focus on the mobile vendors' concerns are represented in chapter 06.

Interview results housing:

During the last years, the rent prices in Gangxia increased enormously. My interviews addressing people who rent a room in Gangxia revealed that the average rent price is recently at 150 yuan/m² (= 21,30 euros). For comparison, the average rent price of a room in Futian district, the urban environ of Gangxia, costs about 285 yuan/m², which

equals 40,60 euros. However, it has to be considered that the housing prices can vary according to the relationship between the tenant and the landlord. Furthermore, the prices usually increase twice a year. Some conversations uncovered that there is a not be underestimated amount of residents who are actually planning to soon move out of Gangxia and find another place to stay. They stated that the increasing rent prices of the central business district affect Gangxia village strongly, and they can therefore no longer afford the rent in Gangxia village. The statistical results of my interview underline these findings: the question whether the tenants can easily afford a rent inside Gangxia, were answered by 44,2% stating that they can only hardly afford it, whereas 35,1% answered that they can afford it. Yet, 17,3% said they couldn't afford it at all and therefore need to move to another place.

However people got used to their life in Gangxia, according to the answers addressing the question of comfortability. 46,3% said that they are used to their living conditions, another 39,5% stated that they even feel quite comfortable. 11,0% said that they feel very comfortable and only 3,2% stated that they do not feel comfortable at all.

The average amount of people sharing a room, is according to the result of my interviews and also to my

impressions on site, between 2-4 persons per room (45,5%), and quite often even 5-10 people share one room (39,9%) that has an average size of 6m². In that case, people use the room to its full capacity. As spatial resources are limited, they mostly have stock beds and lots of boards and bars hanging on the walls in order to extend their living space vertically and make use of the total available room volume. In that kind of way, as small room becomes a highly multifunctional space.

During the interviews, insights to the residents' movement pattern around and inside Gangxia could be collected. As expected, the results show, that most of the people interviewed limit their living environment and their daily path of motion to the scale of Gangxia. Since many of them are employed inside or close to the 'village' they mainly walk on foot or move by bicycle, as they don't have to overcome big distances.

As a conclusion, one can state that my research on site underlines my impression of Gangxia as a highly complex, multifunctional place, embedded in the homogenous, over-dimensioned urbanity of Shenzhen's CBD, together forming an co-existing environment of extremes. It doesn't just serve as a provider of allocation but also offers a holistic, socio-economic environment. The 'village' can persist -besides other reasons previously mentioned- due

to a complex and unique informal, autocratic management system, that developed its own way of formality. Its immense offers of various facilities and businesses conquers the urban surrounding, as a housing, an employment and a service provider. Gangxia's inhabitants face financial struggles, forcing some of them to move out due to rising prices. Besides, the 'village' is under constant threat of demolition. Bulldozing Gangxia village would go along with various side effects, as it is an integral part of an economic system that relies on low value added labour, created by the states inability to provide adequate housing to millions of blue-collar workers who are playing an important part in the economic development of China' (Al, 2014, p. 5). In order to keep this system stable, the 'village' needs a realistic chance of persistence.

REFLECTIONS ON MY PARTICIPATORY OBSERVATION AND LIVING IN THE FIELD:

Before I started my research in Shenzhen, my aim was to find an 'urbanized village' that still exists until today for spending some time there and for consequently better understanding its unique background and its present conditions. Being a participatory observer of Gangxia village and its daily activities was probably the biggest highlight during my architecture studies. Although my tutor, Prof. Ma Hang gave me the advise to better not move to an 'urbanized village', as it is considered to be an unsafe place of criminality and smuggling, I dared to give it a try.

The first stage of my research was at the Harbin Institute of Technology, Shenzhen Graduate School. It is a quite new developed area, in the North of Nanshan district. I lived in a student dorm, which resembles a typically gated high-rise residential building. After I moved to Gangxia, it took me a while to get used to the contrary situation of living inside such a densely built and populated

structure. I experienced what it feels like to live inside this heterogeneous formation that seems to ignore any rules of orthogonality and standardization. It took me a whole week until I could remember the way to my house. During the first days of my stay, I regularly got lost in the narrow, mazy alleys. I was straying around, desperately trying to find my way back, while air-condition water dropped from the building's facades on my head and people kept on curiously staring at me, as they never expected a foreigner inside Gangxia. I had to be patient and sometimes found myself in annoying, stressful situations that I wasn't used to.

While the main streets of Gangxia are busy all day until late night time, full of bustling activities that people coming from outside also make use of, one feels totally different when it comes to entering the narrow alleys, as this means being a resident of Gangxia.

Thanks to my research partner Litao, I could achieve broader outcomes than initially expected. I got to know Litao through the contact to Wan Yan. As Litao was conducting a research for his dissertation, we decided to cooperate and he translated the conversations that we held with the inhabitants of Gangxia. Yet it has to be considered that having a translator also entails side effects. During an interview that is conducted through a personal conversation the translator becomes an additional person

involved, which means the access to information becomes indirect. The information might first get interpreted and somehow filtered by the translator before it reaches the main receiver. However, I could nevertheless collect important and useful information.

I actually never made bad experiences while interviewing the inhabitants, nor did I find myself in very uncomfortable situations. Of course, sometimes the interviews went less fluently and people seemed to have little interest in answering my questions, but overall the conduction of interviews left an impression of very friendly, warm-hearted people who were curious about 'that foreigner' in the 'village'. Compared to the mentality of most western cultures that I grew up with, a lot of the interviewed Chinese behaved more modest and shy.

The second landlord, who manages the house I stayed in, was suspicious and cautious about the decision which information to share with me. Initially, I wasn't allowed to rent a room inside Gangxia (foreigners aren't allowed to stay inside Gangxia, due to the duty of 'respecting the grassroots of the Wen family and because it is not allowed to stay less than 6 months). However, the second landlord was finally convinced to rent out a room after I agreed on paying double the rent than the average monthly rent price. The owner of the house never got informed about

my stay inside his house. In order to guarantee the second landlords financial profit (she took 50% of my rent for herself without telling the house owner), I was supposed to not tell anyone about my stay inside Gangxia.

There was another person who kept a suspicious attitude towards me as a researcher. It was the interview with the head of the Gangxia's community committee, which was quite challenging for me. The head told me quite clearly that he was suspicious about my research in the 'village'. I had to explain the intentions of my research in detail and I was asked many questions before I got the commission to conduct the interview.

By participating in the daily life of Gangxia, I could somehow develop a relationship to the neighbours. I first focused on the conduction of the other three interview profiles before I started the interviews with my neighbours. In that kind of way I could gain some trust from my neighbours and I consequently tried my best to overcome initial prejudices on both sides. As a result, some of the interviews became deep and even very personal conversations that helped me to receive insights, which I would have never achieved in case of living outside the 'village'. Yet, it has to be considered that the time of my research was still limited. Certain information and impressions cannot be obtained within just a few months. However, I tried

my best to become a part to the life inside 'Gangxia'. I soon started to realize that after the first stage of adapting, I started to really appreciate some spatial characteristics of the 'village' and its physical environment. The formation, that becomes small scaled, once you compare it to the formal urban surrounding it is embedded in. On me as a European citizen, that formal urban surrounding leaves an impression of over dimension and artificiality. Its strictly shaped pattern that follows certain rules of giant dimensions and an infrastructure that seems to trample down urban fortuitousness and spontaneity.

I sometimes caught myself preferring to stay inside the 'village' for having dinner and spending my evening there. Since I mostly spent my whole day inside Gangxia one might consider that I would have preferred to leave the 'village' for taking some time off in the formal outside. Instead I rather enjoyed my dinner in one of the small canteens inside the 'village', sharing a table with other inhabitants and having a chat with the manager of the shop or simply sitting on the stairs outside, watching inhabitants gathering. I almost never felt the need to go to the surrounding CBD, as it meant exiting the 'village' into a environment where big roads cut ones direct access, tons of so-called 'fly overs' force me as a pedestrian to take complicating paths that shaped according to cars, which totally rule the city's layout. Inside the 'village' I just had to get to the other side of the main street for buying an ice

cream or I just went to the small grocery store downstairs my house and got everything I needed in just a second without having to cross three different street giants.

Still it took me a while to get used to my room inside Gangxia. I had a shared bathroom and kitchen, which were far beyond western standards that I grew up with. After my left foot had unluckily been fractured, it became challenging to use the staircase and overcome bigger distances to the shared facilities. Walls separating the rooms were made of simple cardboard that had no noise insulation. The understanding of privacy like we can find in Western nations, seems to be something people never came in touch with here in Gangxia. I therefore preferred to spend my whole days outside, in the streets of Gangxia, and went back to my room only for having a bed to sleep in.

Yet, the daily life in Gangxia happens directly on the pedestrian friendly streets, which make it really easy to participate and become a part of it. People gather around wherever one can imagine. They bring their chairs and just put it in front of the shops and restaurants in the ground floor areas. In the direct urban environ I never encountered such situations. Life there happens mainly inside, i.e. in shopping malls or in the metro stations that have huge 'underground cities' of consumption directly

linked to public transport. While Gangxia and most of the 'urbanized villages' of Shenzhen face severe lack of green space, the formal urban environ has lots of green space available, but doesn't make use of it, like e.g. European cities do. Of course, there are parks in Shenzhen and people making use of it by doing sports and talking a walk inside but they are highly under-represented compared to the 'empty' green space that can be found almost everywhere in Shenzhen. This 'empty' space just serves as filling between the huge dimensioned traffic axes. Placing the 'urbanized villages' in a contrasting juxtaposition, it becomes more than obvious that the 'villages' densely structured formations that are filled by profit making concrete result in a lack of green space.

