RECENT GENTRIFICATION TENDENCIES IN CHINA - A CASE STUDY OF POTENTIALS & THREATS IN CHANGZHOU

AUTHOR: NIU XIAOYU
TUTOR: PROF. DR. JANA REVEDIN

MAY 26TH, 2014, BLEKINGE TEKNISKA HÖGSKOLA
Blekinge Tekniska Högskola

Msc of spatial planning with an emphasis on urban design in China and Europe

College of Spatial Planning

Niu Xiaoyu
nxy_msu@126.com
Student ID: 890408P471

Key words:
Gentrification; urban renewal; neo-liberalization; residential differentiation; historical blocks; Changzhou

Karlskrona, Sweden
Changzhou, China
Table of Contents

Acknowledgement .......................................................................................................................... 5
Abstract .......................................................................................................................................... 6
I. Introduction .................................................................................................................................. 8
  1. Background ............................................................................................................................. 9
    a. Problem Identification .......................................................................................................... 9
  2. Aims, research questions, and paper alignment ...................................................................... 10
    a. Aims and Research Questions ............................................................................................ 12
    b. Paper Alignment .................................................................................................................. 13
  3. Scope ...................................................................................................................................... 14
II. Literature Review ...................................................................................................................... 16
  1. Concept of gentrification ........................................................................................................ 16
  2. Symptoms of gentrification .................................................................................................... 17
  3. Comparison of gentrification between China and western countries .................................... 18
    a. Gentrification in China ......................................................................................................... 18
    b. Liminal space to a landscape of power ................................................................................ 19
    c. Phenomenon of gentrification ............................................................................................ 20
    d. Comparisons between China and western countries ......................................................... 21
  4. 'Producer’ & ‘Consumer’ in content of gentrification and neo-liberalization ......................... 21
  5. New urbanity, new continuity ................................................................................................ 22
  6. Reference case: Hyllie, Malmö, Sweden .................................................................................. 23
    a. Introduction of Neoliberal Planning ..................................................................................... 23
    b. Conclusion ............................................................................................................................. 24
III. Research Design & Methodology ............................................................................................. 26
  1. Case study research ................................................................................................................ 26
    a. Definition of the term case .................................................................................................. 26
    b. Why do I choose this approach? ......................................................................................... 26
    c. Case study area of Changzhou ........................................................................................... 29
  2. Methodology & data .............................................................................................................. 30
    a. Credibility, transferability, Objectivity .............................................................................. 30
    b. Interview & survey .............................................................................................................. 31
    c. Questionnaire research ...................................................................................................... 32
    d. Data collection .................................................................................................................. 32
    e. Classification of data ........................................................................................................... 32
IV. Analysis & Results ..................................................................................................................... 35
  1. Site analysis ............................................................................................................................ 35
    a. Urban development ............................................................................................................ 35
    b. Impression of neoliberalization in Changzhou ................................................................... 39
    c. Introduction to Qingguo Alley ............................................................................................ 41
  2. Characteristic of space in process of gentrification .................................................................. 41
    a. 'New-birth’ urban renewal in 1978-1987 ........................................................................... 42
b. Realization of affordable housing in 1988-2000 ................................................................. 43
c. Privatization & marketization since 2000 ................................................................................. 44

3. Spatial analysis ......................................................................................................................... 45
a. Spatial structure ....................................................................................................................... 45
b. Social-spatial analysis .............................................................................................................. 45
c. Contradiction between modernism and history .................................................................... 48
d. Evaluation of public facilities ............................................................................................... 49

4. Housing market ....................................................................................................................... 50

5. Social analysis ......................................................................................................................... 51
a. Stakeholder analysis ............................................................................................................... 51
b. Social activities of householders ........................................................................................... 51

6. Characteristics & residential differentiation ......................................................................... 52
a. Power to gentrification ........................................................................................................... 52
b. Fragmentation in historical blocks ....................................................................................... 53
c. Indifference in neighborhood ............................................................................................... 54

V. Design Proposal ..................................................................................................................... 56
1. Symptoms of Qingguo Alley ................................................................................................. 56
2. Design concept ....................................................................................................................... 57
3. Conservation planning .......................................................................................................... 57
a. General plan .......................................................................................................................... 57
b. Function .................................................................................................................................. 58
c. Traffic ..................................................................................................................................... 58
d. Green space .......................................................................................................................... 58
e. Landscape structure ............................................................................................................. 58
4. Perspectives ............................................................................................................................. 59
5. Conclusion ............................................................................................................................... 59

VI. Final Conclusions .................................................................................................................. 61
1. Influences ............................................................................................................................... 61
2. Responses ............................................................................................................................... 62
3. Threats & challenges ............................................................................................................. 62
4. Overview of gaps & contributions ......................................................................................... 63

References .................................................................................................................................. 64
Appendice .................................................................................................................................... 67
Acknowledgements

When I started my research study, it was a surprise that I even didn’t realize how fast the process of urbanization in my hometown, Changzhou. It experienced a series of large-scale development projects. Impressed by the great changes of architectures and urban spaces. I decided to choose the social-spatial problem, gentrification as my topic.

Curious about the reason to the process of China, I did visit to the gated residential communities, by the questionnaires to stakeholders. Actually, it was a kind of interesting experience to touch the feeling of inhabitants. On their own perspectives, mainly from two different classes, the elites and the poor, the real voices of them contributed my survey, will result in the further study of my thesis.

During the analyzing part, I was trying to state clearly the contradictory situation of neoliberalization. Focused on the historical block, there were obviously differences between the three representative communities. While I bicycled through the area, I started to realize the traditional life there, bywhere closer space to city canal and consist of historical culture symbol. As result, it showed the very constructive skyscraper and presence of modernism buildings at same area. By reading a lot on scholar studies, I noticed the differences between China and western countries. Then I analyzed detailed instructions on the process, and symptoms of gentrification. I did make a clear clue and framework to show the case study, partly solving the problems of gentrification. And I was considering to have broad visions on my research.

Appreciated from my tutor, dear Pro. Jana, she gave me a lot of insightful critics and encouraged me. Everytime when I was confused on my topic, she helped me to be confident on my own research. Critized by her comments, I did learn a lot from the writings, papers, references. on the mind to learn the voice from real life and the generous attitude to live. Additionally, I was admired by my examiner, Mr. Duner, his critical comments and my opponent’s sincere suggestions. Supported by all the official data in my research, I appreciated from the Changzhou Urban Planning Bureau. Evidently, it helped me to learn more and grow. As the past several months, time went tightly, I had good relations with my friends, Jan from Germany, Rick from Netherlands and Niklas from Sweden. Particularly, I was so thankful to the cute Hungarian girl, Vera. She was so amazing to comment my thesis and took care of my daily life. I had to say that I learned a lot from her. Different culture background contributed a lot of fun in daily life and it was so impressive memory for me. Different culture backgrounds made a lot of fun in daily life. This rigorous working enriched my life, and it was interesting to know the view to learn myself from another views.

Sometimes, I even dreamt of being ‘gentrifiers’, and struggled to preserve the old blocks to keep the livable life in my hometown. Here, I also appreciated my amazing families, my mother and father, it was worthy studying abroad, and the love, the courage. In the end, I had to share my feeling that ‘you never know what you are until you experienced’.
Abstract

In nearly 30 years of urban development in the emerging economies, as China, gentrification has evidently been the dynamic urbanization changes of urban social space which is driven by government and marketing. With the impacts of current neo-liberalization, the case study of Changzhou indicates how the government and marketization functions in planning. Simultaneously, the process of urban renewal in historical blocks is redistributed by a kind of residential differentiation and gentrification. As a reference case, the neo-liberalization of planning in Hyllie, Sweden, presents a fix planning of path-dependencies to highlight the ambivalent situation. This process elaborates the indifference towards social segregation, polarization and deprivation of social considerations.

This research aims to trace and discuss the current tendencies and challenges of gentrification in China, considering their approach to the socio-spatial dimension. To guide this search, several major questions are addressed:

1) What are the negative processes and effects of gentrification in Changzhou?

2) Considering the this case study, what are the opportunities and tendencies of gentrification, and the differences of this between China and Western countries?

3) How and why has neo-liberalism diffused across the gentrified areas, as if there were no alternatives?

4) In order to maintain the culture, in what way can conservation plans preserve historical blocks, instead of leading to an indifference of real social-economic problems?

5) How can the balance between growing social uncertainty, in the process of gentrification and the risks of being possessed by financial resources, be sustained?

This thesis firstly introduces the background, differences and similarities of the institutional environment of gentrification in western countries. Secondly, it discusses the formulation, characteristics and mechanisms of urban space difference phenomenon in Changzhou. This is achieved by means of stakeholder interviews, different material spaces of the community, public service facilities and other social attributes. Furthermore, the thesis searches for the reason of the decline of the communities in core areas. Seeing that gentrification is a socio-spatial interaction, and it is done by the analysis of the attributes of historical residential communities. Thirdly, the different stakeholder interviews shows that the process of gentrification is divided into several stages for the landmark events, the characteristics lead to spatial fragmentation and privatization, accelerating the social indifference of communities.

To conclude, this dissertation emphasizes on the demands from social dimension and the participation of inhabitants. Lastly, the conceptual design proposal indicates that a harmonious design on the edges of urban renewal areas, have the potentials and possibilities to develop an attractive and livable combination of planning between history and the modernization of the future.
Chapter I
Introduction
I. Introduction

Since the beginning of the 1970s, there have been a lot of academic debates on gentrification in larger Western countries, embracing the capital societies. Social fragmentation of space and residential differentiation can be explained purely in terms of the results of urbanization and gentrification. Recently, the concept of neoliberalization planning was introduced as the embodiment of urban development project in Scandinavian countries, which based on the market-directed and land-use decisions. While, this planning practice is operating with incursions by marketization and other outsourcing. On the other hand, the ambivalent situation is that planners also have to release the negative impacts from neoliberalization both cities and communities.

Particularly, China has experienced a wide range, fast speed of urbanization path, all levels of city proper rapid spread outward. In most inner cities, a number of historical heritages are totally demolished, replacing by radical renewal of new-built environment. Under the complicated mechanism of urban development, the phenomenon of gentrified inner city areas have constantly been emerged, and appeared. The new space characteristics and social influence appears. However, the corresponding urban renewal has already become a part of well-established communities. Gradually, the process of gentrification results an expression of obtaining segregation and inequity, systematically disposes stakeholders’ polarization.

The case study area, Changzhou (fig.1), it is one of the most developed city in East China. There exist a lot of core areas under demolishment in the process of urban renewal. The resident communities show different character in different built times, particularly the historical blocks. Inside this area, Qingguo Alley, one of the largest number of historical blocks, is stressed as a design part of conservation planning.

According to the current literature, neo-liberalization planning is understood as a process functioning through marketization and the planning institutions. Interestingly, on one side, neoliberal planning relies on land-use decisions by the planning institutions. On the other side, the planners have to make decisions considering the benefits of landlord’s privileges. That means it’s hard to prevent the negative effects from the process of urban renewal. In the referring case of Hyllie, this practice goes no further in the participation which may lead to negation of social difference, instead of monoculture with metropolitan taste.

Urban renewal of historical blocks in core areas have already been demolished. This ongoing process leads to the decline of regional gentrified areas. There exits a great comparison between new-built environment and gentrified blocks at the same time. Therefore, this research mainly concerns the problem that appeared in the transition period of gentrification in China’s megacities, as well as
In the end, a conceptual design proposal in Qingguo Alley will indicate a sustainable design on the edges of urban renewal areas. It will show have the potentials and possibilities to develop an attractive and livable combination of planning between history and the modernization of the future. And, I will summarize the contributions and gaps of my case study.

1. Background

The concept of gentrification was first described by the British sociologist Ruth Glass (1960s), mainly referring to the process of replacement of middle class family. In the process, the old community environment is being improved that the middle class gradually has replaced the original residents of the low-income groups. It changes the neighborhood community social structure. However, nowadays the concept of gentrification has been involved into a deeper, more extensive urban phenomenon.

Under the background of globalization, in order to finance, insurance and real estate in the center of the city, agglomeration of high-end service industries have been relocated in center. A large number of high earners are drawn to live nearby the center of the city, which caused the land to develop the urban renewal and gentrification. Consequently, international businesses, real estate developers and buyers in international produce the large, international market. It can be said the result of urban residential space differentiation phenomenon which is associated with gentrification. The characteristics of particular urban space, such as historical blocks in China, have already been emerged out of structured social inequality and a type of cultural expressiveness.

The differentiation of historical residential blocks has been characterized by the differentiation of resident community. From the perspective of the concept, it can be defined as the differential formation of the urban community, social-class, which contains two aspects of geographical space of the urban community and social connotation.

