Stakeholders learning, Shekou turning and one Company's earnings

Figure 1: Image of Shekou's catch phrase. Source: Auke Boomsma, 2015

The discovery of open planning processes in Shekou District, located in the Special Economic Zone of Shenzhen

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STAKEHOLDERS LEARNING, SHEKOU TURNING AND ONE COMPANY'S EARNINGS

The discovery of open planning processes in Shekou District, located in the Special Economic Zone of Shenzhen

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Abstract

Chinese planning has become more than only a bilateral agreement between developer and local government. Consultation of foreign design companies and the inclusion of ideas from other places slowly settle. In the past thirty years planning was mainly about financial rewards. This has been replaced by a larger interest in the demands and organisational capacity of the community. Does this also show in the harbour area of Shenzhen, Shekou District, where the majority of the land and property belongs to one State-Owned Enterprise? This research shows that China Merchants tries to incorporate different stakeholders in plan-making, but holds onto their strong position in any kind of development. Meanwhile, a new generation has travelled the world and became accustomed to more open processes. This group is eager to be consulted and participate. Current events show that planning still follows the lead of CEOs. Nevertheless, change in policy and stakeholder positions is fastened by the instalment of new Special Economic Zones around China. This research looks at the interaction between the regime of government and developers, with the community in Shekou. An area that was once the first haven of foreign investment and open policy and is since 2009 looking for a new purpose.

Keywords: Open Planning Process, Redevelopment, Stakeholder Consultation, Chinese plan-making Regime, Learning Processes

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1. Introduction: Glocal Shenzhen

In the Southeast corner of China a village with 150 thousand inhabitants in 1979 grew to an enormous city with over 15 million people in 2014 (Shenzhen Standard, 2014). Located next to the border with Hong Kong, this area has become known as the Chinese centre for technology. Although the city's name is not that familiar as Beijing or Shanghai, Shenzhen is one of the main hubs of the Pearl River Delta. The heart of the process towards industrial and economic growth has been the Shekou District. It was one of the first areas Deng Xiaoping assigned as Special Economic Zone. This change in policy made it possible to attract foreign investments in the area (Wang, 2014). Supported by money and knowledge flowing in this led to an increase in jobs. People from all over China moved to Shenzhen to work in one of the factories. Subsequently, after the instalment of new Special Economic Zones and cheaper industrial sites, the factories and companies left Shekou and Shenzhen. Recently the area moved towards services and technology. In Shekou several derelict industrial sites remain. A new redevelopment plan from 2009 distinguishes different concepts for the degraded places (UPDIS & SKIZ, 2011). Shekou has been under reconstruction, with Sea World, Net Valley and E-Cool as the significant (partly) finished design projects (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Nanhai E-Cool in the former Sanyo factory

Source: SKIZ, 2009

The development of these plans is subject to a change in Chinese governance. In different planning processes across the country public and private stakeholders work together. The combination with small and cultural initiatives on these locations shows a (temporary) solution to remaining vacancy and deterioration (i.e. Wang 2014; Webster et al., 2011). However, will the regeneration of Shekou be successful without a structured approach with a clear direction? (Jones Lang LaSalle, 2012). The former top-down initiated blueprint is replaced by an incremental step-by-step process. The plan is a result of the cooperation between the Urban Planning and Design Institute Shenzhen and Shekou Industrial Zone Company Ltd.. This company is in control of all kind of real estate and community projects in Shekou and is part of the huge developer in the area, China Merchants.

Other places in China show possibilities for re-using degraded industrial sites. In Beijing and Shanghai creative spaces function as bottom-up catalysts for a culture-led regeneration (Zielke & Waibel, 2014). However, the situation in the Guangdong province differs from the context in other major cities. In Shenzhen and Guangzhou the main driver is a (semi-) private business that allows minor informal input in the process. The main goal is earning profits and copying ideas from other places (Zielke & Waibel, 2014). This could indicate that there is no clear idea for the best way to deal with the challenges for Shekou. This could explain why the area struggles with its redevelopment (Cheng et al., 2011). Moreover, complexity evolves from the stakes the largest stakeholder has. This is China Merchants, with Shekou Industrial Zone Company Ltd. being part of the holding. This company owns over seventy percent of the property and land. The complex stakeholder position and the, on first sight, relatively closed process could result in the alienation of a majority of the public and the decrease of diversity to the urban centre (Miao, 2011).

The redevelopment of the former industrial sites in Shekou is a challenge. The functioning of the 'basic modes and policy mechanisms' is not particularly well

understood. More research should provide better insight in the way these projects take place (Zacharias & Tang, 2010; Wang et al., 2012). Most research showed individual aspects of planning without incorporating the 'accumulated knowledge of the effects of various planning policies' of the last thirty years. Moreover, the planning horizons are short, while long-term planning should be instigated (Zacharias & Tang, 2010). From a different view, the way politics and leadership interacts also influences the results of planning. Together with a focus on entrepreneurialism and planning by financial targets, this leaves little room for local inhabitants 'to challenge or change the course of government schemes' (Hyung, 2014, p.270). This could mean that there is a mismatch between policy intentions and societal outcomes. All these different topics are combined in the research question that guides this research:

How do stakeholders contribute to an open learning process in the redevelopment of the Shekou District in Shenzhen?

Scientific Relevance

In China planning processes include the input of more stakeholders. It is not clear what kind of stakeholders can be part of this open planning process and how they influence plan-making. The community and other organisations get the opportunity to become part of the planning debate. The challenge for these stakeholders in Shekou is that the government and developer remain decisive in the planning direction. This research examines the changes to stakeholder positions and the incorporation of international ideas for the plan-making of 'Recreate New Shekou'. Planning in Western societies and in China looks for new processes for redevelopment. This research looks at the Special Economic Zone of Shenzhen and evaluates the change in regime and the learning by stakeholders that can participate in the open planning process. It sheds light on the first step of collaborative learning and planning in China with the constructive input from others. It could be

an example for other Chinese cities and reflect on planning processes in Western societies.

Societal Relevance

In what way are stakeholders allowed to join planning processes in China and Shenzhen? This area is seen as the best location to test new planning disciplines and have economic reforms. The Special Economic Zone of Shenzhen has opened up with several Free Trade and Free Tax zones to enhance foreign investment. This has different effects on society as, for example, more foreign companies and employees enter the area. This evoking community wants to participate in the creation of its physical and social environment and is capable to do so. This paradigm shift interferes with a centralised government and large developers that have entirely been in charge of previous steps in development.

Sub-questions

Attention in this research is drawn on the redevelopment of the Shekou District from 2009 onwards. What concepts and stakeholders were part of the process that led to the plan 'Recreate New Shekou'? It is important to not only focus on included stakeholders, but also on the actors that could not join the planning process. Evaluation of the current situation can stimulate learning processes that should be formed, with the information gathered providing new ideas about preferred developments in Shekou.

The research question is supported by several sub-questions. These questions include the main aspects and topics of the research. The opinion of different scholars about these topics will be discussed in Chapter 2.

The first sub-question in this research introduces the new planning processes in China. Scholars recognise a shift towards long-term planning with more stakeholders instead of the former blueprint oriented type of planning.

1. How are open planning processes constituted in Shenzhen?

Apparently the role of the government with large developers and companies remains of significance. Therefore, one can expect that not all stakeholders are part of the process. Some organisations might be interesting to include, but it could be that others are left out. The following sub-question looks at the access stakeholders have to the process.

2. What stakeholders in Shekou can join the planning process?

The next question discusses the opinions and experiences of the stakeholders that are part of the process. Are they actually in charge of any development or is it mostly about consultation and the approval of ideas? Do stakeholders openly debate about topics or is it mostly sharing in an environment with the government or other larger organisations? Here, it is important to get an idea of the possibilities the stakeholders have to speak about the plan for redevelopment.

3. How do included and excluded stakeholders experience open planning processes in Shekou?

Disregarding the inclusion or exclusion, ideas for new plans have to come from certain organisations or individuals. Do the different stakeholders look at other countries and cities for ideas or are they mostly focused on the context of Shekou and Shenzhen? An article in a magazine claimed that knowledge was lost in China during the early 1000s due to dynasties destroying previous inventions and discoveries (Rozendaal, 2008). Can the same be said about the idea generation in current Chinese projects?

4. How do stakeholders learn or generate ideas for open planning processes in Shekou?

The last question discusses the overall processes that are changing in the Chinese society and in Shenzhen. Are there changes in policy or regulation that had an influence on the development of the plan 'Recreate New Shekou'? Is there more to it than only the claimed change towards long-term planning? Some argue that innovation can be blocked by too much state regulation. Stimulating individual growth could create a better road to success. Is this also part of the debate?

5. What processes influenced the generation of 'Recreate New Shekou'?

These questions can best be seen within the context of this research. The following part explains the Conceptual Framework and describes the relation between the elements that are part of the redevelopment of Shekou.

Conceptual Framework

The different elements of this research are interrelated and interdependent (Figure 3). The framework shows the relationship between the different subjects and their particular role in this research. A thorough assessment of the mentioned elements can be found in Chapter 2.

Figure 3: Conceptual Model Redevelopment in Shekou District Shenzhen
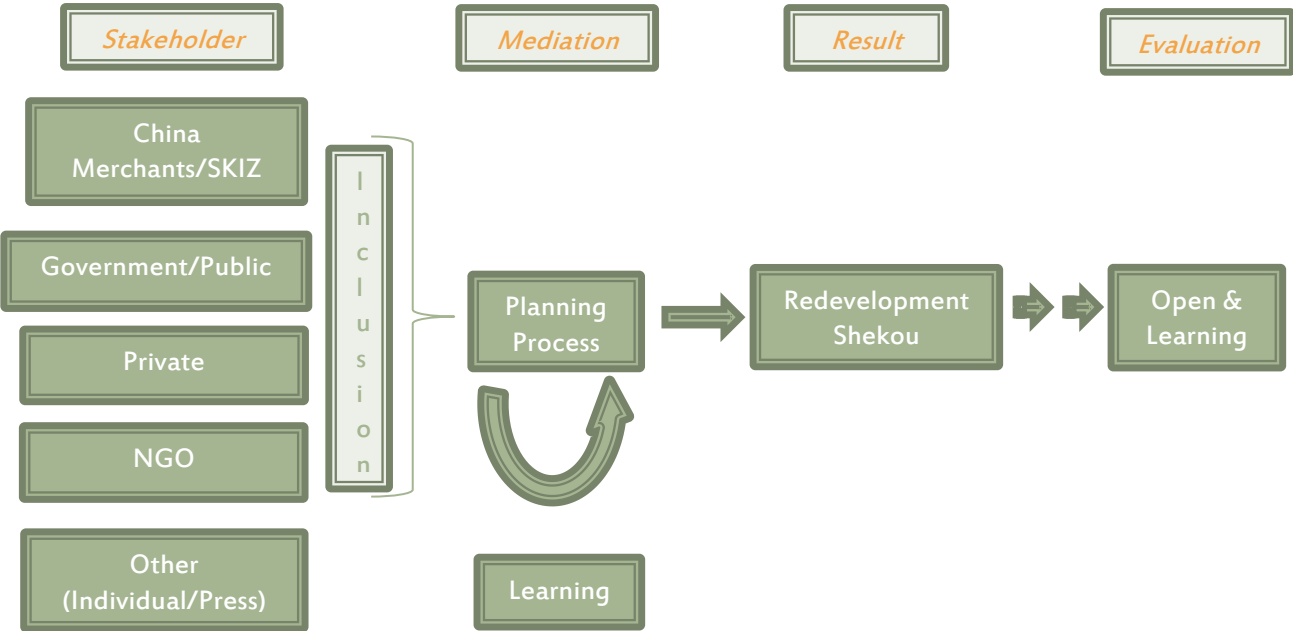
The different stakeholders are the starting point of this research. Different stakeholders have conflicting positions and opinions about the redevelopment of Shekou. The first boundary for them is Inclusion. Although the planning process has opened up, not all stakeholder could join the consultation phase. This next part, the Mediation, is where stakeholder join the process and learn by either hearing other's positions or including ideas from other places. This could then lead to the actual redevelopment of Shekou. This final result can then be evaluated to see to what extent the process is open and what learning took place.

Although it is not part of the Conceptual Model, there is a regime that makes up for the development of Shenzhen. The concept of a regime is discussed in Chapter 2 and is constituted by some of the stakeholders that are part of the Conceptual Model. The combination of this group of stakeholders was decisive in the past and will have its influence on the future of the planning debate.

Outline

The initial direction looks at the way planning processes are opening up in China. However, two intermezzos with an European perspective are part of this research. These short stories provide a different way of looking at the Chinese context. The rest of the research is rather strictly ordered. In *Chapter 2* all topics related to open planning processes are discussed. Different cities show public-private partnerships, community consultation and incremental planning (i.e. Wu, 2007; Shin, 2008; Li et al., 2014). The blueprint becomes a process, that develops towards a negotiable result by different stakeholders. Where this incremental view includes going back-and-forth between different parties and learning from previous steps, the situation in Shekou relates to path dependency. The path for economic prosperity started by creating the Special Economic Zone in 1979 and the rapid development by China Merchants. Due to this unique situation, the analysis also includes the presence of a large State-Owned Enterprise [SOE] and the role it has in establishing a community.

Chapter 3 will look at the possibilities to test all the theoretical concepts in practice. By investigating the best way to deal with the situation in China all challenges are dealt with before the research actually started. The results are presented in *Chapter 4*, following the outline of the topic list from Chapter 3. The final chapter (*Chapter 5*) deals with the connection between theory and results. There is also a discussion about the results and a reflection on the validity of this research. This part looks at the value of the outcomes and tries to figure out what could be useful to consider for further research.

In order to understand what this research is actually about, first the case is briefly introduced. The growth of Shenzhen and the creation of Shekou is discussed to get an understanding of the events that took place and the complexity of the area.

Case: Shenzhen and Shekou

Shekou was the first part of Shenzhen to open up to the outer world. Overnight the mountainous area became one of the largest industrial parks of China (Figure 4). The area is over thirty square kilometre in size and has around 350 thousand inhabitants with a GDP per capita around US$20.000 (SKIZ, 2011). The areas was the first to be assigned as a Special Economic Zone by Deng Xiaoping in 1979 and again receives special attention. Together with nearby Qianhai and Houhai the area became a Free Tax and Free Trade zone. This should help to make it once again the heart of innovation and economic prosperity (SKIZ & UPDIS, 2015).

Figure 4: Development of Shekou as catalyst for growth Shenzhen

Source: UPDIS, 2011

China Merchants was in charge of the redevelopment challenge from 1979 onwards and is again one of the main stakeholders in the area (SKIZ, 2011). This SOE evolved from ports and properties to banking, financial consulting and real estate. The wide range of disciplines makes it evident that inhabitants of Shekou have one or more connections with the company (China Merchants, 2015).

2000s Onwards

Due to its rapid growth Shenzhen is challenged by the natural boundaries of the Pearl River Delta and Hong Kong. The derelict industrial sites need to be redeveloped to attract new investments (Figure 5). Probably this investment in degraded industrial buildings and the arrival of new companies are interrelated. New companies will have particular ideas and demands that have to be developed either by China Merchants or by the new company entering the area.