According to my personal impression, the inhabitants of Gangxia do not just represent the lowest income group of Shenzhen. Some (i.e. people running a shop in Gangxia, or white collars employed in the urban environ) seem to be earning enough money to be able to soon finance a live inside one of the high-rise apartments in the city surrounding, what many of them actually aim for. However, there are mobile vendors and others who reported that they face struggles financing their monthly rent.

While some of the rich, indigenous villagers still live inside Gangxia, most of them already moved to the outside.

Consequently one rarely encounters indigenous villagers inside the 'village'. However those who still live inside Gangxia cannot be distinguished optically from other inhabitants. Most of them do not show that they are rich. One or two times I saw an old man who seemed poor according to his optical appearance. He was collecting old plastic bottles along the streets of Gangxia. Afterwards I was told that this old man is an indigenous villager. He walks through the 'village' every day to collect plastic trash that he carries to the central recycling station of Gangxia. The little financial profit he can make through this work is ridiculously low compared to the income he gains through the rent out of his house. However, to him, it seems to be a welcoming task and a way to pass the time. Furthermore, my research on site left the impression that those rich people totally lost their personal relationship to their 'village' but rather learned throughout years of profit maximization to become personalities, who mainly care about their financial profit. Whereas those people, who actually own the houses but do not live there anymore seem to just see their 'village' as a source of income, the inhabitants who actually come from all over China, seem to be the ones who hold a personal relationship to the village. This is the place where they spend a long time off their lives, where many of the their family members and friends from the same hometown stay and where life still happens on a 'neighbourhood scale'

with an anonymity that is much lower than in the urban environ.

As a conclusion I can state that being part of Gangxia's life broadened my horizon and made me understand that 'urbanized villages', though at first sight not optically attractive, are more than just an dense agglomeration that blocks formal urban growth. They are rather a formation that includes both, physical and socio-economic advantages that beat the formal urban surrounding. As the main provider for low-income housing that allocates more than 50 percent of Shenzhen's population, work- and consumption force, these 'villages' are decisive contributors that keep the whole 'urban machine' working. In case of a demolition of Gangxia village, thousands of migrants would lose their home, a social and spatial environment that totally contrasts its urban environ.

Outcomes:

If Shenzhen keeps its main focus on the economic growth and accumulation of capital, then a new goal should be to fully integrate its inhabitants. Those people inhabiting 'urbanized villages' serve the city as a main force of growth and capital accumulation. The capitalist growth machine that attracts cheap labour force for a global market heavily relies on the informal economy. The migrants, who rely on the affordable living inside the 'villages', are totally excluded from the state's benefits and therefore represent the lowest class of the social hierarchy, suffering a strong marginalization. Focus should be set on creating and sustaining liveable environments. With increasing awareness of the importance of 'urbanized villages', the aim should be to not simply demolish them but rather focus on a soft redevelopment. Besides its value as an affordable housing producer, each village has a different history and background, based on shared beliefs and values. By creating an awareness for each 'village's' individuality, a shift in perception could be achieved. Spatial qualities inside the 'villages' should be given appreciation. Furthermore, urban planners, developers and the government should be aware of cultural and social issues concerning the 'villages' inhabitants, which could lead to cities being shaped not only by economic and political decisions but also by a greater focus on the inhabitants' needs. Shenzhen should become a valuable city for all its

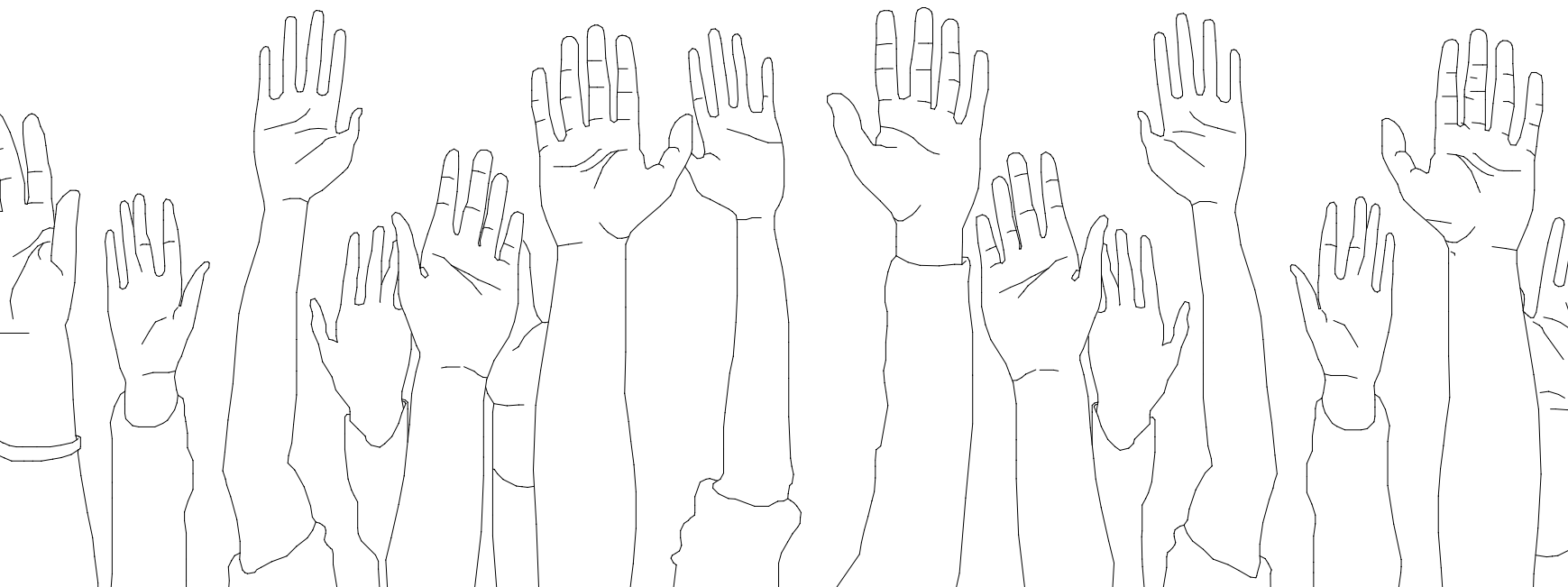
residents and not just a capitalistic growth machine that exploits the low-income group. A development, which rather shapes according to the human's needs. Besides, the 'urbanized villages' and their inhabitants should be regarded differently. Their status inside society should be upgraded and interventions such as increasing wages, integration into the welfare system and of course better working and living conditions should be undertaken. Through the cooperative support of NGOs and urban planners/ architects, a broader public awareness could have a positive impact on the implementation of newly established reforms. A detailed design draft that addresses these issues is represented in the following chapter.

[fig68] *Participating inhabitants of 'urbanized villages'*
Gangxia Village in Futian District, Shenzhen

结论

CONCLUSIONS

SHZ, 'URBANIZED VILLAGES'
& GANGXIA



06.1 STRATEGIES AND PROPOSALS

[fig69] Four steps of interventions on 'urbanized villages'



STEP 1 = DECISION IMPORTANCE OF 'VILLAGES' PERSISTENCE
 spatial and strategic guidelines, establishment of
 cultural facilities and events



STEP 2 = REFORMS OF MIGRANTS' CONDITIONS
 legalization of informal work, increase of wages,
 integration into welfare system --> medium-term on
 a 'village' level
 --> long-term on a
 city level



STEP 3 = SOFT REDEVELOPMENT OF THE 'VILLAGE'
 spatial interventions for inhabitants
 spatial interventions for mobile vendors
 --> increasing spatial quality inside Gangxia



STEP 4 = WORST CASE SCENARIO
 in case of demolition --> establishment of a socio-
 economic network of 'villages' to guarantee the
 migrants' allocation rights
 --> (App 'villages in shz', App 'share economy')

Based on my research in Gangxia, this chapter can be regarded as a bonus-addendum to chapter 05 and deals with ideas and strategies that aim to improve the current situation of 'urbanized villages' and its inhabitants in Shenzhen. As an extreme demolition pressure lasts on the 'villages', which causes millions of individual lives being under constant threat, the strategies outlined in this chapter offer possible solutions to the current problems.

Due to various reasons mentioned in the previous chapter, I came to the conclusion that the maintenance of 'urbanized villages' is of decisive importance. Based on

the idea of maintaining the 'villages', as socio-economic systems, that are important, not just on the micro scale as a 'village' itself, but also on a macro scale for the city as a holistic, more or less stable system, this chapter focuses on finding alternative options that juxtapose the interventions recently happening in Shenzhen.

During the last decade, the government and developers focused on a simple demolition of the 'villages'. Yet, some projects have been introduced that prefer a soft redevelopment. In this chapter, I outlined 4 steps, that focus on the establishment of a soft redevelopment, based on the residents' needs [fig69].

The idea is to enhance the status of 'urbanized villages' and their floating population inhabiting them. Most residents of 'urbanized villages' don't have access to state provided subsidies. Due to financial, political and socio-economic reasons, most of the inhabitants rely on their allocation inside a 'village'. Therefore it is important to find ways of keeping those 'villages' alive, and at the same time providing better conditions for the inhabitants.

