

Embodiment of the urban. Relational space in the context of the megacity of Guangzhou, China

Vorgelegt von
Dipl.-Ing.
Josefine Ørum Fokdal

Fakultät VI - Planen Bauen Umwelt
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Promotionsausschuss:

Vorsitzende: Prof. Dr. Angela Uttke

Berichter: Prof. Dr. Peter Herrle

Berichter: Prof. Dr. Arijit Sen

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List of abbreviations

APC	Agriculture Producer Cooperative
APRS	Agriculture Producer Responsibility System
BRT	Bus Rapid Transport
CBD	Central Business District
CCCCP	Central Committee of the Communist Party
CPC	The Communist Party of China
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GFA	Gross Floor Area
GLA	Gross Leasable Area
HPF	Housing Provident Fund
HFM	Housing Fund Management
HSS	Housing Subsidy Scheme
KMT	Kuomintang
KTV	Karaoke Television
MLR	Ministry of Land and Resources
MoHURD	Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development
NPC	National People's Congress
PRC	People's Republic of China
PRD	Pearl River Delta
RHSSR	Rent Houses Steering System Reform
RMB	Renminbi
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
UN	United Nations
WTO	World Trade Organization

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1_ Introduction

Most cities in Asia have experienced dynamic urbanization processes combined with economic growth. Rapid urbanization has led urban centers to turn into what is often labeled as megacities or mega-urban regions of which half are located in Asia – the Pearl River Delta in the south of China is no exception. The increased complexity of mechanisms through global influences on local spaces on the macro level has been thoroughly documented and discussed in the discourse on financial flows and ‘modernity’ in China and especially in the Pearl River Delta (e.g. Lin 2002, 2004; Smart 2002; Smart and Lin 2007). On the micro level, on the other hand, focus is often on actual coping strategies or local cultural expressions of certain groups (e.g. Solinger 1999; Wu 2009 on internal migrants in China). However, the social production and re-production of space on the micro level, especially in Asia and accordingly in China has found little attention among scholars. Therefore, this thesis strives to add to the state of knowledge on socially produced space in the megacity of Guangzhou, located in the south of China. The megacity Guangzhou has been selected due to its history of spatial planning, its location in a rapidly developing area in the South of China, and its unique mixture of western influences and Chinese regional identity (i.e. Cantonese).

The megacity is understood as a ‘node’ in which disciplinary approaches within urban studies, urban sociology and urban psychology run together. In the urban studies discourse there is a strong dominance of political (e.g. governance) and financial aspects. With the increasing complexity of the urban, the concept of spatial scales and their physical manifestations need to be investigated. In the urban sociological discourse, a dialectic relationship between society and everyday life persists. As a reaction to the increasing privatization of space and exclusion of certain groups in a rapidly urbanizing society (i.e. France) Henri Lefebvre builds on a Marxist understanding of the city (see also the ‘right to the city’ movement: e.g. Fainstein/Campbell 2000; Harvey 2008; Soja 2010; Mayer 2012) and suggests to move from an urban sociology (strongly dominated by the Chicago school) towards a theory on the production of social space (2007), thereby overcoming the duality between macro and micro processes. Followers of this approach are many (see for example Harvey 1973, 2003; Soja 1998; Brenner/Elden 2001).

Relaying on a relational concept of social space, Löw (2001) suggests applying three space constituting processes: synthesis, spacing and positioning. These processes are helpful for

operationalizing and conducting empirical studies on the production of social space. However, including synthesis as a space constituting process calls for a more psychological approach towards the production of social space. Accordingly, it is argued that a stronger focus on cognitive processes, and thus the inclusion of urban psychology, is necessary. From the disciplines of urban psychology and philosophy, the concept of cognition and the relationship between the built environment and humans is further explored (e.g. Mead 1934; Richter 2004; Beyer et al. 2006; Rapoport 1977).

Scholarly literature on contemporary cities in China (both Western and Chinese) does not show many attempts to provide a theoretical background for the production of social space. Western scholars (Cartier 2002; Ipsen et al. 2005; Münch 2004) and western influenced Chinese scholars (Tang 1994, 2000; Zhang 2001) apply western theories (e.g. Foucault), which do not seem to be valid in a context in which society and political conditions are interpreted and accomplished on a different ground than the original (here referred to as the original context for the theory). Few Chinese scholars have been concerned with the production and concepts of space in contemporary cities of China, but rather in historic perspectives such as ancient paintings or poetry (Guan 1996; Ying 2007). In addition, Chinese scholars concerned with social spatial production or ordering principles seem to stay on a planning level (local space), describing the influence of thoughts such as Confucius and geomancy principles such as Feng Shui (see Li, X. 2002). However, these spatial aspects are used predominantly as guiding tools for good spatial karma in terms of planning, and not as means to develop a theoretical approach on the production of social space in the Chinese context. In this work I understand social space as a relational spatial concept as in Leibniz¹ relativistic theory (see Cassirer 1944; Löw 2001; for the case of China see also Lewis 2006).

¹ Leibniz argues for a relational concept of space in contrasts to the absolute space as promulgated by Newton (Leibniz's fifth letter to Clark, paragraph 8 and 9; Leibniz/Clark 1956: 69): *'I will here show, how men come to form themselves the notion of space. They consider that many things exist at once and they observe in them a certain order of co-existence, according to which the relation of one thing to another is more or less simple. This order is their situation or distance. When it happens that one of those co-existent things changes its relation to a multitude of others, which do not change their relation among themselves: and that another thing, newly come, acquires the same relation to the others, as the former has; we then say, it is come into the place of the former; and this change, we call a motion in that body, wherein is the immediate cause of change. And though many, or even all the co-existent things, should change according to certain known rules or direction and swiftness; yet one may always determine the relationship of situation, which every co-existent acquires which any other co-existent would have to this, or which this would have to any other, if it has not changed, or if it had changed otherwise. And supposing, or feigning, that among those co-existents, there is a sufficient number of them, which have undergone no change; then we may say, that those fixed existents, as others has to them before, have now the same place which those others had. And that which comprehends all those places, is called space. Which shows, that in order to have an idea of place, and consequently of space, it is sufficient to consider these relations, and the rules of their changes, without needing to fancy any absolute reality out of the things whose situation we consider.'*

A relational understanding of social space is further supported by the concept of dynamic energy flows and the production of space through movement and experience as embedded in the Chinese culture (e.g. Zhuang 2010; Li/Yeo 1991). Social space is thus understood as constituted through social relations, historically produced, reconfigured and transformed.

1.1_Scope

Thus the scope of this work is twofold: to argue for a stronger inclusion of cultural dimension into the production of social space, and to suggest, through culturally defined parameters along the lines of identity, self-perception, roles and status and by testing these parameters in an empirical research on the relationship between the built environment, social action and cognition and the meanings and values subscribed to three housing types in the megacity of Guangzhou in the south of China, that these cultural variables have an impact on the space constituting processes of spacing and positioning within the Chinese context. Thereby, the aim is to conceptualize the findings into a theoretical framework of a relational concept of social space relevant for the Chinese context. Thus the overall objective of the here presented work is to gain more knowledge on the understanding of contemporary cities in China, more specifically, on the megacity of Guangzhou from a transdisciplinary approach.

The relevance of understanding the production of social space, including cognitive processes in relation to rapidly changing urban fabrics is highly underestimated in the context of Asia, and especially in China; however, the consequences can be far reaching for the ever-increasing urban population. Aspects such as increased spatial isolation and social loneliness (as they will be discussed in part III) endanger the coherence of a society and challenge the social responsibility of its inhabitants. Social responsibility and coherent family structures are crucial mechanisms upon which the Chinese society builds and which are desperately needed in an ever-aging society.

1.2_Limitations of the scope

Some limitations of the scope of this work are 1) In recognition of the various challenges (e.g. natural disasters, ignorance of large parts of the population, lack of voice and lack access to basic services, etc.) and opportunities (e.g. economic growth, improved living standards, negotiation processes, etc.) which characterizes most megacities, this work will not specifically focus on governance issues, but rather on the production of social space through

everyday life (i.e. social action) and the reflection of norms and regulations within society embedded in places. 2) The correlation between space and time, which has been argued to be essential categories for social theories (e.g. Giddens 1984), is not the main focus of this work. As argued by Giddens (1979) in his action theory, one needs to differentiate between structure and structures. Structures are rules and resources whereas structure can be seen as the sum of several structures. Structures as rules and resources produced or reproduced across space and time, can also be defined as the cultural framing of a certain society. In the spatial disciplines, time has been operationalized in the last decades and translated into temporary use and temporary buildings. In the environmental behavioral discourse temporary appropriation of certain spaces is closely linked to the aspect of safety (mainly in the context of North America). For example, Altman and Chemers (1984) describe the temporary appropriation process of places by a conversion of the meaning of places through positioning of objects, thereby defining a certain territory. The temporary use or occupation of places will be briefly introduced in chapter two and further discussed in relation to the findings on how qualities of places are defined in chapter ten.

In this work, time is dealt with in terms of changing roles and values within the society and the cultural frame. The aspect of culture is crucial in order to be able to decode social action as well as its historical aspect in the context of China. In part I, culturally defined aspects related to time such as collective memory are briefly discussed. However, the correlation between time and space on a more conceptual level is not part of the larger scope of this work. 3) This research is conducted by a non-indigenous of the Chinese culture, and that raises questions related to a North-South dialectic in research and the dominance of theoretical approaches from the North being applied to other cultural contexts (Robinson 2011; Watson 2009). In this work, the assumed ability of theories to ‘travel’ is being questioned, and accordingly an inductive approach in the data collection is applied in order to learn from the ‘ground’ rather than to apply already existing theories (see chapter five for further elaborations on the role of the research and methodological limitations to this study).

1.3_Overview of the work

Part I of this work serves to primarily define ‘space’ and to critically reflect the current discourse on the production of social space. The review of the current international discourse on social space reveals that it is based on three major discourses: urban studies, urban sociology (i.e. social action), and urban psychology. In addition, the cultural context is crucial

for understanding the meanings subscribed to the built environment and the cognitive processes related, so I argue. Accordingly, a second review of literature on China reveals the gap of correlating the relevant discourses. While social action is largely discussed in behavioral studies conducted by psychologists in China, the field of indigenous psychology is a relatively new field in this cultural context (e.g. Bond 1986). Nevertheless, none of the discourses are based on empirical studies and consequently, little has been published on environmental behaviorism correlating social action with the built environment in the Chinese context. Based on the identified gaps in the literature, main hypotheses and research questions are articulated as the theoretical framing for this research, along the lines of the culturally defined variables impacting space constituting processes. In part II the methodological approaches applied and the limitations of the study as well as some critical reflections on the role of the researcher in a foreign cultural setting are reflected. The further two chapters on urbanization and housing in respectively China and Guangzhou provide for background information related to the empirical data collection.

Part III is dedicated to the empirical data collected in Guangzhou, first on the correlation between social action, cognition and the three housing types within Guangzhou (chapter seven) and second on the space constituting processes of positioning and spacing (chapter eight) based on the variables defined in part I. The discussion (chapter nine) seeks to reflect the findings in the context of the literature reviewed and the theoretical framing of the work in part I. The relevance of the findings in relation to the three strings of discourses will be discussed as well as a first attempt to theorize the findings for a production of social space in the context of China. Finally, chapter eleven seeks to summarize the major findings and to provide an outlook and fields for further research. The following diagram is an illustration of the structure of the work:

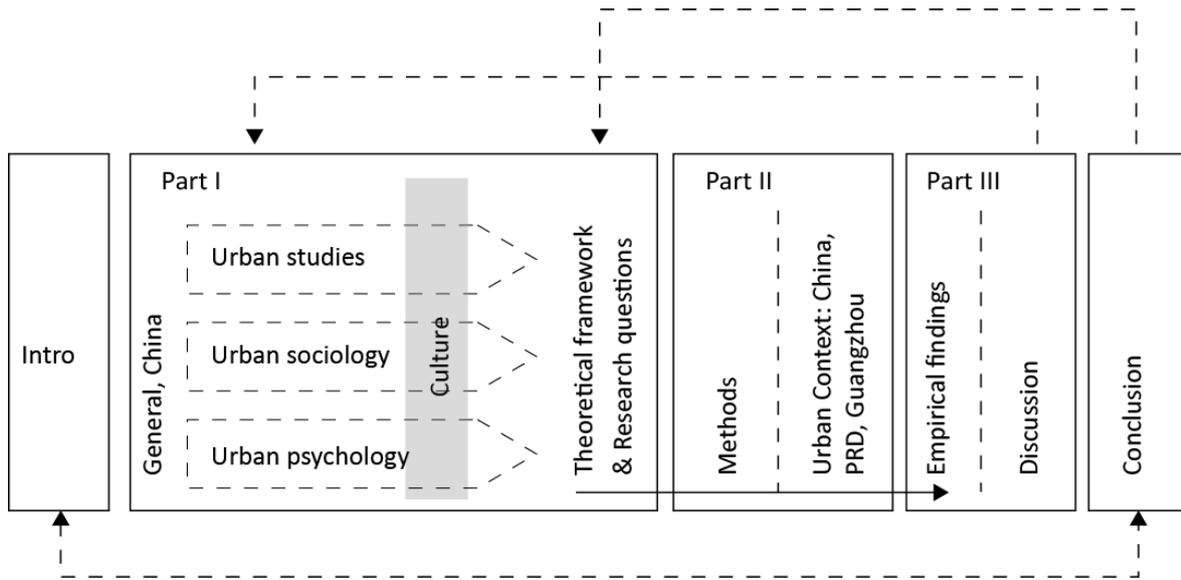


FIGURE 1: OVERVIEW OF THE WORK. SOURCE: OWN DESIGN.

2_ Relational space and its production

The definition ‘space’ is used in different disciplines, without questioning the qualities and the commonality behind the disciplinary understanding (Läpple 1992). Whereas ‘space’ was initially primarily a concern of philosophers, and later mathematicians and physicists, it has moved into the field of biology, anthropology, sociology, geography and economy. In this chapter, three fields related to ‘space’ and space constituting processes are of interest: The current discourse on cities (i.e. urban studies), urban sociology and urban psychology in relation to the built environment.

2.1_Absolute and relational space

Defining and grasping ‘space’ has been a topic since antiquity. However, here I will focus on the absolute and the relative space, which lay the fundament for further discourse.² Probably the most influential approach for the spatial understanding was developed by Newton (1642-1727) in his publication *Principia Mathematica Philosophiae Naturalis* published in 1686 in London (Rudolph 2003). Newton differentiates between place and space, arguing that place is part of space. Further, he defines ‘absolute’ space from a metaphysical perspective, as a space, which is universal and can be defined as a ‘container’ (Günzel 2006: 24ff.). Thus, Newton defined a spatial concept based on Euclidian mathematics, in which movement is dynamic.³

Building on a modified understanding of Newton, Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) develops a philosophical approach,⁴ combining the absolute and a relativistic understanding, arguing that absolute space is a precondition for relativistic space and defines what he calls ‘pure space’:

‘Eine reine Raumvorstellung ist die Voraussetzung dafür, daß wir Orts- bzw. Lagebestimmungen von Körpern vornehmen und unterschiedliche Bewegungen dieser Körper gegeneinander messen können. Empirische Räume sind projektionen dieser reinen Raumvorstellung auf die rationale Zuordnung unterschiedlicher Orte’ (Rudolph 2003: 24).⁵

² For a detailed overview of the development of the concept of space from antiquity see for example Dünne/Günzel 2006.

³ See Läpple 1992; for further details on Newton and his definition of space within the discourse.

⁴ Which builds the foundation for the discourse (in philosophy) at the beginning of the 20th century.

⁵ *‘A pure perception of space is the precondition for defining places and accordingly geographically define the placement of bodies as well as for measuring different movements of the body in relation to each other. Empirical spaces are projections of this pure perception of space based on the relational attribution of different places.’* (Translated by the author).

Kant develops a philosophical discipline around space from the metaphysical and mathematic discourse, hereby, introducing the ‘gesehene Wirklichkeit’ – ‘perceived space’ (Günzel 2006a: 34). As a contemporary to Newton, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) argued for a spatial concept based on mathematics in which movement is kinematic (i.e. the cause of movement is not included) (Günzel 2006: 26); consequently, no space can exist without objects. Leibniz’s⁶ contribution is known as the ‘relativistic’ space concept in which the relationship between objects is crucial for the constitution of space (followers in the spatial discourse are among others Cassirer (1944, 2002) and Löw (2001)). In this work I will rely on a relativistic approach as introduced by Leibniz.

Following the ‘perceived’ space as introduced by Kant, Jacob von Uexküll (1864-1944)⁷ (1931) introduced a physiological perceived space by describing the circle of functions based on induction and the continuum of ‘Wirkwelt’ (reaction) and ‘Merkwelt’ (perception). Both are to be researched within an ‘Umwelt’ (environment). ‘Umwelt’ is defined through preconditions and results of human action, which project symbols and function into the ‘Umwelt’. Within the two worlds he defines signs (or impulses), which create a kind of communication with (and within) a defined ‘Umwelt’. Thus, within a given framework, a species has patterns of action and reaction according to the construct of nature. Uexküll’s description builds on biological experiments with animals and can be seen as a pre-embodied cognition. Arguing that the function of all organisms is to perceive/receive and then to process (Uexküll 2006: 85), Uexküll (1931) does not look into the aspect of conceived space, but rather relates all findings to biological explainable variables. Uexküll’s definition of a ‘Merkwelt’ and a ‘Wirkwelt’ thus, can be seen as an investigation of a species (in a more general matter) and the reaction and action within an environment (here environment does not completely cover the physically built environment, but rather it includes other objects and subjects within a certain sphere). Nevertheless, Uexküll questions the relationship between the so far mostly defined physically bound space and the subject (living creatures) in a concept defining space through three-dimensionality⁸ (Günzel 2006: 35; Bercht 2011).

⁶ See the fifth letter of Leibniz to Clark in which he clearly defines his relational definition of space (Leibniz/Clark 1956), see also quote in chapter one, footnote number one.

⁷ Further contemporary scholars relevant for these aspects: Hellpach (1928) defines three aspects of ‘Umwelt’: Psychological environment, the physical/natural environment and the cultural environment. See also Bercht 2011 for a good overview on literature on ‘Mensch – Umwelt’ transactions.

⁸ See also Dünne/Günzel 2006 for an elaborated discussion on the three-dimensionality of space.

As a contemporary to Uexküll (who, from a biological point of view, remained confined to Kant's 'pure' space or rather the 'absolute' space as defined by Newton), Ernst Cassirer developed a relativistic spatial approach based on Leibniz. In his work on *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen* (2002 – originally published in 1929), as well as in his later work such as *An Essay on Man* (1944), he includes the symbolic space into the discourse of space. Further, he includes the theory of Einstein (1879-1955) (Relativitäts theory)⁹ and argues that reference systems confirm the relativistic principles in Leibniz's spatial theory (Rudolph 2003).

Thus, building on the works of Leibniz and including aspects introduced by Berkely (perception bound to everyday rhythm and habit – see also Dünne/Günzel 2006), Cassirer, hereby further develops the discourse from being a matter of metaphysical explanations of physical and natural phenomena to include aspects of perception *and* projected symbolism.¹⁰ The ability to represent space as well as symbolism is what differentiates man from animals. Accordingly, animals are able to read and make signs (example of a dog) but not to relate to symbols (Cassirer 1944: 31ff.). This understanding of culturally embedded symbolism and the interrelation and definitions of 'environment' seem quite useful to overcome the duality in the space/place discourse and consequently in the production of social space as this work will focus on.

2.2_Space and place

Places can be defined in multiple manners. Some argue, through a territorial or geographical understanding of locality (see for example Hägerstrand 1975), while others prefer an anthropological manner focusing on historically and culturally embedded places (e.g. Lefebvre 2006b, 2007). With changing means of mobility and communication, the role of globalized processes in shaping places or the 'local' has been raised. Thus, an increasing body of knowledge has developed on place making (e.g. Massey 1994) and transnationalism (e.g. Smith 2003) focusing on the interrelation between the local and the global embedded in the

⁹ For a detailed overview of Albert Einstein's theories on space, see Dünne/Günzel (2006). „*Der Begriff Raum wird [...] nahegelegt durch gewisse primitive Erfahrungen. Man habe eine Schachtel hergestellt. Man kann Objekte in gewisser Anordnung darin unterbringen, so daß die Schachtel voll wird. Die Möglichkeit solcher Anordnungen ist eine Eigenschaft des körperlichen Objektes Schachtel, etwas, was mit der Schachtel gegen ist, der von der Schachtel ,umschlossene Raum' . [...] Wenn keine Objekte in der Schachtel liegen, so erscheint ihr Raum ,leer'.*“ Einstein (1954: 92), as quoted in Günzel (2006: 41).