Figure 5: Derelict industrial sites in Shekou

Source: Auke Boomsma, 2015

While Shekou is being redeveloped, other areas are not lacking behind. Qianhai and Houhai are ambitious projects for the near future. The Urban Planning and Design Institute Shenzhen is in charge of the plan-making of this area and tries to integrate the different strategies for these areas (SKIZ & UPDIS, 2014). Whereas Shekou is an ultimate mix of culture, businesses and technology, Qianhai only includes financial businesses and commercial space (UPDIS, 2011). The idea is to upgrade industry by combining spatial planning with interested service-providers and link these together to form a development program for the area (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Prospect of Shekou in relation to Qianhai and Houhai
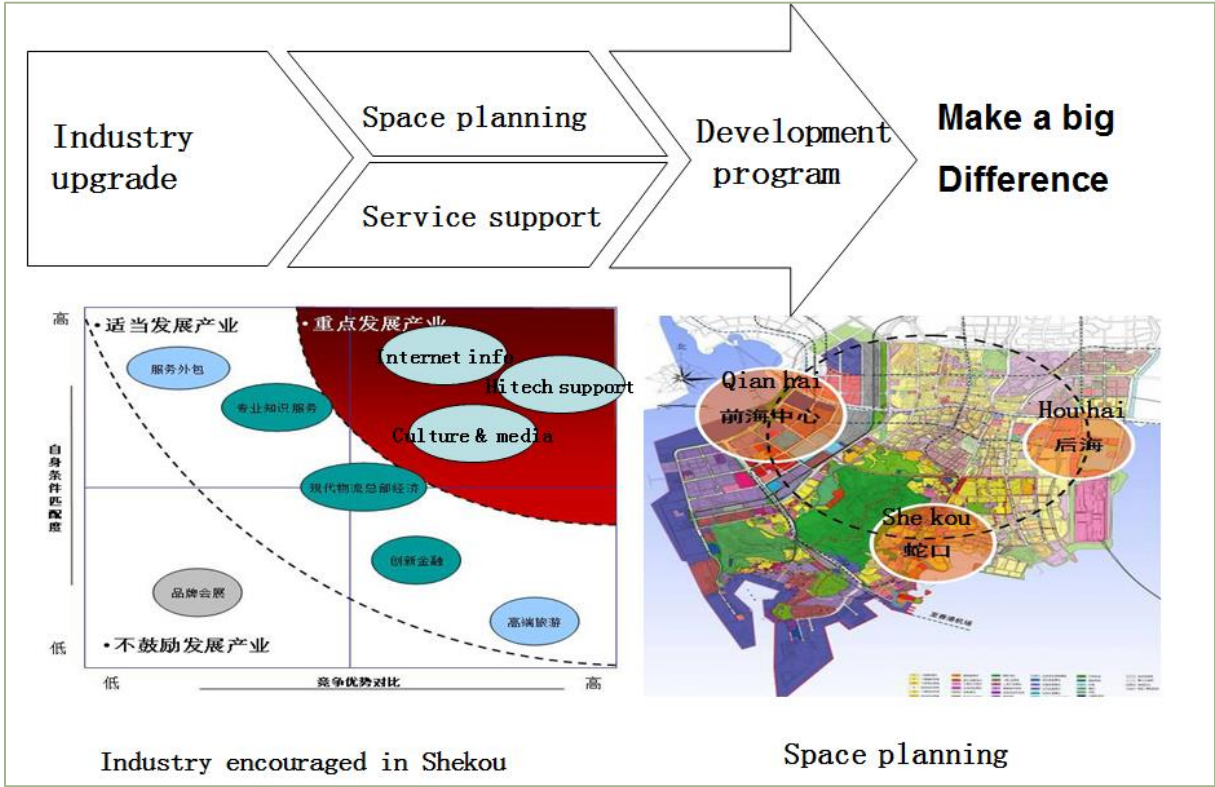
Source: SKIZ, 2011

A significant share of industrial activities moved to other places, or went to the outskirts of Shenzhen, leaving a residual place without a defined purpose (Wang, 2014). The redevelopment of Shekou is largely in the hands of China Merchants with their plan: 'Recreate New Shekou' (China Merchants, 2015). The result of the area should be a combination of internet technology, commercial sites, residential areas

and creative industries. A so called mixed-use area (Figure 7). After this short introduction to Shenzhen and Shekou, the next chapter will take a closer look at the theory that is behind open processes and planning in China.

Figure 7: Layout of *Recreate New Shekou*

Source: Shekou Industrial Zone Company Ltd., 2015

2. The Context of Open Processes

The Shenzhen Special Economic Zone functions as an experiment for a free market system. Building regulations by central and local government have changed in recent years. Initially construction standards were relatively low, which resulted in industrial zones filling up with small companies in low-quality buildings. Due to the government calling tax incentives to a halt, most of these sites have a problem with finding a new function or being redeveloped (Wang, 2014). Shenzhen gives different concepts in legislation and participation a try to see what works best. This process differs from the known Chinese governmental system of rule-of-law where the state directs development in preferred ways (Hyung, 2014). To understand the planning situation in China, especially Shenzhen, and the way the government has directed blueprinted city growth with state-owned enterprises and formal structures, a theoretical analysis provides the necessary support. This overview discusses the different topics that are related to open planning processes and learning in Shenzhen and Shekou.

Addressing the Chinese planning system with a Western point of view might not fit in with the actual situation. Primarily the Chinese context must be acknowledged in the analysis of different stakeholders and the role they play. Nowadays there are signs of incorporating more ideas from stakeholders and having experiments with open planning processes (Wang, 2014). However, it is unclear who can join and what organisations are prepared to do so. Graafland & Zhang (2014) state that success will follow from innovation and incorporation in policy processes. If this is the case for Shekou is up for debate. The analysis of scientific ideas and concepts is divided into three themes. These themes are discussed in the order of the sub-questions that guide this research.

The first part is about the open process that slowly settles in Chinese society. What does it mean to have an open planning process and what can be said about

participation in planning processes? The second part is about stakeholder experience. What kind of stakeholders are willing and able to join and what is their role in the planning debate? Are they allowed to come up with new ideas and where do they look for ideas? The third part looks at the particular case of Shenzhen and discusses its regime and path dependency. Whereas Shanghai and Beijing have a rich history of developing dynasties, Shenzhen has built its community in forty years. This rapid development has probably had its impact on the way different organisations position themselves in society and the path that guides the exponential growth.

2.1. Scientific Relevance: Planning Processes in China

The three parts are discussing the open processes, the learning and the path that resorts in a regime. The theory is about planning in China, but also ideas from other planning scholars around the globe are incorporated.

2.1.1. Joining Planning Processes

There are different opinions about the opening up of Chinese planning. Many authors state that planning is moving away from the blueprint and is replaced by a long-term plan (i.e. Wu, 2007, Qian, 2013). One of the reasons the Chinese government is interested could be the financial and social responsibility that follows from a state-led planning system (Ye, 2014; Li et al., 2014). Taking care of all the individual disciplines in planning requires a very large government with authoritarian control. Nevertheless, the current system has resulted in enormous companies and developers with large benefits due to real estate and financial constructs (Ye, 2011). Where in many Western societies these companies accelerated urban growth and created their own individual paths, in China they accelerated urban growth, but remain part of the state-led planning system (Hyung, 2014; Schoon, 2014). China Merchants is the company in Shekou that has been in charge

of development since 1979. The company has grown rapidly and expanded their services with financial planning and real estate (China Merchants, 2015).

The investments by this company turned Shekou and Shenzhen into the factory of China (Wang, 2014). Industrial areas became the norm and attracted workers from all over China. With companies moving out to cheaper places, the area is up for redevelopment. The process for the plan 'Recreate New Shekou' from 2009 was formed by the Shekou Industrial Zone Company Ltd. [SKIZ] and the Urban Planning and Design Institute Shenzhen [UPDIS]. The former is part of the large developer China Merchants, while the latter works in close connection with the local government. Openness of the process comes from consultation of different stakeholders in the area and visiting other cities and countries (SKIZ & UPDIS, 2011). Wang (2014) has the idea that authorities in Shenzhen do not incorporate externally generated ideas. While an open process assumes that different actors are involved and can participate in the process (Wu et al., 2012). The ideal situation is one with society engaging in the 'redistribution of power and resources' (Fang & Zhang, 2003, p.159). This combination of stakeholders should turn planning from a technocratic approach towards a political-economic debate (Wu, 2007). There are different ideas about this change in philosophy of the Chinese planning system. Two examples, the Second Transition and the first generation of Modernism, are explained to indicate what seems to be the result of the change in strategy and philosophy.

Some see the change in Chinese society as a transformation in a wider context regarding the Second Transition and the first generation of Modernism. The success of this transformation follows from the ability to deal with change in the Chinese economy (Tang & Liu, 2002). The Second Transition is a programme that was founded in 2003 and has a special interest in creative spaces in derelict industrial areas. This shift should support the growth of Chinese art and cultural activities (Zielke & Waibel, 2014). The idea of this Second Transition is part of the new plan

for Shekou. The area will be a combination of industrial, commercial, residential and cultural spaces (SKIZ & UPDIS, 2015). The transformation to Modernism is not only about the participation of the creative class, but insists on including the needs and demands of the community into plan-making (Miao, 2011). The richness of the current local communities should be embraced and used as a starting point for new development. Having faith in the possibility of this community to solve planning problems without governmental intervention, is one of its main concerns. The transformation into a more self-sufficient and cultural active society is led by the rising middle class. Their part in planning is acknowledged in theory, but receives little recognition in practice.

Plans and policies are mainly depending on the approval by a local government. The process towards a plan is formed by the respected groups of governments, real estate developer and investors (Ye, 2014). Meanwhile the consultation takes place in the design phase with architects (Zacharias & Tang, 2010). The role of the community and other organisations does not get much attention. This could be explained by a less willing community. Being responsible for the community cause is relatively poorly integrated in the Chinese culture. This will only happen if personal interests are violated (Li et al., 2014). On the other hand, people do voluntarily participate in government designed community projects. The fact that these meetings are state-initiated could indicate that either motivation is not there to do it themselves or their influence is slim. Hyung (2014, p.276) argues that the biggest problem is the access to these projects, as it only involves 'a selected number of residents' representatives'. These arguments make clear that access should come first before any kind of stakeholder learning can occur. Stakeholders can, therefore, be divided into different groups that are in- or excluded and the role they can play in planning. Research shows that local governments, developers, investors come first, with the community not having a strong position (Cheng, 2012). This

community will only have a fair chance for a result when the central government's recognises their capacity and uses it for plan-making (Ma, 2014).

There are several authors pointing in the direction of a restricted group of stakeholders that have access. With that in mind, what can be the use to shift towards an open process, when Fainstein (2009) sees these kind of processes not producing the right outcomes with 'undistorted speech and […] fierce reaction'. The change in policy is hugely instigated by more influential stakeholders with conflicting interests and strategies in society. Several companies and organisations have benefited from the opportunities that erupted in the past decades. As a result these market forces are improving their position in the design of the economic system. This could result in a 'market-led economic transformation' supported by the development of creative industries (Li et al., 2014; Zacharias & Tang, 2010). In contrast to this idea of private organisations having a stake in development, Shin (2008) sees a society where the government and developers are in charge and consultation of any other institute remains slim (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Planning in China
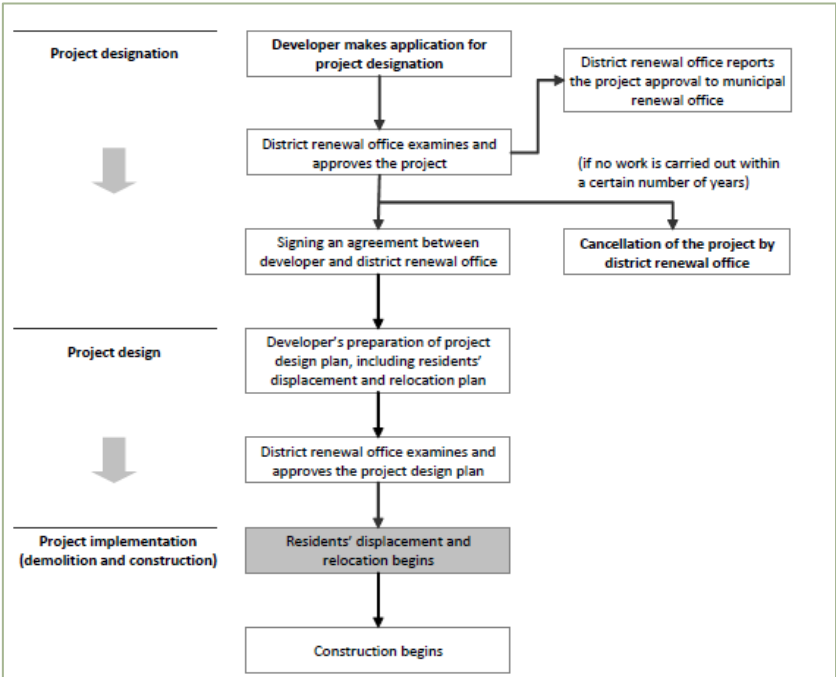
Source: Shin, 2008, p.10

Thus, it is uncertain in what way the stakeholders do have a position in Chinese planning processes. In order to organise the different stakeholders and open planning in a particular manner, the hierarchical ladder of consultation by Plummer & Taylor can help (in: Shin, 2008, p.19):

1. *Initiation or self-management of projects by communities*

2. *Community participation in formal decision-making*

3. *Discussion usually in the early stage of projects*

4. *Expression of views in an organised space*

5. *Attendance to meetings where public agencies make decisions*

6. *Notification of activities by officials*

Although this consultation ladder was developed to show community participation, it can easily be used here. It is used to examine the way different stakeholders in Shekou are consulted. Consultation will result in a debate between two or more stakeholders. It is expected that these stakeholders will learn from each other's ideas and opinions about processes and projects.

2.1.2.   Learning from other Stakeholders

Learning will follow from the participation by stakeholders. There are examples of projects with a constructive cooperation between public and private organisations. However, other authors conclude that there is only a slim possibility to genuinely work together (Altrock & Schoon, 2014). When it comes to property leases expiring after twenty years, the government is eager to let stakeholders think about possibilities and participate in the regeneration of the plots (Zacharias & Tang, 2010). On the other hand, it is often difficult for stakeholders to get a grip on the situation. Access to accurate data is limited, while this is one of the preconditions for reliable plan-making with consultation (Che et al., 2011). Without being informed in a proper way, some stakeholders remain in the dark or act on wrong

assumptions. A 'higher consumer satisfaction' will follow from improving the access to policy practice (Wu & Chen, 2010).

These planning processes are subject to the flows in planning. A particular kind of flexibility makes it possible to have more stakeholders and ideas contributing to the process. Salet et al. (2013) see possibilities to have flexibility deal with the uncertainty that comes from new gradual planning strategies. Salet et al. (2013) figure that the mission must be framed, institutions should be mobilised and a learning platform should support different outcomes. These three steps that are part of the plan for redevelopment of Shekou could indicate that flexibility is part of the process. The project is also interested on the effect on ecology and liveability (Altrock & Schoon, 2014). This trend follows the path of less expected growth in the near future and more resilience in planning. This again calls for flexibility.

Savini (2011) advices 'decision-making arenas' where different stakeholders can find the rules and boundaries of the topic that is up for debate. In these arenas there can be more direct and deliberative participation by private organisations and the community. This way of participating follows the action arena of Ostrom et al. (1961). Effective communication by a large public organisation could result in a non-cooperative crowd and the blight of the community. Dealing with these challenges follows from setting up the legal and physical boundaries of the situation. This framework will make clear which stakeholders should be in- or excluded and what kind of information is used (Ostrom, 1986). By setting up these arrangements an enduring form of power can be established. Power which is defined by governing coalitions that have the capacity to foster the urban agendas (Savini, 2012). In this situation the interdependency of public and private matters is the starting point.

The planning process can start from this inclusive and interactive dialogue with all stakeholders equally able to participate and share knowledge (Cheng, 2013). This process could even include the users and inhabitants of the area. Probably in

cooperation with the respected regime of the local authorities and developers (Kang & Hua, 2007). However, the fact that these processes remain top-down 'leaves little opportunity for informality or innovation' (Denilson, 2012, p.54). Another approach with interaction between stakeholders could have better results, this could lead to a competitive approach between different consortia of stakeholders. This could stimulate learning. Research shows that competition between public and private stakeholders results in more effective use of space (Yang & Chang, 2007). Moreover, the market can provide mechanisms through competition and learning. Competition makes society more efficient and learning can help with corrections in the right direction (Pierson, 2000, p.260). Others claim that the actual project should determine what kind of stakeholder inclusion takes place. Public rule works best when ideas are exploited, while private input should be used when new ideas are explored. Innovation will follow from these private actors, while public authorities will mostly slow these developments down (Ferreira et al., 2012).