The decline of residential space leads to differentiation of resident communities. The reason behind this process to decline is the different classes of the urban population and fault of material and culture closure, which includes living space, spatial structures, working classes, the differences between the public service facilities, while the decline of cultural including housing property, lifestyle, inhabitants’ behavior, the great fracture ideology, etc.

a. Problem Identification

With the complicated mechanism of urban development, the phenomenon of gentrification in original historical areas has been constantly emerging with fast urbanization in core areas. This leads the new space characteristics and social influences. The development in the emerging economies as China, it is being enhanced by neoliberalization, regardless of political regime (Harvey, 2005). Different from common Western countries, which set up a series of provision of functions, China has provided national investigation as prerequisite. It is a kind of movement from totally demolishment to new built movement. However, the process of urban renewal makes the wide different condition that results in international competition that leads to the new built structures. Meanwhile, the Modernist Future would erase social divides, and populate the city with cosmopolitan open-minded creative educated liberals. From one side, current planning in historical blocks is highly integrated with the incursion by real estate forces, particularly in privatization, property-led development, and reconstruction of inner city. On the other side, it is rarely for urban planners to prevent the negative influences of neoliberalization in Changzhou, China. Such ambivalent situation causes the ideological and restructuring planning.

In this article, I am going to analyze the background and differences of gentrification between China and western countries with an emphasis on the characteristic and social analysis by the case of my western developed countries.
hometown (see fig.2a-2f). Approaching by the stakeholder analysis and questionnaires with different and typical classes at a micro community. The group of people involved in the historical blocks, is basically more heterogeneous. In terms of social characteristics in Qingguo Alley, Changzhou, the physical planning of urban renewal transforms the historical blocks into totally new environment. Since late 1990s, a large number of gated communities have disappeared and aggravated social indifferences.

Based on the case, this study aims to show the questionnaire and survey to collect the reliable data of local residents. By interviewing the stakeholders, it is clearly stated that the social structure and relations. From this analysis, classes will be divided into four different groups, namely the gentrifiers, tourists, local inhabitants, and immigrants from subs during December, 2013 to Feb, 2014. Targeting the gentrifiers and inhabitant, I bring the interviews and surveys of local housing market in historical blocks.

This research indicates that the gentrified class does exist in core areas of Changzhou, and it flows the characteristic: first, the major power is oriented driven by upper class; second, there is a gradual process of gentrification that usually does not happen social conflicts; third, although, the infrastructure is improved by local capitals, the fragments of property have been the biggest obstacle in the process.

2. Aims, research questions, and paper alignment

My research aim is to trace and discuss the current tendencies and challenges of gentrification in Changzhou, China approach to the urban social dimension. I do that by five major questions:

1) What are the negative processes and effects of gentrification in Changzhou?

2) Considering the this case study, what are the opportunities and tendencies of gentrification, and the differences of this between China and Western countries?

3) How and why has neoliberalism diffused across the gentrified areas, as if there were no alternatives?

4) In order to maintain the culture, in what way can conservation plans preserve historical blocks, instead of leading to an indifference of real social-economic problems?

5) How can the balance between growing social uncertainty, in the process of gentrification and the risks of being possessed by financial resources, be sustained?

The first question dwells on the negative effects of neoliberalization and influences on characteristics and symptoms of gentrification in Changzhou, the developed Chinese City. The second question is mainly by analyzing three different stages communities to describe the social-spatial influences from city scale. It is clear shown the differences between China and western countries from the process of gentrification. And it explains what are the tendencies and threats, and how do they exist and play inter-function to each other. The third question focuses on the Qingguo Alley, located in central area of city, it explains how the historical block evolves an important strategy for post-industrial cities in the context of neoliberalization. The forth question focuses on the methodologies by spatial analysis and interviews with stakeholders. It develops a scientific and sustainable planning to approach the inhabitants’ daily life. The forth question explores the challenges created by the process in the context of neoliberalization and gentrification. By design proposal and literature review, the last question aims to discuss give some suggestions for future planning (Table 1).
Current symptoms of urbanization in Changzhou:
1) New built, new demolishment
2) High ratio of empty new-built housing
3) Urban rural blocks in center
4) Gentrification in historical community
5) Resident differentiation

Fig. 2a Current situation in Changzhou, source: mapping by author

Fig. 2b Old block

Fig. 2c Demolishment

Fig. 2d Street life

Fig. 1f Fast urbanization

Fig. 1e Dilapidated houses

Fig. 2b-Fig. 2f, Source: photo by author
a. Aims and Research Questions

Therefore, this paper elaborates the essence of this phenomenon which effected by economic and cultural values, rather than socio-demographic segmentation or sub-urbanization. Recommended by the approaches to current process of gentrification in urban renewal areas, the case study in Changzhou is selected the historical block. It locates in core areas with the biggest residential blocks at present. By the stakeholders analysis, it shows the demands from human dimension and the participation of inhabitants. In the historical blocks, Qingguo Alley, the process of analyzing parts is under questionnaire with stakeholders from family structures, ages, public facilities, financial status and etc.

By interviewing the inhabitants there, with stakeholder analysis through the current urban structure, functions, traffic, the design proposal indicates a sustainable design proposal that the edging and urban renewal areas have the potentials and possibilities to develop an attractive and livable combination between history and modernization.

1) What are the negative processes and effects of gentrification in Changzhou?

In this part, I will summarize the characteristics of gentrification in China and western countries. Compared with the literature review, it will show highlight the symptoms from social class, social structure, housing price and etc. This dissertation explains on the negative effects of neoliberalization in Changzhou by analysing spatial structure. From city scale, it is easy to understand how the spatial fragmentation forms since the 1990s. Here, I will introduce urban history of Changzhou then the changes of urban morphology in different dynasties. Then, it will show the residential differentiation of three different levels. In the case of resident communities, its class is simplified into gentrifiers and inhabitants. Then, it is described that the potentials and threats in Changzhou, and there is clear strategy how to make use of the effective sides to organize structures of householder and sustainable planning.

2) Considering the this case study, what are the opportunities and tendencies of gentrification, and the differences of this between China and Western countries?

By analyzing three different stages communities, it is to describe the residential differentiation on both social and spatial dimension. Mainly, this analysis depends on the evaluation degree of public facilities, such as hygiene station, transport, education, green space, commerce, etc. Compared with the western literatures, it shows the characteristic of gentrification in China, as well as the differences. Based on the

Table 1 Research question, source: made by author
changes of housing market, it explains what are the tendencies and threats, and how do they exist and play inter-function to each other.

3) How and why has neoliberalism diffused across the gentrified areas, as if there were no alternatives?

Under the neoliberalism, more and more core areas in city have been evolved as urban development strategy in the process of gentrification jointly by government and capitalists. Coincidentally, local government wants to push down old buildings and regenerate the core areas, it leads to attract investigation from real estates and benefits the particular middle-upper class. However, this process reveals the local certain neighborhoods. It results in class segregation, polarization and economic development.

4) In order to maintain the culture, in what way can conservation plans preserve historical blocks, instead of leading to an indifference of real social-economic problems?

By the questionnaire of inhabitants, the case of Qingguo Alley project has normalized a set of monolithic gentrified blocks in core of Changzhou, which creates respecting space and blocks for inhabitants. Its concept aims at creating more green space to have strong connections with historical blocks. While, the planning makes more villain social life by creating multifunction blocks. But, the general planning still keep the morphology of communities and preserve the historical heritage units.

Hence, the conservation planning will create the harmonious environment between reconstruction between residential and capital interests. After the climax of urban renewal in Changzhou, the gentrified blocks will transit into a kind of new invasion and succession of historical communities with different cultures and condensation with capital and consumption tastes.

5) How can the balance between growing social uncertainty, in the process of gentrification and the risks of being possessed by financial resources, be sustained?

This contradictory problem is based on the process of privatization, outsourcing, property-led development, private-sector privileges. On one side, planners have to work within the system, rarely have means to prevent negative impacts of neoliberalization. By contrast, planning community is highly incursions by market forces.

In conclusion, the character of gentrification is a combination of social and spatial process. Although the case of Changzhou is shown in my study, there are raising questions step by step. It is stressed from the characteristics of gentrification to analyze the residential differentiation. Clearly, this dissertation presents the social-spatial process on both city and block scale. Consider the overall situation, this problem still needs further discussion.

b. Paper Alignment

This dissertation comprises five different related questions from theories and current researches to analyze the threats and opportunities of gentrification. These five questions are raised in the paper step by step. Separately, it consists of theoretical parts, research design and methodology, the results and analyses. Additionally, it shows the design proposal of historical blocks in Qingguo Alley. Finally, it reaches the dynamic mechanism of gentrification in China. Thus, it summarizes the contributions and gaps. All the questions are related to each other, and strongly connected to key words. To show the It shows how the titles and research questions raised and linked to each other, and what is thinking of this paper (table 2).
3. Scope

This dissertation focuses on historical block in gentrified areas of Changzhou. The case study is chosen in historical blocks, known as Qingguo Alley. It is representative the characteristics of gentrification. Prominently, it mainly shows the process of urban renewal in emerging economy groups which is redistributed by a kind of residential differentiation.

Earlier research on neoliberalization of planning has been argued in Hyllie, Sweden. Actually, it presents a diverse process of path-dependencies to highlight the ambivalent situation they have made. Closed to the architectural competition, the Urban Development Project in Malmö, it is compliance to very constructive environment and totally virtual function, ignoring the social-democratic dimension.

In my study, compared with that between China and Western countries, it illustrates differences and similarities of processes, and explains why they come to the conclusions. Then, this diploma works shows how the process of gentrification forms, and discusses the formulation, characteristics and mechanisms of urban space difference phenomenon in Changzhou, by interviewing stakeholders on demographic dimension in different material space of the community. There are public infrastructures, traffic and other social attributes.

Based on the questionnaires of stakeholders, this paper illustrates the demands of real society and the participation of inhabitants. Using the primary data both from interviews and official statistics, the conceptual design proposal indicates a sustainable design proposal that the edging and urban renewal areas have the potentials and possibilities to develop an attractive and livable conservation planning between history and modernization.
Chapter II

Literature Review
II. Literature Review

1. Concept of gentrification

The notion of gentrification was first introduced in western developed countries in the 1930s-1940s, as a kind of physical environment and social remodeling the old buildings up to now. As it is pointed out that, along with the advancement of globalization, the process of gentrification has been as a way of global city development strategy in metropolitan cities all around the world. It is regarded as the government to promote urban renewal, improving the living environment and promoting into an important tool of urban planning.

Loretta Lees (2002) summaries that in old town: Driven by capital investments, the high income groups are willing to promote the upgrading of local communities, with improvements of the urban landscape, directly or indirectly forced the low-income indigenous inhabitants to move away from local communities.

From the empirical researches on the 1950s housing stock of London, Ruth Glass mentioned that gentrification is considered as four major processes:

1) Resettlement of local inhabitants with middle upper class;
2) Revitalization of inner-city areas by better infrastructures to enhance gentrified areas more relatively habitable and attractive;
3) Enclosure the social society gathering more elites class with same aesthetic tastes to life and artist;
4) Offering commercial opportunities to real estate and private-owner to invest the system (Warde, 1991).

Hence, gentrification is widely agreed as a social class phenomenon that defined as one of the necessary progress in urban renewal. However, compared with suburbanization and ghettoization, there are still a large number of debates from different perspectives to explain what is the characteristic of gentrification.

The classic definition of gentrification is a certain expression of the cheapest way to obtain the restored premises by capitalists in Sharon Zukin’s Loft Living (1988). She describes the changes in Manhattan, New York, through deindustrialization to where attracts local artists to change them to ‘lofts’. This process is coincidently made the abandoned factories into habitable and desirable space. In turn, it attracted the attention for the real estates to make profits from wealthier class and the expansions of residential houses. As result, the Council of New York claimed that this area would be preserved as artic areas for tourists. It is stimulated both the local government and real estate to upgrade the infrastructures and living condition. What this shows, this process made great fortunes for the investors, and the social demography was changed over time that indicated the social dimension.

Another debate is often presented as the social-economic explanations, it is so called ‘rent-gap’ developed by Neil Smith and Harvey, which named after ‘supply-side’ versus ‘demand-side’. On one side, the existing housing environment is under construction to seek for financial benefits from real estates and private investors. On other side, the house renting and accumulation of property’s fortune is a kind of profitable way to raise money. With the deterioration of housing condition, the value of land is getting worse and worse. In this decline cycle, to change the usage of the land is the most efficient way to get returns. This phenomenon occurred more often in the USA more than that of the UK, where more places seem to be larger areas of dereliction. Compared with that, it was less often in the UK that the individual buyers play more roles in renovating new houses. Thus Lees (2000) notices that the very rich class to buy the core areas, instead raising prices the first gentrifiers could not afford. As results, thus encourage to high refunds from local taxes and regeneration of infrastructures.
Despite, gentrification is treated as economic and urban problem, it relates to the exact middle-class. According to empirical studies (Ley, 1996; Smith, 1996), it is popular in the minority of middle-class come from different parts (Bondi, 1999). Some of them come from well-educated households, and most of them are in dual-earner households. And subsequent research indicates that there are kinds of differences in gentrified areas in London. It suggests the urban specificities (Butler, 1995 and 1997).