¹⁰ It has been argued that in terms of symbolic spaces no differentiation between a religious or a 'profane' should to be made – since the experience of space (and time) is comparable for both the one who believes and the one who does not (See Eliade 1987). Following this understanding it is not the intension to relate symbolic space solely with religion, but to create an exclusionary concept. On the aspect of religion and the sacred and the profane from the perspective of system theory, see Luhmann (2012).

individual and reproduced in localities. Further, the aspects of scale, territory and space as in the sociological discourse have included processes of globalization in places and place making (e.g. Brenner 1999b; Sen/Silvermann 2014). Focusing on the impact of globalization on places, Augé (2011) builds on a negation of places – non-places – as culturally and historically defined. Characteristics of non-places are, among others, that they increasingly are defined through mobility, due to the ‘time-space compression’¹¹. Further, the anonymity of non-places requests a constant individualization (Augé 2011: 107) (e.g. in the transit space of the non-place of an airport you have to prove your identity to gain access). As an example, one might think of how large international firms operationalize globalization and overcome cultural and contextual influences by offering the same service, the same products, and the same spatial layout all over the world (e.g. McDonalds, H&M or Wal-Mart are examples of how people seek non-places that remind them of other non-places that they know or dream of and that make people feel comfortable). Accordingly:

‘Der Raum des Nicht-Ortes befreit den, der ihn betritt, von seinen gewohnten Bestimmungen. Er ist nur noch, was er als Passagier, Kunde oder Autofahrer tut und lebt.’ (Augé 2011: 103).¹²

Based on de Certeau’s work (1988) and his way of describing how places become a life/become space through the ‘urban text written by the citizens’, Augé (2011) uses the metaphor of text and argues that places have been occupied by text (‘Besetzung des Raumes durch den Text’) (Augé 2011: 101) (e.g. examples of how signs on a highway informs about a historical city core – as a reference, but the highway does not take you through the historic city core as the former street system would have done). Thus, he speaks of a communication between the individual and environment within the space of non-places that increasingly takes place through text (i.e. the symbolic aspects are often reduced to communication through text) (Augé 1992/2011: 96). Defining place de Certeau (1988) differentiates between place and space and argues that space only becomes meaningful when social action/interaction occurs in a geographical defined place:

‘...space is a practiced place. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers. In the same way, an act of reading is the space

¹¹ This terminology is not applied by Marc Augé but rather by Giddens (1984 – see especially Chapter three on Time, Space and Regionalization; 1990). However it is useful to illustrate the argument made by Augé in his publication ‘non-places’ (2011).

¹² *‘The space of non-places liberates the one who enters it from his or hers usual designations. He/she is reduced to what a passenger, a client or a driver does and lives.’* (Translated by the author).

produced by the practice of a particular place: a written text, i.e., a place constituted by a system of signs (de Certeau 1988: 117).

Summarized in a simplified matter, one could argue that space is a place in which social action occurs (de Certeau 2006: 345).

Finally, the increased use of technology introduces new forms of spaces embedded in places. Technology has led to an increased abstraction of space (e.g. virtual space creates non-dependency on local places for social interactions as well as the possibility of co-existing spaces.¹³ See for example Löw 2001: 93 ff.). Places, thus, are not just geographical locations, but the physical expression in which spaces can be projected.

2.3_Megacities as places of study

Megacities as places of study are geographically located and spatially differentiated landscapes for social action and social reproduction. It is not the aim of the following paragraphs to define what a city is, nor to define the urban. Both concepts are bound to a certain time in history.¹⁴ Rather the aim is to reflect the discourse on urbanization and to list some of the current trends (e.g. megacity, mega-region, etc.) in order to contextualize the case of Guangzhou.

Within the more current discourse on cities, three major strings of thought developed in the 20th century can be identified: First, the neoclassical approach; second, the Marxist approach to analyzing the city; and third, the neoliberal approach dominating the current discourse. The neoclassical approach defines cities as economic agglomerations, focusing on the relationship between consumer demand and the characteristics of producers meeting these demands as the nature of the 'market'. Neoclassical scholars argue that incentives and pricing are crucial to regulate and guarantee a sustainable growth, especially environmentally (see Bridge/Watson 2010 for a good overview). Second, followers of Marx (and Engels)¹⁵ have included the

¹³ Coexistence of spaces in places seems to be specifically relevant in the interrelation between virtual space and local place. It is easy to visualize a place with dual space in which on the one hand a virtual and on the other hand a social space coexist. One might think of two people playing video games. They are configuring a social space territorialized in one place, and simultaneously in virtual space where other game players might be represented but territorialized in separate places.

¹⁴ By identifying cities as objects of study, I do not mean that cities should be objectified as it has recently been argued by some scholars (e.g. Löw 2008a; Berking/Löw 2008).

¹⁵ The Marxist idea of society is questioning the dominant capitalistic mode of development and growth understood from a historical point of view. Thereby a differentiation is made between a primary society (*Urgesellschaft*) based on collective ownership and social homogeneity. A secondary society (seen as a

spatial/geographical aspect in order to develop a more complex understanding of the city (e.g. David Harvey and Edward Soja, among others). Third, the neoliberal discourse, representing a liberation of the economic markets, promulgates decreasing public sector involvement and increasing private sector involvement. Free trade and deregulation are major components of this school of thought, which has found large acceptance in Asia where growth and economic development are often closely linked (e.g. UN-Habitat 2010). Largely relying on a neoliberal approach, research based on urban informality focusing on megacities in the Global South has gained recognition in recent years (e.g. Alsayyad/Roy 2004). Prominent scholars have argued that urban informality should be understood as a continuum (Roy 2005) rather than being subscribed to a certain sector, as has previously been the case (as for example promulgated by the International Labor Office in the 1970s in terms of economy). The informality discourse, however, has become oblivious in its widened scope and consequently some scholars have argued that the term ‘informality’ needs to be replaced by parameters characteristic of the negotiations often subscribed to informality (i.e. power, resources and legitimacy) (Herrle/Fokdal 2011).

What all approaches have in common are the general notion of primarily accepting growth as the dominant logic; second, acknowledging that the nation states have reduced their power and that the ‘market’ has become involved in distribution of privileges; and third, the recognition that growth is not necessarily sustainable. With the recognition of increasing spatial division of headquarters, production and service, aspects such as connectivity, proximity and mobility have gained recognition and have led to network theories (e.g. Castells 1989, 1999, 2000). In his later publications, Castells (2005) has moved towards a larger focus on cities as nodes within the network society with an extremely high complexity and with an increased focus on governance.

The role a city plays in the global network of financial nodes has been manifested in the concept of ‘global cities’ (Sassen 2001, 2002). ‘Global cities’ have been ranked according to the amount of headquarters, degree of outsourcing of services and production in relation to other crucial nodes in the global system (see for example Globalization and World cities Research Network (GaWC)). Globalization of certain processes and ‘flows’ has led scholars

development step from the primary) in which collective ownership is exchanged with private ownership and social heterogeneity. Finally, a communistic society with the aim of achieving a society without class differentiation. The city, thus, can be seen as accumulation of power and capital and should be seen in contrast to the rural (in terms of means of production and work mode). Accordingly, a rural-urban continuum can be described through the continuum of exchange of goods (Krämer-Badoni 1992).

to argue that the power of the nation state is diminishing due to an increasing amount of networks of shared sovereignty (Castells 2000: 694).

Globalization is generally described as including socio-cultural, economic, technological, environmental and political forces; all of which have increased in ‘internationalization’ in the last part of the 20th century (for a detailed definition of globalization and the impact of globalization on the urban, see also Altvater 2005; Alsayyad 2004 with a focus on informality in the Middle East or Bayat 2004; Brenner 1999a with a focus on the European Union; Cross/Moore 2002 and Freeman 2006 with a focus on migration; or Wu, F. 2006 with a focus on Asia and China). Within the discourse on the current development of cities or urban agglomeration, a division is made between global cities (Clark 1996; Sassen 2001; Castells 2000) and megacities (Kraas 2007b; Castells 1998; UN-Habitat 2006; Waibel 2008).¹⁶ Megacities, however, are not a new phenomenon; the multitude and speed with which they develop is new. In 2008 half of the world population was living in cities, and especially Asia houses a large amount of the world’s megacities (UN-Habitat 2010). However, it should not be ignored that most urban growth takes place in secondary cities around the world and not in the megacities on which this part focuses (for a review of urban growth and the rural-urban interface, see for example Visser 2010; Bruegmann 2005 for a more general overview of the concept; Lin 2009 and McGee et al. 2007 for China).

In the international discourse scholars developed different definitions of a megacity based on more or less simplified criteria. Some scholars define a megacity according to population and density (e.g. UN-FPA 2007; Bronger 2004). United Nation (UN) has increasingly moved the boundary for becoming a megacity. In 2002 and 2004, UN defined megacities as urban agglomerations that had passed a population of 10 million.¹⁷ Guangzhou is estimated to be ranked as megacity number 21 in 2025 (UN-Habitat 2008: 6). On the one hand, the increased attention towards megacities, especially in the north-south dialectic, has led some cities to push the population mark by redefining urban boundaries or corrupting the data in order to achieve more attention on the international stage, mainly in financial means (e.g. Dhaka in Bangladesh). In addition, the reduction of a complex issue to a bare number, obviously

¹⁶ In Germany alone, three megacity initiatives were initiated by different institutions (DFG, BMZ and Helmholtz Zentrum) almost simultaneously. With slightly different foci, the fascination and challenges found in the world’s megacities were turned into research projects or applied science in some cases. For example, the ‘megacities – megachallenge’ priority program funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) had the geographical focus of Dhaka in Bangladesh and the Pearl River Delta in the South of China. Interdisciplinary research teams were invited to apply for six years of funding in order to generate comparative studies on the two areas in multiple aspects.

¹⁷ In 2007 UN-Habitat redefined the population mark to be 20 million (UN-FPA 2007).

excludes multiple aspects such as functions, risks, opportunities, etc. On the other hand, a classification based on a number is easy to grasp and simplifies a global comparison based on statistics¹⁸.

The increased frequency of natural disasters has led many scholars to see megacities as places of risk impacting health of the population and the environment, thus using environmental and social aspects to define megacities (e.g. Hardoy et al. 2001; Hardoy/Pandiella 2009). Often the most vulnerable are the urban poor, located at floodplains and areas highly exposed to natural or man-made disasters, especially in Asia. A simplified understanding of this approach, however, has wrongly lead many cities to see the urban poor as the reason for increased risks and not as victims who have developed coping strategies (see for example Satterthwaite 2003 for an elaboration on this issue). More opportunistic scholars have highlighted the high productivity found in megacities, including what is often defined as the ‘informal economy’. One might think of Dharavi in Mumbai, which contributes with up to 40 percent of the GDP of the city (e.g. Neuwirth 2005; Patel/Arputham 2008). This approach has been dominated by urban economics seeing the outstanding financial opportunities that have developed in most megacities, especially in Asia where urban growth is often linked with economic growth (UN-Habitat 2010; Sassen 2001). Defining megacities as places of opportunities has explanatory power in terms of correlating certain phenomena, however, it makes no differentiation between megacity and global city. Yet, a final definition deserves attention due to its systematic understanding of processes and mechanisms and the high level of complexity in a megacity (e.g. Urry 2003). Specifically, an increased understanding for the complexity of the city as a system has evolved with a focus on grassroots and the high demand for coordination of different sectors (Sassen 2004; Herrle et al. 2013). This approach does not only focus on what complex systems are, but also on the correlation between different elements and on how to observe the system (e.g. Kraas 2005, 2007a).

The immense growth of cities and the fabric ‘in-between’ largely influenced by global forces, such as global capital investments and the division between production, services and headquarters, has led to social and spatial fragmentation. Spatially, large regions of

¹⁸ Statistics are not always comparable and often not reliable. For example, are non-registered urban residents, such as rural to urban migrants or temporary works often not included in the statistics. In Germany, a recent survey concluded that only 3.29 million people were living in Berlin instead of the assumed 3.47 million. Consequently, questions were raised whether the numbers had been pushed in order to receive further financial support. In total, the survey concluded that Germany had 1.5 million people less than estimated (Zeit Online 2013).

fragmented spaces with rural and urban islands have developed into mega-urban regions (Häußermann et al. 2004; McGee 1991 on ‘Desakota’ in Indonesia; Herrle et al. 2008 on the Pearl River Delta). Mega-urban regions are often defined as economic regions with specific treaties concerning trading networks or mobility of citizens (e.g. the greater Mekong region or the European Union¹⁹). Soja (2007: 58) defined ‘Megalopolitan city regions’, which describe emerging urban agglomerations with an economic and demographic magnitude, defined by global connections in the aspects of economic, cultural, political and built environment. A combination referring to both the often local processes and the spatial expression has been defined as ‘desakota’ by McGee in the case of Indonesia (McGee 2009b). However, the concept of *desakota* has been strongly criticized, not only for focusing too much on local processes rather than the impact of impulses coming from elsewhere (e.g. the city core and global influence), but also for relying on a classic concept of urbanization of core and periphery (Maharika 2011).

Mega-urban regions should be seen as areas in which urban centers still play a role, however, thousands of smaller islands within a waste area play just as crucial roles in the network of urban islands and production locations as has been argued in the context of the ‘mega-urban landscape’ found in the Pearl River Delta in the south of China (Herrle et al. 2014).²⁰ The mega-urban landscape is strongly influenced by global forces, mainly financial flows, which have to a large extent controlled the spatial development of the mega-urban landscape.

2.4_Social theory and social action: Social space as a given product

At the end of the 19th century, cities were seen as the physical expression of the agglomeration of processes within society. The role of the ‘market’ and changing means of production, towards capitalism, led to several social theories on a structural understanding of society (e.g. Marxism). Urban sociology developed with a focus on the duality between rapidly changing processes of urban societies and the citizens (e.g. Weber and Simmel). In North America a discourse developed with an increased focus on social action (e.g. the Chicago School). Several scholars have attempted to circumvent or widen the dialectic relationship between social theory and social action to include a third dimension (e.g.

¹⁹ See for example the 6th Framework program of the European Union: ‘Peri-urban Land Use Relationships’ (PLUREL).

²⁰ Sprawl is a concept referring to the North American context in which settlements are distributed in the landscape in a fragmented manner around the city core. Thus the term sprawl has a centric understanding of urban core and urban periphery inherent, which does not apply to most cases in Asia for example. With the term ‘mega-urban landscape’ a polycentric understanding of a larger area builds the foundation. Further, an overlapping of different urban concepts (e.g. network structure and centric structure) should be seen as a crucial part of the concept ‘mega-urban landscape’ (see also Ipsen 2005).

technology, see Castells (2000) or Lefebvre (2007) on his trilogy of spatial production). Some scholars claim that a system-theoretical approach can overcome the divide between society (macro) and social action (micro) (e.g. Luhmann 2012).

2.4.1_Macro: Social theory

Max Weber has often been identified as the father of urban Western sociology due to his attempt to develop a typological approach to cities (see for example Wirth 1938). In his study of the medieval city Weber's intension was to identify historic preconditions for modern capitalism (Krämer-Badoni 1992: 11). In his correlation between religion and capital, Weber studied non-European/non-western cases such as India, Japan and China in order to compare his findings within different societies which showed no development of capitalism.²¹ Weber's major contribution to urban sociology might be the recognition that the historical perspective and a contextual understanding of social processes are crucial (Eckardt 2004: 13). Further, his attempt to develop a typological approach can be seen as a precondition for what Löw (2008a) labels 'sociology of cities', and which has shown the fruitfulness of comparative studies of cities according to certain criteria (but not limited to Herrschaft, Legitimität, and Rationalität (e.g. Weber 1976 – chapter three).

In parallel, George Simmel (1995) suggests an urban sociology uniting social theory and sociology by approaching social theory from a spatial point of view.

In his attempt to interpret the border between space and spatial configuration from a sociological point of view, Simmel focuses on individualism in a dynamic process of urbanization under capitalism (Krämer-Bodoni 1992), arguing that the perception of citizens changes simultaneously with the changing society (Eckardt 2004). Thus, social processes are projected into the physical space. Some scholars even interpret Simmel as one of the first to initiate the 'spatial turn'²² by arguing that 'emptiness'/empty space can be seen as shaped by social processes (Dünne 2006: 290). Nevertheless, he has been critiqued for understanding space as a container for social processes, arguing that an increasing abstraction of society (e.g.

²¹ Max Weber's studies on China focused on the question of why capitalism did not develop in China. In a similar manner as in his study on medieval European cities, he conducted historic research on Confucianism and Daoism looking for answers within Chinese society at the beginning of the 20th century in history and especially in religion (Weber 1989).

²² In the late 20th century urban sociology experienced a change of paradigm, which sought to include space as a cultural dimension along the dimension of time (see for example the works of Harvey; Soja; Massey; or for a secondary reflection on the 'spatial term' see Dünne 2006: 291 ff.).

telecommunication, etc.) leads to the loss of spatial relevance. Hereby space is rather understood as ‘place’ (Läpple 1992: 166-167).

2.4.2_Micro: Social action

Contrary to the previously introduced scholars at the beginning of the 20th century, the Chicago School scholars do not question the capitalistic development of society, but rather take it for granted and accept capitalism as the natural condition of society. Parallel to the European discourse, a new movement of urban sociology takes shape at the beginning of the 20th century in North America. The major aim of the so-called Chicago School of Sociology was to change focus from a discourse on the developing society in cities (macro) to the micro level (i.e. human beings) and a focus on *processes* of change in society, mainly in North American cities (e.g. migration and social movements), thereby arguing that social relations correlate with spatial relations. The Chicago School has been criticized for their understanding of the city as a ‘natural area’, also understood as an ecological sociology in which all processes are related to nature; however, some scholars argue that their understanding of what is ‘natural’ should be reconsidered within the parameters of a psychological approach based on a Freudian analysis (e.g. Krämer-Badoni 1992).

The Chicago School can be divided into three generations in which the second laid the foundation for what has become known as the Chicago School of Sociology (e.g. Robert Park and Ernest Burgess). Louis Wirth could be seen as a third generation scholar of the Chicago School, however, some scholars argue that his work cannot be seen as representative for the very same (Eckardt 2004).²³ The publication ‘*Urbanism as a Way of Life*’ builds on Max Weber’s work as well as on a publication by Robert Park et al. (1925), among others, on how to investigate the urban environment (Wirth 1938: 8). Wirth (1938) describes the shortcoming of defining the ‘urban’ according to just one criteria, however, he argues that the combination of the three aspects: 1) size of population, 2) density of population and 3) the heterogeneity of the population are sufficient to characterize urbanism. Based on the micro level of empirical investigations, characteristic for the Chicago School of Sociology, Wirth attempts to build a theory on urbanism by operationalizing the three criteria. Nevertheless some scholars argue that lack of historical references in his work, leads to a lack of systematic theory building on

²³ Louis Wirth does not represent the strong ecological approach what is characteristic for the Chicago School. (For further readings on the Chicago School see for example Brock et al. (2009) with a special focus on Parsons or Bulmer (1984) for a more general overview).

‘urbanism’ (e.g. Krämer-Badoni 1992). Others, argues that Wirth further developed the approach introduced by Simmel:

‘Damit entwickelt er [Louis Wirth] den Simmel’schen Begriff der Großstadt in dem Sinne weiter, dass er ihn nicht lediglich als gegeben annimmt, sondern zugleich für eine Einschätzung des urbanistischen Vergesellschaftungsprozesses verwertet.’ (Eckardt 2004: 51).²⁴

Thus, most theories have developed out of an analysis of the current condition of society (e.g. Chicago School) or seeking answers for the current condition in history (e.g. Weber on his study of medieval cities, looking for preconditions of capitalism). Nevertheless, scholars writing on social theory (e.g. Engels, Marx, etc.) laid the foundation for later scholars seeing the combination of social theory (macro) and social action (micro) as a necessary move in order to understand the ever increasing complexity of the industrializing cities and for some of the most dominant theoretical approaches in urban sociology.

2.4.3 Culture, social action and public spheres

Though social action is a crucial aspect, understanding or decoding the social action is just as important. This is also what has been described as the ‘symbolic space’ (e.g. Cassirer 2002), in which beliefs and cultural values are inscribed.

Culture (or ‘wertesystem’, as defined by Haag 2011) is a concept that is fluid and constantly evolving. Culture has for a long time been discussed as ‘given’ and as a shared way of life by a certain group. Some scholars have argued for a division of the concept of culture into a system of beliefs, a system of expressive symbols, and a system of value-orientations within the framework of action theory (e.g. Parsons/Shils 1951). In the 1970s, more focus was created on symbols and shared meanings, a rather anthropological way of defining culture (Berry 2000). Consequently, it led to a move away from the objective way of defining culture to a more subjective understanding of culture. Or as defined by Geertz (1973: 89):

‘an historical transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life.’