The debate on public and private stakeholder is also concerned with another, less apparent, concept. It is about the way people can share information and think about ways to make proper decisions. The use of knowledge that is somewhere hosted in public or private organisations, information that can lead to the best solution to particular challenges. The use of this best product of sharing, the knowledge of many, relates to the theme of 'collective knowledge'. This is a concept that is widely discussed in scientific studies, but is difficult to pin down and understand. It is about a collective result; a product of memory, learning, management, culture, practice and routine. The individual perception of any of these concepts in a collective manner can be seen as collective knowledge (Hecker, 2012, p.423). While this concept was initially about organisational practices, it has been picked up by architects and planners to make integrated knowledge-based decisions (Hecker, 2012). Collective knowledge follows the principle of the 'accumulated knowledge of

the organisation stored in its rules, procedures, routines and shared norms, which guide the problem-solving activities and patterns of interaction among its members' (Lam, 2000, p.491). The risk in accumulating all kinds of ideas and theories is that it is useless when it comes to the relationship between different concepts. Therefore Hecker (2012) introduces three concepts: the shared knowledge, complementary knowledge and knowledge embedded in collective artifacts. The shared knowledge comes down to sharing of experiences and rules by a group of individuals. The complementary indicates that the knowledge by different individuals makes up for the total of knowledge. Experiences from different fields match and add up to more knowledge in general about a process or product (Hecker, 2012, p.428). The knowledge embedded in collective artifacts is of less use here as it discusses the knowledge that rests in documents and databases. The lessons from the collective knowledge debate can be of use for the concepts for open planning processes. Hecker (2012, p.431) has the idea that 'collective performance depends on coordinating the distributed knowledge and activities of the collective members'. It is the guidance of knowledge that improves the performance. It is interesting to see of any kind of this guidance takes place in China by the stakeholders that have the ability to instigate the performance. The main question for these organisations is the way to manage this knowledge in a proper manner. Between several groups in Chinese society a kind of knowledge sharing does already take place.

Especially for the community and different NGOs that had slim changes of influencing the plan-making, the growth in technology and interconnectivity has great results. Due to better ways of connecting community projects, stakeholders can learn from situations elsewhere. There is an increase in possibilities expected with the continuously growing group that gains access to these platforms (Cheng, 2013). In this new era, the interaction between the government and society will be decisive (Wuttke, 2011; Li, 2011). On the other hand, there could also be a shift

towards more creative and cultural class (Webster, 2011) or a more neo-liberal approach (Gaubatz, 1999, Zacharias & Tang, 2010). These different views on the relations between stakeholders indicate that it is difficult to fully rely on the results from an individual research and use it for general statements. There are several possible explanations for this insufficiency of researching particular topics in China. It could be that the moment of conducting the research and the change in governance is of influence, it could also depend on the location in China where the events take place or the actors and stakeholders that were part of the research.

2.1.2.1. Learning from other Locations

Zhang and Fang (2004) compared the way planning took place in the United States of America in the 1950s and 1960s with the development in China in the 1980s. In both cases the government developed or subsidised large-scale projects to improve living conditions. Enforcing change with more stakeholders neglects the huge amount of benefits that comes along with this process. It can become a battlefield of stakeholders fighting for their share and projects (Cheng, 2012).

Many learning processes follow from top-down initiated plans. Within the Pearl River Delta, different strategies are integrated with other plans in the area (Altrock & Schoon, 2014). Guangzhou and Shenzhen both intended their redevelopment approach on regenerating old town areas, urbanised villages and former industrial areas, which is called the 'Three Olds Regeneration Policy'. As a result, or in order to be similar attractive, cities grow and develop in the same way. They cannot stand out or be different (Zacharias & Tang, 2010). Learning between these different cities and Special Economic Zones takes place by inter-visitation programmes where delegations visit other cities and take the new experiences home (Li & Wu, 2014). These projects are focused on the results instead of the process. Which makes them interesting to take in mind, but less useful for the stakeholder consultation debate.

2.1.3.   From Path to Regime

According to Stone (1989: in Hin & Xin, 2011) the regime theory started in the 1950s and 1960s and believes in 'community power'. A regime is an 'informal yet relatively stable group with access to institutional resources that enable it to have a sustained role in making government decisions'. The theory strongly beliefs in a cooperation between governmental and non-governmental organisations that can help in 'understanding the variety of responses to urban change' (Stoker, 1995, p.54). Stoker adds that the path per regime might differ from country to country. Therefore, it could be that the Western approach works out differently than the Chinese. The latter type of planning has been discussed in previous paragraphs and is formed by more formal structures with local authority. The regime theory helps with understanding the functioning of this kind of planning. It sees power not solely as an 'issue of social control' but as a result of 'social production'. There are particular preconditions that make it possible for certain organisations to form 'long-term coalitions [...] in order to accomplish public purposes' (Stoker, 1995, p.55). The situation in Shenzhen is rather different from other cities that have a rich history of elites and development. Beijing and Shanghai have historic paths of over 1000 years ago, while Shenzhen and Shekou have been around, in this condition, for not more than forty years (Zielke & Waibel, 2014). It could be expected that due to historic events other organisations in older Chinese cities have a role in the planning debate, while this would not be the case for Shenzhen. It could give a different way of functioning by the regime and a different path that follows from its actions. Together with a national trend this gives all kinds of different planning possibilities.

At the moment the planning strategy and philosophy is changing. Wu (2007) sees a change in the way local authorities look at planning in China. During the Reform Period in the 1990s with investments from abroad, strategy plans and consultation were introduced in the planning debate (Figure 9).

Figure 9: Re-orientation of the city plan in China

Table 1
Re-orientation of the city plan in China

	The pre-reform period	The reform period
Planning rationale	Technical feasibility/physical design	Declaration of economic/development goals
Aims	'Serving production and facilitating the living of working class'	Enhancing economic competitiveness, branding the place, and serving inward investment
Style	Blueprint style design	Strategic statement and policy recommendation
Functionality of planning	Producing internal government documents, development guidelines, coordination among different economic sectors	Producing statements, slogans, policy recommendations, convincing investors, coordinating lower governments such as districts and suburban counties, justification for exceeding national standards
Input of the planning system	Commands from the supervisory government departments and national planning standards	Vision of political elites and the professionals, advice from purchased consultants
Output of the planning system	Master plan – detailed construction plan	'Concept plan' (strategy plan) and project-based urban design
Approach of plan-making	Internal tasks assigned to planning and design institutes	Planning consultation and design contests

Source: compiled by the author.

Source: Wu, 2007, p.382

In many planning processes a particular regime of stakeholders takes care of urban planning. In Shekou the regime is formed by a similar group of stakeholders as in the rest of China (Zacharias & Tang, 2010). These regimes are growth coalitions between local governments, private developers and investors (Ye, 2011). Although sometimes designers and other private organisations are mentioned, institutions that support or represent the community are hardly part of any kind of planning process. Wu (2007, p.381) tries to explain this by stating that this is due to the 'classless society and the productionist view of planned industrial growth'. Others believe that it largely depends on the willingness of the local authority to have other groups participating (Hin & Xin, 2011). It is not perfectly clear what these regimes are made of. However, it is not solely about the stakeholders that have to be part of this regime following from the theory, but it is about a particular group of elites, in any form, that decide upon the events in a particular area (Chen et al., 2015). This regime could be constituted by many groups and is discussed in this research with an open view. Different stakeholders had a large share in the development of Shekou and make up for its regime and its path dependency. This path dependency follows from the historic path by the regime that has significant effects on the way an area develops with the input from other organisations that can have a role in the

planning process. Path dependency and its relationship with the regime is up for debate.

Regimes in planning can make up for the path of development over a period of time. This path dependency is an interesting theme in planning. It defines the direction of growth as the events of the past show the direction for the future. It is the governance structure of an area that has grown over time and significantly influences the planned environment. Kantor (2012) sees this occurring in all kind of political systems, with or without a centralised system. Incremental adjustment by governments defines the path. The direction of political action is mainly supported by local and global economic events that follow from these historic paths. From the same starting point 'specific patterns of timing and sequence matter' when all kind of combinations will have different social outcomes (Pierson, 2000, p.251).The path in China follows from the regime that dates back to the 1990s. After the regime of the central government and developers created and designed the new Special Economic Zones, the local governments gained more authority in the 1990s (Cheng, 2012). After twenty years the central government delegated more power in these Special Economic Zones to the lower tiers. The way the regimes function now is based on the process that followed after this delegation of power. The governments adapted their financial systems to international models from Hong Kong, Seoul and Singapore to maximise benefits. The structural results for the community was mere compensation for buildings and urban land used for redevelopment (Cheng, 2012). While this was cheered on by property developers, the situation was different for the community. Most of the governmental officials argued that the introduction of community participation in urban redevelopment projects would result in endless panel discussions. An opinion that matches the former governmental policies on meeting social and economic targets (Shin, 2008).

The situation in Shenzhen is different from the historical entities of Beijing and Shanghai. The path of Shenzhen's regime has been around for only forty years, with the current situation that has been designed about twenty years ago. This incredible fast development has had its influence on the way society has formed itself. Therefore, the Special Economic Zones cannot easily be compared without acknowledging this path dependency. Changing from one path to another will cause financial or social challenges, the 'increasing returns'. This risk of increasing returns means that it is difficult to change the situation to a previous state. This is seen as a lock-in, making it almost impossible to move in a direction that was previously possible. Events have been moving in a particular direction, therefore, it will become really difficult to change the route into another direction that was a possibility in the past (Mahoney, 2000, p.512). Only with the intervention of huge effort or capital these situations could be adjusted. Moreover, the windows of opportunity to intervene in these situations are very slim. Only during these scarce moments it is possible to have an institutional transformation (Buitelaar et al., 2007). The increasing returns of path dependency are in conflict with the call for flexibility (Salet et al., 2012). If a particular path goes in a certain direction there is hardly any flexibility left due to the costs that come along. Moreover, the outcome remains unpredictable and may be inefficient (Pierson, 2000).

One of the possibilities to change the political situation is by new forms of urban behaviour that have to spring in society. The community must feel that they are controlling the change that occurs in the system and, therefore, create their own path to the future (Folke et al., 2005). Especially the strategy by institutions on managing for control and stability does instigate these new voices rising. Institutions in these regimes should focus on understanding the dynamics of the system instead of seeking for detailed knowledge (Folke et al., 2005). The regime implies that there are particular policy mechanisms for stakeholders to participate. If

theory and practice of these mechanisms is understood, one should be able to have a particular form of participation (Xingping et al., 2012). Institutional coordination will have an increasing role in planning outcomes. Therefore, the growth aim of the local government seems within reach with a regime that accommodates a particular development. However, the government is not solely capable to erect every individual construction, the 'capacity requires both public and private actors' (Ye, 2014, p.125).

Together with the regime that has been decisive in the development of Shekou, the idea of stakeholders to change the policy mechanisms by participation indicates that the regime is mostly about a network of respected participants. While there was a slim group of participants in the past, there could be a larger group that takes care of the planning process in the future. The change in regime could, thus, mainly be about extending the network of contributors to the planning system.

2.1.4. Lonely Together

It has become clear that the open process with its stakeholders is a difficult construct. There is a lack of access for some organisations to join the planning process. Moreover, there is a shortage of information for all stakeholders to deal with the situation at hand. In the meantime, private forces get a stronger position in society and feel that they should influence planning. Consultation of any kind is challenged by the reigning regime that does not know how to cope with the movements in society.

When thinking of the collective knowledge, the action-arenas and the regime theory with its path decisiveness, there is the idea that they share the same values. The main element of these concepts is an integration of stakeholders with ideas. The position of different stakeholder in any of these processes is organised and defined by their input, authoritarian control or other form of decisive power. Moreover, the

three concepts are interrelated to the point that the path that is constructed and interferes with its regime attributes to a particular action-arena. The use of this action arena and the access to this process define the value of the collective knowledge on that particular topic or project. Understanding this relation contributes to the point of view taken on open processes. On the other hand, it is the Chinese context and its access that should not be neglected.

Therefore, this research looks at the incorporation of stakeholders into the planning process for 'Recreate New Shekou'. With the different concepts of the previous paragraph in mind the plan-making in the Special Economic Zone of Shenzhen is examined. One of the goals is to see what changes occur to the regime in Shenzhen. Is it possible for different organisations to influence the planning process and are ideas incorporated that come from particular stakeholders in the area or are Western types of planning preferred? There were different comments about the latter, as some scholars state that the Chinese context is an unique example, while others claim that many projects show similarities with projects in Europe and the USA.

2.2. Societal Relevance

The involvement of more stakeholders strengthens the mutual learning processes of different actors. This results in larger public awareness of participation and urban planning issues, which strengthens cohesion in local communities and provides new channels by which government and society could interact (Cheng, 2013). The more opened-up economy will only adjust to new situations with a 'parallel shift in its class relationship, private property and all other institutional structures that typically ground a thriving capitalist economy' (Wang, 2014, p.30). There is a mismatch between the economic prosperity and its societal consequences. An open planning process could result in learning curves by government and society for an appropriate institutional design.

The example of Shenzhen slightly differs from other Special Economic Zones in China. While other Special Economic Zones have existing cities as base for expansion, the whole of Shenzhen is a Special Economic Zone. However, the rapid development has given it the same privileges other large cities receive (Zacharias & Tang, 2010). On the other hand, this rapid development has resulted in less participation by tenants and users.

In the case of the cultural district of OCT in Shenzhen the tenants in this area do not consider themselves involved in the plan-making and design of the region. Zielke & Waibel (2014, p.104) consider this as one of the elements of an 'authoritative top-down' regime. In the community participation ladder of Shin (2008) the participation of the community in OCT would be addressed to the lower regions, indicating that there is much room for improvement in involvement. Regarding redevelopment projects, the residents are averted from participation in design and process. The important decisions follow from debates between local governments and developers. The places in China where this is different, do still rely on salaried members for day-to-day operation. With the knowledge of where these salaries come from, this means that most of these neighbourhood affair committees are seen as 'residents' participation in state organised space' (Shin, 2008, p.3-4). There are other ways for these districts to develop, as the example of the Bata family shows (Figure 10).

Figure 10: Batatown: Company town and its significance

In the town of Zlin in Czechoslovakia three siblings founded a shoe manufactory. The shoe business headed off and more expertise was needed. The increased demand led to the need for more professionals. To support this new workforce Bata developed housing, schools and hospitals for the workers and their families. The opinion was that the business should serve the public. After World War I Bata introduced the system of participation in innovation by his employees. Expansion over the world started. After World War II the founder's son moved to Canada with 100 families to flee from the communist regime. The project in Canada ended although its success was widely recognised. However, Chinese production made it not profitable to remain in production in Canada (Belleville News, 2013). The former closed-loop company town in Canada, with all companies related or oriented towards the factory was redeveloped. Old monumental buildings remained and the redevelopment took place in cooperation with what was left of the community. Most members had spread all over Canada, but the remaining community remained closely connected. The success of the project came from the inclusion of the former employees and inhabitants. Their relocation occurred in accordance with the community, without any additional costs. Existing vendors got new spaces to sell their products and residual space was used for the strengthening of the community with public facilities remaining in function (Roy & Ong, 2011).

Meanwhile, the Bata concern behind the Iron Wall was looking for a new purpose. The remaining Bata members altered their strategy and focused on innovative strategies with a broad approach towards products, store concepts, merchandising and non-footwear products (Bata, 2015). A lot of research and design took place in Zlin and the town still benefits from this situation. The results of the innovation processes after World War I and World War II are still of significance to the company town. Zlin has a University and Technology centre that has its history closely related to the presence of the Bata concern.

The example of Batatown shows the influence a company or movement can have on the way an area and community is created. In Shekou the role of China Merchants can be compared to the influence of Bata shoes on the way Zlin has developed and Batatown in Canada was constructed. Due to the ideas of China Merchants in the early 1980s and the new plan for redevelopment of 2009 the company is decisive in what happens in Shekou. This shows the path of Shekou, that is largely depending on the way China Merchants operates in the area. Therefore, considering the example of Shekou as one of a kind, is only one part of the story. This example of Bata, there are actually more examples of these towns in the USA, shows that good things can come from a large stakeholder that builds a community. As long as the ideology of founder Bata is acknowledged, that the business should serve the public. This proposition is claimed to be part of 'Recreate New Shekou'. The question is to what extent the public is served by the developer and how the role of the public serves the plan.