Unlike traditional welfare countries, currently, in China, it is the leading government landed of gentrification and changing a new form of the main means of local government. This process is under totally new built-environment by demolishing the old and historical blocks. Response to globalization, gentrification is along with the expansion of the urban renewal movement and thorough, it exists the various types.

2. Symptoms of gentrification

The empirical study shows that gentrification is strongly related to gender, sexuality and life stage. One important factor is that the growth of gentrification is same time to the baby booming which after the post-war times. In statistics, only one or two children occupy a large number of households, for the fast decrease of large family.

Interestingly, parts of the gentrifying households come from the professional and managerial elites, particularly the female, even including advanced technological and professional single women, non-children dual-earner, and child-bearing family (Beauregard, 1986; Smith, 1987; Mills, 1988; Bondi, 1991 and 1999). The reason is that the closer to the job market, the minimum they could save time and walking-time to carry out the productive work.

Besides, the cultural-reasons for gentrification still are another effective sides. As Knopp (1998) mentioned, the recognition of sexuality, presented as a challenge to social values. This results the process of marginalization to the first gentrifiers. For example, the conflicts between a common sense city and the homosexual village show what is the culture alternatives do household formation.

In 1964, according to Glass gentrification concept, Lees put forward the classic gentrification into as one important type of this concept, and all subsequent of gentrified process variation. It refers to the recession of neighborhoods in inner-city, due to pioneer the gentrification in the Renaissance, the original low-income working class people gradually become the middle-class households, ‘the bottom-up, a progressive succession’ which result in updating of restored industrial materials and the change of social class is the main in-deep characteristic.

In traditional western academia, gentrification has been started a rich empirical study. Such as, Lees’ research to Barnsbury, the local community in London and Park Slope in New York club areas, it pointed out that the community’s rent gap, gap value, pioneer gentrified housing preferences and lifestyle choices are the main motivations. In ancient, private capitalist with privilege is the main power to update of communities, the gradual improvement of living environment, to promote community autonomy, historical and cultural protection and indigenous people. In addition, Garside’s research to Cape Town of Woodstock area, it suggests that besides the economic causes of indigenous movements, racial conflicts is still another main obstacle of traditional gentrification.

At present, the process of gentrification turns into an important social part of post-industrial areas under fast globalization and neo-liberalization planning. Each for its own reason, it associates with government and local capital accumulations (Harvey, 2005). Meanwhile, by the incursions of market forces, the community leads more privatization and outsourcing, private-sector privileges.
In terms of traditional gentrification of modern building, based on the research of the big American cities and the community of the composition of capital, the scale of the resettlement, Clay divides the investment risk of four characteristics of the traditional gentrification process into four different stages. First, the resettlement of groups of residents is entailing by the minority middle class. Second, transformation in local infrastructures is directed under private and real estates. Third, there is common social attitude to cultural aesthetic and social lifestyle. Fourth, it is a profitable way to extend the property for commercial opportunity. Simultaneously, Gale is the composition of community population as the basis into the traditional gentrification progress phases.

It was described by Glass (1966) that, in London, the spontaneity of existing homes in urban areas, small-scale, repair material updates and class succession process has been classified as classic gentrification, one form of traditional gentrification. Whilst, the concept of urban renewal and process of social reconstruction as an interpretation tool. At present, a new gentrification, super gentrification, student gentrification, travel gentrification, countryside gentrification and other types of gentrification have sprung up in various cities around the world.

In summarize, there are a lot of arguments on gentrification, and it still results so many denotation concepts. However, according to the Lees scholars, such as, the end of the capital in the old town of investment, the high income groups promote the upgrading of local communities, the improvement of the urban landscape, directly or indirectly forced the native low-income emigration. All the four characteristics (high-income groups, improvement of infrastructures, resettlements of minority middle class, the power driven by market) of gentrification have been basically become a sense to recognize the community that based on the important basis of the judgment of the gentrification phenomenon.

3. Comparison of gentrification between China and western countries

Gentrification is generally presented in western countries in the setting of political and economic transition, large-scale urban renewal and social-economical changes of the middle class, schooling and etc. According to three different perspectives on gentrification written by Pu Miao (2011), Zukin (1988), and Savage (2003), it recapitulates the phenomenon and symptoms of gentrification in different ways. The discussion has largely focused on how processes of change over time both external and internal considerations, which constantly tested both in China and Western countries.

a. Gentrification in China

During the past 30 years, in China, Pu Miao (2011) identifies window-dressing, privatization and gentrification as major problems of public spaces. Regarding the tendency for gentrification, the phenomenon tends to occur in mature commercial areas where the particular buildings or parts of the city are more desirable to users and investors. In this condition, the developers or managements are encouraged to show more ambition to improve the so-called ‘open space’ facilities. They are only for the high-income residents and the other privileged class, making an ambivalent situation for the less wealth majorities. It is vital for Chinese government to play great roles of gentrification. In many cases, many changes stem from the governmental guidance that makes social and economic shifts.

Therefore, the similar perspective of gentrification between China and the West is related to the broken-up communities, where physical changes price existing residents out of a particular locality. Not only the social structures change, but also do the neighborhoods. However, these ongoing processes of change have implications mainly to the public space, compared to the classical Western definition that refers to the replacement between poor residents in downtown and the middle-income classes.

Firstly, the uniform upgrading of mature commercial and public centers. In order to pay higher rents which called the pseudo-economics, most luxury shopping malls prefer to been built in the urban
centers which bring the exotic lifestyles and cater to elite’s consumption. However, the location of these occupies the monopolized accessible tunnels in a city. Compared with the rich who can drive everywhere, they are critical to the common, for they are accustomed to the retail centers in collective memory which combine various income levels and social characteristic.

Secondly, the war against street markets. With the movement of beautifying the city and regulating the market, the government tries to relocate them to some place and erases the memory of place. The higher renting price in the core centers, the less affluent residents go for daily shopping instead the street markets.

Thirdly, total demolition of the historical buildings has being replaced the old and historical blocks. The movement of large-scale demolition of existing buildings accelerates the growth of gentrification and erases memory of place. However, the aged ground floors can be seen the most vibrant civic life that offers all priced markets.

Fourthly, marginalization of the pedestrian environment results disappearance of street marketing. In China, for the high density of population and large city scale, people have to walk a long time through multiple routes, exposing wide and vehicle artery where few people unwilling to stroll along it that ignores pedestrians at human scale as same as the parking garages.

b. Liminal Space to A Landscape of Power

Zukin (1991/2005) points the appearance of downtown as *liminal space* resulting from the capital corporation between the segment of dialectic landscape and central power in downtown. This mediates the transformation by urban policy and capital reinvestment. Description of process is recapitulated three major aspects.

In the former case, it is the actions to social power both public and private. The downtown markets experienced three stages. First, the usage of space changes by the exchange of social class morphology. For example, social structures form from agriculture and industrialization then to service. Second, the vernacular landscape has been reformed into an aesthetically or historically homogeneous landscape. Third, the reuse of old structures in downtown is joined by more commercial and fashionable than that of before. For examples the demise of the Belmore Cafeteria in Manhattan, provided the obsoleteness of social activities instead of the form of consumption.

Liminal space is interpreted as a place where boundaries dissolve a little and we stand there, getting ourselves ready to move across the limits of what we were into what we are to be. It is a social-spatial process of transformation between separation and reincorporation in where transitional and marginal states.

‘By late 1988, the Disney Channel was also achieving Eisner’s goal of cross-promotion for other company ventures. Kids watching Winnie the Pooh or Mickey Mouse cartoons became a target market for Disney toys.’ (Grover, 1991, p. 150).

However, the most significant public space of Disneyland transcend the shared cultures to offer the multi-choices that other using 'theme park' as a context of urban design. The success of well-known American Disneyland (Zukin, 1991) emphasized the high achievement of architecture technologies and landscape engineering to satisfy people’s assumption with the amusements. By contrast, the Disney World, the new creating place is under critics on its bleaching out of American history and laying out the huge suburbs that eliminate the downtown. Its visual culture and private management has changed the giant land into a way to seek for economic development. As criticized that, Wallace
(1985) described the story-telling theme park as a walled-off place with own admission by interpreting the entirely separate agendas. So there are a large number of shopping malls, entertainment museums, sport resorts in Disney World, it is America's urban laboratory (Ball, 1991). Hence, unreasonably, this raises serious social and political issues.

Similarly, the destiny of three hot clubs in the 1980s, mainly results of high costing level, it is rising of institutional properties that disperses the unique vernacular landmark and subvert the native living habitats by high standardizing consumption and replicating culture.

What’s more, to the level of infrastructure, it seems to be based on cultural consumption. Zukin argues that it rests on a wilder relationship with consumer demand. For the change of people’s perspective towards cultural values, the integrated downtown by more business investment and attribute change has been deeply effected by economic factors. Then, the process rests on the critical infrastructure to keep balance between dialectic and central power that mediates a juxtaposition of history and modernity, like Miami and Los Angeles.

In the last case, the visual consumption is inseparable from centralized economic power. Zukin suggests her analysis from liminal space to Disneyland, influenced by the change of cultural consumption that rests on social position and networks. She identifies the success of Disneyland as simulacra, which create diversity images and imitations that never actually existed, because it involves a multi-landscape linked by the narrative and separate amusement themes providing consumers with selective desires.

c. Phenomenon of Gentrification

Since 1950s there have occurred a lot of scholar debates on gentrification, the implications for several key factors can be profound. Savage et al. (2003) identify the process as expression of co-existence between social inequality and capital accumulation, and offer some considerable impacts to newly western cities.

First, Zukin in her book Loft Living (1988), illustrates functional changes of capital accumulation and aesthetic value the classic description of gentrification. In the area of Manhattan, New York, the dilapidated sweatshops turns into artistic galleries and lofts that led to revitalization of inner city and made profits to housing developers. Thus, it makes 'interesting’ to the potential residential accommodation and effectively stimulates the local housing market. As a result, the government starts to improve the infrastructure and retains a tourist attraction.

Second, the theoretical brief explanation of 'rent-gap’ developed by Neil Smith, shows a cycle of financial decline for original housing holders that deterioration of properties affects the maintenance of current usage. It follows the formulation of financial consideration both supply-side and demand-side. On one hand, it’s profitable to change the current usage rather than investment in maintenance. On the other hand, ground rent and accumulation for real-estate developers become certain profits.

Third, gentrification is primarily a class phenomenon in the middle-class minority. The empirical studies to the character of gentrification indicate that the special fraction inflected by gender, sexuality and education level. While, the process seems a replacement by middle class from the poor habitants, and marginalization of social groups that intend to revenge centers to be suburbanized.

Forth, Savage argues the differences of gentrified areas in cities between USA and Europe. Compared by the major important sociology is real-estate developers in America, gentrification in UK is more like informal social movement in approved styles. Additionally, from the sociological sides, the essence of process indicates the household’s structure that mainly consists of middle class minority
who are young and single women, professional career-oriented women and dual-earner households. Reasons for this seem to minimize journey-to-work costs and facilitate the local marketed services, for the living arrangement allows them to meet domestic and labor-market pressures.

d. Comparisons between China and western countries

In the context of Pu Miao(2011) and Zukin(1988), gentrification, unlike other movements of suburbanization or simple replacement, is a potential by-product of urban renewal that leads to social inequality and segregation, involving poor residents in downtown by the displacement of middle class. Sometimes this phenomenon seems positive, for example, the upgrading of inner city, well-proportioned infrastructure and good quality of housing. Thus, the roles of political rights prefer to the source such as regeneration, revitalization, which lead to the renaissance of city’s development and might be more desirable to proper owners and speculators. Nevertheless, sometimes the effect of gentrification is negative, existing communities are communities are broken up and the displacement of less affluent people involves social segmentation that leads to the social polarization.

Obviously, both Zukin’s and Savage’s study, there was similar description of gentrification in western countries that has the same interpretation in Western. Zukin suggests her analysis from liminal space to Disneyland, and identifies the success of Disneyland as simulacra, which create diversity images and imitations that never actually existed, because it caters to different consumers’ tastes. Savage attributes gentrification to the cause of social class change that occurs in minority middle-class. Thus, it intimately associates housing markets and minimizes the distance between house and workplace, for it’s more convenient than the suburb regions to familiar with domestic markets.