To understand the background and history of Shenzhen that led to the current situation, where political, economic and local market forces shape the urban environment is a helpful tool for developing new strategies. My research

revealed that Gangxia village houses 71 % holding a B-permit [fig26], which means having no chance for an access to the state's welfare system (medical insurance, work insurance, education for kids, etc.). Many inhabitants are informally employed, either inside the 'villages' or in the urban environs. Furthermore the state still didn't find solutions in providing subsidized, social housing for the low-income group of Shenzhen. The floating population still suffers from unreasonable working conditions (e.g. mobile vendors), unequal income distribution, lack of power and knowledge, etc. As a result this low-income group totally relies on the 'villages' as a provider of dwellings, as a place of employment and of affordable consumption. The 'villages' are linked to the local market prices, and therefore experience tremendous price increases. There are questions that remain left to be answered, such as whether Gangxia village will survive in the following years to come and whether its inhabitants will be able to still finance their lives inside Gangxia. Some interviews of my research revealed that a considerable amount of people stated to be planning to move to other 'villages' in the suburb, as they cannot afford a life inside Gangxia anymore.

However a demolition of Gangxia village would force thousands of migrants to find living and working alternatives. The 4 steps introduced set focus on these migrants. Due

to the fact that migrants find themselves in a precarious situation, it is important to formulate their individual needs by giving them a voice through an active involvement in future decision-making processes [fig70].

The results of my interviews conducted on site revealed that more than 70% of the interviewed inhabitants stated that they could imagine participating in the future redevelopment processes. The city still doesn't make an effort to integrate these people into society. Not just the 'villages' but also the inhabitants regarded as a thorn in the side of the government and the society. This chapter deals with the possibilities of achieving a shift in the perception of society. Besides, the chapter tries to find answers to additional questions, such as: 'How can awareness for the importance of the 'villages' persistence be raised and action be implemented to demand new improvements?' and 'How can the persistence of Gangxia village be guaranteed?'

In order to realize the four steps of interventions, the plan is to establish a tight cooperation where the government integrates NGOs and architects, instead of focusing on just involving developers who simply focus on a profit maximizing perspective [fig70]. This multidisciplinary approach should help to represent and integrate the interests of the inhabitants into the redevelopment process [fig72].

THE 4 STEPS OF INTERVENTION:

STEP 1:

The first step is based on the decision of maintaining the 'villages'. Since the wide spread society's perception of 'urbanized villages' is still a negative, the main goal of step 1 is to achieve a shift in the perception and to raise a certain awareness of the 'villages' importance. There are still some 'villages' left which have original structures that aren't destroyed yet. An idea is to maintain these structures. Some 'villages' still have the old ancestral hall and community buildings or already rebuilt those. The idea is to use the ancestral hall and community buildings for introducing temporary exhibitions and space for communal activities that should strengthen the inhabitants' social cohesion [fig73]. Besides, the exhibitions could attract people from outside who would get informed about the unique history and background of each 'village'. As every 'village' has its own anniversary, this day could be given importance by attracting national tourists through the creating of cultural events and attractions [fig74]. These

interventions should make the society aware of each 'village's uniqueness and its individual history.

STEP 2:

The second step sets focus on the floating population inhabiting 'urbanized villages'. Various reforms on the 'village' and on the 'city' level should help to enhance the migrant's status inside society. Once realizing that the migrants serve the state for its megalomaniac dream but the state doesn't integrate the migrants into its welfare system, one soon concludes that ideas for changes on various levels should be taken under consideration. Therefore the goal is to establish certain reforms in order to provide the floating population access to the city's subsidies.

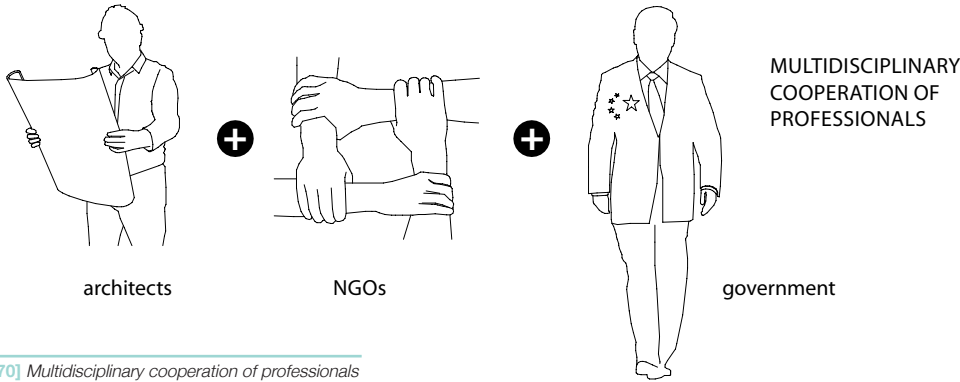
The **first reform** is the establishing the right of a fix housing. The so-called 'right of allocation' should guarantee an access to allocation, which means if the city attracts migrants to come to Shenzhen and offers employment, it is responsible to also offer a fix allocation. In case of a demolition of a 'village' the migrants have the right to receive allocation compensation in another 'village' [fig75].

The **second reform** is based on the idea that those inhabitants who found work in the formal urban environs should undergo a formalization process of their

employment conditions. Many people are still informally employed, not receiving serious working contracts, no minimum wages and extremely unfair working hours.

Consequently the **third reform** is a by-product of the second reform, which includes the integration of migrants into the city's welfare system. The Chinese hukou system still links a person to its place of origin. Being employed and living in another city, away from their hometown they have no chance of participating in the welfare system. Although the rural and urban hukou have been abolished in 2014, the differentiation of a local and non-local hukou still bounds a resident to its place of origin. Big cities, such as Shenzhen hold strict regulations on migrating to the city, on getting registered and consequently on participating in the welfare system. Therefore the new reform aims to integrate the migrants into the local welfare system. As soon as the state formalizes the informal work of migrants, it can increase its income through the collection of taxes and consequently involve the floating population. In order to provide access to a welfare system for all inhabitants of 'urbanized villages', the plan is to distinguish between two types of inhabitants: the first type is the group of people who are employed in the city environ. This group should be integrated into the city's welfare system, whereas the group of inhabitants who found employment inside the 'village' should be involved into

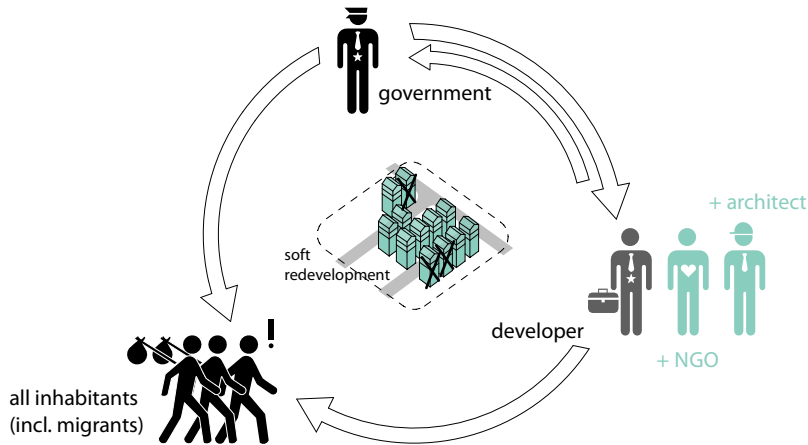
PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR 'URBANIZED VILLAGES'



[fig70] Multidisciplinary cooperation of professionals

the welfare system on a 'village' level (step 3 is a decisive contributor for the realization of step 2, as workforce will be needed during the implementation of the spatial, soft redevelopment of the 'village'; this would provide employment possibilities for the inhabitants, and consequently integrate them into the welfare system of the 'village'), [fig76], [fig77].

The **fourth reform** aims is to provide access to local education for migrant's kids. Until today China still bounds the resident's children to their place of origin. As a consequence, the migrant's kids are forced to attend school in the hometown where they were born. Until today many Chinese residents have to leave their children and con-



[fig72] Involving NGOs, architects and inhabitants



[fig71] Giving a voice to migrants

STEP 1 = PERSISTENCE OF 'VILLAGES'



duct work in a big city, while the grand parents raise the children in the hometown. Therefore the goal is to provide access to education inside the City, where the parents currently live. The long-term outcome should be to narrow the gap between the rural and urban residents, which still is a decisive characteristic of China's social system.

The **fifth reform** intends to establish a facility inside each 'village', where the interests of the inhabitants are represented. Until today only indigenous villagers, who mainly do not live inside the 'village' anymore have a representative of interest (the joint stock company and the community committee). Therefore introducing a department that supports migrants, through employing so-called contact persons, information should be directly given to the migrants for that they are updated about their new rights and options. If e.g., a migrant arrives in a 'village' she/ he from now on receives informative support by this department, throughout her/ his whole stay inside the 'village'. In case of a 'village'-demolition, this information department supports the migrants in finding a new home in another 'village' and actively helps managing the relocation of the 'villagers'.

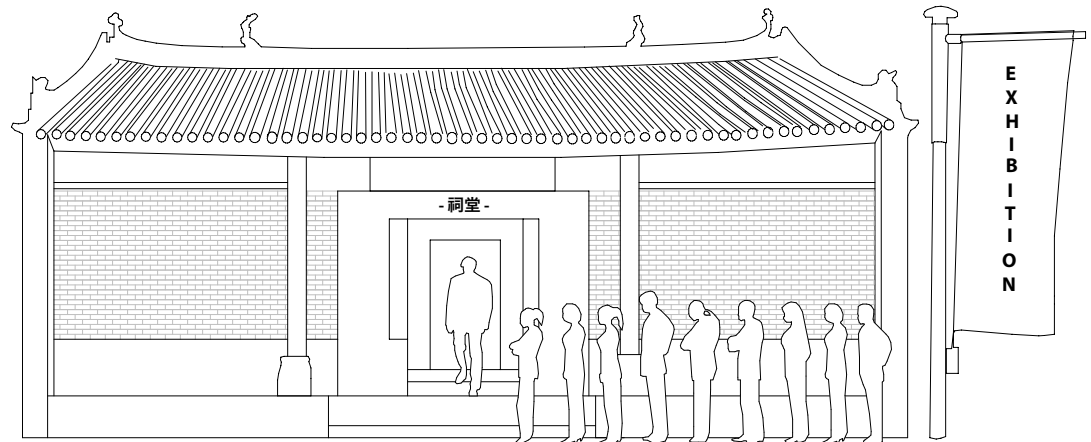
The **sixth reform** aims to develop a web-platform for the inhabitants. It is specialized on their concerns and rights and provides service and help. After a migrant arrives to Shenzhen she/ he can make use of this App through

a QR code and obtains all the information needed. This should help the migrant finding allocation in 'villages'. Besides, the App should support the migrants in exchanging their knowledge and experiences.