²⁴ ‘Along these lines he [Louis Wirth] further developed the term ‘Großstadt’ as Simmel defined it, by not just accepting the term but rather at the same time using it as a judgment for the urban socialization processes.’ (Translated by the author).

Most approaches can be summarized by their aim of either developing a universal, a contextual (rejecting the universal approach) or an integrated approach towards culture (differentiated in indigenization from within and indigenization from without) (Kim 2000: 266), and multidisciplinary approaches which have contributed to what has been labeled as the ‘cultural turn’ (Alexander et al. 2012b: 5). More recently, culture is also being discussed as ‘created’ through social interaction and shared meanings (i.e. subcultures). Independent of the discipline and the approach, culture should be understood as both a collective and as an individual phenomenon.

Cultural studies on the individual level are often related to disciplines such as sociology (e.g. Alexander et al. 2012a on meaning-centered sociology; Hall et al. 2010 with a strong focus on globalization and its impact on culture)²⁵ and cultural anthropology, which focus on cognitive processes in psychology (Geertz 1973 or the ‘writing culture’ movement – see for example Sen/Silverman 2014 for an overview).

Cultural aspects are relevant in this study on the production of social space because processes such as cognition and emotion related to space constituting processes are by all means embedded in the cultural context (Markus/Kitayama 1991).

Social action within a cultural setting is often linked to a division of the physical environment into public and private. From the perspective of cultural sociology, two major directions of discourses can be identified: 1) The Durkheimian approach with a focus on rituals in the public realm and 2) the Goffmanian approach with a focus on everyday life. Some scholars argue that these two paths have constructed ‘*an unnecessary dualism between structure and contingency that seemed to separate the public sphere and the private lifeworld.*’ (Alexander et al. 2012b: 19). The focus on everyday life applies ethnographic methods studying everyday action, interpreted as ‘tools’ for actors to be applied in a manner that would make meaning or be appropriate for the needs (see for example Goffman 1959 or Burke 1969). Social action more specifically linked to urban life and the physical framework of a city, has been thoroughly developed by scholars in the Marxist tradition such as Lefebvre (2005, 2006a) in his *rhythm analysis* and *critique of everyday life*, with an increased focus on political aspects of the injustice in exclusive places (i.e. ‘right to the city movement’; see also Fainstein et al. 1983; for an economical perspective or Brenner et al. 2012; Schmid 2012 for a more spatial

²⁵ Cultural sociology is understood as a parallel inquiry to sociology of culture, which has mainly found its theoretical background in Bourdieu, focusing on the ‘production of culture’ paradigm. The sociology of culture has smoothly been incorporated into a more mainstream sociology (Alexander et al. 2012b: 9).

approach). More recent scholars have attempted to break down this dualism between structure and contingency by advocating for an interplay between the two, which informs the cultural environment (e.g. Alexander 2004).

The concept of public space can be interpreted from several perspectives (political, spatial, economic, and social). ‘Public space’ is a term that differentiates private belonging from public – by defining public territory as state possession. However, ‘public’ is often understood as accessible or applicable for everyone. Politically, ‘public space’ has previously in western tradition been related to military (and trade). Chabou (2003) argues that public space developed within a western democratic tradition, which allows for mediation between the state and society. In the discourse, theoretical political spaces are often defined as ‘regimes’ (Stone 1993) or as ‘arenas’ (see for example the interchangeable use of political space and ‘arena’ by Lefebvre 2005: 164). Socially defined, ‘public space’ is within the tradition of sociology closely related to ‘social action’. Scholars such as Goffman (1967, 1969) have delivered ground breaking studies on behavior on differently defined stages (‘private’ versus ‘public’). In more recent ethnographic studies of cities in the Global South (e.g. Simone 2010), less focus is on the division between ‘private’ and ‘public’ and a direct division between political and social ‘public space’ is no longer possible (e.g. Bayat 2004). ‘Public space’ as a space for trade might be the oldest definition around. Market places in ancient cities, however, were not just the center of trade but also for political debates. Markets and commerce taking place in ‘public space’, however, have strongly diminished in many western cultures. Especially in North America – or in general automobile dominated societies – commercial places have increasingly been turned into enclosed shopping malls, turning their back on the outdoor space.

Thus, ‘public space’ in the western connotation is a civil space with social justice and tolerance. It is multi-dimensional and highly complex and should be seen in relation to private and political space. Political space is a rather exclusive space, whereas private space is an intimate, individual and autonomous space.

2.4.4_Social space as a process

In an increasingly exclusive political space expressed in urban society and the domination of the state as expressed in planning of the city in the beginning and middle of the 20th century, scholars developed new urban theories from the perspective of sociology and anthropology

(e.g. Lefebvre, de Certeau). In the more current discourse on the urban, it has been argued that urban sociology has lost its position and that other disciplines have become more dominant (e.g. human geography, political science, etc.) (Perry/Mey 2005). Here attention will be given to scholars on urban sociology who focus on interlinking or circumventing the dialectical relationship between macro and micro processes by introducing social space as a process.

Struggling with concepts for analyzing the rapid urbanization of European cities at the time, Lefebvre wanted to gain the city back as an object of research for social science (Bertuzzo 2008). Without attempting a new theory, Lefebvre intended to ‘update’ Marxism²⁶ to the state of society and to open up for further development of the theory (Lefebvre 2005: 15ff.), and thereby introduced ‘everyday life’ as an object of research and reflection of the development of society (Lefebvre 1941)²⁷. Thus changing focus from understanding social space as a product²⁸ to understanding it as a process, Lefebvre introduces a trilogy or *trialectic* of imagined, practiced and physical space, which has become one of the most famous contributions by Lefebvre to the discourse of socially produced space. His theory can be divided into two sets of trilogies: primary the perceived, the conceived and the lived space and secondary the spatial translation of the same into spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representation (Stanek 2011). The spatial practice (i.e. social action) is the everyday life based on routines and rhythm – basically human behavior. The representations of space (conceived space) is related to how space is being represented by planners and urbanists and made ‘readable’ in the abstract form of maps, etc. Thus, the two first aspects of the production of space relates to the relationship between physical environment and social action. The third, and thereby Lefebvre’s contribution in overcoming the duality, is the spaces of representation.²⁹ This element introduces a symbolic space or an ‘imagined’ space.

²⁶ The assumption of capitalism being the main path for future societies is closely related to the Marxist background of Lefebvre. Marx (and Engels) did in their writing assume that capitalism was a major force and suggested alternative ways of developing society (e.g. communism/socialism – Marx/Engels 2009).

²⁷ Only three volumes were published, however after his death the work which was supposedly to become the fourth volume was published as ‘rhythm analysis’ in 2006 in English (Lefebvre 2006a).

²⁸ Space understood in the Newtonian way had long been discussed as a container for social action (see also paragraph 2.1, chapter two)

²⁹ From the perspective of environmental behaviorist similar trilogies as suggested by Lefebvre have been suggested. For example, in an attempt to separate perception from cognition in the psychological discourse related to environment, Rapoport (1977) suggests three processes which should be seen as interlinked in a continuum: perception, cognition and evaluation. This triad takes its starting point in the subject (the human being) and will be further elaborated under ‘space and human beings’ in this chapter, however, here it suffices to recognize the attempt to further describe the ‘Mensch’ – ‘Umwelt’ interrelation.

Applying the concept of production of social space to studies of the urban, Lefebvre's approach can be summarized as following:

'First, the city is to be studied as a dialectics of constraints and 'appropriation, more or less successful, of space and time', which allows a differentiation among places appropriated by inhabitants and passersby. Second, there is an imaginary level of the city conveyed by the monuments that refer to something beyond their immediate presence: to the historical past or to the global scale. Finally, there is a dimension of ideology, including the state ideology conveyed by grand empty spaces' (Stanek 2011: 86).

Consequently, people must be aware of the spatial production in order to interpret the space, however many of these reproduction processes are subconscious – which is why they are often seen as people being able to 'read' a certain cultural context – mostly their own (Lefebvre 2006b: 333ff.). Lefebvre further argues that every society produces their own space according to the historical and cultural context. This 'urban code' (see for example Hassenpflug (2009) for a read on the urban code in China) is the result of centuries of practice, each related to a certain culture (Lefebvre 2006b: 339). This understanding of space is almost like the concept of 'arena' or 'regime', which is a politically produced space for negotiations among involved stakeholders/actors, however, mostly including the state (see for example Stone 2005; Etzold et al. 2009 for an operationalization of the concept of regime theory).

In differentiating between the macro and micro level, two concepts are introduced: *domination* and *appropriation* (Lefebvre 2007: 165ff.). Domination is closely related to the state and to physical dominance over natural space, whereas appropriation is rather linked to the concept of dwelling and the private/public qualities reflected in places, or one could argue that the citizens are the reproductive forces. In terms of socially produced space through social action, space can first of all be seen as a hybrid, not just defined once but adapting to the power relations and social practices (Foucault 1995). Also, different meanings³⁰ than expressed in the physical manifestation (place) can be subscribed into the space (e.g. a pedestrian walkway can become a trading market).

'Space may be marked physically, as with animals' use of smells or human groups' use of visual or auditory indicators; alternatively, it may be marked abstractly, by means of discourse, by means of signs. Space thus acquires symbolic value. Symbols, on this view, always imply an emotional investment, an affective charge (fear, attraction, etc.), which is so

³⁰ Meanings as described here should not be understood as the symbolic space introduced by Cassirer, but rather as functional *meanings* and a differentiation in the qualities.

to speak deposited at a particular place and thereafter 'represented' for the benefit of everyone elsewhere. (Lefebvre 2007: 141).

Not linking the micro level of everyday life (social action) with the macro level of society as Lefebvre attempts, Michel de Certeau argues that everyday practice is the means by which power relations in a space can be changed and introduces another dual concept of *strategy* and *tactics* (de Certeau 1988). For de Certeau, *strategy* is what is applied by institutions (in this sense similar to Lefebvre's 'domination') whereas *tactics* can be seen as modifications of the *strategy*, applied in everyday life. The process of modification takes time and therefore, de Certeau argues that tactics have *time* whereas strategies have *space* through their institutional position (de Certeau 1988: xix). By researching everyday practices, he concludes that space must be configured by two aspects: by objects (*dasein*) and by actions (de Certeau 2006: 346). As an example he refers to a study done in New York on how people describe places, namely either through places, as on a map, or by defining actions (*tour*) (de Certeau 2006: 347). Consequently, de Certeau defines social space as the intertwining of moving elements – which is a definition that can be understood both in the physical/mathematic understanding of space as well as in the social configuration of space.

2.4.5_Dynamic and relational elements

Moving elements within a given socio-cultural and political context leads to a definition of social space seen as a relational configuration between dynamic elements (e.g. Löw 2001). Martina Löw (2001; 2008b) approaches the social production of space from a relativistic perspective (building on action theory), arguing that not just social goods (elements and human beings) but also the relations between the social goods constituting space must be taken into consideration in the production of social space (e.g. positioning of social goods/spacing) (Löw 2001; within the field of environmental behavior similar arguments have been made. See for example Rapoport 1977 or for a system theoretical approach see Luhmann 2006).

2.4.5.1_Positioning and Spacing

Based on Giddens' action theory, Löw suggests that space should be seen as a product of action. She proposes, that "space can be seen as a *relational ordering of living entities and*

social goods” (Löw 2008b: 35)³¹. Thus, spaces are constituted by being actively connected by human beings (things, people, groups of people, etc.) that are positioning themselves in relation to other social goods, i.e. spacing. Consequently, the constitution of space mostly involves some kind of positioning, which can be differentiated between two aspects of spatial configuration: *spacing* and *synthesis*. If action can be seen as a process, synthesis and spacing should be seen as concurrent (Löw 2008b). In a similar matter, Martina Löw argues:

‘...daß Raum eine relationale (An)Ordnung von Köpern ist, welche ständig in Bewegung sind, wodurch sich die (An)Ordnung selbst ständig verändert.’ (Löw 2001: 153).³²

Within a given cultural and socio-political context ‘social goods’ (including human beings) are in relation to each other through spacing and synthesis. Therefore the dynamic of ‘moving elements’ creates a constant process, which includes human beings and elements.

2.4.5.2_Synthesis³³

Social space is produced through a process of synthesis, which should be seen as referential to other ‘elements’ or to the context, let it be physical, cultural, political, etc. Thus, social spaces are constituted through a process of perception and imagination, i.e. through synthesis.

Through the process of *synthesis*, Löw (2001) allows for coexistence of spaces, arguing that spacing without synthesis is not possible (Löw 2001: 159). Accordingly, synthesis can be seen as a cognitive process in which evaluation of information leads to social action and which relate social goods within a certain space. The information can be received from other ‘elements’, from other ‘systems’ (i.e. human beings) or from the built environment.

In more recent publications, Löw (2008a) argues that within the continuously dialectical relation between social theory and urban sociology, cities are seen as ‘arenas’ for urbanism, society and human behavior (Löw 2008a). Taking the discourse one step further, Martin Löw (2008a) argues that the cities themselves should become objects of study. This can be achieved, so she continues, by analyzing the ‘eigenlogik’ of cities in a structured comparative

³¹ As social goods, Martina Löw defines two categories, namely primary material goods, and primary symbolic goods, hereby distancing herself from the notion of goods being universal values (Löw 2008b:34).

³² *‘...that Space is a relational composition of bodies, which are constantly moving and leading to a constant changing of the composition.’* (Translated by the author).

³³ Other scholars have suggested similar relational concepts with the inclusion of synthesis: *‘Wahrgenommen werden kann also nur die positionale Beziehungen des Rauminhaltes, also die Raumstruktur, nicht der Raum selbst. Die beiden Begriffe ‘Raum’ und ‘Zeit’ sind...menschliche Syntheseleistungen, die sich auf positionale Beziehungen in einer vergesellschafteten Natur und einer äußerst komplexen Gesellschaft beziehen.’* (Läpple 1992: 164).

analysis. Thus, she gives cities a ‘personality’, something which can be argued from the perspective of city branding in an ever increasing competition based on location and characteristics (e.g. Berking/Löw 2008). In order to circumvent the dialectic between rural and urban and to overcome the static understanding of cities as ‘laboratories’ for social action, Löw (2008a) proposes to develop a sociology of cities by dissolving the concept of ‘city’ as defined according to administrative or political aspects and rather to objectify cities by analyzing the ‘production of space’. Here she builds on scholars focusing on the production of social space through social action (Giddens 1984) and through ‘Habitus’ as introduced by Bourdieu (1984).³⁴ This approach has been strongly criticized for neglecting a differentiation between the global and the local, and for not being linked to the current discourse on urban studies outside of Germany (see for example Kemper/Vogelpohl 2011 for a critique of the concept). This perspective of seeing the city as an object is a contra movement in the urban discourse, in which several scholars have proclaimed a focus on individuals and individual mobility (e.g. transnationalism) (see for example Simone 2012, McFarlane 2011). Further, the parameters and elements defining the ‘eigenlogik’ are not defined and consequently, no suggestions for how to operationalize the concept of ‘eigenlogik’ are made.

Shortages of the here presented approaches toward the production of social space are tied to the lack of in-depth understanding of cognitive processes informing social action within the built environment (e.g. ‘Mensch-Umwelt’ transactions).

2.5_Cognition and social systems

From a system theoretical approach, Luhmann (1972, 2012) does not specifically focus on the production of social space, but he does introduce a clearly defined understanding of social systems within society, which is understood as a process of communication. Systems should be seen as dynamic and develop non-linearly, i.e. elements can be both a social and psychological system (Bercht 2011: 27). Based on Parson/Shils (1951), Luhmann (2006) argues that it is possible to combine system theory and action theory. Whereas the first is

³⁴ The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) defines a universal law within his concept of social space (or mechanism of reproduction) by defining habitus as a product of positioning (Bourdieu 2006: 360). *‘It is the relationship between the two capacities which define the habitus, the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste), that the represented social world, i.e. the space of life-styles, is constituted.’* (Bourdieu 1984: 170). Positioning is the relation between social position, disposition and a position that a person takes – defined by the opportunity to make a choice (Bourdieu 2006: 356). Bourdieu’s ‘space’ is more to be understood as an ‘arena’ – a society – in which different classes have certain habitus and ‘qualities’, thereby relating the habitus to the political ideology in society (for a further read on the political aspects of Bourdieu’s works, see also Bourdieu 1983; Stokke 2002).

concerned with the macro level, the latter is concerned with the micro level. Thus action and system cannot be divided or analyzed separately³⁵ The central paradigm within the interdisciplinary system theory is the ‘Differenz’ (distinction) between ‘System’ and ‘Umwelt’ (environment) (Luhmann 2006, 2012). Thus, the dialectics of object and subject are replaced by the paradigm of *system* and *umwelt*. Whereas *System* is defined as a distinction – “Ein ‘System’ ist die Differenz zwischen System und Umwelt” (Luhmann 2006: 66), *Umwelt*, should be differentiated from *Milieu* and is dependent on the system and vice versa. No system can exist without an ‘Umwelt’ (Luhmann 2006:66). The systems are related through ‘strukturelle Kopplung’ (*structural coupling*), however these do not interfere with the *autopoiesi*³⁶ of the systems (Luhmann 2006: 120). Rather ‘irritations’ are capable of penetrating a system and creating ‘noise’ (Störung) within the pattern of the system.

Through internal-referential the ‘noise’ is transformed into information. The concept of structural coupling is remarkably similar to the concept of spacing as suggested by Löw (2001). If one thinks of the human brain as a system, Luhman (2006) adds to the suggested process of synthesis by further defining the cognitive process that leads to social action, and consequently to spacing and positioning in relation to other ‘social goods’, or to the ‘Umwelt’. For example, the eyes are used as a filtering mechanism between ‘Umwelt’ and ‘System’ and once a ‘noise’ entered our brain it will be transformed into information.

According to Luhmann, one needs to differentiate between the operation of ‘observing’ and the ‘observer’. In addition, the concept of ‘observation of second degree’ is introduced as a concept in order to be able to introduce complexity and the concept of rationality (see Bercht 2011 for an elaborated discussion). Observation of second degree would for example be the case if an observer is observing how a child is observing the observer. Thereby the operation ‘observation of the observer (second degree)’ becomes subject of the observation (first degree). Luhmann further argues that communication is operation. Thus, Luhmann (2012) introduces the terms of the observer, observation and observation of second degree. His system theoretical concept of *System* and *Umwelt* based on the operation of communication is interesting when first reflecting back to Uexküll (1931) and his concept of ‘Wirkwelt’ and ‘Merkwelt’ on which Cassirer (2002) also builds in his endeavor to introduce the symbolic space.

³⁵ A similar approach is stated by Giddens (1979) in which he wishes to link action theory to structure understood as a systematic reflection of society.

³⁶ Autopoiesitic systems are defined as enclosed operative systems (see Luhmann 2006).

Even though Uexküll's work was mainly based on evidence from experiments with animals, the relationship between 'Wirkwelt' and Merkwelt' and the understanding of three-dimensional space has laid the foundation for several disciplines, e.g. urban psychology and environmental behavior.

Urban psychology has developed as a sub-discipline, which, at least in Germany, is often seen more as an applied science approach than strong in theory building. The foundation for the urban psychological discourse lay in the relationship between the rather abstract relation of human beings (Mensch) and their environment (Umwelt) (often urban psychology is labeled 'Umwelt Psychologie'). Within the discourse, four major topics can be identified: 'density' (*crowding*) as a main characteristic of cities, living conditions, territorial identity and, as a newer perspective, sustainability and ecology in urban psychology (Mieg/Hoffmann 2006). For example, 'density' in cities has led to much research on aspects such as stress (see for example Bercht 2011), security (Newman 2002; Altman/Chemers 1984) and on orientation and the built environment in cities.

The relationship between the built environment³⁷ and human behavior (i.e. social action)³⁷ is also the main focus of environmental behavior studies (Rapoport 1976; Marcus/Sarkissian 1986). Whereas Rapoport continuously argues for a research informed design, Cooper-Marcus is concerned with Post-Occupation Evaluation (POE). Rapoport (1969) defines four main variables within the spatial framework: space, time, meaning, and communication.³⁸ Time is bound to the culture in which the relationship between people and elements and people to people relations are ordered (Rapoport 1982). In his ground breaking work 'Human Aspects of Urban Form' (1977), Rapoport presents his trilogy of *perception, cognition and evaluation*. Hereby he suggests a division of the concept of perception, elsewhere in the

³⁷ 'Environment' is hereby understood as relationships between elements and people as well as among people (Rapoport 1982), thus, as a relational spatial concept (i.e. relational production of social space). The dialectic between 'environment' and 'culture' has been thoroughly research by environmental behaviorists (Altman/Chemers 1984; Habraken 2000). The concept of 'Environment', however, has often been reduced to a 'territory' manifesting itself in a territorial claim (see for example Marcus/Sarkassian 1986) or in an (symbolic) appropriation of a place (Brown/Venturi 2004 – for a rather spatial/architectonic interpretation; Goffmann 1969 for an interpretation of behavior and environment). These approaches, however, have been criticized for neglecting contextual parameters such as culture, politics and economics (Hsia 1988). It (i.e. the 'environment') has been further criticized for being interpreted as a 'container' in which 'social conduct is enacted' (Giddens 1979: 202), neglecting the correlation between time and space (for a more detailed elaboration on the division between time and space as argued by Gidden (1979) and the critique hereof see Löw (2001, 2006, 2008b).