However, in Pu Miao’s point, this phenomenon of China differs from that of western countries, particularly in public space. The progress is the lack of balance between government and public, for planners and investors miscalculating the common consumption. In the context of gentrification in China, the process, characteristics, mechanism and policies etc., all the features are under the unique aspects. Firstly, gentrification in China is favored as dispersed urban space instead of that in western countries experienced replacement from central areas to large-scale. Secondly, market power in west leads the dominant role under the mature capital systems, comparing that of China, it is obviously characterized by the governmental guidance that attracts the demands of the middle and upper classes. Thirdly, relocation in China is realized by implementation of developing a whole project, and that in western countries prefers to a progressive way. Lastly, at the social macro level, there exist social and ethnical contradictions in western countries, apparently it is more tolerant in China, for the groups always live the same community.

4. ‘Producer’ & ‘Consumer’ in content of gentrification and neo-liberalization

Of course, the process of gentrification and neo-liberalization have strongly intertwined, with what has happened in the transformation in core areas effecting on the changes of property value and land. The spread of malls and markets has accustomed huge number of people to change their own life taste to be suited for shopping. In the welfare society, the appearance of neo-liberalization is introduced into forms of large-scale property development projects. It is as a result of market-friendly policies to regenerate the neighborhood, and city.

Over the past decades, in the downtown, the places of city center have been resettled by the minority rich middle class, for the increasing number of consumption demands, such as shopping malls, better cafes, etc. By the suburban, cathedrals of consumption’, here to say, to the ‘consumers’, people are more and more willing to spend time and money in downtown. The convenient location leads to the increasing of households and mobility.
Meanwhile, as the return to the city center, residents and consumers prefer to show their demands to local infrastructure and rural economic needs. Accumulating investigation has already led to the satisfactory space for the quality of shopping experiences. With the empirical research by Crawford (1992) and Sorkin (1992), what we witnessed is that the living and cultural taste have also changed to suit for the new coming social class. The new downtown is designed to ensure consumption and recreation of middle class. Hence, ‘urban regime’ is to exist where local government and private interests function at same time (Stone, 1989, pp. 6). Benefits different levels of interests, governmental conduct is necessary to ensure the sustainable growth.

Hence, the demands of stakeholders have become diverse groups: private companies, public agencies, public-private agencies, governmental municipalities, all of them take responsibilities to planning, either directly or indirectly, but partly relying on the individuals or organizations for their economies. Most of the partnerships consist of politicians, planners, municipality members, neighborhoods, and NGOs². The approach has been grouped to a promotion of new urban politics and accelerated the process of entrepreneurial city and proper-led development. Participated with more democratic citizen practices, it is a promoting process to transfer the roles of planning between private and private-organization.

‘There is no hard evidence that the global marketplace of cities exists: for most economic sectors move from city to city, across continents and ignoring language and cultural barriers, in pursuit of locational advantage.’ (Treanor, 2005).

Neo-liberalization can be understood as a set of urbanities that function in mature markets (Baeten, 2009). The neo-liberalism city exists more consumerism and entrepreneurialism, resulting great contradictions to that of governance. Under the processes of neo-liberalization is not entirely incompatible that only enhances economic ‘freedom’, but also express a certain attitude to social dimension both individual and city.

5. New urbanity, new continuity

While the processes of neo-liberal planning have been essential parts of thinking and practice to remove the interference from government. At least, it creates sub-optional conditions for more freedom environment. Neo-liberalism is much more than an anti-state-intervention ideology. Today neo-liberalization is expressed towards more market metaphor than the freedom of capitalists. The implementation of city is considered to attract high cost-benefit for investment, innovation and creative classes (Leitner, Sheppard, Sziarto, & Mariganti, 2007).

In cater to keep pace with globalization and urbanization, built environment has to make use of the best location advantages to expand more profitable. Paradoxically, city planners have to consider both demands of immigrants, as well as the infrastructures. However, the implementation is not ‘rolling back’ outcomes, instead under unpredictable and complicated situations. The elements of neo-liberalization have been carried out spaces, social subjects, social-democratic, and some parts of privatization. On the vulnerable side, neo-liberalism consults experiments of the monolithic society (Larner, 2003). If anything, it also makes possibility for the co-exist of social problems.

6. Reference case: Hyllie, Malmö, Sweden

a. Introduction to Neoliberal Planning

² NGOs are informal communities named after non-governmental organizations. It is consistent of private stakeholders, decision-markers, even real estates. This organization forms spontaneously that represent the benefits both economy and social dimension to playing roles on planning institutions,
The Urban Development Project (UDP) of Hyllie (fig.3) plan contributes to short-term to the action of urban and the revival of Malmö. It is in transformation from abandoned industrial city lay lands into newly built environment. The plan of Hyllie expands the city large numbers of very construction housing to attract wealthier class in the efforts of Malmö city. On geography, landscape here stretches across the Öresund Bridge with Denmark, creating new central areas around railway station. Around the areas, there are 7,000 dwellings houses, a grand hotel, an ice-hockey rink, and a shopping center (fig.4). It is sold as continuously property’s prosperous.

However, this creative and ambitious project was limited to short-income threatened by a series of social-culture, policy, ’strangers’ and immigrants in the long-term growth in Malmö. All new attraction for elite consumption and gentrified inner city results in social segregation and new landscape of prosperity and exclusivity.

b. Conclusion

Obviously, the project of Hyllie, plays a significant part in urban transformation. On one side, the short-term...
economic gains the very construction of new built environment. On the other side, the current policy in Malmö is threatened by a set of socio-cultural, political and economic contradictions that should be addressed for long-term development.

The flipside of Örespectacle is a set of ‘sub-places’ that two iconic newcomers arrive at the same while, the ‘stranger’ and the ‘entrepreneur’ is spatially juxtaposed. It means that the negation of social difference and the desire to build a mono-cultural recognizing society. The project of Hyllie can be interpreted as the normalization and institutionalization.

The Hyllie project is defined as normalizing neo-liberalism planning. In the process, it is clearly illustrated how the construction connected to railway station and driven by a set of commercial blocks, essentially modern forms. The competition of architectures and perfect traffic connections are designed for the elites to match the allocation of major developers. Over the past decades, contestations still exist between politicians and inhabitants that this short-term development has characterized the separation of society and economic.

Therefore, the short-term revival has several built-in tensions that inevitably cause a lot of socio-economic problems. The monolithic commercial blocks result in concentrations of deprivation in certain neighborhood. Paradoxically, the result has isolated the areas from city, and disconnected with social problems in Malmö. Instead, it feeds off the regional land and labor market, showing indifference to social-economical problems as polarization, ignorance of history.
Chapter III
Research Design & Methodology
III. Research Design & Methodology

In this chapter, it focuses on the methodological framework of my dissertation, explains and clarifies my methodological choices, and highlights how the material was gathered and analyzed with relation to my research aim. First, it starts by discussing what characterize my case study, why I choose this method, and in which ways reach my study object. On urban history perspective, it is clearly shown that the changes of Changzhou. Related to my research question, the project area of my case study is introduced to raise my further analysis and results.

The second part introduces the different methods for collecting information that were used in this dissertation. In terms of explanation of gentrification and residential differentiation in my objective case, it is conducted by questionnaires (The method of probability proportional sampling) of stakeholders in Qingguo Alley, and data collections of local housing market. Additionally, I list a table of data to show what kind of data and where it comes from. They are divided into primary and secondary data. And I explain all of the sources for secondary data, exactly the name of which institutions I took statistical data and maps.

1. Case study research

a. Definition of the term case

Distinguishing the specificity of this case, the dissertation here studies probable and potential problems through a set of comprehensive analysis both spatial structure analysis and further dialogue to stakeholders in communities. Introduced by the urban development of Changzhou, the circumstance is facing spatial fragmentation and deprivation of certain neighbourhoods. Focused on the particular areas in city centre, the Qingguo Alley, it is the most significant historical blocks around the city. Hence, the report of this case is more likely to have a theme which represents an example solution to solve the threats and opportunities in the process of gentrification.

b. Why do I choose this approach?

Based on theoretical knowledge about urban renewal both China and Western countries, especially on the referencing project of Hyllie, Malmö, the case in my research is concentrated on the representative areas, the largest existing historical blocks in Changzhou (impression of city, fig.5). With fast pace of urbanization, there are a large number of new-built projects and buildings to show economic revival of city. It is a booming growth both urban infrastructure and consumptions of inhabitants. Evidently, in the center of Changzhou, Qingguo Alley, the block is surrounded by a set of very monolithic construction architectures. At same time, there is still a lot of traditional architectures and neighbours of celebrities.

However, the current practices of urban renewal in China focus on the unity of forms by space structures, traffic, residents, and functions, simplifying the social spatial problems through the common recognition. Obviously, the process of gentrification in Changzhou, it results in the simple

![Fig.5 People’s square in Changzhou, source: photo by author](image-url)
architectural style that destroy the original urban forms. Even, the prestigious celebrity culture and social structure, all kinds of cultural symbols have been basically ignored. Located in south center of city, Qingguo Alley (Location map, fig.6), straightly connects to two major traffic lines, and is next to the city canal in east. Additionally, there are a lot of rich historical and cultural value of the former residences of celebrities, such as patriotic industrialist Liu Guojun residence, here is the only place gathering a number of local famous families.

In summary, this research is aimed at analysing the existing historical blocks by emphasizing the residential differentiation in different stages since 1970s. What’s more, on the urban perspective, I am analyzing all sides of planning maps from comprehensive, detailed plans, and functions. Then the current city planning has already separated the space and isolated the gentrified areas. On Qingguo Alley’s side, I will make more clear analysis on resident environment, space, marketization, housing price, public facilities and social differentiation to highlight the threats and opportunities of gentrification in Changzhou (fig.7). As it is, I would like to make an insightful opinion on Chinese urban planning.

1) Introduction to City

Changzhou, locates in the south of the Yangtze River, Taihu Lake, which is the only Chinese city that locates in east longitude of 120 degree across the whole city. Centralized in the Yangtze River Delta heartland, the city has already been rapidly emerged to Suzhou, Wuxi, and Shanghai, consisting the biggest economic metropolitan in mainland China. Changzhou is one of the leading metropolitan cities(fig.8) in China that is a cultural ancient city with a written history of 3,200 years. Currently, the total economy group of Changzhou ranks top rich 20 cities, reached GDP to 396.9 billion CNY.

The local municipality now has jurisdiction over two county-level cities (Jin tan and Li yang) and other five districts, Wujin in the south, Xinbei in the north, Zhonglou in the west, Tianning in the city centre and Qishuyan in the east. Geography of whole city has a total area of 4,385 square kilometers with a total population of 4.6 million.
2) Urban History

From agricultural irrigation to Yancheng

Since B.C. 547, the village was founded by the appearance of irrigation on farming in Changzhou, and it was named after Yancheng of the Spring & Autumn Period. According to history, it is the first generation of 'city' that was divided into three levels of circle watertown. And the total area is around 1 km². In each circle, it was used as different functions and consisted of three inner towns.

The infrastructure of Yancheng was built from the ground by making full use of local viscous soil relying point, instead digging the foundation trench either pounding. It was just piled up layer by layer, a layer of dry soil in some places, others for a layer of wet soil, followed by white, to reinforce the city walls. By failing version built, then the wall was wider. All the city three walls were shown as a trapezoid type, a height of 3-5 meters and a width of 30-40 meters that based on the wall. And the three moat reached average depth of 4 meters and 30-50 meters, 60 meters at its widest point.

Hence, Yancheng(fig.9) is one of the best preserved ruins of an ancient city remained in the late Spring and Autumn city. From the inside to the outside of the city, it was consisted of sub-city, sub-moat, inner city, inner moat outside the city, outside the city moat. Three phases consisted of three rivers. This fortification shape in the history of Chinese urban architecture, can be described as unique in the world. Since then the same time, the cities were having surrounded by a river inside a river town or a few of two or two-city with two rivers.
Changes in history - Ming, Qing & Republic of China

Changzhou has a long time and always as a result of social changes. Inhabitants and local economy have been greatly influenced by the social-spatial development, as the process of gentrification, city sprawl and immigrants. It is significantly record the current foundation of urban form since the year of 1418. At that time, both people and local economy were under the first booming growth that the scale and resident block reached the top of Eastern China. And there are three sightful stages of urban developments in the changes of Changzhou (fig.10).