The growing middle-class has a particular influence on the way society is organised. This group could be eager to take over some governmental functions or at least have influence on particular outcomes, while a lot of decisions by governmental authorities and SOEs rely on the personal whims of politicians and CEOs. Whenever

there is a change in board, the direction of the company and its community slowly alters (Chen et al., 2015). The way society and its elite function directs the redevelopment of Shekou. Although it seems that this might be a time-to-time changing situation, it is not clear what the situation is at the moment (April 2015). Besides the change in leadership, governmental control itself is changing. The competition between cities has an influence on the way the cities are governed. Local autonomy arises and the responsibility of higher tiers in governmental authority degrades (Zacharias & Tang, 2010). The effects this has on planning is not well understood.

2.2.1. Theory Meets Practice

The theoretical analysis shows the situation in China, the Pearl River Delta and Shenzhen. The societal approach adds some insight in the way public participation and open planning functions and the role the community partakes. From this theoretical examination it becomes clear that China is effectively less open than some suggest. However, the rapid growth and change indicate that processes adjust in such fast ways that it is hardly possible to use information from a couple of years ago. To get better notion of what is happening now, information gathered in China could provide more insight into the situation. How to collect data and what is important to take in mind is up for discussion first, when afterwards the results are examined.

2.3. What Theory Assumes

The different theoretical concepts and societal trends lead to a set of assumptions that can be examined in the Chinese context. These assumptions are strongly related to the sub-questions. They are the conclusion of the theoretical exploration and lead to the debate on how to properly test them in practice.

Several authors suggest that open planning processes take place in China. Therefore, by asking different stakeholders how they perceive their position in planning it becomes clear if open processes are part of the planning culture (1). Furthermore, open planning processes can be constructed by different sets of stakeholders, which leads to more actors at one table (2). The players at this table have a more market-led orientation with a smaller government, which leads to a mixed set of stakeholders that join forces (3). Different authors claim that a governmental authority remains in charge to set out the rules of the game. The balance of stakeholders will provide more information (4). By showing interest into the idea generation of different stakeholders, one can see what the influence of other parts in China or the world have on the redevelopment debate (5). Disregarding the good intentions, finding out who can join the process is key in discovering its openness. While the ambition is that more stakeholders can join these processes, cooperate and share ideas for mutual learning, the transition is not as far as it can be (6). Some authors state that open processes slow development down and lead to more complex planning situations. The stakeholders will shed some light on this idea (7).

1.   Open planning processes are acknowledged in Chinese practice

2.   Open processes result in more stakeholders incorporated

3.   Stakeholders are made up of government, developers and users

4.   New ideas are heavily depending on governmental authority

5.   Influence of Western/other districts on planning issues remains slim

6.   Open processes are not including all relevant stakeholders

7.   Urge and necessity for open processes are less apparent with private actors

3. Methodology: Research in the planning of China

The analysis of the different elements in the theoretical framework has been only the beginning. The theoretical concepts function as input for the data collection in Shenzhen. During a period of six weeks data is retrieved from different stakeholders in Shenzhen and Shekou. The information is used to get a better grip on the situation and provide answers to the research question and the sub-questions. Important concerns were the willingness to corporate, the objectivity of the data and the ways of communication.

3.1. Methods and Theory: Conducting Research

The research had to incorporate information and ideas from different stakeholders in Shenzhen. It had to become clear who is included and excluded from decision-making. Moreover, to what extent do the ideas from other stakeholders and places have an influence on the plans made or the direction taken by the regime? Collecting the appropriate data included having heard opinions from the majority of actors involved. This became a challenge due to the topic of open processes and the cultural barrier. Several authors showed that different approaches give possibilities for collecting data in China.

Many of these researchers did not get involved in actual on-site data collection in China and Shenzhen. Statistical data was collected by themselves or via agencies (Qing et al., 2013), it was a literature or policy examination (Zacharias & Tang, 2010) or a combination with some interviews (Li, 2011). Cheng et al. (2011) conducted their research by acquiring geographical data in order to perform a GIS-analysis. Other authors tried to join forces and combine Western cases with cases in China. This provided a good comparison-study and functioned by collecting data at an University in China (Chen et al., 2015). These authors showed the possibility of conducting different types of research without having to only rely on collecting data from the government or via individuals. However, this research takes special interest

in the ideas from the majority of the stakeholders. Therefore, only examining data from a distance does not fit in with the purpose and goals of this research.

The stakeholders in Shenzhen were expected to have different positions and views on the redevelopment of industrial areas like Shekou. This could best be examined by what Bryman (2012, p.63) calls a 'qualitative research within a cross-sectional design'. This cross-sectional design can be seen as a further quantitative, cross-sectional evaluation of the information. By hearing different opinions and ideas about the same area, the role of the stakeholders became clear.

This methodology was expected to be the best remedy to the uncertainty and flexibility of collecting data abroad. The qualitative approach focuses on the role different stakeholders have, and meet the 'inductivist, constructionist and interpretivist' criteria of conducting qualitative research (Bryman, 2012, p.380). While this assumes a more inductive approach, the actual design can be seen in a deductive sense. Different assumptions and theoretical elements are presented that are tested in Shenzhen. This testing of theories and the falsification of assumptions, is a deductive approach to planning.

3.1.1.   The Collection of Data in Shekou

This research initially relied on the full cooperation of stakeholders and free access to data required. It was not reasonable to think that this would actually be the case. Therefore, collecting proper, non-biased information was a challenge for reliability and validity. Not only in this research, most cases where qualitative methods are given priority it results in difficulties with trustworthiness and objectivity (Bryman, 2012). This challenge was best dealt with by giving a clear structure to the interviews and thoroughly preparing the direction of data collection.

The interviewees of this research contributed by giving different insights on open planning processes in China and Shenzhen. What role did the stakeholders play in

this redevelopment? Were there any means to fasten or influence these processes either by local authorities, private investors or other stakeholders? When the answers must be found in a policy document or by a survey, the preferred results would be hard to find. Interaction between different stakeholders would also be difficult to analyse in a statistical manner. Therefore, a qualitative approach should give more appropriate results for this research. Due to possible setbacks and a better understanding of personal preferences, the concept was transformed into a more multidisciplinary approach. As with open processes, ideally every stakeholder in Shekou District could join this research. However, the main goal is to find companies and organisations, besides China Merchants and the National or Local government, that were interested in joining the redevelopment of the area. This could either be by giving degraded buildings new uses, having idea sharing activities or deal with China Merchants or the government on the actual redevelopment. Several private organisations and NGOs had an idea about the openness of the process and the way redevelopment works out. The goal of this research was to get input from all these different stakeholders to avoid any bias.

3.1.2.   The Interviewees

According to the conceptual model a set group of stakeholders was interesting to include in the research. These organisations are: China Merchants, the Local government, different NGOs, private parties and other interesting stakeholders. Up front it was possible to arrange meetings with the UABB (Urbanism and Architecture Bi-ciety Biennale) and Ole Bouman (director of Shekou Design Museum). Other important stakeholders in the area were found during the introduction week of the University of Amsterdam. Riptide is a NGO and company that tries to strengthen communities by having the community interact with the build-up environment. The Project Initiatives of architect Barry Wilson was also part of the introduction week. He has been living in China for over twenty years and deals with the planning

system every day. His office is located in Shekou. By hearing his opinion at a later point in the research, the opinions from other organisations could be questioned.

The Shenzhen Daily reported on the 23rd of November 2011 that SKIZ organised an event to inform expatriates about the upcoming physical changes and hear their opinion about it. Ouyang Fang from SKIZ was in charge of this meeting. After reading the article in the newspaper it became clear that her point of view was critical for this research. Unfortunately, the spokesperson of the expatriates had moved to Hong Kong, making it impossible to hear her opinion and evaluate the results. 'Recreate New Shekou' was created by a cooperation between the Urban Planning and Design Institute in Shenzhen and the Shekou Industrial Zone Company, Ltd.. To get an idea of what was important, planning departments from both institutes became part of this research.

There have been attempts to get in contact with reporters from the Shenzhen Daily, the architecture company Node and employees of the Shenzhen Centre for Design. However, they did not want to participate due to the lack of information they thought they could provide. Hearing from the interviewees how they feel about these particular stakeholders provided at least a framework of the activities of these organisations.

As a result nine different interviews were conducted. The different interviews lasted at least half an hour and some took up till two hours. In two cases an interpreter assisted with conducting the interview. The interviews were all semi-structured with a strict set of topics that relate to the themes of this research. The topics are listed below.

Topic-list with Questions

TOPIC	QUESTION(S)
Evolution and change in planning in the past period (10-40 years)	What has the stakeholder noticed of open planning processes and how does planning function in China and Shenzhen?
Stakeholder positions within this period	What kind of changes took place in stakeholder positions? Have new stakeholders joined the scene and who is in charge?
Participation and idea incorporation of stakeholders	Are the ideas of different stakeholders incorporated in the planning process and does this have an effect in practice?
Implementation and responsibility by stakeholders	Which stakeholders do participate in implementation and has anything changed about the responsibility per stakeholder?
Initiator redevelopment projects	Following from the previous topic who initiates redevelopment projects?
Communities in industrial areas and redevelopment	What is the role of communities in redevelopment? Are they initiating new projects themselves or stimulated to do so?
Idea generation from China, USA or Europe	Where do stakeholders look for ideas when talking about redevelopment?
Sharing of knowledge and the cooperation and competition between cities	Who shares knowledge and who has access to this information? In what way do other cities and Shekou exchange information?

3.1.3. The Interview and the Planning Game

All the interviews had an emphasis on a slightly different topic of the planning debate. The position of the stakeholder defined for an essential part the way the

interview was conducted and the information that was provided. Nevertheless, all interviewees were eager to speak about the different topics and provide information. For the analysis it is important to notice what part of the interviews are opinions and what part are facts. The view of other stakeholders helps to find out if particular events took place. Besides the different questions that were asked to the participants, a short game was played to get a view on the planning preferences. This game forced the player to make decisions about preferences on the best division in stakeholders, type of compensation and way of redevelopment. This game helped with the bundling of problems and differences in opinion and led to the first steps of collaborative learning. Moreover, the elements most stakeholders agreed on, would be factors for success in other redevelopment processes. However, during the research the game became difficult to play with Chinese stakeholders. While the Western participants were eager to play the game and had comments on the way they thought the situation should work out, other interviewees were reluctant to play. Therefore, the results of the game are not incorporated, but their comments do contribute to the research to show the way different stakeholders look at planning in China.

3.2. The Stakeholder and its Position

Not all stakeholders had an equal position in the redevelopment of Shekou. China Merchants (Jin & Zheng), SKIZ (Fang) and UPDIS (Long) do all have a clear view on what is being developed in Shekou. They are either financially or executively responsible or part of the plan-making. The UABB (Lan) and Shenzhen Shuzhan (Wang, consultant of China Merchants) have strong ties with the first group of stakeholders, but are depending on the activities and views of the first group. Their opinion is convenient to incorporate, but they could be on the side of the developer, since they have interests in the actions of China Merchants and SKIZ. The last group is made up of Riptide (Patte), Project Initiatives (Wilson) and Ole Bouman. These

three stakeholders have a different position in Shekou. Riptide is a company that tries to strengthen community participation. Project Initiatives is a bureau of architects that has to deal with many large developers. Their way of looking at the way planning is changing in China is interesting to include. Bouman is director of the new design museum in Shekou and has information about the trends and developments in the area. The position of these stakeholders differ. They are all not actively participating in the plan-making for Shekou, but have different experiences. Riptide tries to influence China Merchants to take more notion of the community, while Project Initiatives has experience with all kind of developers in the Pearl River Delta. Ole Bouman is strongly related to the largest stakeholder in the area, as SKIZ is the founder of the new museum he will be directing.

The role of different stakeholders is summarised best by part knowledge and part opinion. All stakeholders hold different positions in the redevelopment of Shekou. Therefore, the information provided per topic differs or has a complete different angle. After the interviews it was possible to group the stakeholders and show their position in relation to the others (Figure 10). The conceptual scheme had a division in five types of stakeholders. The participants of this research have a particular role in Shekou or Shenzhen. China Merchants and Shekou Industrial Zone Company Ltd. are represented by the interviews with Jin & Zheng and Fang. Although the government is not directly part of this research, the Urban Planning and Design Institute Shenzhen has a close connection with the government and supports and influences plan-making. Therefore, the interview with Long is with some respect considered as having a view of the government on redevelopment. The different private organisations and NGOs belong to the groups Private and NGO of the conceptual scheme. The interview with Bouman does not directly relate to any of these organisations and is considered 'Other'.

Figure 10: Stakeholder position (left) and relation to Shekou (right)
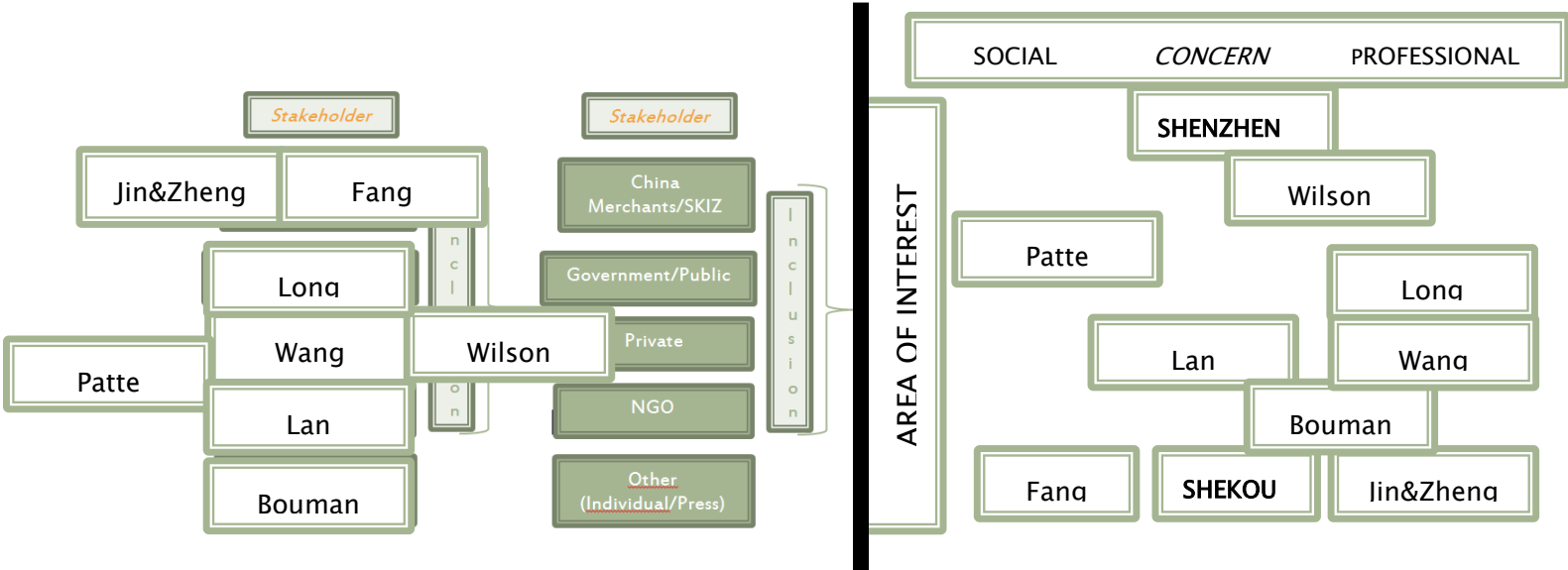
The representation by the stakeholders of the groups of the conceptual scheme is only one possible approach to organise the stakeholders. Another way is to look at the participants by organising them by their social or professional role and there area of concern (Figure 10). Some stakeholders have less influence on the situation in Shekou, but are professionally concerned on a larger scale (Wilson). Others have a very close connection to Shekou and are less interested in the rest of Shenzhen (i.e. Fang & Bouman). This way of organising the different stakeholders makes it possible to see if an opinion of a participant has to be seen in the context of Shenzhen or Shekou and from a more social approach to planning or a more professional view. This overview helps to understand the position of the participants and sheds some light on their perspective. Ideally all stakeholders could be linked to a scheme with all relational connections and other (biased) variables, but it is difficult to get a grip on other aspects that might be of influence to their opinion and decision-making.