³⁸ A strong similarity to the system theoretical approach from Luhmann can be identified when understanding space as place, meaning as the transformed noise into information – also the aspect of perception is included – and the communication as an operation. Further the ordering or 'positioning' of elements is similar to Löw's approach of spacing.

psychological discourse unclearly defined or applied (Rapoport 1977: 37).³⁹ The process of apprehension of space he defines as the *environmental perception*. This category is seen as quite specific because it is related to a certain environment at a given time. *Environmental cognition* can be described as a structuring and ordering of the environment. Cognitive psychology often focuses on way finding and orientation on different scales and the encoding of the same in cities or in rooms. It has mainly been researched by environmental behaviorists (e.g. Rapoport 2010), psychologists (e.g. Hwang 2006; Yang, K. S. 2000; Kim et al. 2006) and urban geographers (e.g. Lynch 1960). Coming from the perspective of urban geography, Kevin Lynch defined a set of variables (path, edge, etc.) based on mental maps reflecting people's means of orientation within a city (i.e. Boston). In the psycho-geography aspect of territoriality and the relevance of cognitive processes for spatial planning are in focus (see for example Jüngst 2000). In anthropology, the human being and the impact of and the meaningful creation of the built environment on human beings are in focus, often related to what has been labeled 'environmental cognition' (Rapoport 1977: 108ff). Finally, the *environmental evaluation* is related to the perception of the qualities of a certain environment and are the basis for preferences and decisions (Rapoport 1977: 31).

Cross-culture psychology has a strong focus on (comparative⁴⁰) collective aspects of culture. Some scholars have defined levels of cultural comparison (e.g. individual, social and cultural by Parson/Shills 1951), while others have defined certain dimensions that allow for cross-cultural comparison (e.g. power distance, uncertainty avoidance degree of individualism and collectivism, masculinity versus femininity, and long- versus short-term orientation by Hofstede 1979, 2001).⁴¹ These categories are all related to cultural as well as individual aspects related to social action. What is obvious, thus, is that defining certain parameters within the given cultural setting, such as 'self', identity and roles, is a precondition for researching cognitive processes in relation to social action in a built environment.

³⁹ Compared to most studies in psychology which are made in an isolated space i.e. in laboratories, the environmental studies are concerned with human action in real life settings – in environments. Therefore a more defined distinction of the concept 'perception' is needed, so he argues (Rapoport 1977: 37).

⁴⁰ In the field of ethnography and anthropology, comparative studies have long been frowned upon due to the threat of oversimplification, as some might argue is the case with the dimensions presented by Hofstede (2001) (see for example Kim 2000 for a critique of cross-cultural psychology in contrast with the indigenous psychologist). More recently, several scholars have argued for the potential of comparative studies in these fields, suggesting a reflexive comparison.

⁴¹ The most interesting values for this study are the power distance index and the individualism index. In Hofstede (1979), China mainland was not included and consequently following values are referring to Hong Kong and Taiwan. In Power Distance Index, Hong Kong has a value of 68 and Taiwan of 58. In comparison, Germany (Former West) has a value of 35 and Denmark of 18, meaning that Taiwan and Hong Kong has a long power distance and Denmark a relatively short (Hofstede 1979: 394). In terms of individualism, Hong Kong has a value of 25, Taiwan 17 and in comparison Germany (former West) 67 and Denmark 74 (Hofstede 1979: 394). Consequently, Denmark and Germany can be seen as highly individualistic societies whereas Hong Kong and especially Taiwan can be seen as rather collectivist societies.

2.6_Summary

The discourse on social space includes the physical space, the symbolic space and social action. Further, it has been stated that social space is a mirror of a certain time in a certain culture. Even though cultural differences should be taken into account, it is however assumed that certain mechanisms will always be the same (Bourdieu 2006: 360). Consequently, the built environment and planning processes, social action as well as cognitive processes and the 'symbolic space' should be investigated. However, 'symbolic space' especially has not been defined sufficiently in the discourse on the production of social space. In the following it is suggested to further investigate the concept of symbolic space under the concept of culture both on an individual and on a collective level. The symbolic space depends on both 1) the culture and norms in which it is produced (non-dependent on place), and 2) on the perspective (place bound). Culture and norms (i.e. structure as defined by Giddens 1979) should be dealt with in order to be able to identify rules and resources within the specific context and according to which social action occur. The perspective, meaning the individual subscribing meanings and symbols to the built environment, is the result of cognitive embodiment (Wilson 2002), expressed through social action. Social action becomes crucial on a relational understanding of space that is constantly in the process of change.

Along the lines of increasing globalization of economies and state institutions and consequently an increasing complexity of cities, scholars have been concerned with introducing the concept of 'scales' (e.g. Brenner 1999b). Mostly, the global, the national, regional and local have been scales dominating the discourse. In focusing on the dialectic between the local and global level, Castells (1989, 1999) suggests a theoretical approach of 'spaces of flow' and 'spaces of place' as capturing the increased mobility of humans, goods and information in a globalizing world. Consequently, it has been suggested that nation states are dissolving in terms of political and economic power (e.g. Sassen 2002). Along these lines it has been further argued that cities and regions increasingly gain power as they spatially manifest themselves in large urban agglomerations (e.g. megacities and mega-urban landscapes) and economically exceeds the competitive role of nations (e.g. Bronger 2004). Megacities, thus should be understood both as complex expressions of local as well as of global processes manifested in a certain time in history.

In the dialectic between social theory and urban sociology, it is increasingly argued that parameters relevant for urban studies are bound to the individual, which has led to an increase in ethnological and anthropological approaches (e.g. Simone 2010). Recognizing that the production of social space must be analyzed within the historical and cultural context, Lefebvre and de Certeau both rely on a euro-centric understanding of power relations and the role of the state. de Certeau's contribution with a rather dynamic understanding of places becoming spaces through experience and social action imply a constant process and on the individual levels does seem applicable independent of the cultural setting. Further, the two space constituting factors of positioning/spacing and synthesis have been pointed out by Löw (2001). The individual does through synthesis imply meanings and inform actions and consequently raises the question of how cognition and synthesis are discussed in the Chinese context. Thus, if synthesis and positioning/spacing are space-constituting factors, culturally dependent variables should be identified and included in the concept of spatial production. Including synthesis and spacing as space constituting processes call for a larger focus on the individual. The individual and the definition of the individual are culturally embedded. Culturally dependable variables should be defined in the cultural context of China. Further the aspect of cognition and the variables seem important in order to be able to operationalize the concept of 'synthesis' as introduced in the relational concept of social space by Löw (2001). Only by including culturally dependent variables in relation to the individual can a larger understanding of social space on multiple scales be created. Further, including these parameters implies that spacing should be understood not just spatially, but in terms of social (e.g. 'self'), political (e.g. identity) and economic aspects (e.g. status).

Social action thus is embedded in a cultural setting and dependent on macro factors (e.g. culture, institutions, etc.), however, exercised on a micro level, social action is the result of a cognitive process (e.g. Rapoport 1977). Cognitive processes have not been included in the urban sociology discourse and only limitedly been included in the discourse on the urban (e.g. Lynch 1960). However, from a psychological perspective, the relationship between humans and their environment is crucial for understanding the cause – effect relationship and further to intervene/improve the built environment.

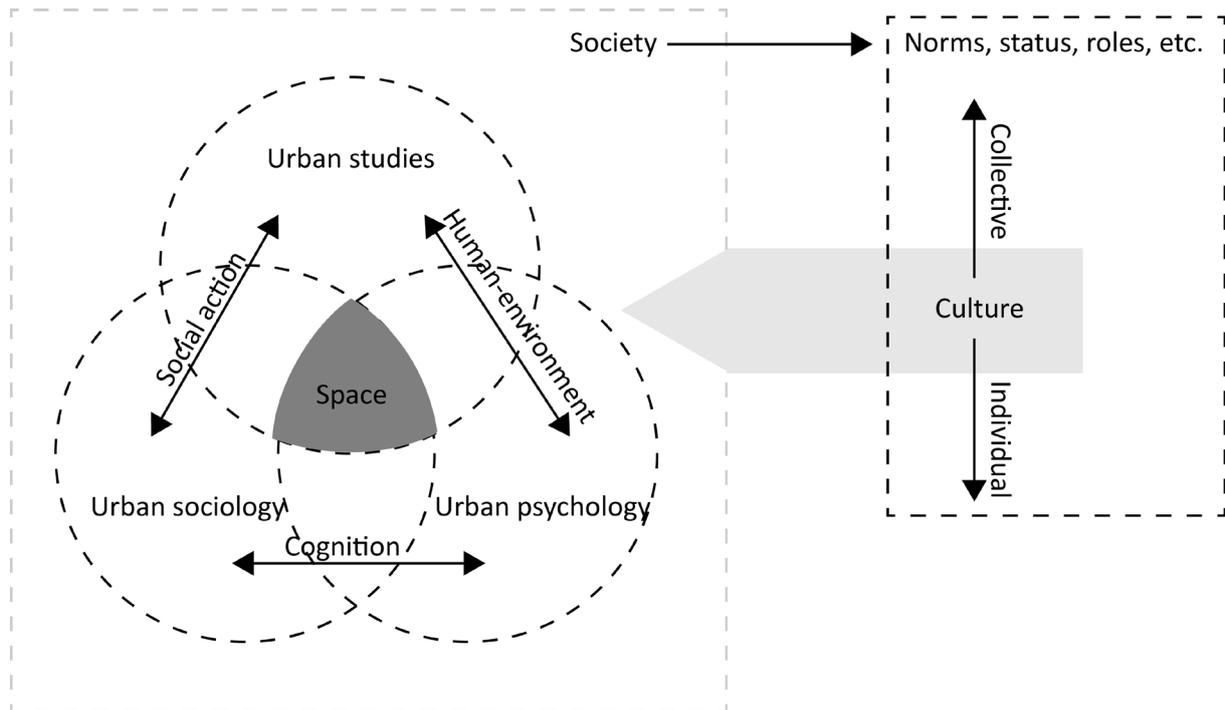


FIGURE 2: OVERVIEW OF THE DISCOURSES AND THEIR INTERRELATION. SOURCE: OWN DESIGN.

Common for the discourses are first the acknowledgment of processes of change in society being embedded in a cultural context. Thus, culture is an important factor both for understanding social action and the society, but also for a decoding of meanings and values subscribed to the built environment. Second, all three discourses are concerned with the interrelation between humans and their environment ('Umwelt'). The environment is not limited to the physical expression but includes the culturally embedded value system and reflects norms and rules of society at a given time in history.

3_The production of space in China

In the Chinese discourse the concept of space is closely linked to place and the physical planning according to specific parameters laid down in ancient texts (e.g. the Zhou Li/Kaogong Ji (see Wenren 2013) or the Book of Changes (see Blofeld 1974; Lin 1995)). A distinct concept of space in China, thus, is strongly influenced by directions of thoughts such as Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism (Li/Yeo 1991; Li, X. 2002). In addition, geomancy (e.g. Feng Shui) is important when discussing space in the context of China, however it should be considered as a ‘tool’ or guiding concept for spatial planning and not as an abstract theoretical approach toward understanding the production of social space.

3.1_Space in the Chinese context and macro and micro cosmoses

Different terms have been used to refer to ‘space’ in ancient writings: ‘Yu’ is often seen as a reference to the universe, a rather cosmological understanding of space. ‘Kong’ [empty, without content] in combination with ‘jian’ [space, in-between] as the ‘limitless space’ (Guan 1996):

‘If the space (Kong jian) is nothingness, there won’t be Ji; if space (kong jian) is objective, there will be jin. How can I [Yin Tang] know whether it is nothingness or objective? However there will not be Ji outside nothingness and Jin inside nothingness’ (Tang Wen in the book Lie Zi – as cited in Guan 1996: 3).

Accordingly, time and space are in the Chinese context understood in a relational manner.

In China (and Asia) it has been argued that planning (real world – micro) and the cosmic world (macro) are interrelated (Wheatley 1971; See also Eliade 1987 on the relationship between space (and time) and religion or cosmos). Specifically, the following three points have been pointed out by Eliade (1987) in his analysis of cosmos in relation to history: 1) that a relationship between planning and cosmological order (e.g. celestial archetype) exists; 2) rituals are needed for a continuous and stable harmony between heaven and earth; and 3) emphasis on cardinal directions are needed in order to define sacred territory in a continuous, profane space. In the following the three aspects will be elaborated on.

1) There is no doubt that geomancy⁴² as an ordering concept has had or still has a strong influence on spatial planning concepts in China (Golany 2001; Gaubatz 1996; Peisert 1984). Peisert (1984) further argues that the planning concepts gained from geomancy have changed little over time and especially in terms of urban planning one might talk about a geomantic spatial concept. These concepts were rather defined in shape than in size and were re-scalable throughout the different scales (household, city, capital city, etc.) and thoroughly adaptable to the local conditions (Gaubatz 1996: 128; Anders 2011: 95). Some scholars even argue that the classic Chinese garden concepts can be seen as a miniature replication of geomancy principles and the Chinese perception of beautification (Golany 2001: 39). In the chapter, Di Tu in Guanzi (legalist school of thought – main chapters of relevance: Nei Ye, Zhou He, Di Tu and Shu Yan)⁴³ should be highlighted as a description of site location according to different geomancy principles. This account is by some scholars considered as one of the first references to territorial maps (Rickett 1985: 388). In the Shu Yan (in Guanzi), the link between the strategic use and implementation of natural forces for governing the state is established:

‘Of the former kings, those who used one Yin and two Yang became lord protectors. Those who used the pure Yang became true kings. Those who use one Yang and two Yin declined, and those who used nothing but pure Yin perished’ (Rickett 1985: 221).

⁴² Feng Shui (geomancy) was developed in the Han dynasty by Naturalist and in the Song dynasty by Neo-Confucians (or Daoist) as found in the Book of Change. More generally, the basic concepts of Feng Shui are immanence, interconnection (between nature and human beings, through the symbols of Five Elements (*Long, She, Xue, Shui and Xiang*) and the Eight Trigrams) and balance (often related to yin/yang – a polar understanding of opposites – in a symmetrical manner) (Li, X. 2002: 89). Within Feng Shui two main directions have been identified: the compass school (also known as the dual school based on yin and yang) and the form school. The discourse on Feng Shui can be divided into two branches: 1) scientific verification of the Feng Shui principles, and 2) studies on the logic of Feng Shui in a scientific manner (see for example Needham 1959).

⁴³ Even though there are great differences between how ancient texts are dated, more recent openings of ancient tombs have added to the (re)interpretation and dating of some of the writings (Lewis 2006). What might be even more important is that many of the writings celebrated as created by prominent figures (e.g. Confucius, Laozi, Mozi, etc.) seem to be the products of many (Rickett 1998: 15ff on the Guanzi or Elman 2010: 330ff on the Kaogong ji). A similar comment is made by the editor of Cao Xueqin’s ‘The Dream of the Red Chamber’ (i.e. ‘The Story of the Stone’) commenting on the many versions of the script that were circulated around and the multiple set of comments on the documents (see Cao 1973). Thus, it is difficult to differentiate in how far comments have been incorporated into ‘original’ documents included in the different canons, e.g. the Confucian canon: (The four books (Great Learning, The Doctrine of the Mean, The Analects of Confucius, and Mencius) The five classics (I Ching, the Classic of Poetry, The Three Rites, the Classic of History, the Classic Music and the Spring and Autumn Annals), The Classic of Filial Piety and Erya are also among the Confucian classics). Accordingly, the ancient writings should rather be seen as a consolidation of multiple views, reflecting a dynamic understanding of writings. This work, however, is not an attempt to use ancient written records as explanatory models for social behavior within the cultural context of China, but rather as a descriptive model. Even though the texts were developed within the here researched culture, it cannot be excluded that they might just be representing the interests of one small group or social class (Kim 2000: 267). Further, it cannot be assumed that common people are aware of philosophical concepts, as represented in several of the ancient writings used in this work.

The chapter of Shu Yan in the Guanzi is seen as a mixture of Daoism⁴⁴, Confucianism and legalism among others (Needham 1969: 206).⁴⁵

The Chinese geomancy concepts applied to urban planning has also been defined as ‘...a system of rules for the sitting of man made objects in the landscape’ (Gaubatz 1996: 132).⁴⁶

One might phrase it differently in terms of ‘positioning’ objects and objects that are positioning themselves within the built environment – or differently put, in a territory. Thus, it is a system of ‘positioning’ in order to minimize disturbance of the natural lines of forces, which function on all scales.

2) The hierarchical linkage between micro (physical planning) and macro cosmos is also incorporated in the rather holistic way of understanding space in the Chinese context as defined by Li/Yeo (1991: 26):

‘Chinese consider things in their entirety, reducing and representing them, however, as a complete system, as a microcosm of the macrocosm. This conception of Nature affects the way the Chinese visualize the spatial structures of landscape, encapsulating a worldview in their physical representation of space.’

Further, the correlation between natural conditions (i.e. cosmos) and the built environment is stated as follows in the Kaogong Ji:⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Dao = ‘the ultimate creative force in the universe’ (Rickett 1998: 29). Daoism was approached from different perspectives and consolidated with the three major motives of achieving 1) life prolonging, 2) political power, and 3) military support into one coherent understanding of Daoism (Rickett 1998: 20; see also Elman 2010). Daoism as taught by Yang Hsiung - also known as Yang Xiong (53 B.C. – A.D. 18) can be seen as a mixture with Confucianism especially in aspects of metaphysics, whereas scholars such as Wang Pi (226-249 A.D.) and books such as Huai-Nan Zi are rather seen as representative of neo-Daoism (Chan 1963). In addition, Daoism can be divided into two directions: the naturalist Daoist and the humanist Daoist (Needham 1969). The philosopher Zou Yan (305-240 B.C.) – often subscribed to the school of naturalist (i.e. Yin and Yang) – was one of the first scholars to argue that China was only one part of the world. Based on the nine squares introduced by earlier scholars, he defined China as ‘the red region’ in the world (Chan 1963: 247). Similarly, Yang Hsiung suggest a four line graphic to be interpreted opposite of the hexagrams in the Book of Change, indicating hierarchies of social and geographical relevance: Region, Province, Department and Families (Nyland 1993: 10).

⁴⁵ In the ancient period 551-233 B.C., four main philosophical directions dominated (Daoism, Legalism, Confucianism and Mohism) (Chan 1963). Buddhism does not occur until the 4th century A.D., however is followed by a Confucian revival, which to a large extent has been dominating up until modern times (Chan 1963).

⁴⁶ In relation to urban planning and the principle of Feng Shui, one should not undermine the rather pragmatic implementation of the cosmological reference frame or of geomancy principles, as for example, aspects of climatic adaption of architecture and urban planning such as the orientation of buildings (see Hassenpflug 2009 or Peisert 1996).

⁴⁷ Confucius promulgated the agrarian lifestyle in harmony with nature and it has been argued by some scholars that the Chinese society has followed the rural ideology for centuries, largely influenced by Confucius principles (Gaubatz 1996: 124; see also Fei 1992 on the role and importance of ‘soil’ in the Chinese society).

'When the seasons (shi) of heaven are favorable, the qi (local influences) of the earth also are favorable, materials have their proper virtues (mei), and the work of skillful workers is cunning (gong qiao), then these four being all combined, perfection is attainable. But with suitable material and skilled workmen it still may happen that the product is not satisfactory; in this case, the season has not been propitious, or the favorable qi of the earth has not been successfully obtained.' (Wenren 2013: 4 – Kaogongji translation).

One of the most prominent scholars of Daoism is LaoZi (6th century B.C.), who accounted for the rather philosophical approach within the naturalist direction of Daoism. In a differentiation between 'void' and 'solid' LaoZi differentiates between the unexhausted 'void' between heaven and earth and 'nothing', which is rather in the hand of human beings and can be physically understood as a differentiation between enclosed and open space:

'...Adapt the nothing therein to the purpose in hand, and you will have the use of the cart. Knead clay in order to make a vessel. Adapt the nothing therein to the purpose in hand, and you will have the use of the vessel. Cut out doors and windows in order to make room. Adapt the nothing⁴⁸ therein to the purpose in hand, and you will have the use of the room. Thus what we gain is Something, yet it is by virtue of Nothing that this can be put to use.' (LaoZi 1963: XI, 27-27a).