In Ming, and Qing Dynasties, silk and bronze handicrafts were the most developed industries. In the city, there even was a ‘loom Square’ that made by some organised household, known as Jiangnan textile boutique, known as the national brand. And up to Republic of China, in the year of 1913, the modern concept of planning was introduced into the process of urban renewal. Typologically, with hundreds years of urban sprawl, the city had already been developed through one major canal in downtown, and expended both inner and sub-area that as twice as a hundred years ago. While, with the revolution of industry, spatial struture started to form by the influence of industrialization and the impacts from Shanghai. Another canal was made by the fast growth of industry. Since then, city was surrounded by two canals, and the current city center started to form since that time.

![Fig. 10 Urban forms under different dynasties, source: Changzhou urban planning bureau](image)

**c. Case study area**

As mentioned, Changzhou, is one of the most famous historical town which remains very rich various historical periods in the city. And Qingguo Alley area (see fig.11) is the most prestigious ancient streets and largest number of blocks where the essence of overall historic characterestic lies. And the whole total area is around $3 \text{ km}^2$. Not only retained some historical sites in different historical periods, but there are also some preserved traditional architectures, heritages of celebrities, and historical blocks, located next to city canal.

Qingguo Alley, the biggest historical residential blocks, is located in Changzhou southerly in central, south to the canal, east to Hepingqiao Bridge, and west straightly to main commercial center avenue. In addition to traditional blocks made of bricks of Ming Dynasty on both sides, there are a lot of high historical and cultural value of the former residences of celebrities such as patriotic industrialist residence of Liu Guojun, and other famous celebrity heritages.

However, there is also fast urbanization under the modernism that exists various very construction buidings in this area, for its great location, convenient public transport, easy connection to lesisure activities, etc. The process of urban renewal seems contribute to the regenerate the city and makes remarkable profits for the investors both goveranment and private ones. Simutaneously, the peace of gentrification has already led into social and spatial fragmentation and polarisation. More and
more historical blocks have been destoried and abanboned and torn down. This great comparison between so called ‘prosperous’ high skyscrapers and cheerless resident blocks. Ironically, this area in Changzhou represents a common phenomenon in modern Chinese metropolitan cities in current years. This dissertation is more concerntrated on the contradictory situation how it comes into the situation, what happened under urbanization, and in which way to create a harmous environment instead of reducing negative effects.

Since 2000s, the trend shows that the residents have started to move out of historical blocks. Property of housebolder changes from shared rights into private stakeholders. In addition, some government agencies have taken over some of the rooms and re-split into dormitory units accomodating more people. Under the capital investment and reconstruction in the center city of Changzhou, the buildings and living conditions continue to deteriorate communities, as well as Qingguo Alley. Many people who have the ability to move out from areas, they go for other better housing as home in city center instead. Today, the community is around 2028 households and the population is of 5958 people, including the elderly 1298 people. The features of this area is consist of elderly population, and more poor people, mostly immigatory workers from suburbs and poor areas.

Additionally, the questionnaires I conducted with local inhabitants and personal dialgues here, it is clearly that inhabitants in the area of three different communities are divided into two major classes: gentrifiers and local residents.

In summary, by the case area of Qingguo Alley, it is worthy exploring to discuss and analysis the threats and potentials under the process of gentrification in China.

![Fig.11 Location of case study area - Qingguo Alley, source: mapping by author](image)

**2. Methodology & data**

**a. Credibility, transparability & objectivity**

In the object areas, Qingguo Alley, as the area of 3 km², I used the methodology of probability proportional sampling (PPS) to collect questionnaires from the year of Nov., 2013 to Feb., 2014.

3. **PPS** is short for probability proportional sampling, a kind of principle of monetary amount rather than using attribute sampling incidence to come to the conclusion of statistical sampling methods. Under the method of each unit to be selected in the overall opportunity is the same, so the probability of a project is selected in the general equal to the ratio of the project and overall. And PPS sampling is generally better than traditional variable sampling is easy to use.
At beginning there was a total number of 240 tables, finally I selected the number of 214 effective questionnaires. All the information was collected by the interviewees with inhabitants and accurate sources from Changzhou governmental statistics. And this paper used the data of local market of housing, which was used to illustrate the structure of residential blocks. Respecting the samples of gentrified communities, this survey was combined with housing type and average transaction of price (As shown in table 3). For instance, in the area, from east to west, the research was followed by the distribution of city primary school, and Technology School of Changzhou. Except from the covers of campuses, residential land within 10 selected communities was carried out the research, based on the past years divided into three categories, including three stages of houses-built times since 1970-1980s, 1990s and 2000s. As the process of gentrification, in these three different stages of residential communities, there are a lot of differences on living condition, the environment, housing, economic structure, public infrastructure and social attributes.

In my own research, I selected data source triangulation by conducting different interviews with potentially viewpoints on the same question, and by elaborating the interview templates based on daily social concerns. The interpretation of the literature, document analysis, and interviews was done by articulating and comparing the information. I also used some basic knowledge of theories in my analysis of the information collected by interpreting my readings done by my tutors, opponents, and other peers in dialogues, and surveys.

### Table 3 Second-hand housing prices in site area, source: esf.czfcw.com/2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community name</th>
<th>1970-1980s</th>
<th>1990s</th>
<th>Since 2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qingguo Alley</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinxingxiang Community</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guchen Comm</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>9,800</td>
<td>9,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Jiaopu xiang Community</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>6,800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Jiaopu xiang Community</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>6,800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qingguo Skycraper</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunting Loft</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changshang Garden</td>
<td></td>
<td>9,200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangzhuhengjing Ren resident house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lvyou Skycraper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**b. Interview & Survey**

In this part, there were interviews and surveys directed my research. Basically, all the questionaire were finished by local inhabitants in this block. They came from different social society, such as teachers, workers, students, unemployees, elites, etc. Also, the ages of population ranged from children, adults, elders. It was considered the differences of education backgrounds and economic status.

Interviews were one-on-one or small group question and answer sessions. Interviews provided a lot of information from a small number of people and are useful when I wanted to get an expert or knowledgeable opinion on a subject. Surveys were a form of questioning that was more rigid than interviews, and that involved larger groups of people. Surveys provided a limited amount of information from a large group of people and were useful when I wanted to learn what a larger population thinks.

First, I interviewed inhabitants here and used three different data sources. Here, all the interview was directed by dialogues to stakeholders. And, the total number of questionnaires is 214. Based on different groups of Qingguo Alley, the primary data of interviews showed the demographic changes.

Then, I searched the surveys basically from the statitics from my questionnaires. It was clearly to see the result that the social struture, relations and habits. Whilst, I selected some secondary data from
Chapter III. Research Design & Methodology

Changzhou Real Estate Office, supported my further research.

c. Questionnaire research

Basically, by choosing different stratum attribute of residential communities, the questionnaire (see Appendix) is aimed at analyzing the evaluation of public service facilities through nine different index. Characterized by two major classes, the higher class is named after 'the gentrifier', and another is the local inhabitant. Separately, in the content of dialogue to stakeholders, this methodology is dealing with the analyses of commercial center, market, bank, leisure facility, public transport, green space, school, entertainment and hygiene. Then it is a result that how each community or block effects on the evaluation of social-space and the relations with housing market in the process of gentrification.

d. Data collection

In terms of guaranteeing the accuracy of my research, all the statistics is original from Changzhou Urban Planning Bureau, supported by official datas. By analyzing the structure of space, the new characteristic of gentrification in Changzhou is often based on housing price, land area, function, and community. Particularly, with the booming growth of urbanization, the evident statistics of housing market (Knox and Pinch, 2000) is necessary to show how the symptom forms. Combining with the sample questionnaire to stakeholders, three different levels of communities have been investigated in the gentrified areas by comparing the evolution table of character and residential differentiation in Qingguo Alley areas.

By the interviews to different class in my case study areas, I did a deep survey through the conversation to nine local communities, inhabitants, and took a lot of photos. Classified the inhabitants here into two different classes, the 'gentrifiers' and 'locals', my questionnaires mainly focus on three hands, as the social-spatial struture, character of the residence, and social relations between case areas and city. Considering different backgrounds of education, social status, financial income and housing property, this survey was applied to all interviewees.

e. Classification of data

In order to keep the credibility and realiability of my research, all the interviews were conducted by my questionnaires with stakeholders. The primary data were selected by total number of 214 questionnaires during months. It started from Dec.,2013 to Feb.,2014. In the process, I did anonymous questionnaires to stakeholders. Because some questions were private ones, which related to the personal economic status. In addition, I did the research by a range age of inhabitants from the elder to the youth.

And, in order to anlysis the reason of social dimension problems in gated communities, Changzhou Real Estate Office and Urban Planning Office also supported me rich data. They came from official documents and directed by institutions. There were also detailed analyzing maps from municipality to introduce the process of urbanization. Even they were secondary statictics, it was formal documents and more transperable to analysis the process of gentrification.

All the photos in this dissertation were taken by author during the past several months. Based on the results of interviews, And in the analysing parts, there were some maps in the analysing parts made by author.

In summary, I classified all the data into two different sources. One was from primary data through my own interviews. Another was consisted of gonvernmental secondary statictics. Here was the source and classification of data (see table 4).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List Name</th>
<th>Primary source</th>
<th>Secondary source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Current situation photos</td>
<td>Taken by author</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questionnaires with stakeholders (Total 214)</td>
<td>Made by author</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demography analysis statistics</td>
<td>Interviews by author</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local housing price</td>
<td></td>
<td>Changzhou Real Estate Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban spatial analysis:</td>
<td></td>
<td>Changzhou Urban Planning Bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General planning</td>
<td></td>
<td>Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure analysis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional space connection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green space system</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural heritage protection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green connection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism structure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical village</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRT system</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing markets</td>
<td></td>
<td>Changzhou Real Estate Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social dimension analysis</td>
<td>Classified data by</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>author</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 Source of data in my research, source: made by author
Chapter IV
Analysis & Results

Gated community in Changzhou, 2013, photo by author
IV. Results & Analysis

As the definition of gentrification, it has been saying that ‘the course of renovating the decrepit residential areas of the low-income classes of the inner city and transforming them into middle class neighbours’ (Hamnett, 2003). According to the change of landmark and household property in Changzhou, particularly in Qingguo Alley areas, gentrification has been as a result of social-spatial phenomenon. On the empirical studies of this process in western countries, the characteristic of gentrification in China presents its own attributes.

In this chapter, based on the collection datas of householders, I’ll analyze the process of gentrification in the respective city of China, explaining the essence of problems. Introduced by current urban planning and spatial structure of Changzhou, seperately from general planning to public traffic, cultural heritage, tourist plan, etc. It emphasis how gentrification happens gradually under its inner and external impacts. And there are numberous of analyzing maps of Changzhou to show what and how the environment changes. Then it discusses the evaluation of public facilities in different communities and how each factor effects the neighbours there. By the actual situation in Qingguo Alley areas, degree evaluation system of community public service facilities is based on nine indicators of business, public transport, education and etc. The importance of each indicator is divided into three grades and assignments, whereby communities enjoy the degree of evaluation in public service facilities.

Correspondingly, the result of analyzing indicates another reason to social dimension. With the datas and maps of social-spatial structures, it is obviously that the residential differentiation relies on the movement of urban renewal. Evidently, the differentiation of social status and governmental policies reveals the character of gentrification. Finally, it supposes to have further conclusions and discussions.

1. Site analysis

a. Urban development

The process of gentrification in Changzhou is attributed to the fast urbanization and governmenenal policies. Both sides show interaction and funtions to each other. From the general planning of Changzhou, it is clear that there are several parts divided into different groups. Cater to create the multi-funtions in limited space, it is applied on all other sides of planning, such as green space, heritage village, structure, tourist, etc ( As seen fig.12a-fig.12j, all sources supported by Changzhou Urban Planning Bureau).

1) General planning (fig.12a)

With fast urbanization and great immigrant from Yangzi River Delta, master planning of Changzhou is divided into 10 seperate groups followed by different funtions. It mainly expends from north-to-south direction which connects the city between Yangzi River and Taihu Lake.

2) Structure analysis (fig.12b)

There are clear traffic aixes both north-south and west-east direction that used as regional connections. While, some extra axises are planned as usage of scientific tech, ecology, culture and leisure. Obviously, it caters to overall development and benefits the economic growth.

3) Regional space connection ( fig.12c)

It is clearly shown that the historical core locates in the center surrounding by three layers, seperately by central space, sub-area space and natural space. The city is expanded as a circle for multi-funtions, but it resuls to obvious fragmentation of space.
Chapter IV. Results & Analysis

Fig. 12a General planning, source: Changzhou Urban Planning Bureau

Fig. 12b Structure analysis, source: Changzhou Urban Planning Bureau

Fig. 12c Regional space connection, source: Changzhou Urban Planning Bureau

Fig. 12d Green space system, source: Changzhou Urban Planning Bureau
4) Green space system (fig.12d)

This map shows that inner city is surrounded by three wild parks, through strong connections with green paths inside city. And it consists of wetland, forest park, and theme park of dinosaur.