Raise awareness of 'villages' and their historical background through:

a

- maintaining or rehabilitating historical architecture (i.e. original ancestral hall) inside the 'villages'
- creating collective, shared space for all inhabitants and visitors

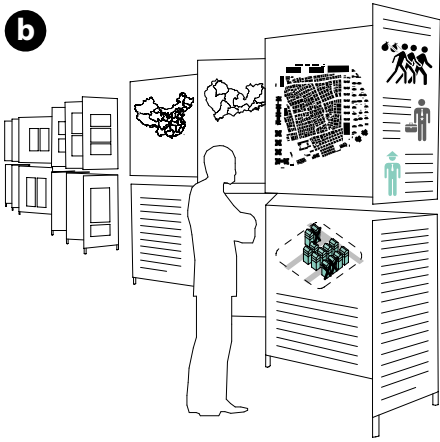


COMMUNITY HALL FOR INHABITANTS AND VISITORS

[fig73] Maintain community- and ancestral hall



b



➤ museum for exhibitions (i.e. inside community hall) of 'villages' individual history and the importance of their socio-economic value.



c

➤ cultural events for strengthening individual characteristics of each 'village'



➤ attract and involve tourists and people from outside

STEP 1

$$a + b + c =$$



Raise awareness & shift in society's perception of 'urbanized villages'

[fig74] Cultural events and exhibitions

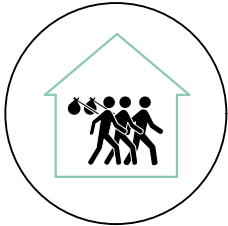
STEP 2 = REFORMS FOR MIGRANTS



Establish new rights and enhance working and living conditions of migrants !!!

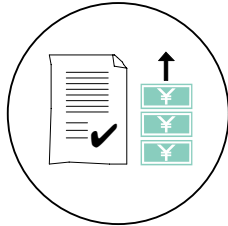
IF THE INHABITANTS SERVE THE CITY, THE CITY SHOULD SERVE THE INHABITANTS !

detail social security system



1

right to allocation:
housing fund
in case of demolition -
compensation or financed
relocation



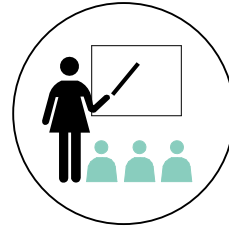
2

legalization of informal work
and increase of wages:
(work contracts, fair working
hours, work-related injury
insurance, ...)



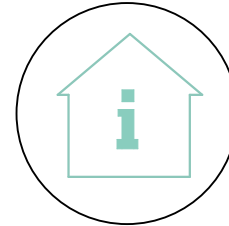
3

create social security system
that involves migrants:
integration of migrants into
welfare system
(local registration, access to
healthcare, unemployment
insurance, pension, ...)



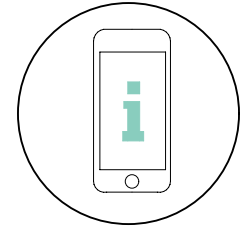
4

access to education:
for migrants' kids in order
to narrow gap between
migrants and urban
residents.



5

access to Information:
contact person / department
inside each 'village'
representation of interests
inform migrants about their
new rights and options
support during relocation
to another 'village'

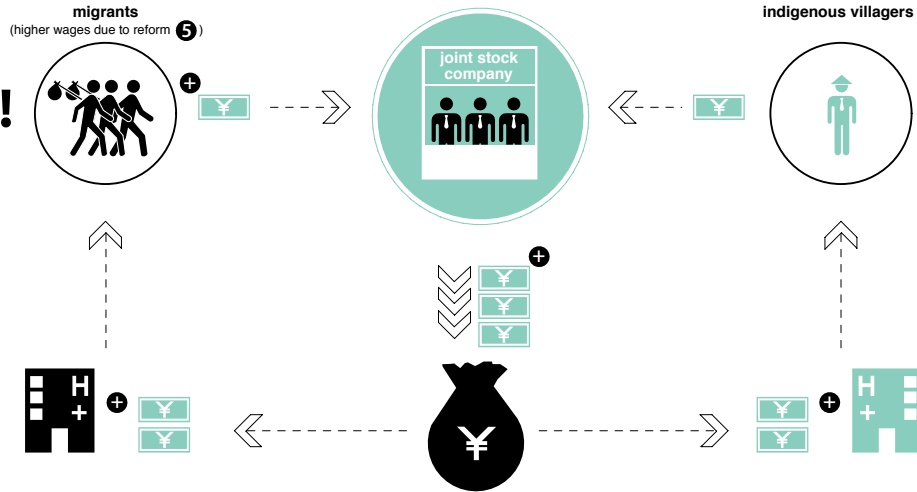


6

info platform / app:
specialized on migrants'
concerns
(rights, services and help)
info after arrival in city
establish networks and
increase exchange of
knowledge

NEW REFORMS:

➔ **medium-term solution on the 'village' - level:**
migrants participate in the 'villages' management and welfare system !



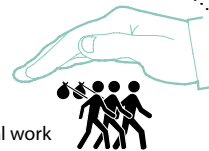
➔ **narrow gap between rural migrants and urban citizens !**

[fig76] Integrate inhabitants into 'village'-management system

medium-term outcome:
integration of migrants on the 'village' level:
participation in the 'village's management and welfare system.

long-term outcome:
integration of migrants on the city level:
participation in the city's welfare system

As soon as the state increases the legalization of informal work
--> state's income increases
--> state can involve migrants (previously informally employed)
into the welfare system.

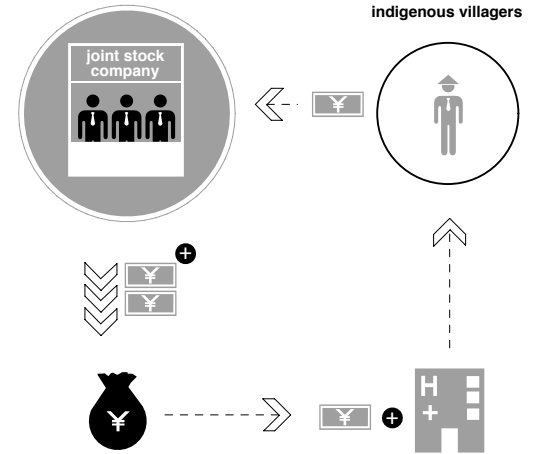


STEP 2

!
Reduce the discrimination
against rural migrants and
change their social status
inside society

BEFORE:

➔ migrants cannot participate in the welfare system provided by the 'village'



[fig77] Usual management system of 'villages'

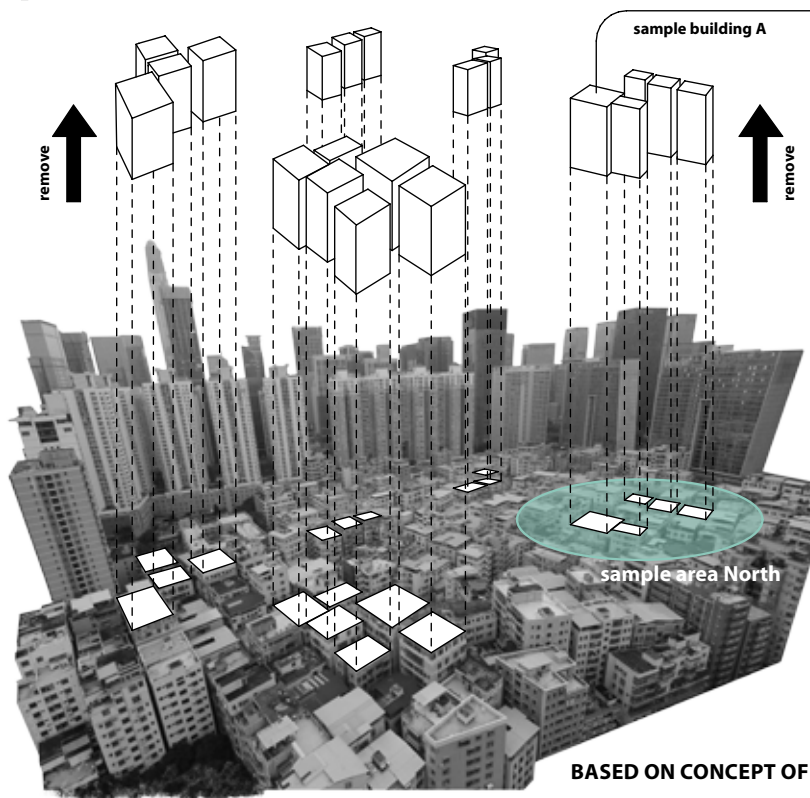


STEP 3 = SOFT REDEVELOPMENT: SPATIAL INTERVENTIONS - GANGXIA VILLAGE



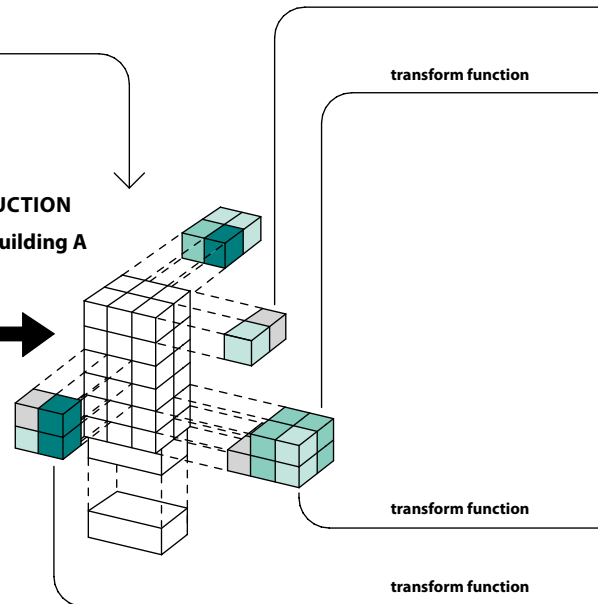
Establish socially balanced and sustainable urban development plan !!!