Along with the physical organizational principles, the socio-spatial ordering principles have a constant influence of natural conditions adapted to geomancy principles (e.g. Feng Shui). This inclusion of cosmological order in relation to socio-spatial order, which was seen as important for the harmony between nature, spirituality and humanity, is an aspect that has neither played a large role in western concepts of the urban nor in the actual physical planning of western cities (e.g. Peisert 1984).

3) The concept of the five cardinal points (the five sacred mountains) and waters developed during the Han period (220-589 A.D.) is a way of 'constructing' the landscape, or nature, in which man was positioned. Li/Yeo (1991: 21-22) argue that this system was used to define the cultural boundaries in a grid system that unify nature and culture in a framework for understanding human behavior.

'...the ancient Chinese had the notion of a referential spatial schema in the cosmos, perceiving themselves as part of the cosmos and accordingly comprehended space in terms of experience especially in terms of an extra-profane or sacred experience, reproducing a reduced cosmos on earth, i.e. a geometrical cosmogony. It follows then that this symbolic architectural space became a medium of expression, expressed through the concepts of qi, being and non-being' (Li/Yeo 1991: 107).

⁴⁸ Here the translator D.C. Lau states that 'nothing' is meant as empty space (see LaoZi 1963: 15).

In addition to these three relations between macro and micro processes in the Chinese context, the dynamic concept of ‘Qi’ is also relevant for further investigation of social space.

3.1.1_ ‘Qi’

Qi is an energy that derives from empty space or non-being as in ‘formless’. It fills out physical space but is at the same time a physical entity (Li/Yeo 1991). In addition, constant change (e.g. Qi or the essence ‘Ching’), which is further supported by a principle of flexible adjustment to the actual situation through ‘non-action’ (i.e. *wu wei*) impact the spatial perception (e.g. Yang, K.S. 1986 and Peng et al. 2006: 250ff). Qi is used to explain the use of walls in urban planning and on the household level:

‘The layout of building complex or city was subsequently designed to ‘contain’ and ‘sustain’ a positive flow of Qi...Architectural space is like a series of closed worlds, of complete, independent, progressively smaller units, which repeats on a reduced scale the forms of the larger units’ (Li, X. 2002: 98).

Thus, Qi can be seen as a dynamic force (i.e. energy) that is inherent in everything and which reflects the dynamic understanding of space in the Chinese context.

Ideological influences such as different schools of thought have strongly influenced the concept of space in (ancient) China (e.g. Li, X. 2002) or have at least been used as explanatory models for several scholars on ancient city planning (e.g. Gaubatz 1996; Wheatley 1971; Lewis 2006). Three main principles have been identified, which seem to be inherent in all scales. First, the principle of a constant flowing energy (e.g. qi) through places and human beings, support the assumption that space in the Chinese context should rather be understood as a process than as absolute and in its entity.

Second, aspects of interconnection and third, balance, both represented within the compass school of FengShui expressed through the two opposing and at the same time complimenting poles of Yin and Yang. Geomancy (e.g. Feng Shui)⁴⁹ in more general terms (especially on the city planning level), however should be seen as providing ‘tools’ or guiding concepts for spatial planning in harmony with nature, and not as an abstract theoretical approach toward understanding the production of space.

⁴⁹ See Reiter 2011 and Mak 2011 for an overview of Feng Shui in relation to architecture.

3.2 Urbanization and cities in China⁵⁰

The discourse on cities and urban growth in Asia has primarily been dominated by development cooperations and international institutions (e.g. UN-Habitat 2010; Satterthwaite 2002, 2005; Hasan et al. 2005) pointing at the major challenges of urban growth within the region.⁵¹ Aspects of urban poverty and informal growth have especially been on the agenda. In the case of China, the discourse of informality and urban poverty is closely related to the aspect of migration due to the limitation of mobility according to the *hukou* system⁵² (e.g. Solinger 1999; Gransow 2007; Li/Smart 2012 or Shen 2011 on the case of Guangdong). In the South of China, urban clusters labeled ‘urban villages’ have filled the housing gap for millions of migrants floating into urban areas seeking for better income opportunities (Herrle et al. 2008; Lin 2009; Wang et al. 2009; Lin et al. 2012).

Focusing less on the parameters and dynamics shaping urban growth, a discourse on defining or grasping the vast urban agglomerations that are developing with increasing speed (e.g. ‘High Speed Urbanism’, Ipsen 2004) within Asia has developed over the last few decades (e.g. Ginsburg et al. 1991; or ‘peri-Urbanisation’ by Webster 2002; ‘Desakota’ McGee 2009b). In the case of China, it has been argued that urban planning or urban growth has been interpreted as economic growth since the beginning of the reforms in the 1980s (Peisert 1987). Even though there is an increasing body of knowledge developing which establishes the link between economic influences and land use development (Yeh/Wu 1998; Xu et al.

⁵⁰ A more historical overview of different planning approaches and urbanization tendencies in China and in Guangzhou will be given in chapter six.

⁵¹ Urbanization in Asia is often described as rapid and very dynamic, largely influenced by informal mechanisms (e.g. UN-Habitat 2010). In addition, urban growth in Asia is mostly linked with economic growth. Asia in general is a hub for world trade, especially with industry and technology parks accelerating economic and urban development. On average, cities provide for around 80 percent of economic output in Asia (ADB 2008: 3). As an example, South Asia has experienced almost a decade of economic growth (6 percent a year in average since 2000), which has led to a decline in poverty and progress of human development (The World Bank, 2009: 38). Nevertheless there are major regional differences: With an urbanization rate around 19 percent, Cambodia is one of the least urbanized countries in Southeast Asia. Laos has an urbanization rate at around 21 percent; Sri Lanka as well has a low level of urbanization but is expected to see increasing urbanization in the future. Countries such as Malaysia, the Philippines (65 percent living in urban areas in 2008), Indonesia (51.5 percent of the total population living in urban areas in 2008) and Vietnam (27.8 percent in 2008) are urbanizing rapidly (Roberts/Kanaley 2006). In China, the urbanization rate went from 27.4 percent in 1990 to 43.1 percent in 2008 (UN-ESCAP 2009: 16). Statistics do not include the vast number of rural to urban migrants that are living and working without registration in many urban areas. The so-called ‘floating population’ refers to internal migrants that are leaving their place of *Hukou* registration (mostly in rural areas) and living and working in urban areas without changing their *Hukou* registration from their place of origin (UN-Habitat 2010: 67). By 2011, the urban population has already exceeded the rural population in China, see Bork-Hüffer (2012: 87).

⁵² In 1958, the household registration system (*hukou*) was introduced in China, dividing the entire population into rural and urban residents (Kirkby 1985). One of the major purposes behind this classification was to curb rural-to-urban migration in order to secure food production. Due to the ‘household registration system’, people with a rural *hukou* have difficulties acquiring an urban *hukou*, if not to say that it is impossible (Li/Smart 2012: 62); however, this has relaxed over the last decade (Baumgart/Kreibich 2011).

2009; Xu/Yeh 2009; Gaubatz 2005), the official planning approach is slow to adapt, and urban planning partially continues to be seen as part of the economic development strategy as it has been in the past (Peisert 1984: 8ff.). As an example, the Special Economic Zones have been used as fields of experiments for ‘opening up’, aiming at combining planned economy with a market economy, in the post-reform era, leading to new dimensions of urban agglomerations being developed with a magnitude and speed unfamiliar to most regions in the world and challenging urban theories based mainly on western urban growth patterns of the 20th century.

The process of ‘transition’ from a central planned to a market economy in China has been thoroughly described (Li, B. 2004; Lin 2001; Smart/Li 2006; Wu, F. 2002; Zhu 2005; Friedmann 2005), especially in relation to the Special Economic Zones and the coastal open economic regions (Enright et al. 2005; Wu/Yeh 1999; Lin 1997) and is often discussed as an exceptional case (Lin 2007). ‘Transition’ is understood as profound economically, politically, and spatially restructuring due to increased privatization and globalization (e.g. Logan 2002; Ma 2002) or as ‘partial’ (Ferencuhova 2012: 67) or ‘hybrid forms of capitalism’ (Lin 2004: 18), however, the assumption of post-socialist countries being on a straightforward path to capitalism, being only a matter of economic and political reform, has been strongly criticized. In addition to the projected ‘transformation’, the aspect of globalization adds to the complexity, which has been described as a dual transformation (Ferencuhova 2012). The Chinese urbanization process has long been seen as a nuance of socialism ‘*with destined Chinese characteristics*’ (Lin 2004: 18). Nevertheless, the ‘Chinese exceptionalism’ has been questioned and the urgency of moving beyond the state-centered approach in order to include multiple scales in the analyses and methodological approaches has been pointed out (e.g. Pow 2012). In an attempt to move beyond the duality of western and eastern/Chinese urban development and concepts, scholars have urged researchers to question the concepts applied and to redefine/reconsider the use of certain terms (e.g. the ‘market’ when discussing land in the case of China, see for example Haila 2007). An example is the concept of ‘public space’. It has been argued that in the Chinese context, the production of the built environment reflects a mixture between western and eastern elements (e.g. Hassenpflug 2013). Following (figure 3), a differentiation of different zones between ‘enclosed’ space and ‘public space’ is defined⁵³:

⁵³ Different concepts of space in the Chinese city will be further dealt with in chapter ten.

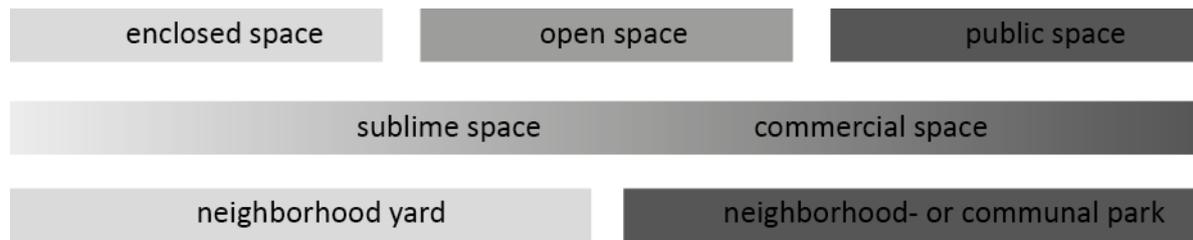


FIGURE 3: DIFFERENT TYPES OF PLACES WITHIN THE CHINESE CONTEXT. SOURCE: HASSENPLUG 2013: 45 (TRANSLATED BY THE AUTHOR).

The two categories of sublimity and commercial space are an uneven match. While commercial refers to the use of the place, which is rather appropriated and not planned, the sublime refers to the effect or impression of the place – thus, an aspect that has been included in the planning of the place⁵⁴. Enclosed places are mostly related to residential places in the concept illustrated above, whereas the open ‘space’ is related to local supply chains, services, parks, etc. Nevertheless, this differentiation does not circumvent the challenge of transferring western concept into the Chinese context. However, it serves as a good example of the difficulty of applying certain terms.

Others again see urban planning in China as a consensus reduced to technical and aesthetic aspects of spatial planning (e.g. Tang 1994). This is especially the case in the coastal cities and the mega-urban regions where urban development has been strongly guided by a ‘hybrid governance’ concept with constant negotiations and ever-changing parameters of power, resources and legitimacy (Herrle/Fokdal 2011). Nevertheless, accelerated economic growth has led to a continuous redefinition of the size of Chinese cities⁵⁵ as they have experienced

⁵⁴ See also E. L. Boullée (2002) on the aspect on sublime architecture and the effects of sublimity of the observer/human.

⁵⁵ In 2010, around eleven cities with more than 10 million people including six of the largest cities in the world (Tokyo, Mumbai, New Delhi, Shanghai, Dhaka, etc.) were located in Asia; in 2025, it is expected to be 16 cities with more than 10 million people (UN-Habitat 2009). Despite the increasing number of megacities, only around 10 percent of the population live in megacities, 60 percent live in cities with less than one million (UN-Habitat 2009: 48) and just 7.6 percent live in cities of 5 to 10 million inhabitants (UN-Habitat/ESCAP 2008). Further, it is predicted that medium-size cities in Asia (500,000 – 2 million inhabitants) will experience the highest urbanization rates (Roberts/Kanaley 2006). In addition to the rapid urban development within the region, a densification of rural areas is happening either because large peri-urban areas are developed through informal urban growth or due to middle-class and high income groups settling in suburban areas relying on individual mobility (UN-Habitat 2010; UN-Habitat 2009:49). Most of the urban agglomerations grow along corridors of infrastructure and often transcend administrative boundaries (UN-ESCAP 2009:14), leading to large-scale development in peri-urban areas (UN-Habitat 2009: 135) as is the case with the Hong Kong – Shenzhen – Guangzhou mega-urban region, hosting more than 120 million people (UN-Habitat 2010). This tendency has led to a reclassification of rural areas into urban areas (UN-ESCAP 2009:13). See the table of urban development in Appendix B for an overview of redefinition of urban areas. In China, the development of small towns has been pushed in order to take pressure away from the larger cities, especially in the coastal areas under the slogan “*Leave the land, but not the countryside; enter the factory, not the city*” (UN-Habitat 2010: 61).

rapid urbanization over the last three decades and some large urban agglomerations are exceeding 20 million inhabitants (e.g. Shanghai, UN-Habitat 2010). A vibrant current discourse on urbanization and the development of megacities in Asia and China has given much attention to macro factors (e.g. Lin 2009; Enright et al. 2005) and planning in China (Tang 2000; Cartier 2002), but little attention to aspects such as social action (e.g. Bond 2010; Peng/Nisbett 1999) and the perceptions of the built environment in the context of China (e.g. Li/Yeo 1991; Zhuang 2010). In addition, there is a lack of trans-disciplinary research and a lack of attempts to build theories on contemporary cities in China rather than just testing western theories (Ma 2006).

3.3_Social theory and social action in the Chinese context

In the Chinese context, the two disciplinary terms ‘sociology’ and ‘anthropology’ are partially used equitably. Sociology as a discipline was established in China at the beginning of the 20th century and was led by American Protestant missionary colleges.⁵⁶ Initially, a division within the field was made between studies in the north, which focused on Han society (for example the study on rickshaws conducted by Burgess in Beijing in 1914-1915 and published in 1921 – see Arkush 1981 for further elaboration) and studies in the south, which were focusing on minorities and rural villages (the first study in the south on Han society was conducted by Kulp 1925⁵⁷). Three main fields of interest can be identified in the research done prior to the founding of the republic: 1) historical research, 2) western sociological theories, and 3) surveys conducted in China on several matters (e.g. income level, crimes, rickshaw pullers, etc.). In all three fields, a strong reliance on western theories and a lack of empirical research has continuously been criticized (e.g. Fei 1992). In the years 1949 to 1978, the discipline was serving the political minority (e.g. ‘the gang of four’) rather than the masses, with large consequences for the objects of research (Fei 1981).

Some scholars have argued that the discipline of urban anthropology was not established until the end of the 1980s in China (e.g. Guldin 1997; Solinger/Chan 2008). While this neglects the existence of earlier studies, one might argue that urban anthropology has moved away from the strong westernized approach and in recent years has focused on the division between structure (macro) and social action (micro) in urban China (see for example Liu/Li 2006;

⁵⁶ For example, St. John's in Shanghai offered the first courses in sociology in 1905, and the first sociology department in China was established with the help of the Shanghai Baptist College in 1913 (Arkush 1981: 25).

⁵⁷ Kulp was affiliated with the Shanghai Baptist College.

Friedman 2005 on global capital; Gransow 2007 on health), as well as on parameters of growth among other aspects (see Smart/Li 2006 or Liu 2002 for a good overview). A large number of studies have focused on internal migration in China (e.g. Solinger 1999; Wu/Webster 2010) and on migration and living conditions or residential areas (Gransow 2008; Guo/Zhang 2006; Chen et al. 2011).

Sociological studies in China have in recent years mainly focused on socio-economic changes in urban China (Chen/Sun 2006). Apart from a strong focus on internal migration and migrant labor (e.g. Li/Liang 2012), place based identity and labor mobility (e.g. Lü/Perry 1997), the sociological discipline has also included the spatial dimension (e.g. Chan 2004; or with a main focus on migration and property rights, Tian 2008; or inequality and ‘urban villages’, Wu, F. 2009). Nevertheless, studies focusing on the relationship between social action and the built environment are few. Yet some studies have focused on the preferred mode of living, and the physical expression of westernized villas in the suburbs of Chinese cities (e.g. Zhang 2010). In their study of the four dimensions of ‘stratification’ (residential space, social action, lifestyle and stratum identification) Liu/Li (2006) reflect on the duality between collective action, structure and class, assuming that people with common social position share roles, experiences and attitudes. Recognizing that people with similar backgrounds choose similar qualities and standards of residence and at the same time people within a certain community adapt similar lifestyles, they argue that a differentiation between a) the residential types that appeal to different social classes and b) income, race or education among others are reasons for choosing different residential types, is obsolete. This rather differentiated starting point, however, is limited by a quantitative analysis in form of a probability calculation of ‘class’ based on the data from the National General Social Survey 2003. Another branch of sociological studies is the urban governance discourse in relation to the former housing system, i.e. *danweis*. The spatially defined mode of urban governance has for example been researched by Bray (2005) (see also chapter seven on housing).

Even though the majority of sociological studies are based on quantitative studies, some scholars do argue for an increased focus on empirical studies and even more importantly for a more context sensible approach through the inclusion of cultural factors in sociological and anthropological studies in China (e.g. Fei 1992). In addition, anthropological studies especially focusing on rural society, traditional values and minorities (e.g. Zhou 2005; Zhou/Zhuang 2005 on revisiting several of the villages and minorities researched before the

founding of the republic), call for the inclusion of multiple cultural dimensions such as memory, the role of ancestors and identity relevant for the society and the cultural context of China in general.

3.4_Cultural dimensions, social relations and public spheres in the Chinese context

Culture has been argued to have a core and a periphery (Rapoport 2008) with indefinite boundaries (Schwartz 2010: 623). In comparing western cultures with Asiatic cultures, this concept of core and boundaries are often used to study the differences among and between the cultures. The discourse has developed from a focus on culture in the 1960s based on functionalism, which neglects power relation, to a focus on institutional and structural (e.g. the perspective of structuralism, see for example Lévi-Strauss 2013 on Japan) aspects of social action (Alexander et al. 2012b: 6).

In one of his later publications (2008), Rapoport develops suggestions on how to operationalize ‘culture’ arguing on the one hand that culture does have certain constancies, thereby limiting the number of variables, and on the other hand one needs to ‘dismantle’ the concept of culture. By ‘dismantling’ several factors related to the built environment and correlating them with culture, culture can be decoded into categories such as family structure, roles, status, identity, etc. In addition, aspects such as images, ideas, norms rules, activity system and lifestyle play an important role (Rapoport 2008: 19). Or as argued by Yang, K. S. (2006: 288):

*‘...in a collectivist culture like the Chinese, it should be the sociocultural contexts, in terms of **roles, norms, obligations, customs, and practices** that act as the major anchoring and stabilizing center for consistent and coherent personality functioning in everyday life.’*

Thus, the following paragraphs serve to briefly discuss the culturally dependent factors of collective and individualistic societies.

3.4.1_Collective versus individual societies

Cross-cultural studies have to a large extent laid the foundation for a division between collectivistic and individualistic societies along the geographical dualistic division of west and east (e.g. Hofstede 1979, 2001). Some scholars have pointed out the rather simplistic way

of seeing individual versus collective as well as interdependent versus independent selves (Markus/Kitayama 1991), by arguing that these categories are based on western explanatory models (Peng et al. 2006: 257). Or as argued by Liu et al. (2010a: 581):

'Collectivism should be properly thought of as a relational orientation across the domains of identity, agency beliefs, and obligations/values, not as a tendency to categorically identify with particular in-groups, as in the social identity tradition.'

Other scholars, however, have argued for a more differentiated approach allowing for both individual and collective subcultures within a large cultural group (e.g. Triandis 2000). Studies on collectivistic and individualistic societies have further been accused for being based on assumptions rather than on actual measures or scientific variables (e.g. Hong/Mallorie 2004). However, a tendency towards a more individualistic or a more collectivistic culture, even though they might be differently represented in various cultures, can mostly be identified.