3.3. Leaving the premises: What is next?

After the interviews had been conducted the next part of the research started: understanding the results and linking them with the theory. With the help of Atlas.ti it was possible to organise the conversations with the different stakeholders in Shekou. This programme helped with bringing order to the information after the

interviews had been transcribed. By labelling quotes from respondents it became possible to compare the different views and opinions. The data that followed from this analysis will be used to describe the results in the next chapter. The presentation of the results takes place by following the order of the topic-list that has been presented in a previous paragraph. Up front it was expected that the regime theory and path dependency would fit in with the different topics of the topic list. However, the conducted data made it clear that it would work out better if it was discussed in a separate paragraph. Therefore, the final part of the results will look at elements of the regime theory that are part of the design for 'Recreate New Shekou' and in what way path dependency had its impact on the development of Shekou.

4. Results & Analysis

The outline of the results follows the order of topics used during the interviews. It depended on the knowledge of the stakeholder if subjects were either relatively intensively or hardly discussed. Consequently this led to the incorporation of views of only some stakeholders on particular topics. Not all topics were that important to all stakeholders. As these interviews tried to get different perspectives of Shekou, it is not a problem that not all stakeholders knew about everything. Especially the diversity in knowledge makes up for the puzzle that is Shekou.

Evolution and Change in Chinese planning in the past 40 years

Planning in China has changed enormously in the last forty years. The fact that a crowd could prevent the government from building a waste processing plant in Guangdong shows the change in attitude (Int. Wilson, 2015). The community does step forward and is not afraid anymore. Which is contradictory to events in the past. The final challenge remains in attracting the right companies for Shekou. The call for creative enterprises with value for the community is difficult to translate to company profiles (Int. Jin & Zheng, 2015). Together with this creative approach comes the urge for density. There is great pressure on space and China Merchants does not exactly know how to deal with this demand (Int. Long, 2015). The task is further intensified by the Da Nang mountain and the waterfront that limit the room for expansion. Moreover, the road network is restricted due to the dead-end location of Shekou (Int. Long, 2015).

These challenges do actually come at a moment in time that the ideology of planning is changing. There is a continuous flow of new struggles that have to be dealt with in a proper way. For planning this means finding the right match for the change in demographics and health care. Due to the one-child policy the care for elderly will become difficult. Moreover, the housing market cannot offer what

society demands. The large developers deal with this challenge by having small trials to see how they can cope with this change in society. In practice this results in a model of 'we have got time to watch and learn and research and then apply' (Int. Wilson, 2015). Local government and developers care more about people's needs, which is a new phase for the planning industry (Int. Long, 2015). The land use is more pedestrian oriented and new rules for motorised vehicles are set up (Int. Long, 2015). This change has become compulsory by the Chinese authorities. China Merchants has to change the land use of the area every twenty years. Leases expire if the company cannot deal with vacancy. Therefore, to comply with this rule, the company allows other organisations to be part of the redevelopment in Shekou (Int. Lan, 2015). This new approach also comes from the uncertainty about what to do with derelict industrial sites. There are examples of re-using these sites, but this goes along with huge investments. Although the E-Cool is a beautiful example of the regeneration of an old factory, it is not possible to have this capital intensive rehabilitation at every location. Private companies do have to participate or join the process of idea generation (Int. Long, 2015).

This change in thinking about planning does not account for all projects. There remain numerous examples of ad hoc planning with quickly-decided creations (Int. Patte, 2015). If these projects do not deliver, the Chinese learn very fast from their mistakes. It is part of the planning experience they are going through. Chinese governments and planners are making these mistakes, but are able to adjust them in a short period of time. This differs from the situation in many Western societies with many endless meetings and theoretical analyses (Int. Wilson, 2015). In general, the situation in China does sometimes seems a wait-and-see (Int. Wilson, 2015). Governments and developers do not want to be the first to make a mistake and look at others for ideas and concepts.

In Shekou the situation remains little different to other places in Shenzhen. Due to the presence of two large developers that are part of one company, there is great complexity in governance. In some occasions the company does not fully understand what other departments are developing in the area (Int. Bouman, 2015). This could result in great difficulties in organising events and properly using information from consultation sessions. On the other hand, this could also follow the process of delaying new trends in planning. Many governments and developers in China are not fully acquainted to a more open planning process. It is not yet fully understood, therefore, it takes time to get used to it (Int. Lan, 2015). At the moment this results in contradictory behaviour by large developers. These huge stakeholders are copying ideas without really understanding what they are copying. When Western organisations try to point out that some decisions are not advisable, the response is that they do not understand the Chinese design and planning (Int. Wilson, 2015). Recently, the planning approach in the Pearl River Delta moved to a state of experimentation with catalysts for growth (Int. Fang, 2015; Int. Wilson, 2015). This concept relies on the initiation of small initiatives in an area to stimulate subsequent effects from users and organisations that are part of the area or enter after these initiatives started. In the case of the Biennale it is a temporary solution to a problem that has effects on the plan for the area. The legacy of the Biennale helps with turning that part of Shekou into a creative melting pot of start-ups, individuals and related companies. The idea of these catalysts is that they are a first step that should be reacted upon by society. This new type of planning differs from what happened in the past forty years. It could have different effects on the atmosphere that is Shekou. A more open, market oriented approach can stimulate the growth in the area in different ways. Opinions about this new method vary, but it does imply a reaction by other organisations and stakeholders. For many stakeholders it is a challenging new situation, but for some organisations it could make them become

part of this new process. The changing role of the different stakeholders and the new organisations that participate is discussed in the next paragraph.

Stakeholder position in the last 40 years

Next to the aesthetic differences in the Shekou over the past forty years, the role of stakeholders has also changed. The way stakeholders could participate changed several times. Initially the community had great influence in the development of Shekou in the early 1980s (Int. Patte, 2015). This period lasted for a couple of years, but gave difficulties for the government and China Merchants. For the following twenty years the community had little influence and planning was organised by developers with the government. Recently this situation started to change again and moved towards a more open planning process. One of the examples is the exchange of knowledge and ideas during salons with businessmen, scholars and the community (Int. Fang, 2015). The concept of consultation of thirty years ago turned out to be a failure and it is uncertain what the results of these events will be. For the moment it is mostly about creating and testing ideas and getting the right response (Int. Fang, 2015). After five successive months more than hundred people join these meetings. The idea is to expand this group over time. There are different opinions from stakeholders in the area about these events and its impact. This will be discussed further on.

The stakeholder position had to adjust to the changing environment in the early 1980s with a lot of companies settling in Shekou. These companies took care of their workforce and arranged the surrounding environment to their likings. When Shekou grew bigger the role of the non-institutionalised organisations faded away, this was mainly due to their strong opinion on particular topics (Int. Fang, 2015). In the meantime the relationship between China Merchants and the government changed. The developer became relatively independent and started behaving like an enterprise instead of fully under control by the government (Int. Jin & Zheng, 2015).

While this might explain the change in the role of different stakeholders, the return of stakeholder participation can also have other explanations. Some belief that the improved connection with an emerging middle class is of significance (Int. Patte, 2015; Int. Fang, 2015), others think that it depends on the leaders of the area and their idea about planning (Int. Wang, 2015) and there is also the suggestion of the changing Chinese society that creates these new approaches (Int. Wilson, 2015). These are all opinions that make sense as they have been discussed in literature (i.e. Cheng, 2013; Wang 2014).

Besides the different ideas of a changing situation, it could also depend on something else. Some stakeholders have direct relations with the government or other organisations, which could indicate that other interests are at stake. The Shenzhen Centre for Design, for example, is part of the Mediagroup that also has a newspaper. Therefore, their events and activities are easy to promote. The leaders of these organisations are closely connected to the governmental officials that make up for the elite of Shenzhen. Together, these groups are regarded decisive in the actual plan-making (Int. Lan, 2015; Int. Patte, 2015). While this elite could have a more individual approach to the sharing of power, it does not differ largely from the ideas of a large part of the community. What stands out is the reason to be in Shenzhen by the people that make up the community. Most inhabitants of Shenzhen and Shekou see the area as an ideal place to earn money and start their career successfully (Int. Patte, 2015). The way they want to be incorporated in plan-making could be less significant as their goal is not about planning, but individual prosperity. The ideas of value of life and time or the connection with family is being lost (Int. Wilson, 2015). If the population could actually care more about the community and include a wider prospective into their actions, it should give great results for Shekou (Int. Wang, 2015).

There are signs of this participation and consultation in planning in China. Wilson recently started a project where all possible stakeholders could join the process (Int. 2015). During different charrettes the stakeholders could speak about what they preferred and how this should be implemented. With the help of statistical analysis the preferences of all stakeholders were measured. By having the opinions and preferences of almost all the stakeholders, it was possible to create a balanced plan that incorporated a huge share of all the ideas. The initial plan by the government did not include the elements of the outcome of the dataset. With the input by a large group it was possible to adjust the plan to the likings of a majority. This goes against the often used method where people are asked to give their opinion about a situation without any knowledge or expertise. In this particular project the product was about 'management, the community and words and it is not drawings' (Int. Wilson, 2015). In the plan-making for Shekou these kind of concepts are also part of the final document. China Merchants could only deal with the uncertainty of the future by implementing 'more space and elasticity' into their plan (Int. Jin & Zheng, 2015). It is not possible to have a blueprint plan deal with possible changes in the nearby or far future. This elasticity of China Merchants does, however, not immediately indicate what kind of organisations should be part of the new approach. According to Hyung (2014) participation could only take place if there was an equal opportunity to participate by all stakeholders. Wilson gave one example of a project where all stakeholders could participate, but states that there is a long way to go to have this widely accepted. Thinking that elasticity will have immediate consequences for all stakeholders could be a bit too much. Nevertheless, China Merchants and SKIZ are convinced they are on the right track.

Participation and idea incorporation of stakeholders

Participation in Shenzhen is strictly organised. China Merchants allows companies to enter Shekou or the consultation takes place during monthly sessions in 'salons'.

The initiative remains in the hands of China Merchants (Int. Fang, 2015; Int. Long, 2015; Int. Wang, 2015). During the monthly consultation events different stakeholders and individuals get the possibility to speak openly about their ideas for planning and the community in Shekou. The idea of this salon came from a group of people living in Shekou, which was rather new to many native Chinese inhabitants (Int. Fang, 2015). In the past it was dangerous to be really fierce in one's opinion about state regulations, but now the time has come to discuss this openly (Int. Fang, 2015). However, many Chinese do not have access to the proper information to be part of these events (Int. Wang, 2015). The individuals that do participate in these events are equal in hierarchy, which should stimulate people to share in an open and free environment (Int. Fang, 2015). This project did initially not receive any kind of private funding. Recently this changed when different corporations and institutes showed interest in adding topics to the debates. For example, the Historical Research Institution was able to sponsor and host an event. In return also topics they are dealing with were discussed. It is becoming a broader think-tank for other challenges as well (Int. Fang, 2015). The same accounts for the Shenzhen Foreign Affairs Organisation that contacted SKIZ to be part of the salons and participate in the idea generation (Int. Fang. 2015). The salon tries to remain non-biased and impartial. This is represented by the board of the salon, made up of China Merchants' associates, professors and entrepreneurs. This group decides what kind of projects receive approval and who can be part of the think-tank.

Other consultations do also take place. Surveys and interviews were held in the district to find out what people appreciated about their environment and what they missed before the design of the plan 'Recreate New Shekou' started. If possible, SKIZ would try to incorporate these opinions and ideas (Int. Fang, 2015; Int. Long, 2015). This type of consultation remains a company driven project and does hardly include events that were bottom-up initiated. This matches the role the government

has in most NGOs. These organisations have either financial or organisational connections with the government. Therefore, their products are mainly state-led or state-approved (Int. Patte, 2015). The independence of these organisations is difficult to point out, but many of their events are in cooperation with SOEs or the local government. This indicates that organisations can hardly function on their own. On the other hand, ideas of these NGOs often come from small organisations or events that are hosted bottom-up or non-governmental (Int. Patte, 2015). Wilson (Int. 2015) agrees with these arguments. When it comes to engaging the community, although China Merchants claims to do so, it is the opposite. It is this community that sees them as 'inapproachable, high-handed and developing things without really consulting at all'. But this is the past, it is more interesting to look at what they are thinking now (Int. Wilson, 2015). It does actually pay off as a NGO to host the smaller events, as the local government and developers do attend these meetings (Int. Lan, 2015; Int. Patte, 2015).

Thus, stating that it is only a one-way system is not completely accurate. Bouman (Int. 2015) sees shops opening in the new commercial district in Shekou that are meeting demand instead of the financial goals of China Merchants. The flower shop, for example, might be a temporary thing, but it is something that improves the living conditions of the community. It sprung without any interference of China Merchants or local government (Int. Bouman, 2015). Instead of having another large Western or Chinese firm take up this retail space with another restaurant or coffee shop, this kind of dealing with vacancy supports the diversity of the commercial area. Besides this commercial approach, cultural examples are also occurring in Shenzhen. The Wutong Mountain in the eastern part shows an example of creative bottom-up initiatives that did not need initiation by the local government or a company (Int. Patte, 2015). Near this mountain derelict industrial buildings where used for a festival with cultural activities and food trucks. The creative class

organised this event by themselves and made a success out of it. The artists wanted something else and decided to create this on their own. It had the potential to become a nascent community (Int. Patte, 2015). Unfortunately, the government overtook the initiative afterwards and tried to embrace it by investing in housing for the residents. However, the investments resulted in more uniform housing blocks, while there was so much opportunity to extend the creative community in other ways (Int. Patte, 2015). The perspective of the government was completely different from the ideas of the community. Needless to further discuss, but the uniformity of buildings all over China is another challenge that is often mentioned (Int. Lan, 2015; Int. Patte, 2015; Int. Wilson).

Other examples in Shekou actually show the value of interference by government or SOEs. In several parts of Shekou the housing blocks deteriorated over time. Together with the residents a plan was designed that would improve the aesthetics of the building blocks with artist impressions and improve the interior equally. As a result new residents entered. To improve their living conditions China Merchants also rebuild parts of the infrastructure (Int. Long, 2015). These examples show what Ferreira et al. (2012) pointed out about the best way for implementation. Public initiatives work best when ideas are exploited, while creativity rests on the ideas of private organisations and individuals. Other combinations of stakeholders are not necessarily better. New processes with more stakeholders could have negative consequences as well. Many interviewees recognise mismatches between the theory of the planning debate and the effects in practice.

The mismatch did often come from a misunderstanding of the possibilities within the society and the response by the government. Which is one of the biggest challenges in China (Int. Wilson, 2015). In the early years of Wilson's stay in China he tried to prevent the government and large corporations from making the same mistakes as several Western countries had done before. Huge investments in

housing projects had undesirable results: 'they had to create ghost-cities, and they had to make traffic congestion and they had to demolish heritage' (Int. Wilson, 2015). China has made mistakes, but tries to learn from them. For example, the tearing down of heritage is a dominant feature of redevelopment issues. In general it is preferred in China to build on top of the remainders of old buildings. However, Shekou shows some signs of a different approach, although it is inevitable that some buildings have to be replaced by structures that better meet the demand or the expectations of a particular developer (Int. Lan, 2015; Int. Bouman, 2015). Nevertheless, the regeneration of apartments in Shekou, with elevators and paintings on the outside walls, is a sign of the attempt to hold onto some of Shekou's heritage (Int Long, 2015). These buildings represent the thirty years of Chinese development in the area. In other parts of China these ideas did not get through and old industrial and residential places were transformed into commercial centres for tourism. These areas are now completely separated from their traditional culture, making it strange places to visit (Int. Wang, 2015). This experience is supported by Cheng (2012, p.445) who encountered three inner-city projects where the redeveloped quarter lost 'its physical, economic and social history'.