a > Gutting some interior located blocks



DECONSTRUCTION
sample building A

dissassemble



- low-income house
- chamber
- house
- filling

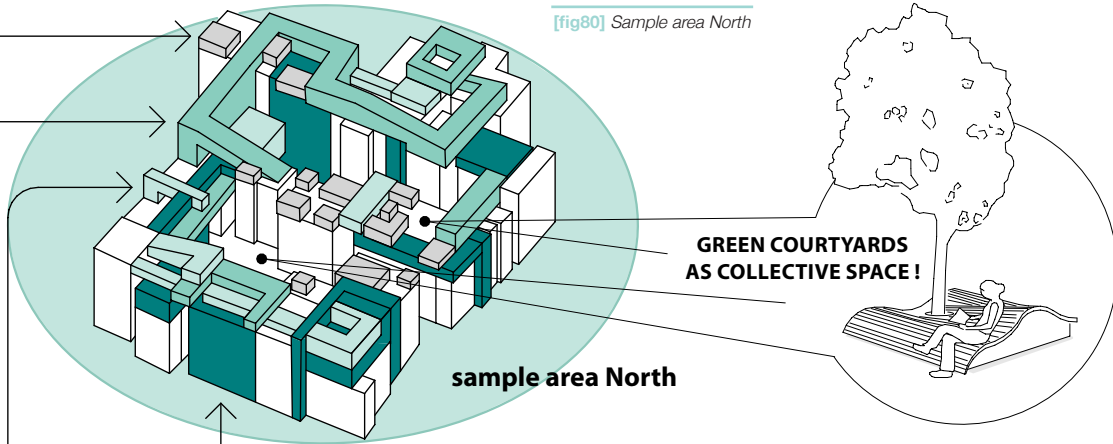
[fig79] Example deconstruction of housing block

BASED ON CONCEPT OF SHENZHEN'S URBANUS - ARCHITECTS

[fig78] Gutting interior buildings blocks

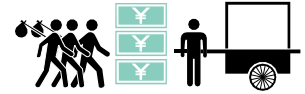
b >>> **COMPENSATION FOR DEMOLITION - CREATE CONNECTED MULTIFUNCTIONAL ROOFTOP-LANDSCAPE:**

➔ **MAINTAIN BUILDING VOLUME - REPLACE OLD VOLUMES ON ROOFTOPS AND IN INTERSPACES OF THE BUILDINGS (ORIGINAL HOUSE AREA = NEW HOUSE AREA ---> SHOP + HOUSE + CHAMBER + ...)**



[fig82] Idea medium-term outcome

+ **Medium-term outcome through participation:**



Individual skills of inhabitants:
 --> Involvement in decision-making and construction of the 'village'
 --> Employment for migrants and job alternatives for mobile vendors!

➔ **+++ IDEA FOR IMPLEMENTATION:**



PARTICIPATION OF INHABITANTS (INCLUDE MIGRANTS !!!) ACTIVELY SHAPING THE 'VILLAGE'S APPEARANCE



Would you like to participate in the decision-making processes concerning Gangxia's future?
 如果您有机会，您想参与岗厦村的空间改变吗？

YES 71.3%

NO 28.7%

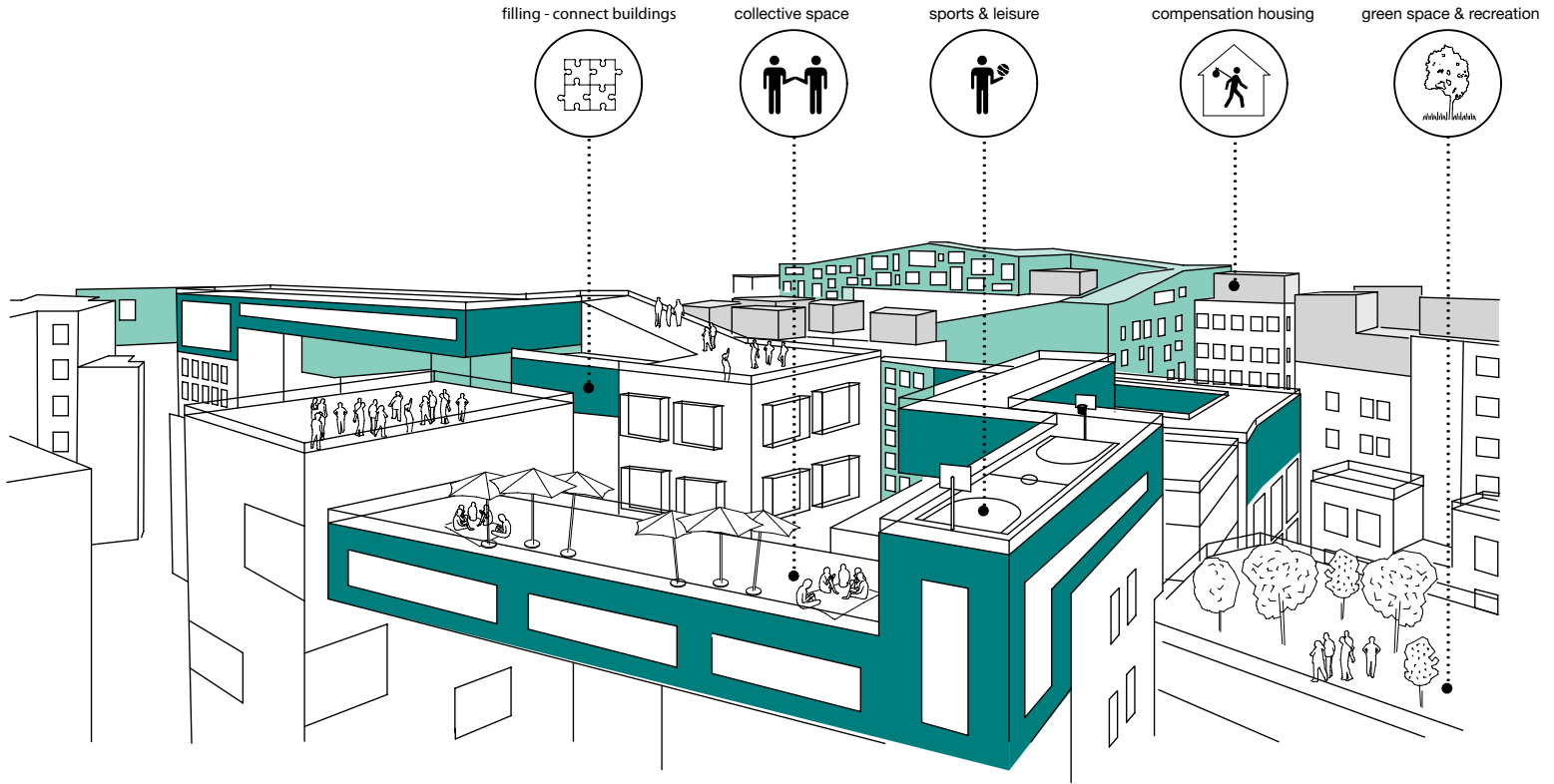
[fig81] Interview addressing participation



STEP 3



→ DETAIL NEW FACILITIES ON THE ROOFTOPS

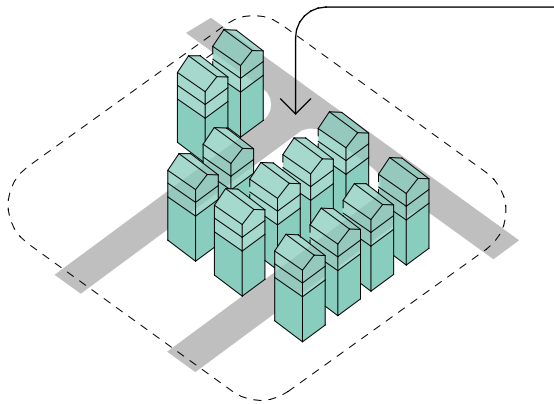


[fig83] Multifunctional rooftop landscape



C >> IMPROVE INFRASTRUCTURE IN GROUND FLOOR AREA

[fig84] Improve infrastructure of the 'village'



→ provide access for fire brigade



→ migrants can stay - removed buildings are replaced on the rooftops of remaining structure!