5) Cultural heritage protection (fig.12e)

There are several kinds of cultural heritages in core areas, cultural relics, stone inscriptions, and historical landscape gardens. Obviously, the largest number of heritage units locate in downtown, whereby strong connections to city canal. In Qingguo Alley, the case subject place is rich of heritages and celebrity residence.

6) Green connection (fig.12f)

From north to south, the whole city is strongly connected with five levels of green paths. There are linear river green path, canal green path, rural surrounding path, wild green path and city green path. Clearly, all of them consist of green areas, and strengthen to the canal that pass through inner city.

7) Tourism structure (fig.12g)

In this map, the source of tourism is divided into different functions, as landscape, historical villages, theme park, and water. Basically, it depends on the characteristic of space. And, it is recommended a classical tour path in center of city.

8) Historical village (fig.12h)

There are several historical villages locate in Changzhou by different hierarchies, national and local advanced villages. They have already been marked as heritages by government and protected as city symbol.

9) Traffic system (fig.12i)

It is shown that the traffic system is under high density with different levels of roads. In city center, it is surround by external express way in a circle. Attentionally, the closer to center, the speed of vehicle is limited at a range from 80 km/h to 40 km/h. Here, the advanced public transport is designed to solve the problem of traffic jam, namely BRT system (see fig.12j). There are four lines existing to strengthen the public traffic demands and urban sprawl.

Fig.12e Cultural heritage protection, source: Changzhou Urban Planning

4. **BRT** is Bus Rapid Transit system, first developed in Brazil, by specialized built bus tunnel to speed up public transport. This system is designed by own bus stop and the express way locates in center of roads.
Chapter IV. Results & Analysis

Fig. 12f Green connection, source: Changzhou Urban Planning Bureau

Fig. 12g Tourism structure, source: Changzhou Urban Planning Bureau

Fig. 12h Historical village, source: Changzhou Urban Planning Bureau

Fig. 12i Traffic system, source: Changzhou Urban Planning Bureau
In summary, current urban planning of Changzhou has been under the process of urbanization. It is a result both neo-liberalization planning and government policies. Clearly, from general planning to detailed planning, all consideration on space are designed by well public facilities, organized space, high density of traffic roads, and multi-function areas. What’s more, the land use benefits the profitable benefits for local martization and accelerate the changes of metropolitan life.

However, this results in the fragmentation of space and hierarchies of function. With the fast pace of urban sprawl, local urban policy has started to attract more investment and aggravated the indifference of neighbourhood. As a result, the expression of space reveals more and more gentrified communities by the rise of management mode in modern communities. Instead, a lot of historical blocks have been torn down and rebuilt environment. Evidently, this phenomenon is more often happened in gentrified blocks, whereby the core areas of city.

b. Impression of neoliberalization in Changzhou

A representative post-industrial city in China, Changzhou, it is under construction of Urban Development Projects (UDP) jointly by local government and private capital. At present, it has been regenarated by a series of gated resident houses, top skyscrapers, large scales of traffic, multi-funtion shopping mall. Coincidently, it meets the large-scale urban renewal and changes of life style for the growing middle class. Gentrification promotes the new built environment in city, presenting a large number of modern and very construction products of neoliberalization (see fig.13a - fig.13h).

However, the seductive of economic results a large number of impatient constructions. The significant prosperous of Changzhou’s outward image, it deprives the local culture and neglects social-spatial problems. Acutually, more and more spectacular architectures feed off the city and the labour. It is only well connected to the elite class. And the competition of urban renewal leads to more historical blocks into isolated communities, by the tensions of polarization.
Chapter IV. Results & Analysis

![Fig.13c View from canal, image by author](image1)

![Fig.13d Empty new built house, image by author](image2)

![Fig.13e Skycraper in city, image by author](image3)

![Fig.13f BRT system in center, source: image by author](image4)

![Fig.13g City art museum, image by author](image5)

![Fig.13h Urban sprawl, image by author](image6)
**c. Introduction to site**

According to the questionnaires and analysis of urban planning in Changzhou, both social and spatial sides, this case emphasizes on the most significant areas that under the risks of being entirely torn down. The whole area (fig.14) is around 3 km$^2$ with local inhabitants and immigrants. It locates in south center, whereby next to the canal surrounding by two major avenues. There is a city hospital, a luxury shopping mall, one primary school, and one high-tech institute inside the areas. Besides, it mainly consists of residential communities which built in three different stages to show the impacts of landmark and governmental policies. And explore how it results the privatization and great impacts of housing marketization. Here, the process of gentrification is characterized by the residential differentiation.

Based on the analysis of city scale, it is the most representative area to illustrate how gentrification happens and the differences compared with western countries. By analyzing public infrastructure, living condition, environment, housing price, acommerce, etc., in my research, it emphazes the attributes of gentrification in China. Further, by the methodology of making a evaluation attribute table, it shows what is the reason to gentrification, and how it works under the neoliberalization.

In the end of this part, it is clearly stated that the process experiences the changes of social-spatial dimensions. Indeed, all sides are considered, as consist of family, income, education, and leisure activities.

![Fig.14 Information of case site, source: mapping by author](image)

**2. Characteristic of space in process of gentrification**

For the significant change of landmark events and governmental policy, gentrification in Changzhou has experienced three stages attributed to the housing price and residential differentiation. Based the survey of second housing market, the ten communities are divided into three different levels of resident houses. And in each block, it clearly states all the factors related to the charcter of the community, as living condition, environment, housing price, residence social activity. Additionally, there are a lot of photos and datas to illstrate the situation.

In conclusion, I’ll explain how it forms and make comparison with the characteristic of each community, bywhere the most represatative area to discuss further distribution of gentrification in China.
a. 'New-birth' urban renewal in 1978-1987

As the market was started to open and the government stimulated domestic economy, it was rocket for housing demands. Then it exceeded the total number of the past 30 years demands, for the architecture style and living environment were in communist style. Obviously, the resident market had been limited for decades. Since the year of 1978, it was emphasized by the new-birth of urban renewal driven by the encourage of government and first introduced by capital groups. Simultaneously, the beginning of residential differentiation occured, with the appearance of different incomes.

Hence, baced on the statistic of inhabitants from the community (see fig.15a-15e) which was built between 1978 to 1987, it clasified the factors from living condition, public facilities, housing price and social activities (table 5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>living condition</th>
<th>In this period, residential communities are very outdated, the structure is not reasonable with a small number of rooms, mostly made of brick and concrete construction. The construction of quality is less safe within same style uniform, mostly made by multilayer construction.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>public facilities</td>
<td>Based on the sample questionnaire of the residents, it is discovered that the overall of public facilities are under condition. Generally, they are not satisfied with the physical envrionment. For instance, it presented as poor qualify roads, poor sanitation, and other basic facilities. It is shown that facilities here just self-satisfied its own daily demand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>housing price</td>
<td>The second-hand housing price here ranges from 5,000 to 8,000 CNY (see table 3)per month lower than that of average in downtown, recorded by Changzhou Local Real Estate Office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social activities</td>
<td>Residents mainly consist of leisure activities, such as chatting, sunbathing or playing mahjong and cards, have less other leisure activities. It is common to see people enjoy street life there. Dialogue to the locals, it is enjoyable and livable for them to be customed to such social life.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 Communities between 1978 - 1987, source:interviewed by author
b. Realization of affordable housing in 1988-2000

Since the year of 1988, the policy on housing was put forward to build more and more communities (fig.16a-16e). Gradually, as the stable increasing of incomes to the public, there was so-called ‘average affordable residents’ appearing. It is the movement of urban renewal by replacing affordable economic houses. In order to solve the increasing social problems, this strategy was implemented by the government. On one side, planners took seriously planning to resettle the neighborhoods from old blocks to a structured districts, by where a wider and larger areas. On other side, some urban development projects were put forward to regenerate center by the investment from both capitalist and government. Consequently, more and more dilapidated communities in center were transformed into advanced residences, hotels, business buildings. And affected by the disparity of income, people who lived in old blocks prefer to choose better places with better infrastructures (table 6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>living condition</th>
<th>The area of Residential house in this period are still outdated, but better quality. Despite the structure is not reasonable, mostly made of brick and concrete construction in which good construction quality and style. The height of buildings ranges from 4 to 7 layers by small surface per capita. Most of them consists of two-bedroom, a kitchen and a bathroom, a balcony in total area of 44-72m².</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>public facilities</td>
<td>The overall environment in general is in with basic public services, but still under poor condition. For example, the road with potholes, poor drainage, less public green space, it mainly presents in front of house but the relative lack of activity facilities and leisure venues.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>housing price</td>
<td>The second-hand housing price here ranges from 6,000 to 7,000 CNY per month which reaches top of 7,000, even a little bit higher than the average of that in city wide.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social activities</td>
<td>Homogeneity of housing types, the social composition of the obvious differences between the residents, the neighborhood association more daily leisure activities of residents to chat, play cards and mahjong-based, hierarchical social interaction is more primary.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 Affordable housing in 1988-2000, source: interviewed by author

Fig.16a-16d, source: photo by author

Fig.16e, source: mapping by author
c. Privatization & marketization since 2000

Since the year of 2000, fast urbanization and gentrification have been accelerated the properties of household, by large scale constructions. The process of marketization starts to resettle residents who live in core areas to new communities (fig. 17a-17d), which built by complete infrasturctures and comfortable environment. As result, new built community is allocated by marketization mechanism and residential differentiation.

However, this movement is totally satisfied with the profitable benefits both government and real estate. Ultimately, the large number of local government income depends on the selling of lands. The higher prices, the more benefits. Indeed, the increase of housing price is paid by the common. At this time, urban sprawl has been spread all over the city, aggravating a series of social problems, as social-spatial separation, polarization, and indifference towards history. It is so-called 'total demolishment' that replaced by the new built environment (see table 7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>living condition</strong></th>
<th>The residential area is under fation style and very construction, mainly structure of reinforced concrete with good construction quality. Facades of building are designed as modernism and formalism. height from 6 layers to 30 layers ranging.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>public facilities</strong></td>
<td>It is better overall health and other infrastructures, including centralized type of rich green house surrounded by greenery and green spaces and water bodies. Here the basic public service facilities are with central community and other leisure facilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>housing price</strong></td>
<td>The second-hand housing price here ranges from 7,000 to 8,500 CNY (see table 2) per month higher than that of average all around the city.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>social activities</strong></td>
<td>Residents mainly go for a walk or go for leisure club activities within the community. Based on the survey, dominately, the residents come from high-income families, working in the urban areas, passing through cars. And they prefer to urban life and modern leisure activities, as KTV, shopping and more socialized parties.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 marketization houses, source: interviewed by author

Fig. 17a-17c, source: photo by author

Fig. 17d, source: mapping by author
3. Social-spatial analysis

In this part, it will introduce the current structure of space to show what kind of building function. It is clearly illustrated that there are different spaces range from luxury shopping mall, municipality hospital, primary school, park, and other communities built in different stages. Additionally, based on the surveys, I will divide each space into different levels, and analysis how it works and in which way effects interactions.

According to the analyzing of public facilities, it makes scores by infrastructure factors to highlight what is the key reason to effect the evaluation degree of social-spatial structures.

a. Spatial structure

It is clear that, the site is used as six different functions, seperately as education, shopping mall, hospital, leisure blocks, and large number of resident areas (fig.18). Located in city center, it allocates to the major commercial street, and next to city canal. Obviously, green space is very limited, surrounding by municiple hospital and blocks. The roads consist of small valleys for pedestrain, seperated by two commercial street from north to south.

In addition, stakerholders prefer to public transport than private cars, for the limited space, instead most new-built communities have underground parkings. Currently, there are more activities along leisure blocks, for its location to canal and Nan Avenue. It is connected to the rest of city with diverse functions.

Fig.18, space structure, source: mapping by author

b. Social-spatial analysis

1) Commercial business (fig.19a)

From the commercial scale, scope of services and other factors, I will divide commercial plots into three levels: municipal business, leisure catering, and convenient shop. First, the large-scale commerce is mostly for hotels, shopping centers; then, the middle level serves the surrounding residential area or slightly larger range; last, convenient shop is on a smaller scalel to service commercial and service in the residential area.

In this analysis, I will show that the base mix different grades of commercial leading to the distribution trend. Among them, mainly as Changzhou luxury shopping mall, it locates more fragmented, but services for the entire city. The regional business centers are concentrated in several gathering points,
attaching to the canal. The largest number of region-level commercial centers, locate closer to the urban sub-trunk and branches.

2) Street market (fig.19b)

This map shows the categories of street market which equally divided into regional and community levels. Easy to see, because a large area of resident, it is distributed by the service life of the inhabitants demand.