The government has for a long period of time been focused on financial benefits without considering other factors for implementation. At the moment the paradigm is shifting to a phase of not-knowing. The government does not know anymore what is best for society. Therefore, they ask the designers, architects and other companies to tell them what is needed. Before new tenders are put on the market, the local government asks the private parties to support them with ideas of what should be taken into account (Int. Wilson, 2015). Developers react to this situation by waiting for the right response elsewhere in China and following this lead. This is also the case for Shekou. Although some derelict industrial sites seem empty, they are waiting for the right organisations and plans to change them accordingly (Int.

Wang, 2015). However, this wait-and-see does not account for all challenges in society. Especially elderly care is one of the main concerns right now. The different companies are eager to find out how they can deal with the demand of the aging population (Int. Wilson, 2015). Moreover, they are interested in the benefits that can follow from the right plan. Gradually changing an area to an ideal situation remains difficult to incorporate in their philosophy (Int. Lan, 2015). Therefore, the large developers do not want to be the first to enter the market and wait for the success of a particular concept. As with other disciplines where ideas are shared, these concepts are mostly Chinese (Int. Fang, 2015). This matches the idea of seeing the Chinese planning industry as an unique system that is hard to compare to other situations around the globe (Int. Jin & Zheng, 2015; Int. Wang, 2015).

The fact that the majority of ideas and concepts are originally Chinese will not change in the near future. While the UABB up till now mostly cooperated with international designers, the attention for and participation of local designers is growing (Int. Lan, 2015). Having these people participating is new for China Merchants, its success might define the opportunities for projects to come.

Implementation and responsibility by stakeholders

The change in planning processes could have consequences for stakeholder responsibility in the output stage. The UABB is an example of an event that is mainly organised by an organisation that is not fully controlled by the government or a private company. The Biennale was held several times in OCT before it moved to Shekou. Probably the event will move to another place of Shenzhen (Longghua) after the redevelopment of Shekou pays off (Int. Jin & Zheng, 2015). Therefore, this event can be seen as a trigger for the creative regeneration of an area. Lan (Int., 2015) agrees that the UABB has this side-effect that is incorporated in a bigger strategy: 'using the venue as a power to intervene and trying to activate those places or space that is not been used and to give them a new life and re-use the

space'. It is a temporarily solution that could work as a catalyst for the surrounding area.

In Shekou the role of the government is believed to be less apparent than in other places in Shenzhen and China (Int. Jin & Zheng, 2015). On the other hand, the government is still in charge of approving the plan-making for the area (Int. Long, 2015). Moreover, it was the local government that asked SKIZ to come up with a plan to develop a church for expatriates in Shekou (Int. Fang, 2015). The stakeholders think differently about the role of the government, their perception of the contribution of governmental authorities varies. The organisations closest to the government indicate that if they do their jobs with care and inform the local government in advance of their plans, most of their wishes are granted (Int. Long, 2015; Int. Fang, 2015). As a result, most organisations behave in line with the policies of the governmental authorities. However, the companies are reluctant to see what consequences follow from the ideological changes by the central government in Beijing. A majority of the companies will follow the lead of the central government. If they insist on a particular direction, all companies follow without questioning. Behaviour that is either social or legal mandatory (Int. Patte, 2015). In Shenzhen this system shows some cracks. The OCT-loft and Shekou are examples of areas that are designed by the developer (Int. Wang, 2015). Further on, Wilson (Int., 2015) has also experienced occasions where the local governments were rather innovative and open to new ways of planning. However, this only accounts for organisations and businesses that belong to the biggest three of their own market. When it is up to the decision-maker, the other companies do not exist (Int. Wilson, 2015). The leaders of the large stakeholders might listen to the different opinions from the participating companies, but the government has for a long period of time not taken those ideas into account. However, this attitude is changing with more

external input (Int. Wang, 2015). Together with the experiences of China Merchants and SKIZ it seems that there is an increase in examples of good cooperation.

Stakeholders in Shekou put great trust in academic knowledge and business expertise (Int. Wang, 2015). The invention of a knowledge institute in Shekou, that gathers all relevant data for the area, is an idea that must stimulate the greatness of the area, while creating a massive think-tank. Also in the consultation of important members of the community and other associates, there is great confidence in scholars and professors from Shenzhen, other parts in China and from abroad (Int. Fang, 2015). However, recent events show that most professors do not think in the same direction as society is moving (Int. Wang, 2015; Int. Wilson, 2015). In the meantime, many Chinese young expatriates return from studying abroad to work in China. Most of the professors in China do not have the knowledge and experience these younger generation has. The professors' point of view is likely not similar to the ones from the generation that has studied abroad. This new generation will bring other elements to the table than the generation that has only experienced China (Int. Bouman, 2015; Int. Wang; Int. Wilson, 2015). This will likely change the idea of the government parenting the population and could result in a more equal society (Int. Wang, 2015). This obviously has consequences for the inclusion in the process of plan-making.

There are other factors adding to the situation in Shekou that make it more complex. First of all, the activities of the UABB makes that a lot of degraded buildings are being re-used while it might be financially lucrative to have these buildings torn down. The coming UABB in the Flour Factory will pave the way for the regeneration into a school or museum (Int. Lan, 2015). There are two stakeholders that are probably the ones deciding what will be the result. Either China Merchants or SKIZ will decide what will happen with the Flour Factory and other derelict industrial areas. The challenge with these two companies is that, although they are both part

of the same holding, they are not moving in the same direction. Therefore, one of the companies might take over the other one. This could have consequences for the community, as most social projects have its origin at SKIZ (Int. Fang, 2015; Int. Wang, 2015). For other projects, China Merchants and related organisations take the lead. The next paragraph will discuss the role of the initiator.

Initiator redevelopment projects

Redevelopment projects can have different starting points. It could be that different community organisations or private companies decide to start a project or that the government or SOE has the idea to initiate a particular project. By looking at the initiator of plan-making and the way other stakeholders react, an indication of the division of power by stakeholders becomes clear. If most of the projects are part of NGOs and later picked up by the government or SOE, it could indicate that the community is creating an area. The other way around would mean that there is a strong authoritarian role of a large stakeholder or the community might not be capable of starting projects by themselves.

The contribution of different stakeholders to the planning process in Shenzhen has changed over time. The relation between China Merchants and the government went from a state-based cooperation towards a more entrepreneurial approach. As a result, the plans that are made for Shekou are a negotiated truce between the developer and the government (Int. Long, 2015). The moment China Merchants comes up with ideas for redevelopment, the government listens but does not directly respond. When the government decides upon any kind of project in Shekou, the plan by China Merchants will be the first to be discussed. While not all input is immediately taken into practice, their plan leads the way (Int. Long, 2015).

It is difficult to remain an idealist and try to preserve the cultural heritage in these projects. There is a sense of preserving the old industrial building and using (parts

of) them in the redevelopment of Shekou (Int. Long, 2015). However, in many cases financial benefits are prioritised, or as Fang (Int., 2015) puts it: 'the reality in Shenzhen and Shekou is money'. If it is possible to transform a low building block into a high-rise with apartments, it is too tempting to ignore (Int. Patte, 2015). In many places this resulted in an American style of planning where cohesion between building blocks is absent, while the aim is to have as much return on investment as possible (Int. Patte, 2015; Int. Wilson, 2015).

The division of power with profit-based planning in Shekou is coordinated by a stakeholder regime. The stakeholder positions have been altered over the years, but the actual plan-making is still in the hands of a happy few (Int. Patte, 2015; Int. Wang, 2015). The CEOs of the large companies decide what the area will look like and which stakeholders might become part of the redevelopment (Int. Lan, 2015). The huge problem with this kind of development is that these leaders are mostly affected by fancy plans and enormous structures instead of doing what is good for the community (Int. Patte, 2015; Int. Wilson, 2015). The government has been affected by idealist images of a particular area and does not look at the intrinsic quality of a project: 'as long as it got patterns on it and if it looks pretty on a drawing, they tend to think it is quite nice' (Int. Wilson, 2015). Lan (Int., 2015) adds that China has a long way to go, as the government does not think about design and its surrounding area, they want the 'Wow-effect'. An obvious outcome is that the planning in Shekou 'lacks consistency or influential visions' (Int. Fang, 2015). Change should come from the platform of the salon that serves as a step-by-step catalysts, moving toward an ideal society without any rush. The idea is to 'see and feel what society need, see if the salon can bring this to the district' (Int. Fang, 2015). This is also what the plan 'Recreate New Shekou' intends to do; to have the redevelopment of Shekou step-by-step and 'not the whole place in one time' (Int. Long, 2015). This is new in Chinese planning. Wilson (Int. 2015) does not agree with

the statement that the situation is actually changing. The idea of E-Cool and Sea World 'is a little bit of a retro-fit, but there is actually a lot of new buildings. So they say they are not really doing the same thing, they kind of are doing the same thing'. As with the mismatch between the theory of planning and the practical results, reality does sometimes differ from the intentions of the plan for redevelopment.

Different top-down initiated catalysts are at place in Shekou. For example, China Merchants was fully aware of the potential of the Biennale. After the success it had in OCT, China Merchants contacted the UABB in 2011 to be part of Shekou and its redevelopment (Int. Lan, 2015). The redevelopment of Shekou fastens due to the new tax regulations that make it attractive to invest in this part of Shenzhen (Int. Bouman, 2015). The same accounts for Qianhai and Houhai where investments increase due to the Free Tax regulations. This could be one of the ideal strategies, but there are also other possibilities. Wilson (Int., 2015) discusses a plan that took place near Guangzhou, where the government only thought of different catalysts for the community to redevelop an area. The actual plan had nothing to do with the final goal, but was based on the first steps to reach a situation that has signs of an ideal community. Surprisingly the shift from top-down to bottom-up catalysts led to an increase of investments and the plan worked. This example shows a response to the statement that 'strategy, analysis, long-term planning is something really difficult' (Int. Patte, 2015). The introduction of catalysts is oriented on the long-term, but in short-term experiments.

Although several less positive projects have been mentioned. It must be stated that China Merchants has a variety of projects that do directly improve the living conditions for the community. Actually, a lot of things that are now common in China started in Shekou. For example, the creditcard system and the tender system for planning were introduced by China Merchants (Int. Lan, 2015). The community

and companies of Shenzhen profit from the innovation that takes place by the developer.

There are some signs in Shekou that match the ideas of Li et al. (2014) and Zacharias & Tang (2010) who saw the best strategy for China to have a market-led economic transformation with the development of creative industries. 'Recreate New Shekou' tries to build a new community with a diversity in discipline, a strong community and a huge share of cultural activities. Nonetheless, the argument of Shin (2008) that the large role of the government should not be neglected seems valid. The state does have a huge say in how the planning takes place. Either by allowing particular stakeholders into the process or making decisions based upon the plan of UPDIS and SKIZ. The initiative is mainly in the hands of the local government and China Merchants, with less room for smaller organisations to create new projects. The example of the UABB shows that these projects are successful in this organised method. The Flour Factory will become part of a larger creative area with more room for spontaneous development instead of the state-led planning products.

The example of a planning platform in European shows a different way of looking at the planning debate and the regeneration of degraded industrial sites (Figure 11). The idea of this network could help many organisations and places in China to think about sharing and working together. By figuring out what similarities and differences occur in some places, it could become easier to deal with new challenges that emerge after the rapid growth of the last forty years.

Figure 11: Re:Kreators platform in Europe

In some European cities an institute, called Re:Kreators, tries to enhance learning between different locations. There are several cities that mutually cooperate in sharing ideas about redevelopment projects in former harbour areas or derelict sites that show similarities. The project is initiated by different districts in the European cities of Amsterdam, Berlin, Bordeaux, Bucharest, Budapest, Copenhagen, London and Rotterdam. It is an initiative that supports an open source network that is not top-down or bottom-up oriented. The network has an emphasis on user-based projects and their business models and is supported by companies, community organisations, government departments, NGOs and universities (Re:Kreators, 2015).

The network is instigated in order to share ideas from the different areas and inspire the different participating organisations to think about new ways of developing. If it turns out to be a success, more cities are asked to participate and show the challenges they have with areas 'that are not performing well, are abandoned, undeveloped or vacant' (Re:Kreators, 2015, p.3). The main topics discussed in the redevelopment of these areas are about the quality of living, the networks between users and investors, learning by doing, social and spatial planning combinations and co-creation. There is an emphasis on the capacity and ability of the community to use their energy for the redevelopment of an area. The European platform supports the aim to connect different projects, make public values visible, improve understanding between initiatives and institutions and inspire the urban agenda of governments. Their method is to document all events and look for common denominators and differences, have inter-visitation programmes and discuss possible solutions.

The concept of this Re:Kreator network shows similarities with the inter-visitation programmes of the cities in the Pearl River Delta and the rest of China. However, the Chinese planning system can learn from looking at the denominators in a specific area, instead of only focusing on particular projects and its effects. Understanding the planning environment is important, both to see why something works and what this could mean for related projects in other cities.

Communities in industrial areas and redevelopment

There is not much consistency in the way different stakeholders look at the community and participation. All stakeholders have different thoughts about Shekou's community. Lan (Int, 2015) is an idealist and tries to draw more attention to the community. The Biennale is oriented towards the city and the problem people have with it. One of these problems apparently is proper healthcare and education (i.e. Fang, 2015; Wilson, 2015). Developers listen to these comments and think of ways to deal with this challenge. The build-up areas are not only tools for China Merchants to earn money, but are part of everyday life of the inhabitants (Int. Fang, 2015). This idea should have a bigger influence in planning. If the local government allows the community to participate, they should be able to do with an area what

they feel that has to be done, instead of the CEOs and manufacturing sector trying to fight for their own goals (Int. Wilson, 2015).

This follows the example of Singapore, as long if there is a good government, the community will not riot. However, the society in Singapore largely differs from the one in China. The Chinese wealth gap could lead to riots by unsatisfied citizens that demand to be engaged (Int. Patte, 2015; Int. Wilson, 2015). Patte (Int., 2015) does not fear such events as 'the mass is inert'. They are not sharing the same opinion or are not willing to fight for it in a mutual effort. This could be explained by the way Chinese are used to cooperation. Apparently difficulties occur when Chinese citizens try to influence policy and participate. If two Chinese easily get a discussion about a particular situation, two million might mean an uproar (Int. Wang, 2015). However, the latter is actually one of the possibilities to change the current system of strong leadership by local governments with developers (Int. Patte, 2015). On the other hand, SKIZ already tries to embrace the community and its ideas for the improvement of the liveability. Their opinion is taken into account to evaluate the plan-making that has been going on (Int. Fang, 2015). By having an equal say and instigate mutual respect by stakeholders, every participant can openly state what their opinion is about communities and the neighbourhood (Int, Fang, 2015).

The consultation of different kind of stakeholders in the 'salon' of Shekou is in some opinions a good example of the intentions SKIZ and China Merchants have. However, one should not expect that this type of consultation will have immediate results. Wilson (Int, 2015) has never heard of any of these events and sees it as a way to validate planning decisions. Moreover, Fang (Int., 2015) acknowledged that 'there is a gap between the salon and reality'. Copying these ideas from the design table to the outside world is harder than expected. This might also be influenced by the fact that the Chinese market is always bigger than one expects it to be in advance (Int. Bouman, 2015).

The community in Shekou is made up of different groups. The strongest comment is that the groups of native Chinese and expatriates are living separated from each other instead of together in a community. The foreigners in Shekou 'do not live in harmony with local people' (Int. Fang, 2015). Different factors could be the cause for this situation, for example the difference in culture or the lack of connection. SKIZ tries to change this situation by having their children meet each other and play together during international festivals in Shekou (Int. Fang, 2015). Initiated by the developer, the idea is to create a sense of community and have these different groups share ideas and culture.