STEP 3:

The third step deals with a soft-redevelopment of the 'village's spatial situation. This chapter presents Gangxia village as an example. The aim is to establish a socially balanced and sustainable urban development plan. While the 'village's self-sufficient, socio-economic management system is maintained, focus is set on adding a

layer of spatial qualities that enhances the environment of Gangxia. The main goal of the design is to avoid a decrease in the rate of housing supply, which is usually a side-effect of spatial interventions in 'urbanized villages'. Many 'villages' face serious fire hazards, as bundles of cables are usually placed outside and cover the buildings'

facades. Consequently fire brigades have no access in case of fire. Therefore the draft tries to find solutions on solving problems of infrastructure inside the 'village', while maintaining the rate of housing supply.

Based on the idea of URBANUS, an architecture office, situated in Shenzhen, following draft has been designed: The first step is to put some interior blocks in order to obtain space inside the 'village' [fig78]. The building-volumes that were deconstructed now get replaced on the rooftops of the remaining buildings. All functions that the deconstructed houses included get replaced on the rooftops [fig79]. In that kind of way, housing, retail business and services, etc. can be sustained and no inhabitant or employee is forced to find alternative dwelling or work. Through the replacement of the old structures on the rooftops and through connecting some building blocks by adding fillings in between, a multifunctional rooftop landscape is created [fig80]. Additional free space on the roofs can be used as a collective area that offers sports and leisure facilities [fig83]. The idea is to combine this draft with the results of my interview and extend it for achieving a qualitative outcome that integrates Gangxia's inhabitants.

STEP 3



d > ESTABLISH LEGAL VENDING-SPOTS FOR MOBILE VENDORS IN THE NEWLY CREATED COURTYARDS OF THE VILLAGE

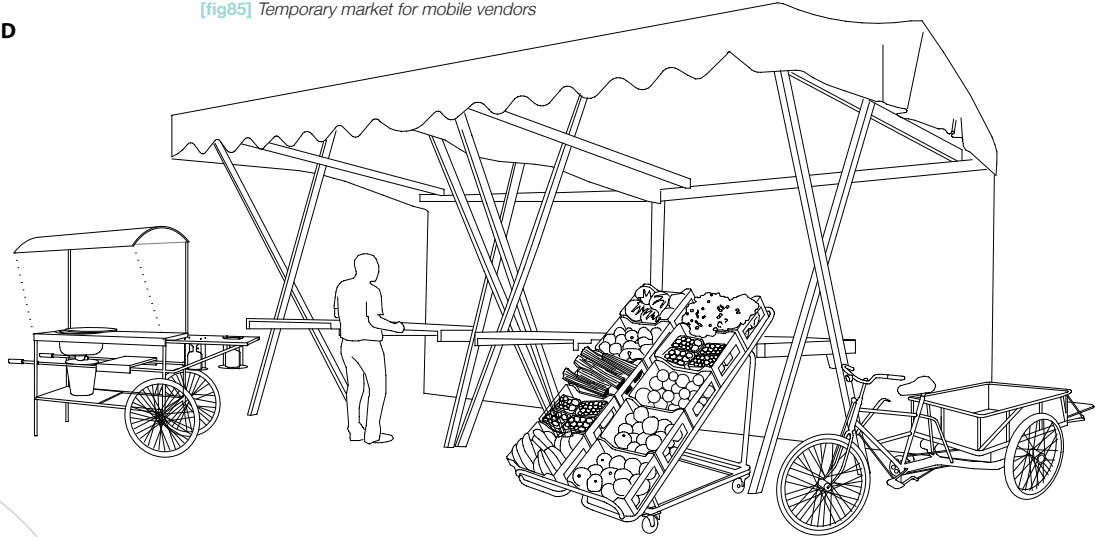
[fig85] Temporary market for mobile vendors



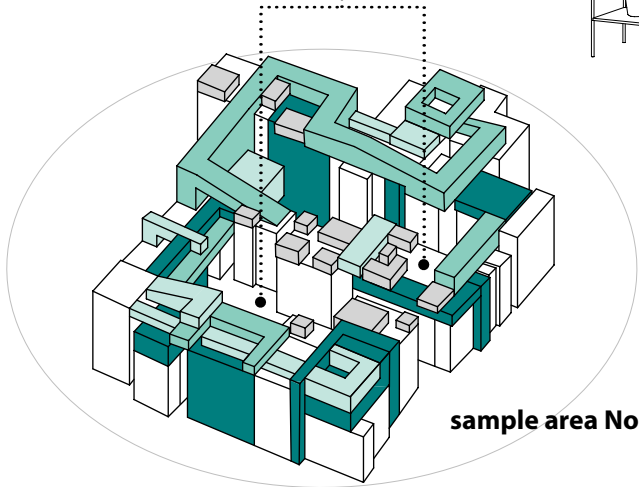
Gangxia security accepts mobile vendors on legalized spots



Mobile vendors now don't have to avoid the security anymore



→ LICENCE FOR TEMPORARY MARKET:



sample area North

STEP 3

$$a + b + c + d =$$

[fig86] Courtyards for mobile vendors and used as collective space



My interviews revealed that the average rate of respondents stated that they would be interested in participating in the decision-making and redevelopment process concerning the 'village's future (71,3%), [fig81]. A participatory layer should be added to the redevelopment process by actively integrating the 'village's inhabitants. In that kind of way the inhabitants can make decisions concerning their future living environment, which they can actively shape by themselves.

Besides, the idea includes a medium-term outcome: Individual skills of the inhabitants can be incorporated into the development and construction process [fig82]. Consequently, employment and alternative jobs can be offered to the inhabitants and mobile vendors of Gangxia, (results of my interviews revealed that mobile vendors suffer from horrendous working conditions). A possible solution to enhance the conditions of these workers would be to involve those who get employed inside the 'village' into its management system. If the 'village' involves and employs the inhabitants in the construction process, fair working conditions and fix wages could be provided by the 'village'. As a result the inhabitants could participate in the local management system (participation of employees in the joint stock company). Usually, only indigenous villagers are allowed to hold a share in the joint stock company. Therefore, the idea is to now allow those inhabitants, who

are employed inside the 'village' to be holding a share in the joint stock company and consequently be participating in the 'village's management system. As a result, the 'village' would receive regular payments, not just by the indigenous villagers but also by the employed inhabitants. Due to a higher income, the 'village' would be able to integrate the inhabitants into its welfare system and provide access to health care, social insurance, etc.

An additional advantage of the spatial intervention suggested in Step 3 is that the fire brigade would now have direct access to the houses and fire hazards could be reduced [fig84]. Besides, the new courtyards inside the 'village', which are a result of the previous gutting of interior blocks, would relieve some of the density-pressure in the ground floor area of Gangxia.

The newly created, free space could be used as collective space, offering shady spots for gathering and planting greenery. Now mobile vendors would have the chance to sell their products in a licensed area [fig86]. The idea is to offer temporary market space inside the new courtyards, where the vendors could legally sell their products. My observations and the interviews on site revealed that the mobile vendors have to adapt their working pattern according to the securities' working shifts. As the vendors don't have specified vending spots, they always have to move inside and around the 'village', avoiding any

contact with the securities. A temporary market inside the courtyards could offer licensed vending spots, where mobile vendors now wouldn't have to fear being caught by securities anymore [fig85].

Through these interventions, the inhabitants of Gangxia could be given a qualitative spatial environment and on a long-term outcome, the gap between rural and urban residents could be narrowed, as could be reduced the discrimination against the floating population inhabiting 'urbanized villages'. In total, a shift in the society's perception of 'urbanized villages' could be achieved.

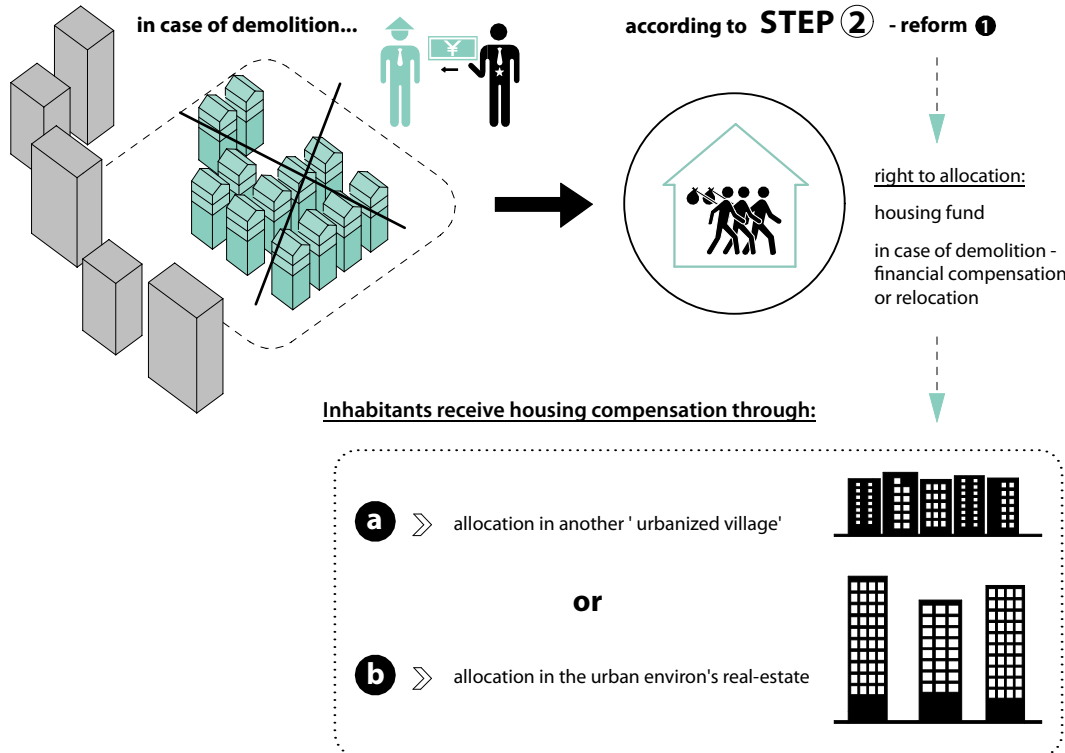
“...If participation in decisions can be broadened or made effectively representative, this means that power is being shared and that groups formerly excluded from the exercise of power are included”

[John Abbott, 'Sharing the City', 1996]

STEP 4 = WORST CASE SCENARIO: DEMOLITION OF THE 'VILLAGE'



Establish socio-economic network of 'villages' to guarantee migrants' allocation rights !!!