In societies based on collectivism a strong horizontal integration is often identified, for example the integration in a family network, even of non-biological relatives. In addition, vertical integration is closely related to one of the cornerstones in Confucian understanding of the stability of society being based on mutual and complementary obligations between people. This is present, for example, in the relationship between father and son, or expressed in a more general manner, in the concept of *filial piety* in the context of China (Yang, C.-F. 2006). Especially in Asia, *filial piety* is based on Confucian values and ethic norms and is deeply inherent to the culture. The concept of *filial piety* is also described in some of the ancient writings, such as *The Classic Xiaojing*, which is a reflection of how to behave towards one's elders in society.⁵⁸ The concept of *filial piety* has been researched within the hierarchical relationships between parents and their children by the categories of

'...reverence and Courteousness to Parents, Self-effacing Obedience to Parents, Attentiveness to Parents, Comfort and Worship of Parents after Death, and Protection and Glory for Parents' (Yang, K. S. 2006: 301).

⁵⁸ *Xiao* is the basic 'role ethic' of the Confucian thought, which is predominantly part of the *classic of family reverence (Xiaojing)*. The original text is seen as one of the thirteen Confucian classics, however, no reference is made to persons or places, which makes it impossible to date. The text is a conversation between Confucius (Master Kong) and his disciple Zheng Shen (Master Zheng 505BCE-436BCE – Rosemont/Ames 2009: 11). *Xiaojing* is largely demonstrated in the text by discussing the hierarchy between heaven and the emperor, the ethic role of ministers, lower officials and common people are dealt with. A link between governing and reverence is established, as will be discussed in chapter ten.

The study focuses on the cognitive, intentional, affective and behavioral levels in relation to *filial piety* in the cultural context. Another and more abstract example of vertical integration, which is incorporated into the structure of Chinese society, is the vertical order described as between heaven, human and earth (parallel to the western paradise, world and hell) as briefly discussed above (Ying 2007).

3.4.2_National identity in the Chinese context

Within a rather collectivistic culture, the aspect of identity is crucial both on an individual level as well as on a collective level (the individual level will be dealt with from a cognitive perspective). In the Chinese context, it has been argued that a regional identity played a strong role in ancient time, which however, can be contrasted with the national identity that has been promulgated since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949 (e.g. Lewis 2006). Even though the concept of nation and nation-state is relatively new especially in the context of China, the legalist school of thought is related to the first unification of China under an emperor in the Qin dynasty. Their methods for unification were wars and extreme 'right' oriented laws (Needham 1969: 204). After the fall of the Qin dynasty, the legalist school has largely been rejected and, apart from punctual revivals, a continuous development of the school of thought has not taken place (Chan 1963). The following quote states the need for regulations and control and consequently the role of the state:

'If we had to depend on an arrow being absolutely straight by nature, there would be no arrow in a hundred generations. If we had to depend on a piece of wood being perfectly round by nature, there would not be any wheel in a thousand generations. There is not one naturally straight arrow or naturally round piece of wood in a hundred generations and yet in every generation people ride carriages and shoot birds. Why? Because of the application of the methods of straightening and bending. Although there is a naturally straight arrow or a naturally round piece of wood which does not depend on any straightening or bending, the skilled workman does not value it. Why? Because it is not just one person who wishes to ride and not just one shot that the archer wishes to shoot. Similarly, the enlightened ruler does not value people who are naturally good or who do not depend on reward and punishment. Why? Because the laws of the state must not be neglected and government is not for only one man. Therefore the ruler who has the technique does not follow the good that happens by chance but practices the way of necessity...' (Han Fei Zi⁵⁹ in Chan 1963: 253-254).

⁵⁹ Han Fei Zi was a legalist scholar living at the end of the Warring States period and beginning of the Qin Dynasty. He was a member of the aristocratic ruling family and the author of the Han Fei Zi Book, which contains 55 chapters on political philosophy (see Liao 1959a/b for a complete translation of the Han Fei Zi Volume I and II).

The Guanzi, one of the important written documents related to the legalist school of thought, has been labeled a ‘...pompous moral pronouncement’ (Rickett 1985: 216). Most of its content incorporates ideas and paths of thought from the three other schools of thought dominating the époque (i.e. Moism⁶⁰, Confucianism and Daoism).

Common with the Moist was the reliance on measures and dimensions, however, in strict contradiction to Confucianism and with traditional ethical concepts, the legalist predicts the interdependent relationship between the state and the law, which was executed with a strong hand. Scientific elements such as weights, measures and dimensions without a reliance on ethical frameworks were used to regulate, control and optimize efficiency to the benefits of state and the power of the ruler (Needham 1969: 209).

The overall objective subscribed to the role of the state by Confucianism⁶¹ was to bring welfare for the people by administrating customs and sanctioning natural law. Confucianism as a school of thought represented all groups of society in an egalitarian manner, rejecting the rather elite approach by other schools of thought (e.g. Mohism) (Chan 1963: 212; see also Lin 2009b for a discussion of Confucius). In strong contrast to the legalist, the Confucian school

⁶⁰ Mohism was developed contemporary to Confucianism and was one of the major rival ideologies during the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States (Chan 1963: 211; see also appendix A). On this aspect there is little consensus, however MoZi must have known the texts of Confucius. In most recent publications, it is stated that MoZi must have lived after Confucius and before Mencius (Johnston 2010: xxx; for a critical reflection of the authorship of the Mozi (Mo Jing) see also Defoort/Standaert 2013, especially page 13-15). The direction of thought however, is by some scholars not given much attention due to a lack of influence on further schools of thought and its ‘shallow’ philosophy (e.g. Chan 1963), while other scholars argue that the Mozi is one of the most important contributions to Chinese philosophy against the rather dominant Confucian school of thought in the pre-Han period (e.g. Johnston 2010).

While Confucian principles were based on ‘humanity’ (seeing heaven as the supreme power but not directly intervening in people’s lives), Moist principles were based on righteousness to the will of heaven (overseeing and direct intervening), what has been labeled as a ‘strong religious element’ (Needham 1969: 169). In addition, one of the basic hierarchies within society *filial piety* promulgated by Confucians, was threatened by the Moist way of a horizontal integration of non-relatives (e.g. love for other people’s families, etc. – a ‘doctrine of universal love’; Chan 1963: 211). The main argument by MoZi, summarized by Johnston (2010: xxxvi) is that:

‘Exalting and valuing worthiness and utilizing ability are the very foundations of government. That is, if the primary objective of the political and social administration is to bring a well ordered and maximally prosperous society, which it patently is, then the administrative apparatus must be in the hands of those who are worthy and capable.’

In addition, the Moist have been given credit for developing some of the basic mathematics (experimental science – Needham 1969: 171) such as defining a point (in space) and a line, etc. (see Needham 1969 for an elaboration, especially pages 172ff.). Mohist ideologies were incorporated into the rather legalist approach applied as the official philosophy during the Qin dynasty (Chan 1963). More recent scholars argue that the Mohist school of thought was forgotten until its integration into the Daoist canon in 1447 (Defoort/Standaert 2013: 2).

⁶¹ Confucianism is often subscribed to China in a rather monopolistic manner; however, Confucianism was adapted and modified in different regions of Asia and accordingly the centrality of China should be questioned (e.g. Elman/Kern 2010).

of thought – eliminating social classes in education – ‘*embody ...some of the essential elements of modern democratic thought*’ (Needham 1969: 7).

More contemporary understandings of the ‘nation’ are related to the founding of the People’s Republic of China in October 1949 headed by Mao Zedong. As a reaction to some of the political campaigns developed and promulgated during Mao’s era,⁶² a national identity, or identification with the national ideology, was fully or partially developed (Haag 2011). In several interviews conducted by the Chinese Psychoanalytic Institute, Haag (2011) describes how some of her clients recognize that they were part of a propaganda campaign, however that they completely identified with the national ideology and aims, letting go of individual preferences and thought and conforming to a collective ideology.

3.4.3_Collective memory and honor in the Chinese context

Collective memory is determined by economic, social and political aspects as well as cultural norms, power relations, etc. However, collective memory does not imply that everyone within a society or a group have the same perception of the past. Within the discourse a division between the *traditionalist* (e.g. Shils 1981; Alexander 2003) and the *presentist* can be made (Schwartz 2010: 620). Focusing on the latter, three main directions can be identified in the current discourse on collective memory: 1) focus on the relevance and obduracy of history for collective memory, 2) acceptance of the interrelationship between individual beliefs and historical content, and 3) definition of collective memory as a dialectical relationship between cause and consequence.

The presence of and the relevance of memory in Asia for example can be illustrated by how past events (i.e. wars, invasions, etc.) are reflected in schoolbooks. Schwarz (2010: 623) refers to the change within Japanese textbooks on the Japanese invasion (or advancement) of China and the strong reactions from the Chinese government on the suggested change – a ‘history problem’. One might also think of how the Cultural Revolution⁶³ is almost not represented in textbooks within China. These observations have led to a division within the concept of collective memory between Asian and western cultures based on either honor or dignity, respectively. Honor or ‘lost honor’ seem to be crucial aspects influencing the political

⁶² See for example Weggel 1989 for an overview of Chinese modern history.

⁶³ The Great Proletarian Revolution took place between 1966-1976. See Law 2003 for a good overview of critical reflections on the Cultural Revolution; see also appendix A-D for timetables on issues relevant for this work.

scene, especially for the relationship between Japan and China, where (from China's point of view) the honor of China has not been retained. Some scholars even refer to the 'century of humiliation', the period from the 1842 Nanjing treaty until the economic development boost under Deng Xiaoping or 125 years of Revolution (e.g. Haag/Zhao 2004; Schwarz 2010). A close link is established between the current challenges of politics and economics in Asia through the lens of culture, based on the argument that the concept of collective memory in the case of Asia should be 'dismantled' into concepts of shame and honor (Schwarz 2010). In the case of China, some scholars also discuss the correlation between collective memory and historic events as a 'collective traumata' (Haag/Zhao 2004). A special reference is made to the political and cultural changes during the second part of the 20th century, however, the Cultural Revolution should only be seen as the climax of a series of events throughout the whole century, leading to a cumulative traumata of the Chinese people (Haag/Zhao 2004: 353).

While collective memory on the one hand is a phenomenon related to structure and institutions within the cultural setting, it is on the other hand also an aspect that is reflected on the individual level as argued by Haag (2011). However, an analytical approach must be informed by the cultural context, i.e. a meaning-centered sociology.

3.4.4_Social relations in the Chinese context

A division between different kinds of social relations can be made in the Chinese context:

1) Social relationships that are based on cause-effect considerations (*Bao*): *Bao* describes a 'cause-effect' social relationship either within the family – and here the concept of *pitie filial* is crucial (see also Rosemont/Ames 2009) – or with people outside of the family (the concept of *Guanxi*⁶⁴ also fall under this category). The family within Chinese culture should be understood as part of a larger network, as illustrated by the rings in an onion with several layers (Haag 2011: 28). Around the core of the larger family, people from the neighborhood, the village or from the *danweis* are located. In the Daoist Book of Change, the socio-spatial relationship of the family is described as follows:

'The Family. Women's persistence brings reward. Commentary on the text: Women's appropriate place is within; men's, without. When men and women keep to their proper places they act in accord with heaven's great norm. Among the members of a family are the

⁶⁴ *Guanxi* relationships include people who are often not part of the 'extended' family, but people with whom one might have a common background, such as classmates or 'brothers' within academic or business networks.

dignified master and mistress whom we term Father and Mother. When Father, Mother, sons, elder and younger brothers all act in a manner suited to their various positions within the family, when husbands play their proper role and wives are truly wifely, the way of that family runs straight. It is by proper regulation of each family that the whole world is stabilized' (Blofeld 1974: 159).

Thus, the family is recognized as the unit for stabilizing but also for controlling within a larger system or society. The word in Mandarin often used for family is *Jia*; however, the word has also been used to describe a 'household' within the Zhou lineage system and as a political unit in the Qin and Han dynasties (Lewis 2006: 80). The importance of family clans for social cohesion and spatial development in the Pearl River Delta has also been discussed in Fokdal/Herrle/Ipsen (forthcoming). Here it suffices to point to the crucial role that the embeddedness of households and individuals into families or networks of families (i.e. clans) in a socio-political manner, as well as to the economic resourcefulness that has in the past lead to certain families/households being political units (e.g. the Zhou family) within the state.

Some scholars have argued that *Bao* can be divided into a positive aspect and a negative aspect (e.g. Li, Y. 2000). The positive aspect is repayment. In this concept, the actual cause-effect relationship is well illustrated by the fact that action is motivated by potential repayment (see for example Hwang 1987). The negative aspect is revenge and closely related to the aspect of face. The aspect of 'face' (*mianzi*) has been widely published on (see for example Haag/Zhao 2004 on the aspect of 'losing face' for a family and its consequences under the era of Mao; Weggel 1989 for a more general overview of the concept of 'face' in the Chinese context; Hwang/Han 2010 for a psychological interpretation of 'face' in a Confucian society).

2) Social relationships that are predestinated and cannot be changed by social action (*Yuan*): *Yuan* can also be divided into a negative and a positive interpretation, which have been defined as 'a good match' (*liangyuan*) and 'bad fate' (*nieyuan*) (Li, Y. 2000: 38).

Within both types of social relation, it is the harmony between the two poles that is crucial and which should be kept in balance according to Confucian ethics, or the power game as it has been labeled by other scholars (e.g. Hwang 1987).

Harmony is a central cultural concept to social relations in the Chinese context as well as to the individual. An example is the striving for harmony along different scales, which has been

argued to be part of the cultural tradition (Li, Y. 2000: 31). On the individual level the body is seen as a mini cosmos⁶⁵ which should be kept in balance/harmony both internally and externally. This concept is for example reflected in the division between cold and hot in Chinese cuisine or in Chinese medicine.

Another example is Yin and Yang⁶⁶, which builds on the duality between two poles and the five elements (metal, wood, water, fire and earth). The two poles of Yin and Yang has introduced the more general concept of harmony into multiple other directions of thought dominant in ancient China (e.g. Daoism, Confucianism and Buddhism) and has become a guiding factor in neo-Confucian metaphysics (Chan 1963: 246). Yin and Yang cannot be seen as opposite or as contradictions, neither are they relational in the sense that they interact or influence each other. Rather Yin and Yang should be understood as two aspects that can be transformed into one another; thus a dynamic relationship that gradually transforms over time as the result of social action (Yang, C.-F. 2006: 331), as described in the following quote by Laozi:

'Out of Tao, One is born; Out of One Two is born; out of Two, Three; Out of Three, the created universe. The created universe carried the yin at its back and yang in front; through the union of the pervading principles it reaches harmony' (in Li/Yeo 1991: 39).

⁶⁵ The body has played an important role in ancient thinking and poems in China, especially the relationship between the body and the mind (Yang, C.-F. 2006, see also Lewis 2006 on this aspect). One of the oldest examples of the role of the body in relation to energies is to be found in the poem *Nei Ye* (meaning 'inward training') in the book *Guanzi*, representing the legalist school of thought. Herein the perfection of mind and body through controlling and regulating emotions is described (Rickett 1985). In *Nei Ye* it continues: *'If the mind's gestalt lacks good judgment, the Power will not come. If the self within is not quiescent, the mind will not be well regulated. Rectify the mind's gestalt and hold on to the Power, Then the beneficence of Heaven and righteousness of Earth in bounteous fashion will naturally arrive.'* (*Guanzi* VII.2 in Rickett 1998: 45). Lewis (2006: 24) argues that the body, as described in *Nei Ye* is not just the beginning of the process but also its conclusion: *'The correct placement of the body ultimately results in a body that is completely correct.'* Some scholars argue that a translation of intention into action (from mind to body) can be identified in the written Chinese characters (e.g. Yang, C.-F. 2006). Others establish a link between the control of the body and governing of the state (e.g. Lewis 2006). Following statement from the Confucian *Analects* reveals the relevance of the mind and control of the mind:

'If his self/body is correct, then his commands will be carried out without his even making them. If his self/body is not correct, even should he command others they will not obey. If someone could correct his own self/body, then what problem would there be to his devotion to governing? If he cannot correct his self/body, then what has he to do with correcting/governing other people?' (*Lun Yu 'Zi Lu'* as quoted in Lewis 2006: 15). Herein, it is described how the mind and heart control the organs or the body and how the mind/will is the most important aspect for governing a state.

⁶⁶ Yin is often seen as passive, whereas Yang is seen as active (Choy 2011: 82). The relation between male and female and natural forces as described here and promulgated by the school of Yin and Yang is not much different from the ancient Greek tradition of subscribing male or female characteristics, or passive and active to natural phenomena (see Sennett 1996).

Thus, polarity in the sense of complementary poles, not as contrasting opposites is a basic principle. Accordingly, the two poles of Yin and Yang are interdependent, however should be seen in the light of ‘non-duality’ (Peng et al. 2006) within a concept of harmony between social relations that are predestine or based on cause-effect conditions.

3.4.5 Production and experience of space in China

Few studies have actually focused on the production of space in contemporary Chinese society and rapidly growing cities in China, let alone in Guangzhou. In a study on social space in Shanghai, Schoon (2007) suggests the concept of the ‘ecdynamische Raum’ (‘ecdynamic space’). The concept incorporates urban society and urban lifestyle and is a three-dimensional space with gradient variation between old and new, above and below, and inside and outside. The ‘ecdynamic Raum’ however, is not discussed in the larger framework of socially produced space (e.g. the physical or territorial aspect of place is not included in the study) but rather can be seen as an attempt to grasp the fast developing urban society and its socio-cultural system among the youth in Shanghai, neither does it capture the built environment. Attempting a more holistic approach towards the production of space, it has been argued that social action and the production of space can be divided into the production *of* and the production *in* space as follows:

‘...the relationship between production in and production of space can be specified as four relationships among four key elements: the relationship between production in physical space and production of physical space; the relationship between production in physical space and production of social space; the relationship between the production in social space and production of physical space; and the relationship between production in social space and production of social space’ (Zhuang 2010: 180).

Consequently, Zhuang (2010) argues that the production of social space is the reproduction of social relations. However, Zhuang (2010) does not distinguish between place and space and goes on to argue that physical space is both natural *and* social space. Thereby, the production of physical space (i.e. place) and the production of social *space* are not differentiated and thus does not allow for a multi-scalar concept. By production *in* social space, Zhuang (2010) goes on to argue that:

‘...production in social space means that production is always realized through and in the form of social relations. Historical materialism emphasizes that production relations are the form in which social production can be carried out’ (Zhuang 2010: 179).

Nevertheless, the concept of socially produced space (divided into natural/physical space, social space and spiritual space) is based on western theories, e.g. natural space as defined by Newton and Einstein and social space (i.e. social relations) as defined by Marx. The approach completely lack cultural dimensions and norms and rules as embedded in society are not included. In addition, the correlations between the production *of* and *in* physical and social space lack empirical evidence. Other scholars have attempted an approach towards the production of social space based on ancient Chinese classics such as the Story of the Stone and the relation between painting, calligraphy, poetry and the understanding of space (e.g. Li/Yeo 1991). By doing so, Li/Yeo (1991) do not only take social action into consideration, but rather the cognitive processes in terms of the perception of space. Similar to de Certeau (1988), they argue that space is dynamic and something that needs to be experienced:

'Space experienced by the Chinese is experienced through moving one's being through it. Space is qualified through its dynamism, its connectivity, and its correspondence, while yet retaining its composure' (Li/Yeo 1991: 118).

They further argue, that social relations in the context of China can be divided into structure and status (Li/Yeo 1991: 7). While structure is defined as a network of social relations (see 3.4.4 on this issue), status is defined as the function of the nodes in the network. Even though this must be seen as one of the most interesting approaches towards framing a theory of socially produced space in the cultural context of China, the claims lack empirical evidence and is not related to contemporary urban agglomerations.

Accordingly, little empirical research has been conducted on the production of social space in the Chinese context. However, some behavioral studies have emerged in the field of psychology (i.e. social psychology) concerned with behavior in the cultural setting of China (e.g. Cheung/Leung 1998; Bond 2013). Without claiming the path of environmental behaviorists though (as is the case in the North American discourse), social psychologists have engaged in a discourse on social action in a certain 'situation', be it physical, social, political or cultural.

3.5_Cognition and cultural dependent variables in the Chinese context

Most comparative studies in cultural and social psychology researching differences between Eastern and Western ways of reasoning and thinking have been conceptualized and conducted

by western scholars and in a western context, applying western theories as explanatory models.