China Merchants has strong hopes for the cultural class and its creative efforts. It could have a positive effect on the company as a whole (Int. Lan, 2015). The idea for the Biennale is one of the triggers for a growing creative community. The presence of this event will result in more diverse land-use in the area. They also need this biennale for other design purposes, because the formal meetings for new buildings show that there is not much knowledge about actual design (Int. Lan, 2015).

The rise of the creative class in Shekou is strengthened by the wealth and needs of the upcoming middle class. All kind of festivals, museums and exhibitions attract huge crowds these days, with the group of potential visitors vast growing (Int. Bouman, 2015). Therefore, Shenzhen will probably lead the way for other areas in China, as it is 'under so much freedom to explore' (Int. Wilson, 2015). There remains, however, a huge challenge with this rising middle class. China seems to get stuck on the level they are on right now. This could result in people getting frustrated when their wealth and liveability are not further improving. They have seen their lives getting better, but they want to be part of a continuous flow. This movement is not immediately supported by the government (Int. Wilson, 2015). One of the main contributors to further change in planning can be this large group that feels neglected (Int. Patte, 2015). Wang (Int., 2015) has the idea that the

government already changes their attitude by listening more to these opinions. It remains unclear what the actual results are for the different groups in Shekou. Different stakeholders have different perspectives on the situation. The largest stakeholders are rather clear in their vision. There is the social approach from SKIZ, stating that 'others might be interested in hardware, we upgrade the softer environment of the district, which will be more meaningful' (Int. Fang, 2015). And the reflection by UPDIS in the plan 'Recreate New Shekou': 'China now is focused on people, maybe in the old times we focused too much on the economy boost' (Int. Long, 2015). These statements match the literature about a more social approach. Experiences in China show the possibility for municipal authorities and local governments to become part of society and include ideas from the streets. Especially with residents that are against particular developments, this kind of consultation shows respect for adverse opinions (Ye, 2014).

Salet et al. (2013) stated that the best way to deal with new strategic plans is flexibility. This flexibility had to follow from framing a goal, the mobilisation of institutions and having a learning platform. Considering the different things that were stated about 'Recreate New Shekou' the plan includes the mentioned flexibility. There is an ideal framed situation for the area with the different catalysts that could lead the way. Different organisations have the possibility to become part of the plan-making and a learning platform has been instigated. To what extent different opinions are included in plan-making remains blurry, but the fact that all stakeholders speak about a changing situation indicates that there is progress in open planning processes.

Idea generation from China, USA or Europe

Some argue that that situation in Shenzhen and Shekou is unique and cannot be compared to other places in China (Int. Jin & Zheng, 2015; Int. Wang, 2015). Others claim that ideas are easily picked up in other cities, like the salon and creative spots,

that have their equivalents in Beijing in Shanghai (Int. Fang, 2015; Int. Jin & Zheng, 2015). Moreover, there are delegations from Shenzhen travelling China and Western countries to find concepts to implement in Shekou (Int. Bouman, 2015). The ideas they find and the companies they attract do mostly make up for the design of the area, because in most cases the decision makers appreciate foreign designs (Int. Lan, 2015). However, these foreign companies cannot enter the Chinese market on their own terms. They have to follow the rules and regulations set up by the Chinese government (Int. Wilson, 2015). Other companies that have left China or were not allowed entrance are replaced by Chinese equivalents. The ideas and knowledge of these organisations were taken by the Chinese and they used them for their own benefit (Int. Wilson, 2015). The Shekou Net Valley was based on the examples of projects in other countries. This project is based on Singapore and Sillicon Valley. Ideas from these places were retained to know how to create a good place (Int. Long, 2015).

When it comes down to ideas, the salon comes in helpful. The use of the salon defines the target for new plans. The incorporation of ideas from the United States of America should have consequences for the number of expatriates that settle in Shekou. By hearing the ideas of the scholars from the USA, the area can improve the situation for the international community (Int. Fang, 2015). A community that will be better connected with other parts of the world. Recently the national government decided to re-invent its strategy on trading routes over land and sea, the so-called Silk Road.

The re-opening of the old Silk Road has consequences for the redevelopment of Shekou. The main goal of this Silk Road is to have a platform of engaged countries that talk freely and reach agreements (Int. Wang, 2015). Shekou will be one of the main connections for China via the sea. The former trade route follows the path of Sri Lanka, India, Middle-East and ends-up in Greece. The investments in these

different areas function as catalysts to stimulate economic growth in Shekou (Int. Wang, 2015). Since Shekou does not represent Chinese history, it can at least try to represent its future (Int. Wang, 2015). The idea is to support the development of a more 'open and inclusive, not exclusive' process. Furthermore, the focus is on two elements: policy coordination and people-to-people bonds with multilateral mechanisms and multilevel platforms. It initiates integration of different systems to improve development and interaction (Shenzhen Daily, 30-3-2015).

Shekou's mixed land use is made up of internet companies, cultural renovation and residential areas. These three should embrace the sense of community (Int. Long, 2015). These new plans follow a more European-oriented approach instead of the high-rise or gated communities the USA represent. Some French ideas of a community have been introduced with more connection between districts in a city (Int. Patte, 2015). The Chinese planner Wang (Int. 2015) confirms that some European concepts have been used in the regeneration of parts of Shenzhen.

It is interesting to see that most Chinese interviewees see Shekou as the area that defines the future of China. What is happening there will have immediate results on developments elsewhere. Due to their experimental role, the rest of the country takes great interest in the plans that are constituted in Shenzhen and Shekou (Int. Fang, 2015; Int. Jin & Zheng, 2015; Int. Long, 2015; Int. Wang, 2015). The expatriates in Shenzhen have a different view. Shekou is a great example of innovation and clustering of knowledge, but it is not completely different from other places nearby, like Qianhai or Houhai (Int. Wilson, 2015) or large cities up north (Int. Bouman, 2015, Int. Wilson, 2015). The perception of the different stakeholders is decisive in this matter, that is, a particular sense and pride of Shekou and Shenzhen defines the way people look at its significance. This could also be explained by the better social connections of the native population and the access to information by different stakeholders.

As stated in theory, it is difficult to compare some elements of Western planning processes with Chinese. Whereas in many Western projects all kind of experts spend at least three years doing theoretical studies, in China most projects can be seen as real-life time trials. If a particular idea does not work, the plan continues with another one (Int. Wilson, 2015). The resilience in this type of planning is not in its nature, but in the rampant motivation and everlasting ability to adjust the situation. The pace of industrialisation in the West was rather slow, it took over hundred-fifty years while in China it lasted only thirty years. This indicates that an age of innovation could follow from the vast learning processes that are taking place (Int. Wilson, 2015).

Sharing of knowledge

While some developments might be successful, it could be wise to keep one's information to oneself. Together with the discussion on the cooperation between cities, this topic was intended to look at the way people are sharing ideas. Especially the introduction of big data, social media and other possible connections make it easier to share, but theory showed that the way this tool is used differs. The rapid increase in connected individuals in the past five years was mainly instigated by WeChat, which functions as an information tool for many (Int. Fang, 2015). The downside of the large position the internet gets is that a lot of commercial activities disappear, which does not stimulate meeting other people (Int. Wilson, 2015). On the other hand, people are more connected through all kind of social media applications. Ideas about the area or opinions in general can easily be shared (Int. Patte, 2015). This will not have immediate results for planning as most of these ideas pass through within three days after their invention. At the moment, it does not seem that the government takes any planning precautions due to this sharing of information (Int. Wang, 2015).

After the invention of ground-breaking attributes to the society thousand years ago, recent inventions and innovations in China were not useful for other countries (Rozendaal, 2008). This slowly changes, the return of expatriates – with ideas from overseas – to China gives the country a boost. Ideas that are being put to work now could actually be of significance to other places on the globe (Int. Wilson, 2015). Delegations from all over the world do visit Shekou to look for investments. Meanwhile they also learn from the Chinese way of planning in these areas (Int. Wang, 2015). The fact that most ideas start in Shekou and Shenzhen indicates that the way of planning has not widespread in China. The sharing of knowledge has only begun.

The idea of Free Trading Zones receives recognition all over China. Instead of opening-up all at once, the different Free Trading Zones slowly move towards each other. Shenzhen, at first, learned from the Shanghai Free Trade Zone (Int. Wilson, 2015). Although the large stakeholders in the area believe that Shekou is significantly different than Shanghai and the situations cannot be compared (Int. Jhi & Zheng, 2015; Int. Wang, 2015). The different zones learn from the experiences in other areas to see wat is useful and what is less appropriate to take into consideration (Int. Wilson, 2015). For example, Qianhai near Shekou will become a new Special Economic Free Trade Zone. Effectively, it is Hong Kong, in China. 'Hong Kong tax, Hong Kong Law, Hong Kong freedoms' (Int. Wilson, 2015). And this is expanded to all other Free Trade Zones in China. They are not implementing the same model, they reacted, adapted and learned from previous situations.

Within Shenzhen Shekou and Qianhai are learning from each other's developments. Shekou has been around for forty years, while Qianhai is still being developed. Therefore, the example of Shekou is mostly reflected on by Qianhai. This does not mean that the situation could turn around in the coming years (Int. Wang, 2015). The situation for Shekou and Qianhai can be compared to having a furnished house

and an empty house. When a new table enters, it is easier to see if it fits with the interior of the furnished house than in the empty house (Int. Wang, 2015). Therefore, it is difficult to see what concepts from other places do work in Qianhai. Nevertheless, the area will learn from the mistakes that took place in the development of Shekou (Int. Wang, 2015). The theoretical part showed that within the Pearl River Delta there is a competition between different cities for investment, while they would also visit each other's grounds to think about new ideas (Zielke & Waibel, 2014). It is a relationship that sometimes supports learning, but also deliberately tries to exclude other cities.

Besides cities learning and sharing ideas, different organisations do stimulate learning and knowledge sharing. The UABB serves as an example for China Merchants to think academically about culture, development and the future of liveability. Ideas, concepts and discussions at the events of the UABB help China Merchants to better understand what is needed in society (Int. Jin & Zheng, 2015). It is also possible to learn with the input of all stakeholders, instead of only the privileged organisations that are included. Wilson (Int. 2015) was able to use statistical analyses for consultation at a planning project. By including all the different opinions from stakeholders in a dataset, they were able to re-address the vision of the government for the project. This project used the preferences of all stakeholders in the area in a dataset. The result of this dataset was a ranking of preferences by all stakeholders and the things that mattered the most by all stakeholders. These results were presented to the developer. As a result the blueprint plan was replaced by a series of intervention catalysts for the area. These catalysts are small incentives and projects that all together create and redevelop an area (Int. Long, 2015). For Wilsons' project, the input by all stakeholders made it possible to adjust the direction of the government. The initial plan did not fit the ideas of the community. Moreover, it was not incorporating the possibilities of the

community to operate on its own. The organisational capacity of the community was neglected in the plan-making. This is what has also been addressed by Patte (Int., 2015). On several occasions the community showed that it is perfectly capable of organising events and sharing ideas and knowledge to push an area forward. However, neglecting or wrongly using this societal force is a missed opportunity by the local governments and China Merchants.

The different effects of cooperation, consultation or sharing knowledge makes clear that there is a struggle to get a hold on knowledge and ideas from the largest group possible. The use of this 'collective knowledge' can be very useful in planning. It would be ideal to include all demands and actors in a supportive way. However, the results show that it is difficult to make use of this collective knowledge for planning purposes. The comparison with the Re:kreators network in Europe indicates that it is not solely a Chinese challenge. Urban planners have not found a proper method yet to use individual knowledge for the benefit of all.

Path Dependency

The way the Chinese government slowly opens the gates to foreign investments by creating free trade zones all around the country makes it the 'largest capitalist country in the world' (Int. Wilson, 2015). Although this seems an exaggeration, the way the central government allows particular events to happen has its direct consequences for different parts of the country. Former agricultural areas quickly turn into new vibrant business spots. Therefore, the way the situation changes in Shekou can be better understood through the ideas and strategy by the central government. While this strategy could work out pretty well, some claim that Chinese urban planners do not know what they are doing. This is mainly due to the fact that these planners have only be exposed to the last twenty years of change. There are no points of reference (Int. Wilson, 2015). Compared to other cities Beijing can be seen as an example of a city with a strong government, while Shanghai is mainly

about the commercial industry. With its short history in mind, new concepts of open planning are likely to have its origin in Shenzhen (Int. Lan, 2015).

China Merchants is in Shekou the blessed organisations that can fully enjoy the benefits of the change in national policy. This path indicates that different free trade zones will eventually join forces and slowly turn the country into an open state (Int. Wilson, 2015). The project of Qianhai is already an interesting example as most legislation and projects copy the idea of Hong Kong, but with a larger area that can be used for expansion in the future (Int. Wilson, 2015). This expansion will follow from the actions by the regime, that allows it to happen. Different authors agreed that the most important thing for stakeholders is to understand how the system works (i.e. Che et al., 2011; Hyung, 2014; Wu & Chen, 2010). The urban regime in Shekou has two main stakeholders, but they allow others. This is due to the impossible task to be in control of everything and the idea that in redevelopment catalysts might be of better use than blueprints.

Therefore, the situation in Shekou does not directly follows the principle of regime theory. As the urban regime was seen as a combination of government, private parties and other people with access to power, in Shenzhen also other groups try to influence plan-making and grasp the moment. The UABB, for example, managed to get a strong position in Shekou, while it was thought they had to move to another location (Int. Lan, 2015). The same accounts for different NGOs that combine their efforts to have a stronger position and try to be part of the community and join the platforms of decision-making (Int. Patte, 2015). This type of participation already belongs to the two highest groups of the stakeholder participation-ladder from Plummer & Taylor. With a wider approach to the regime theory, it can be stated that the regime did change. It has become an agreement between some large actors that allow others to share and contribute, without necessarily putting this into practice.

5. Conclusion and Discussion: Access to Process

According to the theory and the results the planning situation in Shekou is changing. The open processes that are part of the Special Economic Zone of Shenzhen are dealing with internal and external adjustments. Moreover, the situation for learning has changed in the past twenty years. Although it is not mentioned in the overview below, the financial benefits returned in every response. A project like the former Sanyo factory that turned into E-Cool is interesting to develop, but cannot be repeated over and over again as there is no positive return on investment (Figure 2). New ideas, interesting projects and innovative planning processes do take place, but financial benefits are prioritised. The main effects for the open planning process, the learning in planning and the unique situation of the Special Economic Zone of Shenzhen are listed below. This part will further discuss the relation of the results with the literature and have a the wider planning debate about open planning processes.

Open Process	
Internal	External
– Maturing Experimental Area	– Inclusion oriented experiments
– Learning & Waiting	– Internet/ Connectivity
– New Generation	– Macro-economic factors (Silk Road)

Learning in Planning	
Former	Now (2015)
– Property-led redevelopment	– Strategic plan
– Blue-print	– Influence by respected stakeholder
– Pre-defined	– Catalysts
– Demolish	– Cultural Heritage

Shekou and China Merchants	
Former	Now (2015)
– CM as SOE	– CM Enterprise
– Industrial	– Services
– Idea-capturer	– Idea-provider (expected)
– Rule of CEO	– Rule of CEO with input

5.1. Progressive Shekou under Construction

Shekou is literally under construction. This research showed interest in the role of different stakeholders for the process that took place before the creation of 'Recreate new Shekou'. The research question was as follows:

How do stakeholders contribute to an open learning process in the redevelopment of the Shekou District in Shenzhen?

There were several sub-questions guiding this research question to find out more about the stakeholders and their ideas in Shenzhen and Shekou. Providing answers to the different sub-questions individually would be a repetition of the results that have been discussed in the previous chapter. Moreover, the initial sub-questions of this research do not entirely match the topics that were actually discussed. Therefore, the main elements of this research are mentioned and put in relation to the scientific topic. The first part looks at Shenzhen's regime and the challenges this gives for the open planning path. The second part is all about the learning that takes place. This is divided in the learning that occurs between stakeholders, which stimulates collective knowledge, and the learning from other places around China and the world.