3) Banks (fig.19c)

Commercial and financial sites within the area is relatively abundant, mainly in the western and eastern sides, making ordinary citizens to participate in financial use. It is because that there is municipality hospital and city shopping mall. But, the multi-residential land is combined to form a mixed commercial and residential land, a lot of banks were located on the ground floor of a large range of business.

4) Restaurants and cafes, teahouses (fig.19d)

All the leisure facility focuses on the grand hotels and coffee shops, mostly locates west of schools,
along the canal and east to the shopping mall. Among them, Nan Avenue and Heping North Road are more luxury commercial facilities along the road, the service is more focused on the city level range. The restaurant business stands a linear distribution in the street.

5) Public transport (fig.19e)
There is high density of public transport surrounding all the blocks. It is convenient for residence to reach both downtown and suburbs. All bus stops locate in 10 minutes distance by walking in the site. Also, there is one major traffic exchange stop of BRT system.

6) Green space (fig.19f)
There is only one public park along with the municipal hospital. It is low quality of outer space and less infrastructure near all the blocks, as well as the historical blocks next to canal.

7) Education (fig.19g)
It is only primary school for surrounding residents, basically depending on the household’s system. And, there is other skill school named high-tech school for whole city.

8) Hygiene facility (fig.19h)
Chapter IV. Results & Analysis

The scope of public hygiene facility includes municipal hospital and community health service station. There is obvious contraction of distribution between historical blocks and new built community.

9) Height of buildings (fig.19i)

It is clear to distinguish differences of buildings. In this area, most buildings are less than seven floors, for they are consist of traditional blocks. Close to the major traffic, there are some new built skyscrapers which are more than twenty floors.

10) Density of buildings (fig.19j)

The highest density of buildings locates around the historical blocks in south-east parts. It shows that the average density of old blocks is higher than the new-built ones. Obviously, closer to major traffic roads, lower density it is.

![Fig.19i height of buildings, map by author](image1) ![Fig.19j density of buildings, map by author](image2)

c. Contradiction between modernism and history

By analyzing the physical environment of Qingguo Alley area (fig.20a-20b), it presents great contradiction between modernity and history. In the process of gentrification, the communities show less attractions than the very construction shopping mall. To be stressed, the communities consist of both complete facility blocks and poor ones at same time. However, there is no connection between old blocks and popular buildings. A large number of historical blocks are isolated from both spatial and social sides. Actually, it shows the flow of connection with inner city in new-built communities.

![Fig.20a Core area around Qingguo Alley, photo by author](image3) ![Fig.20b Changzhou Shopping Center, photo by author](image4)
d. Evaluation of public facilities

Analyzing by 8 different indicators of business, transportation, education and public hygiene, the evaluation system of community public facilities relies on the actual situation in the area by allocating different weights. Based on the dialogues with stakeholders, what is more important, I summarize the key factor what is the ratio of each indicator in their daily life. Here, the ratio stands for how important in resident’s daily life. And, the importance of each indicator is divided into three grades and assignments, in general, whereby communities show the evaluation of public infrastructures scores (see table 7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evaluation factor</th>
<th>Most important level score as (8)</th>
<th>Important level score as (3)</th>
<th>Less important level score as (1)</th>
<th>Ratio(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commercial business</td>
<td>shopping mall</td>
<td>regional catering commerce</td>
<td>convenient shop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street market</td>
<td>Regional market</td>
<td>community street market</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks</td>
<td>more than 5 banks</td>
<td>3-5 banks</td>
<td>less than 3 banks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant and cafe, teahouse</td>
<td>more than 5 restaurants</td>
<td>3-5 restaurants</td>
<td>less than 3 restaurants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public transport</td>
<td>BRT stop</td>
<td>city bus stop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green space</td>
<td>public park</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>two schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hygiene facility</td>
<td>Municipal hospital</td>
<td>community health service station</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 evaluation of public facilities, source: drawing by author

Evaluation system (see table 9) is based on the 10 resident communities for each allocation. From the total score of the evaluation results, lower than 25 points shows the surrounding community can be considered as having a relative lack of public services. While score of 25-38, it is relatively complete, more than 40 points is complete.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qingguo Alley</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guanxun Block</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinglong Building</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Jiaopu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Jiaopu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chengshi Garden</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guotai Mingzhu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lvyou Skyscraper</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resort</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunting Loft</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total score</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 evaluation system, source: calculate by author
4. Housing market

Following the neoliberalization planning in Changzhou, local housing market has experienced rocketing growth since the year of 2000. With the basis of marketization and policy guarantee, a series of large-scale demolition result in prices of housing market (table 10) going up and down. Particularly, in my research areas, it locates in city center under the process of gentrification, in order to benefit the outward to urban structure. Therefore, it results in housing cost disparity in gentrified areas, completely activated the growth of redevelopment in city wide. The transaction volume data reflects great comparisons with that in gentrified areas, as table 3 showed. The average of housing price reaches the highest of higher than 6,000 CNY/m², while the lowest just at 3,000 CNY/m². In spite of the total number of housing areas is on high level of volume. The price is not stable at all. Actually, the new resettlements of gentried areas have been changed into more and more empty ‘gated town’. At night, there is lack of living environment under over-constructions (fig. 22a-22b).

It is clearly seen that the distribution of evaluation degree of communities (fig.21). It seperated from two major points, 25 and 38. These two scores are calculated by the table of public facilities, depending on the scores of evaluations of nine factors. In summary, it is trend that, the higher housing price, the better public facility. It happens obvious contrary between the price and local infrastructures.

Table 10 housing market data, 2013.11-2014.02, source: fj.czfcw/2014

Fig. 21 evaluation of communities, source: mapping by author

Fig.22a street  Fig.22b empty new-built community, source: photo by author
5. **Social analysis**

By analyzing spatial structure, it is clearly shown how public facility affects the location of resident communities, and interact with housing price. Targeting 240 questionnaires in the research, this study is based on 214 valid questionnaires to highlight demographic situation of the population, structure of age, background of education and composition of family income. It is conducted by two representative communities of each stage resident house, separately from 1970s (old blocks), late 1980s-1990s, and after the year 2000. Hence, it is drawn in graphic tables comparing the differences both demographic and social relations.

**a. Stakeholder analysis**

Comparing with the three different types of communities, there is great difference between demographic structure, ranges of age, education and monthly income. According to the stakeholder’s analysis (table 11), in the new-built communities, the overall of the residents come from relatively young age, high academic background and mostly proportion of high-income families. On the contrary, people from old blocks mainly consist of elder people, having lower income, education levels, etc. They are considered as more social vulnerable groups.

![Table 11 analysis of stakeholder, source: data from questionnaire, made by author](image)

**b. Social activities of householders**

This part illustrates the major social activities depending how often they use public transport, what kind of activities their spare time (table 12). To the main behavioral conditions, it includes leisure activities and cultural facilities, chess room and other places frequency seek. It can be seen from the survey results, a low proportion of new district residents prefers to use public transport. However, the leisure activity type is relatively advanced, and the frequency of use of libraries, museums and other cultural facilities.
Chapter IV. Results & Analysis

6. Characteristic & residential differentiation

Gentrification is a part of urban development process, while economic reform starts to promote the city and the private sectors of householders to develop multi-economic components. The income begins to appear gradually a widening trend, thus resulting in the original differences of properties. Among the main features of local residents, this process has widened the disparities of income, resulting in the differentiation socio-economic status. That is, reform of the housing system and real estate development will inevitably cause the geographical differentiation of socio-economic status. And people from lower social classes are mostly elder families and have less social activities. Mostly, they live in affordable housing or shanty towns with lack of infrastructure. Oppositely, the high-income earners live in high-end multi-communities, schools, health and other infrastructures.

Hence, the reproduction of gentrification is an important characteristic of neoliberalization. the changes of city center have generated a large-scale urban construction, directly relocating the residents to sub-areas. Thus, the land of central space is constantly under blocks demolition and spatial visualized movement. As seen, the 'history' and the 'modern' are standing at the same time, as a way of 'socio-spatial dialectic'. On one side, the very construction communities benefit the demands of elite class by complete infrastructure. On the other side, a great many gated communities are designed as heterogeneity space by similar social attributes. The social sequence results in the fragmentation of space and polarization. It means that the physical environment exists contradictory situation. Indeed, this study finds the representative community to present both spatial and social concerns of gentrification.

a. Power to gentrification

In China, it is easy to understand that government is main propellent to promote gentrification. Since the changes of housing market and governmental policy, especially the year 2000, the housing system has been opened to the real estate driven by local state, because the urgent situation to improve the visual image of city. Actually, the roles of city have changed from central government to locals. Due to
this, it has started a the competition of urbanization, modernism, neoliberalization, etc.

The ‘entrepreneurship’ of city is still local government, responsible for the entire process from demolition, reconstruction even to resettlement. Obviously, it plays a regulartory role in the process of gentrification. As the changes of mechanism, a large number of capital source has been introduced into housing markets, like foreign companies, private foundations, and real estates.

There is no doubt that the process of gentrification in China has its own characteristic, by widely power to control land and resources. Whilst, the real estates make the best benefits from the process of urban renewal, forming the course of managing the city. This is guaranteed by both government and real estate through cooperating urban planning.

However, it involves the situation like western countries, as I mentioned the reference case of Malmö (See Chapter II). The contradictory situation of current planning in Changzhou is that municipal planning pretends to serve for the whole city, but actualy it has been great influenced by the middle and upper classes. In order to benefit the consumption of higher social and economic growth, it gets more popular with privatization. For them, it is much easier to choose a place having gentrified class, instead the residence who live in old blocks they cannot afford the price to move back. This results in obvious social polarization and isolated communities.

b. Fragmentation in historical blocks

The residential communities have experienced three representative stages with the process of gentrification. As you know, the common character of residential communities in China is the gated blocks. It gets more and more popular that the historical blocks have been transformed into advanced residence by the movement of demolishment, as it caters the consumption demands of elite class. Basically, the historical blocks are under homogeneity space by analyzing social-spatial dimension. Here it is easy to classify the types of activities, separately by cutting the living habits and leisure activies. People who live in the same block usually present similar social relations, attribute of social status.

Additionally, the process of urban renewal results in the segregation between the historical and the new communities, similarly with the situation of incomes. The elite class prefers to choose private cars and more art and modern life, closer to better education and hospital facilities. Instead, the locals who live in historical blocks mainly come from lower classes, they are retired from works and vulnerable to have urban life. By the evaluation degree of public facilities, commercial usages are easier and more convenient for the middle-upper class. For the excellent location, it is worth choosing a house there and clear to understand why the spatial segregation forms appear.

On the contrary, the residence in historical blocks has been isolated by the modernism spatial images. The growing wealthy concentration starts to deprivate social problems in old neighborhoods, like segregation, and polarisation. Fragmentation in historical block shows indifference towards real social problems. Within the community, as they are gated, and even if they have similar taste for life, it is still hard to have stable social relations. Thus, the blocks have been gradually disjoined and characterized by spacial diversification.

c. Indifference in neighborhood

1) Differentiation of inhabitants

Lack of professional skills to adapt to modern life, residence in old blocks still live here, because the low economic status, lack of relocation. Parts of the second generation of the original tenants are gradually returning to the old community, along with rising of city prices. Even some aboriginal children are back to the old community to solve the limited housing problems.
2) Floating of immigrants

Poor people tend to be affected by external low rent. The impact of the economic constraints, and easily gathered in the city’s old community, while looking for a chance of survival in the periphery, as there are some commodity markets and employment. District of student market has important reasons to attract a wide range of business, forming a series of immigrant concentration areas.

3) Inflows of gentrifiers

The inflow of gentrifiers comes from local residents who have the ability to purchase reflux groups, including the demolition of urban populations. Mostly the middle-aged group having better economic conditions, these groups are likely to choose convenient transportation and rich educational resources, superior location standards.

4) Changes of family structure

With the decreasing demands for residential space, local residents have to live in old blocks with economic capacity, with less public service facilities and lower prices than in the city. The settlements are in accordance with standards established, while the housing prices are relatively high, mostly favors by the high-income middle-aged.
CHAPTER V

DESIGN PROPOSAL
Chapter V. Design Proposal

Based on the spatial analysis and interviews, the design proposal is aimed at introducing the symptoms of Qingguo Alley in center city. Stressed by both social and spatial structure problems, it will present a conservation planning to strengthen connections, and create more functions to bring the blocks into vibrant life. From this perspective, there will be a good example to show the ‘conversation’ between history and modernism.