Within the field of psychology dealing with Eastern case studies, the division between social psychology (e.g. Ng/Liu 2000; Bond 1986) and cultural psychology (e.g. Markus/Kitayama 1991, 1998) has been made and the latter has been further established as indigenous psychology (e.g. Kim et al. 2006; Berry 2000; Yang, K.-S. 2006). This branch indicates that Eastern explanatory models are applied to the case studies and that the studies are mostly conducted by scholars from *within* the culture (e.g. Hwang 2006; Hsu 1971). While the aim of indigenous psychology is to arrive at an ‘Asian psychology’ or a more universal psychology rather than to develop numerous ‘psychologies’ (Hwang 2006: 74), the approach has been criticized (mainly by cross-cultural psychologist with a main focus on rather quantitative approaches of comparing different dimensions or values among cultures) for being ‘anthropological’ in its scope and lacking potential for more general explanatory models within the field of psychology (e.g. Triandis 2000). Others argue that the indigenous psychology should also include cross-cultural psychological studies benefiting from both an empirical and a theoretical integration (Yang, K.-S. 2000). Yet others claim membership within all three approaches, arguing that cross-cultural psychology can be seen as an umbrella incorporating both cultural and indigenous psychology (Berry 2000). Accordingly, different approaches have been summarized in the following illustration by Berry (2000: 200):

Overview of the disciplinary approaches			
Level of Reality	Group	Inter-individual	Individual
High - Concrete - Observable	Explicit culture (customary practice, artifact, technology and institutions)	Social interactions	Overt behaviors
Medium - Abstract - Inferred	Implicit culture (themes, rules and patterns)	Symbolic meanings	Traits, abilities
Low - Cognized - Constructed	Anthropology	Cultural psychology	Psychology
Cross-cultural Psychology			

TABLE 1: OVERVIEW OF THE DIFFERENT DISCIPLINARY APPROACHED AND THEIR FOCI, SOURCE: BERRY 2000: 200.

In this work I attempt to rely on Chinese descriptive models for my findings and accordingly, the term 'cultural psychology' will be used in the following in order to circumvent misunderstandings.

3.5.1_Synthesis in the Chinese culture

Within the Chinese culture, some scholars argue that Daoism is both a cultural phenomenon (especially the principle of change, the principle of 'contradiction' or 'bi-polar' and the principle of relationship), and identifiable in individuals' cognition as a 'naïve dialecticism' bridging the macro and micro level of explanations (e.g. Peng et al. 2006). This is based on several studies, in which a significant difference between Chinese and American students' way of reasoning has been documented (e.g. Peng/Nisbett 1999). The Chinese way of dealing with contradictions has been subscribed to a dialectical thinking which does not seek to synthesize but rather seems to retain the dialectic between thesis and antithesis in a constantly evolving process (e.g. Spencer-Rodgers et al. 2009) allowing for co-existence of contradictions. In the Marxist tradition the dialectical relationship between thesis and antithesis is mostly resolved in a synthesis, a logical reasoning which has been labeled 'formal logic' in contrasting to Asiatic 'dialectical logic' (see for example Peng et al. 2006).

3.5.2_Identity in the Chinese culture

In Chinese sociology, identity is discussed according to the individual and according to the clan or the family (e.g. Ma 2005 on ancestors; Kulp 1925 on the concept of 'familism'; Sun 2005 on the concept of blood relations within families and clans). The aspect of identity is on the one hand related to socio-cultural norms and on the other hand to aspects of personality. Some scholars have gone into researching how to differentiate and to isolate the aspect of personality and its impact on social action (e.g. Cheung/Leung 1998). Other scholars have argued that in more recent years, the socialist identity of which the Chinese society has been dominated in the second half of the twentieth century, has been converted into a Confucian moral revived by the academic elite at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century (e.g. Hong et al. 2010: 21). Hong et al. (2010) further point out, that there is a lack of research on 'identity' in Chinese psychology and that a differentiation between a cultural and a political (national) identity is needed.⁶⁷ The concept of identity allow for multiple identities

⁶⁷ E.g. *Zhongguoren* which is a geopolitical definition referring to the often defined state in the middle and its political and cultural sovereignty – which however has been questioned in more recent publications such as

to co-exist (e.g. identity through sub-cultures) and differ from the ‘self’, which is much stronger related to ‘free will’ and an individualized concept of action that is bound to the respective culture.

3.5.3_ ‘Self’ in the Chinese culture

The definition of ‘self’ is often used as an explanatory model of behaviorism in western studies, whereas in many other cultures the ‘self’ cannot be understood in isolation and therefore cultural and social norms are much more dominant variables than the individual attitude (Smith/Bond 1998:97). In the context of China it has been argued that the culture is rather collectivistic than individualistic (Hofstede 2001; see 3.4.1). This assumption has a large impact on the understanding of the ‘self’ and consequently the ‘self’ must be understood in the context of family and is inseparable from the social context. Further it has been argued that the Chinese culture has a relational way of defining the ‘self’ embedded in the Confucian perception of constant change. In ancient Chinese texts the word for ‘self’ - *ji*, came into existence later than the Chinese word *wo*, which is the current common way of referring to ‘I’ or ‘self’. The concept of *ji* incorporates an action and thereby diminish the objective understanding of ‘self’ to become an ‘action taker’ (Yang, C.-F. 2006: 340). Another example is the Chinese word *ren*, which is referring to human beings in general, but at the same time to ‘the public’ or to a ‘group’ of people. Consequently, Yang, C.-F. (2006) argues that the ‘self’ is only constructed in relation to others or by use of collective terms.

The collectivistic approach can be divided into four kinds of orientation: individual-oriented, relationship-oriented, group-oriented, and other-oriented (see Yang, K. S. 2006). Accordingly, the role of self-orientation varies depending on whether this aspect is analyzed in a rather individualistic or collectivistic culture. Studies on the ‘self’ and personality have been conducted by several disciplines focusing on dynamics, change, development, genetics, etc. Chinese scholars have focused on personality structure and dynamics. Many of these studies have a western bias, dominated by assumptions based on personality⁶⁸ dimensions developed for the American culture (Yang, K. S. 2006: 292).

Vogelsang (2012) versus *Huaren*, which is a rather cultural definition of Chinese identity shared by both Taiwanese, oversee Chinese and Chinese (see Hong et al. 2010 for further elaboration).

⁶⁸ Indigenous psychologists have identified several attributes subscribed to ‘Chinese personality’. A so-called Chinese Personality Assessment Inventory including twenty two factors on personality was developed by Cheung et al. 1996; Cheung/Leung 1998). The four factors of ‘dependability’, ‘Chinese tradition’, ‘Social potency’ and ‘Individualism’ have been defined as second-order factors, which are closely related to some of

3.5.4 Personality in the Chinese culture

In the Chinese context, an instrument for ‘measuring’ aspects related to personality has been developed: The Chinese Personality Assessment Inventory. According to Cheung et al. (1996, 2001), this assessment procedure identifies elements that are crucial for understanding the impact of personality on social behavior in the Chinese context (e.g. family relation, harmony, traditional versus modern, face, etc.). A more differentiated division has been attempted by dividing personality from ‘situation’ (e.g. Bond 2013) defined as following:

‘Situation thus ‘refers to something external to the actor, objectively confronting him or her in time and space, a particularly configured moment and confluence of circumstances. A situation may be physical or social, and presents itself as objective, separate from the actor or actors who are part of that situation’ (Bond 2013: 1).

In studies dedicated to differentiating between personality and situational influences, four major attributes have been subscribed to ‘situation’: location, association, activities and passive experienced processes (Bond 2013: 4). Whereas location is the physical place, associations are the roles and relationships applied to social interaction in an undefined location. However, the attempt to study personality differentiated from ‘situation’ has also been approached by studying social axioms:

*‘Social axioms are...beliefs about the **habitus**, the **Lebenswelt**, the physical, social, and spiritual world that the actor has constructed from experiences to date in negotiating his or her world. These beliefs about the world are personal, and can only be reported by the actor, but they reference the world outside, the actor’s situation’ (Bond 2013: 5).*

Consequently, after suggesting a division of personality and ‘situation’, Bond (2013) suggests to add the concept of culture to the concept of ‘situation’. Following this approach, Hong/Phua (2013) suggest to further differentiate the concept of culture in order to allow for a multi-layered understanding of culture (e.g. including subcultures). These approaches, however, derive from social and cross-cultural psychology, which mainly bases its findings

the categories established in the previous chapter. In addition, five dualistic factors of Chinese personality adjectives have been identified: Social orientation versus Self-Centeredness, Competence versus Impotence, Expressiveness versus Conservatism, Self-control versus Impulsiveness, and Optimism versus Neuroticism. In a large study in Taiwan and mainland China seven factors were identified: Competence versus Impotence, Industriousness versus industriousness, Other-Orientedness versus Self-Centeredness, Agreeableness versus Disagreeableness, Extraversion versus Introversion, Large-Mindedness versus Small-Mindedness, and Contentedness versus Vain gloriousness (Yang, K. S. 2006: 294). In addition to the here listed aspects of group-oriented personality attributes, the importance of the family as a group has been pointed out by several scholars (see for example Yang, C. F. 2006).

on experiments set up in laboratories rather than in 'real life' built environment, i.e. not on empirical evidence. Social action in the Chinese context has been the object of study for social and cultural psychologist (e.g. Bond 1986; 2010; Liu et al. 2010a; Ho 1986). The discourse of indigenous psychology however, is not interlinked with the discourse on physical planning or on the built environment (i.e. environmental behaviorism).

3.6_Summary

Most Chinese scholars concerned with the production of space in the context of China have used western theories as explanatory models (e.g. Zhuang 2010; Tang 2000). Only few have used Chinese cultural aspects and traditional schools of thought as explanatory models for the production of space (e.g. Li/Yeo 1991; Lewis 2006). These attempts, however, are not concerned with contemporary cities and the rapidly developing physical context, but rather with ancient city planning or more theoretical approaches towards the production of space. Moreover, they are not including social action and are relying on ordering principles such as geomancy in relation to architecture and urban planning (e.g. Li, X. 2002).

In the Chinese context, growth seems to be the dominant logic and a close link between urban planning and economic growth has been identified. Further, globalization has led to increased complexity of cities, and especially megacities as defined in chapter two. The complexity is further increased by aspects of 'transition' (spatial, economical, political, etc.). It is, however, not assumed that a linear transition from planned to market controlled mechanisms in multiple aspects takes place. Rather hybrid forms of governance and changing roles of the state dominate.

Having experienced multiple challenges as a consequence of the changing political environment, the disciplines of sociology and anthropology have only recently been reestablished. It is obvious in the discourse that there is on the one hand a focus on the processes of change within society (e.g. internal migration, governance modes, inequality, etc.) as a consequence of the changing role of the state, as well as impacts such as globalization and new groups of social minorities (e.g. urban poverty, migrant labor and class struggles), however often lacking social theory based in the Chinese context. On the other hand social action is often related to explanatory models based on cultural dimensions and ancient schools of thought. Consequently, there seems to be an overlay of traditions, norms, new belief systems and current planning practices. In addition, the concept of hierarchies

(macro and micro levels) and constant change (i.e. *qi*) are crucial for understanding and framing the Chinese context. Consequently, the inclusion of culture as a continuum and cultural dimensions as reflected on a collective level such as family structure, roles, status and collective memory should play a much larger role in an analysis of social space within the Chinese context. These parameters do to a certain extent reflect changing values systems as embedded in society.

Social and cultural psychologists (indigenous psychologists) have conducted studies on behavior within the cultural context of China. These studies, however, are laboratory studies not related to the physical environment. Accordingly, the crucial question of what impact rapid changing environments has on the cognition of people, and consequently on social action is circumvented. Nevertheless, the psychological discourse provides valuable support in defining the cultural dimension on an individual level such as ‘identity’ and ‘self’, which are assumed to have an impact on space constituting processes such as spacing and positioning as have been defined in the previous chapter. The aspect of ‘personality’ will not be further included in the following section due to the complexity of the concept, rather the concepts of ‘self’ and identities will be applied on an individual scale.

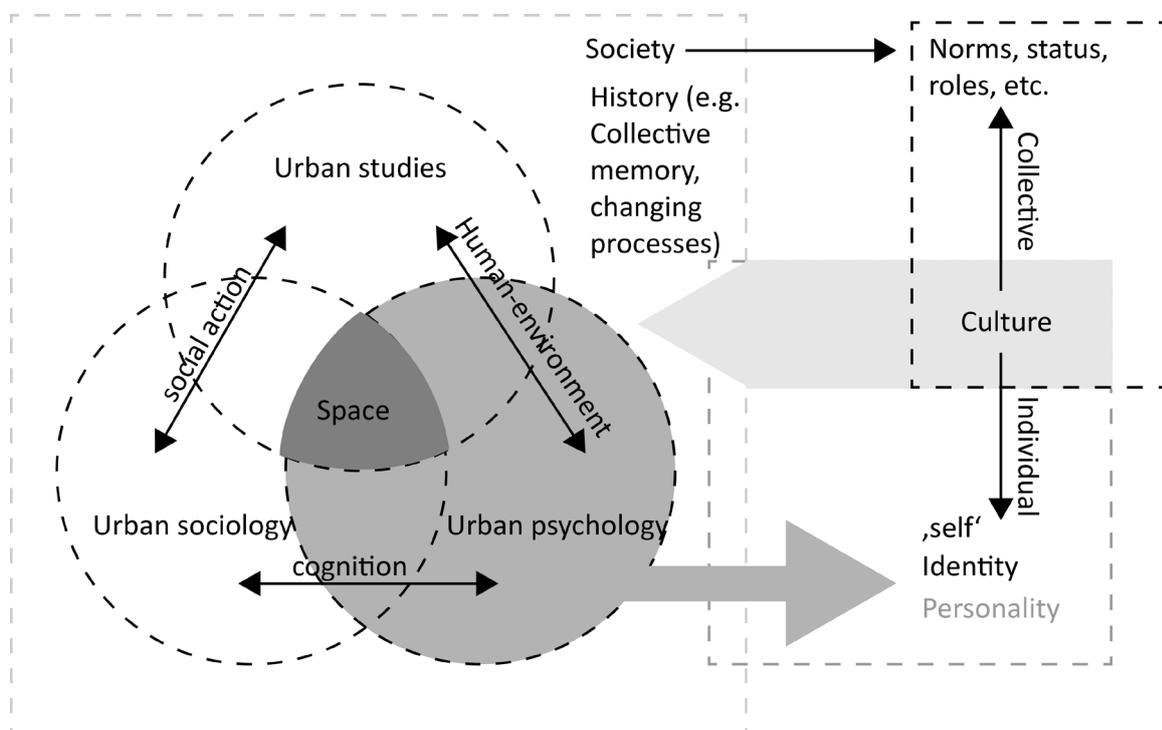


FIGURE 4: OVERVIEW OF THE DISCOURSE AND THE SUGGESTED PARAMETERS FOR THE CHINESE CONTEXT.
SOURCE: OWN DESIGN.

Further, the allowance for contradictions (i.e. dialectical logic) as it has been identified, is crucial when discussing the production of social space. One might recall the definition of the production of social space according to Löw (2001) (see chapter two), including the aspects of synthesizing, spacing and positioning. If the need for synthesis does not exist in the cultural context, what consequences does it have for the production of social space? Further, it raises the question of which impact such a 'dialectical logic' might have on social action and on urban planning?

Common for the discourse reflected above is an overall lack of empirical evidence. The brief overview of several disciplinary approaches towards the production of social space in the context of China further points out that there is a lack of multi-disciplinary approaches in the field. However, a multi-disciplinary approach is needed in order to be able to grasp and further gain understanding of the complexity of space produced within a rapidly developing cultural context.

4_ Theoretical framing of the research

Based on the review of more general discourses as well as of the discourse relevant to the Chinese context, this chapter aims to point out the gaps between those discourses and to frame the theoretical approach for this work. The objective is to outline the main research assumptions, hypotheses and relevant research questions that have been used for the empirical data collection and analysis.

4.1_ Lacking synergies in the discourses and the transferability of social theories:

In the two reviews of literature on social space and the three related disciplines (i.e. urban studies, urban sociology and psychology), multiple gaps can be identified. First, in the Chinese discourse, western theories on urban studies and on urban sociology are used as an explanatory model without reflecting on the ability of these theories to ‘travel’ to other contexts. The ability of theories to ‘travel’ has been questioned within all disciplines, as reflected in the Chinese discourse (e.g. Haila 2007 on the concept of ‘market’; Lin 2009a on the concepts of growth; Bond 2010 on concepts of cognition). Within the urban studies and urban sociology discourse, a move towards a stronger focus on the individual in combination with the increasing influence of globalization and intensification of mobility, the body of knowledge on transnationalism (e.g. Smith 2003), on place making (e.g. Massey 1994, 2004) and on embodiment (e.g. Sen/Silverman 2014) has evolved. From the perspective of the urban, this discourse raises questions related to the physical places and to power relations (e.g. planning processes – aspects of domination see for example Yiftachel (1998); Bayat (2004) on the encroachment of the urban poor against the domination of state ideologies and rules of society as expressed in the city of Egypt). The aspect of power relations as in the rather Eurocentric discourse on social space subscribes a certain role to the actors involved, especially to the state. However, in the Chinese context, a ‘transition’ of roles of multiple actors, as well as of mechanisms of growth (e.g. capital) and institutions embedded in society, has been defined. Accordingly, not just the complexity of globalization, but also a ‘hybrid’ concept of governance, has explanatory power in the Chinese context (e.g. Herrle/Fokdal 2011), which makes it difficult to translate urban theories building on a certain understanding of the state and on power relations.

Second, in the indigenous psychology discourse, Chinese cultural dimensions are used as

explanatory models for social action, however, they mostly rely on ancient schools of thought. In urban studies, geomancy concepts that link cosmos with planning of the built environment are often part of a historic analysis of planning. However, minimal research has been done involving the current setting of China's megacities. Therefore, while cultural dimensions are well included in the 'Chinese psychology' discourse and are used as explanatory models in urban studies (e.g. geomancy as a planning tool) and in urban sociology (in terms of historic processes of change), they have not been well defined nor operationalized in any of the three discourses represented and consequently, a lack of adequate theories on the urban in the Chinese context has been identified (e.g. Ma 2006). While culture is hardly included in the discourse on social space, culture is almost 'overused' as an explanatory model in the three Chinese discourses. Culture is understood as meanings and values subscribed to the built environment (e.g. Sen 2009) and should be subdivided into culture on an individual level and culture on a collective level.

Third, the relationship between place and space is often ambiguous, either because place is dealt with in a similar manner as space, or because a differentiation between scales on which space is produced is lacking. This poses the dilemma of differentiating between social space that is produced on a local scale among elements (i.e. social goods) that are within physical proximity to each other and more abstract spaces that are created through positioning and spacing (e.g. positioning of a global city within the global city network or ranking) but not dependent on a manifested physical proximity, i.e. in a place. In the Chinese discourse on urban studies with a focus on planning, a strong impact of geomancy as a planning tool has been identified. Further, cosmological ordering principles within culturally dependent variables such as family structure (e.g. filial piety) and defined roles within society support a concept of principles that are re-scalable according to a hierarchy defined socially, politically, economically and spatially, among others. Thus, in the western discourse on urban studies and urban sociology, the concept of scales is ambiguous. In the Chinese context, the aspect of scales, related to culturally embedded hierarchies defined through geomancy principles, has been argued to be crucial for understanding the production of space (e.g. Lewis 2006). Some scholars have identified identity and status symbols in Chinese context (e.g. Schoon 2007), which I argue are crucial for relational space in a Chinese context. However, the findings of these reflections of changing value systems have not been conceptualized in a manner that allow for theoretical framing of the production of social space within the Chinese context, neither have they been interrelated with the built environment.

Fourth, the discourses of urban studies and urban psychology further focus on the social action of human beings in relation to the built environment (e.g. Sen 2009 on ‘lived landscapes’ of the Muslim community in Milwaukee). The duality between the built environment and human beings is also developed in the discourse on environmental behavior (e.g. Rapoport 1977). This discourse is further related to an early discourse on the ‘Mensch-Umwelt’ (human-environment) relationship in the discipline of biology (e.g. Uexküll 1931). These discourses revolve around the social action of human beings within a certain setting. However, while the initial discourses on social action concentrate on external factors impacting and limiting social action (e.g. limited access to resources, global consumer patterns, etc.) between macro (e.g. the state) and micro (e.g. individuals or groups of individuals) levels, the latter discourses on environmental behavior and, more generally, the relationship between human behavior and the built environment primarily focus on an internal process of perception and evaluation of information leading to social action (e.g. Luhmann 2006, in a rather abstract manner) between internal and external processes (i.e. systems within an ‘Umwelt’ (environment) communicating through ‘structural coupling’ and ‘irritations’). While the discourse on environmental behavior is strongly influenced by scholars with a background in physical planning (e.g. Lynch 1960), a parallel discourse on cognitive processes in relation to the built environment is to be found within the discipline of psychology (e.g. Richter 2004). However, the psychological discourse focusing on cognitive processes often excludes macro factors such as culture and society. These factors have only just recently been argued as significant in this context (e.g. Bond 2013 – with a focus on Chinese psychology).