[fig87] Worst case scenario, in case of demolition

STEP 4:

The fourth step is based on a 'worst case scenario' and therefore it should be regarded as a realistic approach to deal with the current situation in Shenzhen. As the main outcome of this thesis is the intention to maintain Shenzhen's 'urbanized villages', this last step should be understood as an intervention that hopefully never needs to be undertaken. From an optimistic point of view, it can be expected that the still existing 'villages' will not be destroyed. However, widespread, current redevelopment projects in Shenzhen prove that this case is not happening. Therefore a realistic approach makes use of this fourth step by offering alternative solutions to currently ongoing demolition processes in Shenzhen.

The first idea is to establish a socio-economic network of 'villages' in Shenzhen. According to step 2, all inhabitants of the 'villages' now have new rights and access to ser-

[fig88] Relocation option A and B

DETAIL **a** >>>



Network of 'villages' in SHENZHEN 深圳

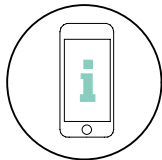


[fig89] Network of 'villages' in Shenzhen



access to information inside each 'village':

contact points for the support during relocation to another 'village'



info platform / app for inhabitants of each 'village':

establish networks and increase exchange of knowledge



Call



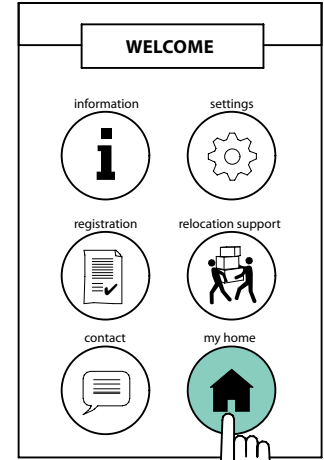
Webpage



App



QR - Code

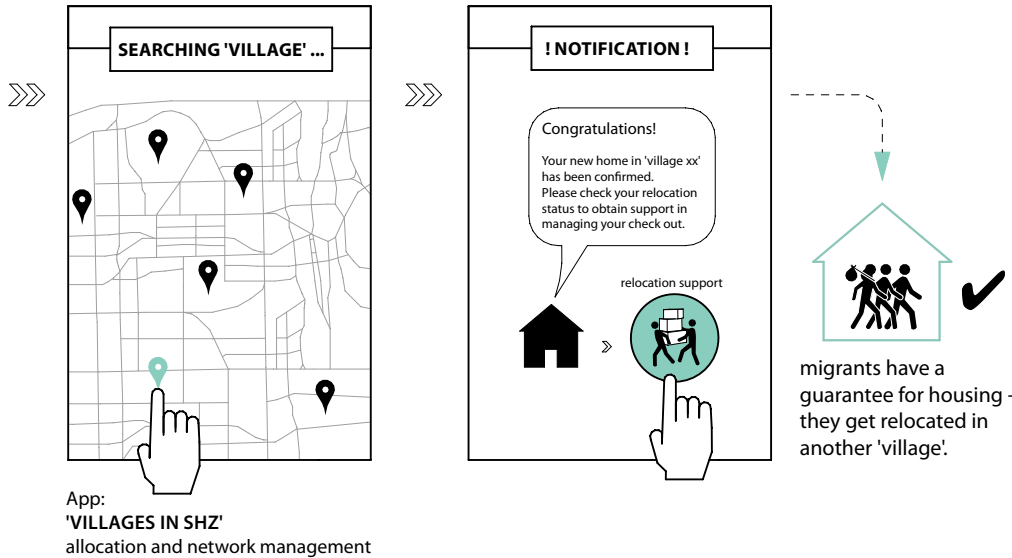


App: 'VILLAGES IN SHZ'
allocation and network management

[fig90] App 'Villages' in Shenzhen



STEP 4



VICES, such as a right of allocation, access to information and a representative of interests, support in relocation and an access to newly established platforms that support the inhabitants' social exchange [fig90]. Through a cooperation of the 'villages', a network can now be established that takes advantage of these previously introduced services [fig89]. As the inhabitants have ensured rights of alloca-

tion, they can now profit from the network of 'villages' and obtain support in finding a new dwelling [fig87].

There are two options of providing a new home to the floating population. Option A is to obtain alternative allocation in another 'village', whereas option B provides a new home in one of the empty apartments of the 'villages' urban environ [fig88].

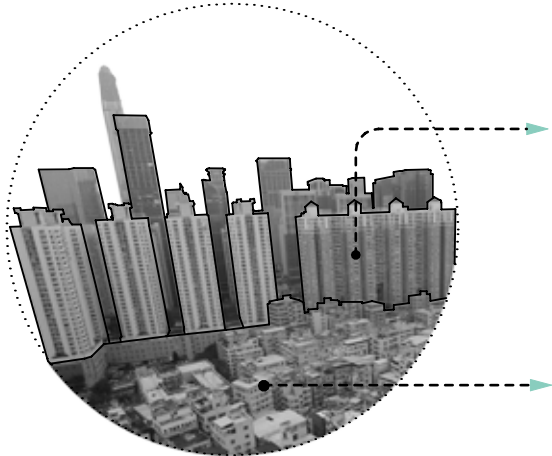
My research on site revealed that more than 20 % of the apartments in the formal urban area are empty (cf. China's Southwestern University of Finance and Economics, 2015), [pic82]. A solution would be to use this free space for allocating the inhabitants of demolished 'villages' [fig91]. As the government of Shenzhen still doesn't provide subsidized social housing options, this would be a suitable solution for the current demographic pressure lasting on the 'urbanized villages' of Shenzhen. Yet, there are two main question that need to be answered: 'How can the floating population finance a monthly rent in an apartment that is way more expensive than in the one of an 'urbanized village'?' and 'How can the owners get motivated to rent out their empty apartments?' [fig93].

[fig90] App 'Villages' in Shenzhen



DETAIL b >>> ...due to constant demographic pressure

-----> in case of 'villages' demolition.... pressure (up arrow icon)



FORMAL URBAN ENVIRON

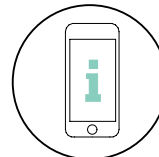
≥20% **EMPTY** apartments in formal urban area

More than one in five apartments of the real-estate high-rises in China's urban areas is vacant [cf. China's Southwestern University of Finance and Economics, 2015].

'URBANIZED VILLAGES'

← extremely high **DEMOGRAPHIC PRESSURE!**

-----> in case of 'villages' demolition:



access to information inside each 'village':

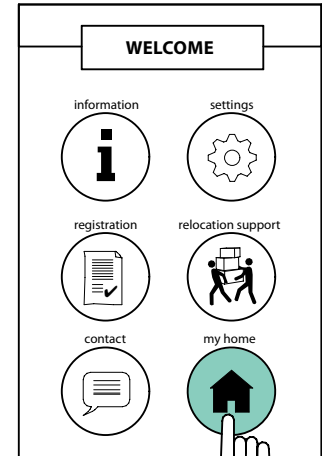
contact points for the support during relocation to another 'village'

info platform / app for inhabitants of each 'village':

establish networks and increase exchange of knowledge

[fig91] Empty apartments versus bursting 'urbanized villages'

! The local government of Shenzhen still doesn't provide alternative subsidized housing for the low-income group, holding a non-local hukou.



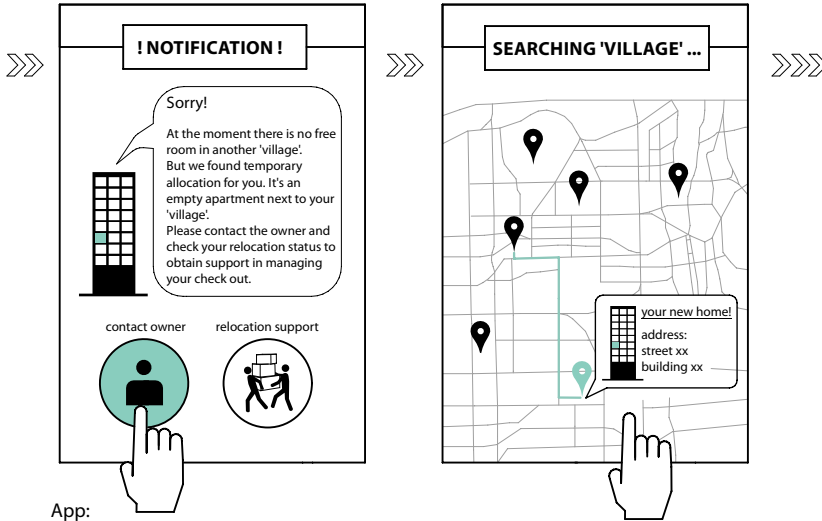
[pic82] Gangxia village and urban environ