1. Symptoms of Qingguo Alley

In this design part, Qingguo Alley (fig.23) locates in the core area of Changzhou. It has the largest number of historical resident blocks in Changzhou. With the process of urban renewal, most of the blocks have been torn down. And, there is a lot of traditional heritage relics units under risks of demolishments. Environment of architectures and green space are in poor condition. The blocks presents mono-architectural style, surrounding by mess and short roads (fig.24a-24b). Traffic system is not strongly connected to external roads. Instead, it seperates the blocks with other communities by twisting path. Additionally, environment is unfriendly and less use of water space. Except from heritage relics units and historical blocks, there are still so many abandoned buildings that lead to poor living condition.

By stakeholder analysis, the growing social problems result in indifference towards more segregation and polarisation between neighbourhoods. The process of gentrification deprivates inhabitants’ daily life with the disappearance of street market. For less maintenance of historical blocks, it is being isolated communities without social concerns.

Fig.23 symptoms of Qingguo Alley, source: photo & mapping by author
Chapter V. Design proposal

2. Design Concept

This design proposal aims at creating a block which results one conversation between history and modernism. With the preservation of historical blocks and heritage relics, the design style is introduced to consider more local cultural factors. There are introduced some disabled facilities to show widely social concerns.

By changing spatial structures in the old blocks, the conservation planning is designed to create more functions. In addition, more pedestrian paths and extra bus line are added to have fluent connections both external and internal traffic. And it is to have one ferry line to explore the city canal. A new park is designed to have more green space. The design proposal is to create a harmous place, bywhere keep inhabitant’s life style and consumption taste.

3. Conservation planning

a. General plan

The general planning (fig.25a) aims at creating new functions with fluent traffic system, by adding one more bus line and parkings. There are more green space and complete facilites to make local life vibrant. In addition, it presents new ferry to have chance to experience water space.
b. Function

In this plan (fig.25b), it creates more functions, such as water entertainment and leisure space. There are conservation areas of heritage relics and historical blocks. It’s a combination of use to keep the culture and modernism balance.

c. Traffic

There is new bus line through Qingguo Alley, and two more parkings are used to service the tourists and inhabitants. A new ferry line is designed for people to experience city canal. More straight pedestrian roads are added to connect canal and blocks. Additionally, there are some disabled facilities in all areas (fig.25c).

d. Green space

There is new designed park in the north of Qingguo Alley. More vegetation are planted to strengthen green connections. The green zone is well connected to the edges in West and East, as well as city canal.

e. Landscape structure

The new landscape axis is connected with water and major leisure roads. The traffic connection is well organized with external traffic. Clearly, the landscape axis keeps morphology of old blocks.
4. Perspectives

The perspective view (fig.26) shows the potentials and concepts to transform Qingguo Alley in Changzhou. The facades, infrastructures and roads are transformed into friendly environment. The most important is that the planning creates a harmonious environment, balancing between history and modernism.

5. Conclusion

In summary, the design of Qingguo Alley presents a hierarchical design, by controlling the facade, history, structure and relations to people. To the important, it is continuously activated morphology of street, keeping the livable environment.
Chapter VI

Final Conclusions

Peaceful morning in Hangzhou, 2013, photo by author
Chapter VI. Final Conclusions

Gentrification, a complicated social-spatial phenomenon, affects on both policy and spatial structure in the process of urban renewal. Academically, there are a lot of debates on the formulations and characteristics of gentrification. In my dissertation, it summaries how the process happens urban space, and what is the characteristic of gentrification. In general, the expression shows different environment between western countries and China. And, it mainly results from housing market and social movement. It is clearly stressed by the case study of historical resident community in Changzhou.

With the tendencies of neoliberalization, more and more residential communities have being redeveloped by the increasing interests of housing. In my research, the previous poor gated blocks and the elegant complete communities are retained in central area. Thus, it seperates the communities into different levels, relying on the evaluation of infrastructures. In this sense, all the data is selected by questionnaires with stakeholders.

Furthermore, by discussing the housing market and demography, this case analyzes the interviews to show the differentiation and attributes of resident communities. As a reference, the case of Hyllie, Sweden, it benifits to economic interests of urban land through the replacement and very construction buildings. However, the result benefits the rich and elite classes, instead it ignored the immigrants and cultural changes. Virtualized by the new-built environment, it actually aggravates the communities into homogeneity and marginalized space.

In my case study area in Changzhou, the contradiction situation appears obviously, aggravating the social segregation and polarization. By analyzing the changes of spatial structure from city scale to historical blocks, I highlight how the process of gentrification effects the communities. Based on the changes of marketization in three different times, it is clear to realize the differentiation and attributes of communities. In addition, I stress the interviews with stakeholders by questionnaires. The analysis of stakeholders shows the changes of social structures. It guides me to design a conservation planning of historical blocks.

In conclusion, this dissertation highlights the attributes of gentrification in the process, in my research, it is clearly stated the influences, chanllenges and opportunities. The contents aim to answer the research questions step by step. On one side, it contributes to the chanllenges and opportunities of gentrification in China. On the other side, there are still a large number of gaps and limits in my research. In the end, I summarize the overview of research questions and show a further discussion.

1. Influences

By analyzing the context of gentrification, it occured in capital society since 1960s in welfare states. Compared with the process of gentrification both China and western countries, this dissertation summarizes the differences of characteristics by analyzing three different stages residential community. It reflects the evaluation of public facilities. According to my interviews with stakeholders, it shows social structures and relations in neighbours. Thus, it explains how socio-spatial structure affects the process of gentrification.

In summary, there are some differences in the process and characteristics of gentrification between China and western countries (see table 13).

Firstly, it appears on the spatial orders. In western countries, gentrification in western countries has not experienced totally new-built large scale projects. Instead, it is always implemented in some abandoned resident communities or factories, and the urban areas have experienced depression.
Nevertheless, the process of gentrification in China, it envolves the movement of total demolishment.

Secondly, in this research, it emphazes the role of marketization and government. Dominantly, capital source plays the main role on gentrification by the developed housing market. However, it still at beginning of marketization and integration by other sources, ranges from governance to free market.

Thirdly, from demographic dimension, the indifference towards social classes is totally different between western and Chinese societies. Segregated by the residential differentiation, racial contradiction is more obvious in western countries. While, the tolerance of space is more common in Chinese communities. It means that the rich and the poor classes even live in the same community.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Differences in the process of gentrification</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>Western countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spatial orders</td>
<td>Movement of new demolishment &amp; new-built environment</td>
<td>Implemented in abandoned buildings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of marketization &amp; government</td>
<td>Integration of different sources</td>
<td>Capital sources, totally process of marketization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>between governance and marketization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demographic dimension</td>
<td>Spatial tolerance of the rich and the poor</td>
<td>Obvious segregation in residential differentiation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13 Gentrification differences between China and Western countries, source: made by author

2. Responses

This dissertation is conducted by a process of gentrification in China through analyzing social-spatial differences from city scale to historical blocks. By introducing the background of urbanization and housing marketization in Changzhou, it states how the city changes from space and social dimension.

From spatial dimension, the neoliberalization in Changzhou results spatial fragmentation, resulting the negative effects on resident communities. By analyzing three different communities, the evaluation of public facilities reflects the differentiation. Then I select Qingguo Alley as my design site to show the method to balance history and modernism. The conservation planning solves the problems of fragmentation by multi-function uses and well connected green space.

From social dimension, this paper introduces three representative housing markes to explain the reason. It shows the reason how governmental policy changes the role of capital source into managing the city. As same situation in the process of neoliberalization, the contradictory situation for planners is that, the spatial order has been broken by the housing privatization and the gentrified classes. Under the results of urban renewal, local infrastructure is transformed into complete modernism facilities.

Despite the recognition and replacement of urban space, gentrification values the profits of land and excavates the redevelopments of city center. On the contrary, the ongoing process result in social polarilization, marginalized the poor class. It demonstrates the less social-spatial connections with other commerce and leisure functions.

3. Threats & Challenges

By analyzing the interviews with stakeholders, it is based on both social and spatial sides to show the threats and changllenges in the process of gentrification. On one side, the strength and opportunity can be treated as backgrounds and potentials to direct dynamic development of urban renewal. At present, the power of gentrification in Changzhou mainly relies on the roles of marketization, which generates to maximise the profits. This results in total demolishment and urbanization. Actually, it stimulates local housing market and a way to improve infrastructures. There are great opportunities to
redevelop and balance the negative effects of gentrification.

Contradictory, the accelerating segregation reflects the great gaps between the ‘entrepreneur’ and the ‘consumer’, separately standing for the gentrifiers and local residence. It results in social segregation and spatial fragmentation. In addition, it also creates a good chance to reorganize the demographic structure and preserve the local habits. Introduced by the design proposal, it focuses on making historical blocks more vibrant social life and multi-functional uses. By means of interviews with stakeholders, this process leads a way to erase both social and spatial isolation in gentrified areas.

In summary, according to the stakeholder interviews and spatial analysis, it elaborates both inner and external factors of gentrification in Changzhou, presenting the threats and challenges.
4. **Overview of gaps & contributions** (see table 14)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research gaps</th>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Main Contributions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I</strong></td>
<td>1) What are the negative processes and effects of gentrification in Changzhou?</td>
<td><strong>Coexistence of formulation and characteristics of gentrification in Changzhou, it’s stressed the difference between China and western countries. By analyzing the urban space structure, the negative effects of gentrification result in fragmentation and great comparisons between old blocks and new-built communities.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) Considering the this case study, what are the opportunities and tendencies of gentrification, and the differences of this between China and western countries?</td>
<td><strong>Coexistence of residential differentiation in three stages of communities, gentrification is major power to promote process of urban renewal. Influenced by both marketization and spatial structure, it creates opportunities to improve infrastructures and stimulates housing market. Interviewed with stakeholders, the evaluation of public facilities shows that complete environment encourage people to have more social relations.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3) How and why has neoliberalism diffused across the gentrified areas, as if there were no alternatives?</td>
<td><strong>In Changzhou, the neoliberal plan highlights the competition with very construction buildings and unhuman scale environment. But it’s short coming development with less cares with social problems, especially in core areas.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4) In order to maintain the culture, in what way can conservation plans preserve historical blocks, instead of leading to an indifference of real social-economic problems?</td>
<td><strong>Coexistence of interviews and surveys with inhabitants, Qingguo Alley is designed as a conservation plan joined with local inhabitants. Facades, infrastructures and roads are transformed into friendly environment. The planning creates a harmonious environment, balancing between history and modernism. It follows local habits and brings street vibrant life to break isolation.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5) How can the balance between growing social uncertainty, in the process of gentrification and the risks of being possessed by financial resources, be sustained?</td>
<td><strong>Broad visions on my case study, there are contradictions on both the power of gentrification and participation of neoliberal planning. On one side, gentrification aims at improving environment, by creating colourful urban life. On the other side, it raises housing market prices and results the changes of local infrastructures.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14 overview of gaps & contributions, source: summarized by author
References


References

United Kingdom, and Australia’, in R. Fincher and J. Jacobs (eds), Cities of Difference (New York: Guilford Press), pp. 149-76.


Geoforum, 39, 3, pp.1093-1096.


Appendice

Questionnaire Template

Claim for statement: All the conversations and questions in this research will be kept in secret and anonymous, as well as the householders’ name. It is just used for academic study. Thanks for your cooperation!

a. Character of householders

1. What is your age? Adult or not? Are you people who were born in Changzhou, or immigrants? And how long have you been here?

2. What is your education degree? Do you have any kids, if you were inhabitants here, do your family have any elderly people? Do you live alone or not?

3. If possible, could you tell me which way you prefer to go to work daily, by bus, taxi or by foot?

4. How will it take you from your house to working place?

5. What kind of job do you do right now? Are you the owner of house property, or is it used as renting house? What extend do you think about the renting price right now, higher than you imagine, or it’s available price for you?

6. Do you suppose to buy an apartment around Qingguo Alley, or instead choosing other communities? And why?

b. Social relations and interactions

7. What do you often do for leisure activities? What is your interest? In which way you prefer to enjoy your spare time, on your own or more socially?

8. Have you ever been to the historical sites or famous celebrity’s resident house here? And how often? Do you agree with the current situation? Any comments?

9. What do you think about your neighbors? Do you familiar with each other, or not?

10. Is there any attraction arouse your memory here, for instance, the traditional street, historical blocks, or street market?

11. Suppose that, if someday you would get chance to move away here, would you miss here?

c. Social-spatial structure and infrastructure

12. Are you satisfied with housing environment now? If not, what do you think about that?

13. What extend do you go shopping, prefer luxury shopping mall, or convenient shop? And do you care more quality or price?

14. Do you think it is convenient to exchange public transport here, or not?

15. Do you have a car? And where do you always park, what do you think of street facilities, like the parking space, street lights, cabins, or benches?

16. How often do you go for walking near park here? If possible, do you like the plants or green space? What do you think of the green space between neighborhoods, and do you have any suggestions?