Shenzhen Regimes with Open Planning Paths

Chinese planning transforms into long-term planning with the input from more stakeholders. Concluding that there is an ideal cooperation of different stakeholders following the ladder of Plummer & Tayler (in Shin, 2008) is not right. Planning processes did change, from a situation where stakeholders were notified, which is regarded as the bottom level, towards an expression of views in an organised space and some discussion in the early stage of projects. These types of consultation are seen as number 3 and 4 on the list of Plummer & Taylor. The next steps would be the community participation in decision-making and initiation and self-

management. Some projects shows signs of these steps, but in most cases the government or developer stays relatively close to the process. Small adjustments to the planning regime take place, but the power to carry out planning decisions remains in control by the largest stakeholders. However, when compared to previous planning processes, there is a difference in the way the regime looks at planning and searches for new ideas. The processes follow some theoretical concepts that have been mentioned in the literature.

Closely related to the action arenas of Ostrom et al. (1961) and decision-making arenas of Savini (2011), stakeholders are put together in salon's to openly debate about topics that are of interest to the community. The salon in Shekou is an initiative that tries to start the debate between scholars, professors, individuals and entrepreneurs about what is best for the area. Another point of interest to the stakeholders for the possibility to participate is the flexibility in plan-making. Salet et al. (2013) stated that flexibility is only possible with a combination of framing the results, mobilising institutions and having a knowledge-platform. The first two indicators have been met in the plan-making, but the third topic was absent. With the salon in practice and a knowledge-platform being developed in Shekou, the flexibility in plan-making is institutionalised. A remaining issue was the access to information and the ability to participate. An initial approach to participation was part of 'Recreate New Shekou', which was the consultation of the expatriates and the input from local residents through questionnaires. Not all stakeholders saw the effects of this type of participation, as access was limited.

Nevertheless, the opinions and experiences of the different stakeholders indicated that the situation in planning is changing and stakeholders do have a greater input in planning. There is an example of planning in neighbouring areas of Shenzhen where all stakeholders could think along to change the plan the government had created. In Shekou the situation is a little different. The Biennale in Shekou can be

seen as one of the first projects that tried to improve the possibility to share ideas and have input by other organisations than the developer or the local government. The plan for Shekou did include some of the ideas that followed from these events.

In Shekou the participation of stakeholders is gradually changing. Ideas do, in some cases, start from the bottom via Biennales, community consultation or interviews. Public-private partnerships are formed by a government with a SOE or large developer. Smaller organisations have little opportunity to be part of the planning process. This defines also the perception of these stakeholders of the possibility to participate. There is a difference noticeable in the perception of stakeholders that are included and excluded. Lan (director included stakeholder UABB) was glad with China Merchants reaching out to them to help improve Shekou. They were respected by China Merchants and got the possibility to add something valuable to the area. This could be followed by an initiative that would have their degraded factory re-used for an exhibition hall, museum or school. On the other hand, Patte (owner excluded stakeholder Riptide) had difficulties to actually be part of planning processes. While the UABB gets recognition for what they are proposing, smaller initiatives are not respected for their contribution. The ideas they generate could become part of a plan by a bigger, accepted stakeholder, but their role remains slim. They serve as idea generators, as more institutes and places do. Sometimes their ideas are misinterpret and the government or developers designs a plan that does not follow the demands by the community. However, society is learning from its past. The stakeholders that are in control do take notice and it could be that more stakeholders have a share in new planning processes. This new movement will have its influence on the path that leads to the future of Shekou.

The Learning Imperative in Collective Knowledge

An article in Elsevier caught the attention, stating that China lost it potential in the early 1000s as it had difficulties learning from previous dynasties. When a new

leader gained power over society, discoveries from the former period would be destroyed. This author claimed that due to this unfortunate habit, society was not able to continue progress and innovation slowed down (Rozendaal, 2008). In this research the idea was to see if Chinese society does learn from previous situations and other places and is not trying to invent a whole new system on its own. The situation in China on this topic is two-sided. There is indeed learning taking place from other cities and countries, but projects by American and European planners that turned out to be a mistake in their own societies, are easily copied.

In the first plan for 'Recreate New Shekou' the learning takes place from looking at locations in neighbouring countries. Ideas from Seoul and Singapore are incorporated in the plan. The idea is to learn from places in Western countries as well. Chinese delegations travel the world to look at concepts that might work for Shekou. In return, groups from other places visit Shekou to learn from the new projects that are being established. Other stakeholders share ideas at events like the Biennale, Pecha Kucha and others. Nevertheless, the majority of stakeholders is interested in all kind of events and tries to hear a wider set of opinions. Almost all stakeholders agree that there are more possibilities for sharing ideas. Unfortunately, it is not always clear if these ideas are actually respected and used in the final plan. Moreover, numerous examples show the mismatches in real estate, infrastructure and other planning projects that have difficulties dealing with the differences between theory and practice. There remains a planning process with two speeds. At one moment it is about sharing ideas and thinking about a brighter future, while not much later other ideas and plans are created that do not match the demand and the capability of private organisations and communities.

One of the concerns in this research was if it is possible for Shekou to develop a kind of collective knowledge. Hecker (2012) had an idea of accumulated culture and ideas; the use of information from a large group to get the best description of a

challenge or situation. While this research contributes to the collective knowledge of Shekou by bundling the information from stakeholders that are included and excluded of the redevelopment projects, this is only a minor contribution to the pool of data. The collective knowledge at the moment follows from the regime with its ideas about the redevelopment, a part of the community that is allowed to participate and a bigger part interesting in doing so. Many (semi-) private stakeholders try to put their knowledge to use for the improvement of the area, but do not always find proper ways to make this happen. Regarding the collective knowledge, it is about the missing links between the different groups and their experience that could increase the value of ideas. It is not that the community and companies are not professionally capable or not willing to participate, it is the access that makes it difficult. For now, most of the ideas are made up by institutionalised organisations, instead of consulting people that could have a clear opinion about what would be useful for the community. One of the effects is that the future prospect is only based on examples from other places. While the path dependency and the adjusted regime in the area could flourish by plans that are constituted in other ways with different effects. Understanding the possibilities of other forms of planning processes does not occur. Institutionalising knowledge from the mass could form a basis for collective knowledge, but it might slow planning processes down. This could be not much worse than the current attitude of 'wait-and-see'. A positive effect of the latter approach is not being the first to burst, but it certainly does not stimulate innovation and new ways of looking at planning processes and products. Fully relying on examples that come from other contexts with different historic paths could, in the end, be of less success than using the willingness and capacity of stakeholders in the community.

For 'Recreate New Shekou' the success of Silicon Valley has been an inspiration. The combination of internet, related technology and community should result in an ideal

place for working and living in Shenzhen. Together with the central government allowing more Special Economic Zones to open up to foreign input, this shows that ideas and financial prospects from outside China are respected. The learning from other places is supported by the return of many overseas Chinese scholars. This new generation is expected to share ideas about the ideal society. The way society evolves, together with a better-connected, assertive population, are flows that have its consequences for the regime and its authority. If Chinese entrepreneurs see a possibility to increase their living conditions and join the 'Chinese Dream', they will fight for their chances. The central and local governments are slowly getting used to this situation and are trying to turn it into their advantage by including them in planning processes. Graafland & Zhang (2014) concluded that success comes from innovation in planning policies. With input from the new stakeholders future planning processes can become a greater success. This is fastened by the change in leaders of organisations. While the changes in planning were hardly understood by the leaders of companies and the governments up till now, the new generation is eager to contribute to the new cooperative growth in China. These social movements might influence the critical juncture of the path dependency for the area. Pierson (2000) mentions these moments in time, they are periods of change that can have a decisive influence on the path that follows from it. The situation of the regime and its historic path for Shekou has been mentioned several times. Nevertheless, this gradual physical and procedural change might rapidly alter. Many believe that the new generation is part of the path dependency that makes up for the new future of China. Folke et al. (2005) states that change in urban behaviour must follow from this community that wants to change the path of society. It is this first generation of Modernism that functions by an engaged community. Many stakeholders did point out that society is adjusting to the likings of a new generation. A generation that had more possibilities than the former generations,

has seen more of the world and has different ideas about the way society should develop. The future of China is changed by the change in future of its future generation.

5.2. Challenging the Assumptions

The main topics from the sub-questions also showed in the assumptions at the end of the theoretical analysis. By looking shortly at these assumptions the provided answer to the research question can be verified.

1.   Open planning processes are acknowledged in Chinese practice

TRUE: The Chinese system tries to incorporate more stakeholders in planning. However, this is mainly under supervision of a large developer or governmental authority. It differs to what extent other organisations are included in the planning process.

2.   Open spatial planning results in more stakeholders incorporated

TRUE: Incorporated definitely, but the effects of incorporation are less clear. Ideas are generated at events where more stakeholders can share their opinion. Some examples in other places in the Pearl River Delta show that it is possible to adjust the direction of the government. In Shekou consultation with organisations and households did take place. The effects are suggested to be slim.

3.   Stakeholders are made up of government, developers and users

DEPENDS: Delegations of countries enter China to become part of the economic growth, but it depends on the stakeholders. The arena of stakeholders differs per situation, but it is not only the government and developers that decide what should happen. Although several organisations are tied to the government, less controlled institutions are also incorporated.

4.   New ideas are heavily depending on governmental authority

FALSE: International consultation of design and methods takes place. Especially for the plan 'Recreate New Shekou' the focus was on other places that were able to combine technology, creativity and the community. In Shekou they refer to Silicon Valley and Singapore for ideas and even other places are incorporated in debates.

5. Influence of Western/other districts on planning issues remains slim

FALSE: The former way of developing had a strong relation with planning in the USA. There are a lot of gated communities, high-rise buildings and an orientation on infrastructure and car mobility. Nevertheless, a new way of planning and thinking about sustainability and liveability makes that attention draws to a more European way of planning. The slowing down of exponential growth could be one of the triggers for this process.

6. Open processes are not including all relevant stakeholders

TRUE: Community is seen as a minor in planning, companies and rewards are given priority. It is true that not all stakeholders get a fair chance to participate. Only the organisations that are on top of their game are respected for their efforts and get an opportunity to participate in projects. Institutions that have less connection with the Chinese network ('guangxi') of government and developers experience hardship to enter collaborative planning processes.

7. Urge and necessity for open processes are less apparent with private actors

DEPENDS: It is clear that people want to participate, but access is the main issue. For many Chinese and Western organisations it is difficult to become part of any process since a lot of information is not openly accessible. On the other hand, many groups organise projects for themselves and their initiation can become the start of an open process in cooperation with a developer or the local authorities.

All taken together, some of the assumptions based on the literature were not true. Others were true and showed that the planning processes are changing. However, these results are based on the stakeholders that were part of this research in Shekou. It could be that other organisations have a completely different view on the open processes in Shenzhen and Shekou. There are more elements in this research that could be discussed and reflected on. The following part will take a closer look on the results of this research and tries to see its significance in a wider perspective.

5.3. Discussion: The Path without a Pattern

One of the statements from Wilson (Int., 2015) made perfectly clear what the Chinese planning issue is about. He concluded that there is a lot of mixed information. There are a lot of things happening in different places and 'people are struggling to see a pattern, because there has never been a pattern before'. The pattern for Shekou does have something to do with the path dependency in the area. According to Pierson (2000) recognising this path dependency without being able to identify its factors is of no use to policymakers. Pierson continues by stating that this is not a problem if the purpose of recognising the path is to identify aspects that move society in particular directions and to look at the consequences of such movements. This research tried not to theoretically elaborate on the path dependency in Shekou, but to look at the social context of the pattern for open planning processes in Shekou. It was the causality of events that happened since 1979 that were part of the research. The results show that there are interesting changes going on. However, it is difficult to put any value on these results.

It remains unclear if all of the good intentions and ideas do actually proceed in planning. At the moment the Chinese financial setback might reset the motive to making profits instead of incorporating the community and thinking about new ways of planning. The effects this has for future plans in China is difficult to say. The situation in Shekou and Shenzhen shows that listening to demand can actually

have preferred results, but it still largely depends on the way CEOs and government officials feel about new projects. With some of the recent planning projects and mistakes in the Netherlands in mind (i.e. High Speed Train, ICT-projects, Motorway A15 and near future possibly Zuidasdok) this does not differ much from the situation in the Western world. Fang (Int., 2015) was right when she stated that there is a huge difference between the beautiful plans on the drawing table and the challenges they give in practice. This is a continuous challenge that cannot be solved by just adding more stakeholders.

5.4. Reflection: Missing Links

First of all, as with many researches that take place in new environments outside the ordinary, the barrier in culture and language did limit the possibilities for research. It was very useful to have Chinese students help with translations of documents and interviews, but it is not the same as when interaction can take place on a common ground as the same language. However, being aware of this situation up front made it possible to think of approaches and methods that would avoid any insuperable challenges.

This research includes a diversity of opinions, but could have incorporated more ideas about planning processes. It would have been interesting to see how the local government looks at particular redevelopment projects in Shenzhen and Shekou. Their opinion is the one that is lacking this research. From another point of view it would also have been interesting to see how the expats and the local Chinese population look at their role and the redevelopment in Shekou. Do they have any demands and are their people willing to participate in salons or other projects? In another research there could be more emphasis on the ideas of the community. Mary-Ann O'Donnell mentioned that several NGOs have joined forces to increase their significance. Hearing what this united NGO tries to develop is also interesting to look at. Does this mean that they are respected in the area and incorporated in

plan-making by China Merchants and SKIZ? Or are they organising events that are embraced by the regime and get the possibility to grow under supervision of these leading organisations? Other ways of looking at Shekou could improve the understanding of stakeholder positions in the area.

The last part of the reflection addresses the ways of doing academic research. I guess I would regret it if I have not stated it once, but I think these types of projects and researches are up for revision. Recently an article in a Dutch newspaper made clear that many of the online messages we read (i.e. AP, Forbes, New York Times) are written and posted without human interference (Financieel Dagblad, 11-7-2015). The prospect is that the work of controllers and the writing of business reports will be replaced by these same algorithms within short notice. Although the academic scene tries to hold onto their traditions, this will have consequences for the projects students are participating in. Especially the theoretical frameworks and analyses will be replaced by writing algorithms and organising results. The incomplete manual search for information will be replaced by an integral digital one. In this light, it is useful to reconsider the third type of collective knowledge from Hecker (2000, p.429), that is, the 'knowledge embedded in collective artifacts'. Insufficient collective knowledge is formed by scholars who 'manually' look for the best articles, concepts and theories. The earlier mentioned examples show that this type of information and collective knowledge could be replaced by algorithms and artificial intelligence in the near future. Therefore, the role of a scholar can and has to change. It is not only about being able to find proper literature and linking that to results, but it should include much more. It is time for scholars to include creative new paths and incorporate other disciplines into their arguments and projects.

This research could benefit from the technological revolts that are becoming part of this society. It would have been interesting to have a search for different kind of plans in China to see how they interpret open planning processes. In the same

attempt documents from the Western societies could be compared. Claiming that the Western society knows best when it comes to open planning processes might be exaggerated. Furthermore, what kind of processes do occur and what are the situational facts that allow particular effects in open plan-making? The creation of collective knowledge on open planning processes, the comparison between China and the Western societies and the ways of learning could be extracted by mere statistical analyses. If one button could result in such an analysis, what would be the use of this research? Well, the main question would consider the experience and perspective of private organisations and communities about open planning processes, their willingness to cooperate and the iconic elements of their community that makes something a success. Probably the statistical methodology, as with the research of Wilson, will have difficulties to find the actual flows in society that are the reason why some projects do succeed in one place, but fail in others. It could have something to do with the path dependency that is decisive for the creation of an area and its community.

These ideas to planning and research will have effects on all kind of social and scientific fields. New types of research could have further effects on the way companies do business, or cultural differences that should change education programmes and even the interests people have in particular animals that are part of their Zoo. Accepting the path dependency of an area with its cultural uniqueness gives all kind of niches and stimulates innovation and diversity. A better understanding and use of data can give all kind of results for different fields of work. The uniformity of research at the moment does not longer fit in with the uncontrolled change to society. As with the situation of planning in China, it is time to look for new input.

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Appendix (DISK)