[fig92] App 'Share Economy' for empty apartments

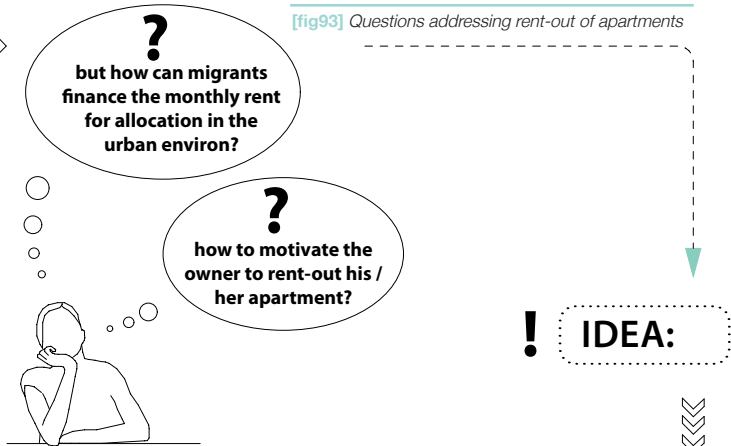
STEP 4



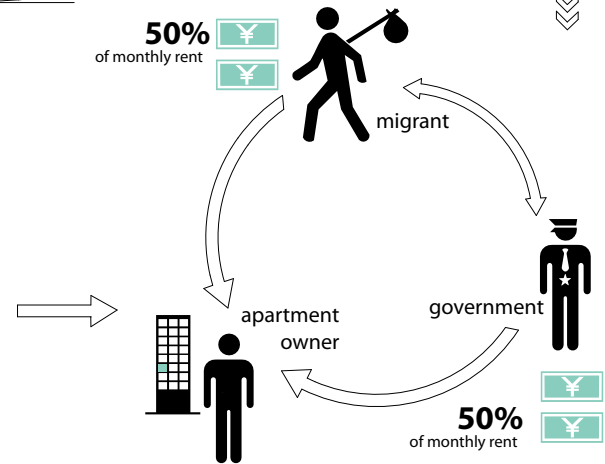
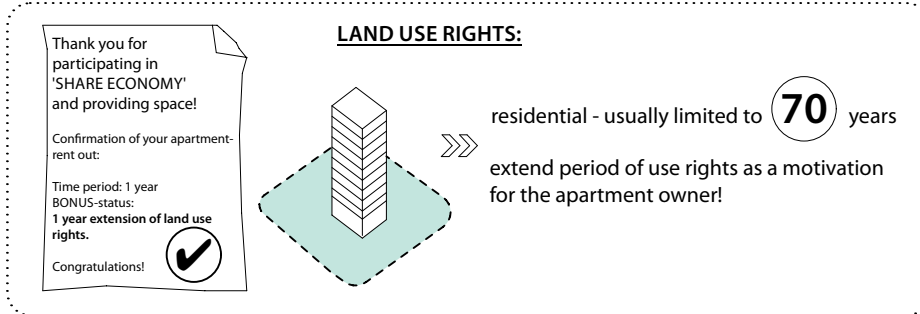
[fig92] App 'Share Economy' for empty apartments



App: 'SHARE-ECONOMY - EMPTY ROOMS' allocation and network management



[fig94] Extension of land use rights through participation in 'share economy'



China's land policy is based on land use rights, which means that every citizen who owns an apartment in Shenzhen has to regularly pay land use rights to the government. Those rights were introduced in the early 1990s and are limited to duration of 70 years. As the government still didn't decide what will happen after the expiration of these rights, the owners of apartments fear loose their properties after the 70 years have passed.

A suitable solution could be to take advantage of this policy and motivate the owners by offering duration extensions for their land use rights to them [fig94]. The establishment of a so-called 'share economy' App could help to integrate the owners into a 'bonus system', where they achieve bonus points according to their rate of cooperation with the ex-inhabitants of the 'villages' [fig92]. The owners could use this App for offering their empty apartments online. As the inhabitants of the 'village' would also have direct access to this App, they could find uninhabited apartments and directly contact the owner. If the owner decides to offer her/ his apartment, she/ he will be paid by extensions of the personal land use rights (e.g. one year apartment-rent out = 1 year land use right extension).

As the government's responsibility would be to provide alternative allocation to the inhabitants of the 'village' as

soon as it gets demolished, the government would have to pay 50 % of the monthly apartment-rent in the urban environ. In that kind of way, the migrant, the apartment-owner and the government could cooperate in decreasing the demographic pressure that lasts on the 'villages' and they would support the improvement of the floating population's conditions [fig95].

TABLE OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Pictures and sources provided by Ma Hang, Wan Yan and Litao Zhou are used with permission.

[fig00] Cover, Map of Gangxia village, edited by Karolina Petz, based on:
 • *Returnu urban rural institute* 深圳市土木再生城乡营造研究所, 15.06.2015

[pic00] Preface, Main gate of Gangxia Village, Karolina Petz

Chapter 01 | BACKGROUND Shenzhen

[fig01] edited by Karolina Petz, based on:
 • *Shenzhen Government Online*, <http://english.sz.gov.cn/gj/>, 02.09.2015
 • *Shenzhen Noted*, <http://shenzhennoted.com/2011/09/10/shenzhen-population-statistics-1979-2011/>, 02.09.2015

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All names are listed without titles



| | | |
|-------|-------------------|--|
| 城中村 | chéngzhōngcūn | village in the city, 'urbanized village' |
| 深圳 | shēnzhèn | Shenzhen City |
| 商务中心区 | shāngwùzhōngxīnqū | Central Business District |
| 岗夏村 | gǎngxià cūn | Gangxia Village |
| 福田地图 | fútián dìtú | Futian District |
| 彩田路 | cǎitián lù | Caitian Road, bordering Gangxia West |
| 福华路 | fúhuà lù | Fuhua Road, bordering Gangxia South |
| 皇岗路 | huánggǎng lù | Huanggang Road, bordering Gangxia East |
| 深南大道 | shennan dàdào | Shennan Avenue, bordering Gangxia North |
| 人民币元 | rénmínbìyuán | RMB, chinese monetary unit |
| 单位 | dānwèi | enclosed living and working neighbourhoods |
| 调查 | diàochá | Interview |
| 二房东 | èrfángdōng | second landlord |
| 租房合同 | zūfánghétóng | rental contract |
| 广东 | guǎngdōng | Guangdong Province |
| 四川 | sìchuān | Sichuan Province |

| | | |
|------|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 广西 | guǎngxī | Guangxi Province |
| 湖南 | húnán | Hunan Province |
| 安徽 | ānhuī | Anhui Province |
| 江西 | jiāngxī | Jiangxi Province |
| 福建 | fújiàn | Fujian Province |
| 香港 | xiānggǎng | Hong Kong |
| 河南 | hénán | Henan Province |
| 布吉市场 | bùjī shìchǎng | Buji market in Shenzhen |
| 梅林市场 | méilín shìchǎng | Meilin market in Shenzhen |
| 福田市场 | fútián shìchǎng | Futian market in Shenzhen |
| 东门市场 | dōngmén shìchǎng | Westgate market in Shenzhen |
| 李国庆 | Lǐ Guó Qīng | chinese name of interviewed resident |
| 李树良 | Lǐ Shù Liáng | chinese name of interviewed resident |
| 王成秀 | Wáng Chéng Xiù | chinese name of interviewed resident |
| 麻连 | Má Lián | chinese name of interviewed resident |
| 王荣 | Wáng Róng | chinese name of interviewed resident |

岗夏村股份公司

岗夏村卖手机的小贩

岗夏村非正式住房

岗夏村店

非正规住房

调查样式

正式系统

分析部分与解释

结论

gǎngxiàcūn gǔfèn gōngsī

gǎngxiàcūn mài shǒuji de xiǎofàn

gǎngxiàcūn fēizhèngshì zhùfáng

gǎngxiàcūn diàn

fēizhèng guīzhù fángli

diàochá yàngshì

zhèngshì xìtǒng

fēnxi bùfēnyǔ jiěshì

jiélùn

Gangxia Joint Stock Company

Gangxia's mobile vendors

Gangxia's rent-out business

Gangxia's retail business

informal housing

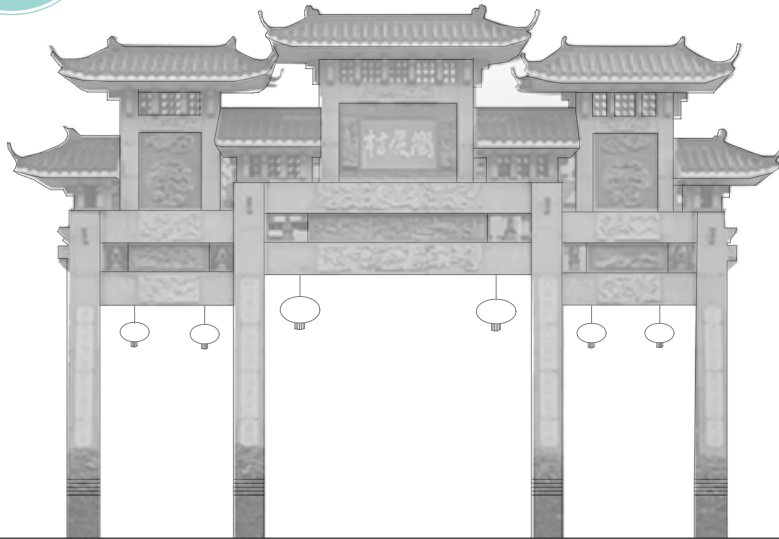
research design

informal systems

analytical part and interpretation

conclusion

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