In order to overcome the duality between micro and macro scales, several approaches have been developed, mainly by approaching urban sociology from the perspective of social space. For example, Lefebvre (2007) introduces the concept of a triad of spaces (e.g. the conceived, the lived and the perceived space) that all impact the production of social space and which are observed in a rapidly urbanizing society (i.e. 20th century in France). A shortcoming of this approach on social space is that the aspect of an imagined space requires knowledge on the cognitive processes, informing social action and leading to an ‘imagined space’, which is not included in the concept. Overcoming this shortcoming, Hellpach (1928) introduces the trilogy of psychological environment, the physical/natural environment and the cultural environment. Focusing further on the cognitive process in the relationship between human and

environment, Rapoport (1977) defines the trilogy of environmental perception, environmental cognition and environmental evaluation. In particular, the latter trilogy gains relevance for the relational understanding of space when including synthesis (and spacing) as space constituting processes (e.g. Löw 2001).⁶⁹

Fifth, synthesis understood as a cognitive process has only been given little attention in the discourse on social space. In the Chinese context, however, indigenous psychology scholars have argued that there is little need for synthesis and that a general allowance for contradiction is inherent in the Chinese culture. Therefore, the concept of synthesis as introduced in the relational understanding of space by Löw (2001) calls for the need to gain further knowledge on cognitive processes. Bridging the gap between a lack of attention first to cognitive variables and second to a suggested lack of synthesis in the Chinese concept, culturally dependent variables should be defined. Psychological studies on cognition, however, tend to lack empirical evidence. Further, there is a need for correlating discourses on the production of social space with discourses on the psychology of cognitive processes, as well as with discourses on environmental behavior.

Thus, in the Chinese context, there is a lack of trans-disciplinary approaches on social space and few synergies have been created between the disciplines, even though they share similar foci, such as social action and research on changing processes within society. Further, there is a lack of empirical and qualitative research within all three discourses and accordingly, scant theory building on the production of social space has been attempted in the Chinese context.

4.2_ Research assumptions

The basic research assumptions on the production of social space have been summarized in the diagram below. In order to operationalize the space constituting processes, the three discourses (i.e. urban studies, urban sociology, and urban psychology) call for an inclusion of culture and for defined parameters of the ‘self’, status, roles (e.g. family structure) and of identity. The implications of these suggestions for the embodiment of the urban are reduced to the investigation of the environment, the body and the mind as outlined in this model (Figure

⁶⁹ Leibniz on a relational understanding of space: ‘*I don’t say, that space is an order or situation, which makes things capable of being situated: this would be nonsense. Any one needs only consider my own words, and add them to what I said above...in order to show how the mind comes to form to itself an idea of space, and yet that there needs to be any real and absolute being answering to that idea, distinct from the mind, and from all relations. I don’t say therefore, that space is an order or situation, but an order of situations; or (an order) according to which, situations are disposed; and that abstract space is that order of situations, when they are conceived as being possible. Space is therefore something ideal.*’ (Leibniz’s fifth letter to Clark as printed in Leibniz/Clark 1956: 89).

5) and the processes between the three aspects. First, social action and cognition should be related to the rules and norms of a society at a certain time in history (place-based; e.g. norms, status, rules, structures, etc.).

Second, social action and cognition should be analyzed within a given cultural framework and divided into a collective cultural context and into the parameters that define the individual as embedded in the culture (e.g. 'self', identity, roles, etc.). Thus, the dynamic processes of positioning and spacing involving 'social goods' should be seen within the norms and rules of a society or, even further, as embedded in a cultural tradition.

Third, the process of synthesis leading to social action (changing the dependent variables of positioning and spacing – e.g. roles) should be analyzed.

Fourth, the place of study, i.e. the megacity of Guangzhou, should be interrelated to the actual positioning of human beings on a local scale. Abstracting from the physical manifestations of social space, the aspect of scales is introduced. Accordingly, it is argued that the concept of scales should be included in the production of space, not just as a defined place (bound to a territory) but also as it relates to culturally, politically, economically etc. defined aspects such as identity and status.

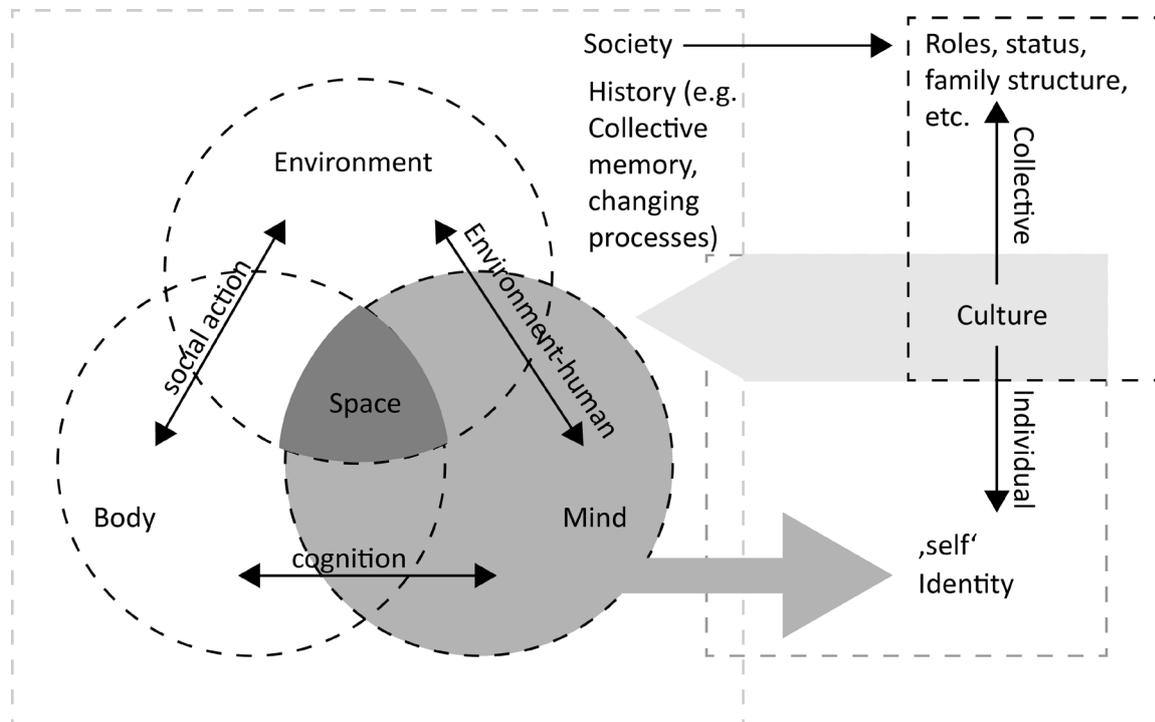


FIGURE 5: FROM THE DISCOURSES TO A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING THE EMBODIMENT OF THE URBAN AND THUS SOCIAL SPACE IN THE CONTEXT OF CHINA. SOURCE: OWN DESIGN.

Along these lines, the basic assumptions on the production of space and the embodiment of the urban guiding the explorative approach in this work can be summarized as follows:

- The production of social space depends on the built environment, the meanings and values subscribed to the built environments, on cognitive processes and on social action, especially recurrent social action such as everyday routines.
- The production of social space needs to be seen in a cultural context. The concept of culture (meanings and values) should be divided into a culture embedded in the society (structure in forms of institutions, etc.) and culture on the individual level, as expressed through identity (Bond 2013; Hong et al. 2013).
- In the Chinese context, a relational concept of space and of social relations related to Confucian social ordering principles has been identified (e.g. Haag 2011). Accordingly, the production of social space within the Chinese culture should be based on a relational concept of space.
- Space constituting processes of a relational concept of social space are presented in two manners: 1) The relationship between objects and human beings, defined by positioning and spacing (e.g. Löw 2001). Spacing and positioning are culturally dependent variables that can be defined according to parameters such as the ‘self’, identity, and roles, so I argue. 2) The inclusion of human beings in a relational space concept, as has been argued by Löw (2001), introduces the concept of synthesis as a space constituting process in this work. Synthesis is understood as a cognitive process, which can be divided into perception, cognition and evaluation (Rapoport 1977). Cognitive processes inform social action (i.e. synthesis) and consequently, cognition and social action are interdependent processes.
- The crucial parameters relevant for analyzing positioning, spacing and synthesis within the cultural context of China are roles, status, identity, family structure, and the ‘self,’ as they have been defined in the previous reviews and as a result of the empirical data.
- Social space, as well as the parameters which define social space, are manifested in physical places on a local level, but not necessarily physically manifested on other scales. Consequently, one needs to make a differentiation between the different scales on which social space is produced in order to avoid ambiguities around physical manifestations in places.

4.3 Hypotheses and Questions

Following these reflections, the overall objective is to examine how space is produced and (re)configured in a rapidly changing megacity within the Chinese context by example of Guangzhou. The underlying hypotheses are:

- 1) The rapidly changing housing systems and the spatial configurations behind these buildings have an impact on the perceived and experienced space of the inhabitants, and accordingly on the quality subscribed to places in which social spaces are temporarily manifested. What defines the qualities of a place? How do respondents living in the three defined housing types perceive different qualities of places as moving through the city of Guangzhou?
- 2) Rapidly changing urban development has led to a decreased implementation of planning and to increased local negotiation processes, resulting in a socially and spatially segregated and fragmented city (other reasons are historically bound as shown in chapter three). What are the symbolic images and meanings implied by social action to the built environment? How are they manifested? What is the relationship between symbolic places and symbolic elements in the Chinese context?
- 3) Considering that inherent in the principles of geomancy are re-scalable concepts that apply to both spatial as well as cultural variables: Which scales (place-bound and non place-bound) are relevant for the Chinese context when discussing the production of social space?
- 4) Focusing more on the correlation between culturally defined variables that relate to the individual as well as on the norms and rules within a society, the following questions attempt to reveal some of the more non-physical space constituting processes of social space (e.g. spacing) as reflected by the defined variables (e.g. status, family structure, identity): How are cultural and social norms along the lines of identity, 'self', roles, status and family structure defined in the Chinese context and reflected by individuals originating from Guangzhou? How have these variables changed from generation to generation?
- 5) What are the implications of these changes for the production of social space in the context of Guangzhou?

Thus, in the first empirical chapter, the correlation between social action, cognition and the city of Guangzhou, i.e. the residential areas, will be analyzed (hypotheses and questions 1-3). In the second empirical chapter, hypotheses 3-5, as well as the above stated related questions, will be analyzed based on a second sample (see also chapter five).

5_Methodological approaches

The lack of literature on socially produced space in the context of China as stated in chapter three and four, led to the decision of conducting an empirical study along the lines of grounded theory. Accordingly, different approaches for collecting empirical data were considered, and based on previous experience of fieldwork in China, a series of mixed qualitative methods were applied according to the grounded theory approach. Thus, this study is a qualitative research based on an inductive rather than a deductive approach (Glaser/Strauss 1998: 15) including intensive coding and identifying key themes (Groat/Wang 2002). For data analysis, several levels of abstraction are targeted, defining more general themes, which incorporate concepts or interpretations of certain words. Coding of the raw data serves to extract certain dimensions and properties that are attributes of concepts (Corbin/Strauss 2008: 159) related to the production of social space.

5.1_Grounded Theory

Grounded Theory as an inductive method for qualitative research was proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967, 1998) as an alternative way of theory building versus theory testing (deductive). In later publications, two parallel paths of Grounded Theory have developed (Strübing 2004). One path is represented by Glaser (1992), who argues that the method of continuous comparison is the core of grounded theory. Further, Glaser argues that theories should emerge out of the collected data, indirectly indicating that Strauss and Corbin force data into constructed theories (Strübing 2004: 66). Strauss and Corbin on the contrary argue that a basic knowledge on theoretical approaches is needed before entering the field, however, it should not serve to be a framework for verification (Strauss/Corbin 1996). In this work I will rely on the latter interpretation of Grounded Theory, with the aim of developing new theoretical approaches reflecting aspects of realities and discovering social phenomena (Strauss/Corbin 1996).

Grounded Theory is based on the following basic understanding:

- Social reality is complex and is constantly evolving through processes defined by individuals, groups or organizations; and the aim is to reveal these processes.

- Social action is dependent on structural conditions, however structural conditions are also determined by social action. Structural conditions should be taken into account but should not be seen as defining the action.
- The relationship between the researcher and the interviewee is interdependent and influence each other. This aspect should not be neglected but rather be used in a creative manner through critical reflection.
- This understanding of social action and processes calls for data to be collected in ‘the field’.

5.2_ Methods of data collection

Based on three types of housing ((‘urban villages’ (chengzhongcun, 城中村), Commercial Residential buildings (shangpinfang, 商品房), and former danwei (fanggaiifang, 房改房)) in the megacity of Guangzhou a set of mixed data collection methods were applied and will briefly be discussed below. The housing types were selected according to following criteria: 1) the physical layout of the housing type, 2) location in the city and 3) income groups. Following a prescreening of different housing modes and their location in the city, a former danwei in Tianhe district, a commercial residential building in Haizhu district and an ‘urban village’ in Baiyun district were selected (the housing types will be further introduced in chapter seven). A list of all interviews conducted is to be found in appendix G, table 15.

5.2.1_ Literature and legislations

Initially, secondary literature on urban planning in Guangzhou as well as primary literature (i.e. urban planning acts, etc.) were screened and analyzed for the purpose of understanding the physical environment (see also tables in appendix B, C and D). Due to previous experiences of very limited access to practicing planners, it was decided to rely on literature for this aspect.⁷⁰ Finally, housing systems were looked into and a screening of primary and secondary literature on housing and events and legislations around the housing system was conducted with the help of a Chinese student. As primary sources for gaining a more profound understanding of the collective culture and spatial and social hierarchies, ancient writings were consulted (e.g. canons from the four most dominant schools of thought; see also chapter three). Also, ancient spatial planning principles and geomancy principals were

⁷⁰ Previous experience had shown the relevance of having a powerful ‘door-opener’ in the background in order to be able to gain access to planning bureaus at the municipal and district level. At times, the system had loopholes and it was possible to obtain information (e.g. figure/ground plans) without going through the personal network of Chinese partners.

investigated in order to gain a better understanding of planners' perspective (even though not the main focus of this work – see chapter six).

5.2.2_Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews can be either standardized or self-administrated (Leeuw 2009); in this research face-to-face standardized interviews were conducted. One of the major challenges is that the pure presence of the interviewer might impact the answers, however for this research it was thought to be useful to have face-to-face interviews allowing for the interviewer to add explanations and to encourage the interviewee to draw a mental map. Further, face-to-face interviews made it possible to set up follow-up meetings for discussing the auto-photographic images. The choice of face-to-face semi-structured interviews, however, limited the size of the sample. The small size of the sample does not allow for generalization and instead a qualitative evaluation of the data through coding is the aim.

This sample focuses on the age group between 20 and 30 (i.e. third generation). The third generation was chosen for several reasons: first, it was the most accessible age group when seeking interview partners; second, it seemed that there was a tendency in changing habits from the first generation to the third generation. Though the first generation had time available, the historic perspective increased the complexity tremendously. The second generation was barely accessible due to work schedules. The third generation seems to be highly complex and at the same time their perception of the city and the dynamics of the city were relatively well reflected.

An initial data set from 15 semi-structured interviews was collected. The sample contains a mixture between migrants and residents from Guangzhou. The overall objective of the semi-structured interviews was to gain a better understanding of the social action – as in everyday rhythms – and cognitive processes in relation to the built environment, i.e. three different housing types (see chapter seven).

By this selection the aim was to cover a relative range of housing types, which also reflects different income groups and socio-spatial areas. The interview structure was developed in English and translated into Mandarin. The semi-structured interviews were conducted together with a translator (see the guideline for the semi-structured interviews in appendix F).

5.2.3_Mental mapping

The semi-structured face-to-face interviews were followed up by mental mappings with the interviewees. Mental mapping was thought to be a useful method in order to better understanding the cognitive process and social action of the interviewees in relation to the built environment (e.g. Rapoport 2010; see also Eckardt 2004: 67 ff. on the application of mental mapping and Löw 2008a, chapter IV on the ‘image of the city’). Mental mapping has mainly been applied to research by environmental behaviorist, psychologist (Rapoport 1977) and urban geographers (e.g. Lynch 1960). With a special focus on cognitive processes in urban settings, Kevin Lynch (1960) published a study on inhabitants’ ‘image’ of their city in Boston, Jersey City and Los Angeles. The major questions were to track whether the interviewees knew the city they were living in and how they structured the city as well as which points were used for orientation. Based on the interviews, Lynch defined a set of variables that seemed to be characteristic for all interviewees, indifferent to the city: path, node, district, edge and landmark (Lynch 1960: 47ff), arguing that identity, structure and meaning are the main components of the urban ‘image’. Some scholars argue that the aspect of meaning has been largely neglected (Rapoport 1977: 116).⁷¹ Thus, depending on the perspective and the ‘meaning’ subscribed by the interviewee (whether a resident or a commuter) certain elements might be given different meanings, for example a road might be an edge or/and a path or the cognitive processes might be dependent on the mode of mobility.

The mental maps conducted for this research were direct mapping⁷² exercises where the interviewees were asked to draw their everyday routines and places they had been described in the previous interview (semi-structured interviews were conducted in order to start a conversation and to obtain basic knowledge of the interviewee). A direct mapping is what is often labeled as sketch mapping or here as mental mapping (Bell 2009: 73).⁷³

The interviewees were given a blank piece of paper and a pen. The task was to draw their everyday routine and places that were important to them, which they had mentioned in the

⁷¹ More recent studies on the representation of the world have been published by Saarinen (1999). Mental maps of the world done by children were collected in 49 countries, showed a predominant Eurocentric presentation. See also Abrams/Hall 2006 for an overview of more artistic approaches to mental mapping, especially Dietz 2006 for an overview of North American experiments on representational mapping through digital means.

⁷² Social action and cognitive knowledge of the built environment (i.e. image of the city) can be researched both by indirect and direct mapping. Indirect mapping involves a survey of respondents on issues related to places and spatial representation. This approach diminishes subjective factors such as ability to draw, etc.

⁷³ The first use of the term ‘cognitive map’ was in 1948 by Edward Tolman, who was experimenting with ‘map-like’ representations of knowledge (Freundschuh 2009: 334).

semi-structured interview. Everyday routines include social action and by the description of these, several spatial qualities and zones were identified. In addition to the everyday routines, the interviewee was asked to indicate places for celebration, for being alone, etc. in order to better understand the frequency of traditional rituals and everyday practice.

A major challenge encountered was that only half of the interviewees were willing to draw a mental map. The respondents were asked to draw places that were part of their everyday routine (Rythmanalysis – Lefebvre (2006), places that they have mentioned during the interview. Sometimes when discussing specific places I would ask the interviewee to show me on a map after they had drawn the mental map. In this way I could better understand some of the connections made by the interviewees. Several of them however, were not able to read a map and the challenge of visualizing their everyday routines was too large for many of them. Even though the data sample of mental maps and auto-photography is not overwhelming, a couple of tendencies on spatial qualities, orientation systems and social action can be identified.

5.2.4 Auto-photography (self-directed photography)

The mental maps were followed up by auto-photography. The method of visualizing through photography and the follow-up discussions with the interviewees had the potential of revealing further the symbolic values and meanings implied by social action to the built environment, especially in relation to the housing type. In criticizing the application of mental mapping by pointing out the defaults in the technical application (lack of drawing skills, etc.), Dirksmeier (2009) argues for an application of reflexive photography (auto-photography) instead. The use of images in research has mostly been subscribed to by disciplines such as (visual) ethnology and (visual) sociology (see also Ball/Smith 2002 and Pink 2012 for an overview). The method of auto-photography was initially developed as a response to the often imposed representations of the researchers on the interviewees in the 1960s and 1970s (Thomas 2009: 245; see also Dirksmeier 2009: 166 and Ball/Smith 2002 for an overview of the different approach in applying photography in the discipline of ethnography). Due to its technical limitations (use of one-way cameras or polaroids), it is a relatively new method of data collection within ethnography, which is readily becoming easier as the integration of digital cameras into everyday functional objects becomes the rule rather than the exception. The method has mostly been applied to studies of children and youth (Thomas 2009). These are fitting study groups since their input might not be well articulated and their perceptions

and actions might not be fully reflected upon, therefore the method allows the researcher to get a better understanding through the visualization. The process needs to be followed-up by interviews in which the motives are discussed. Studies of urban environments have been conducted by Dodman (2003) with high school students in Jamaica, and a more theoretical application of this method to study 'urbanity as habitus' based on Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' was presented by Dirksmeier (2009). For other means of visual applications (e.g. film) in studying the urban environment, one might also think of Whyte (1981) Street Corner Society or Whyte (1980) and his study of the Social Life of Small Urban spaces. Consequently, the images themselves do not inform, but rather the analysis based on the images further reveal symbolic aspects subscribed to the motives of social action and implied symbolic meaning to the built environment by the respondent (Ball/Smith 2002: 308).

15 respondents were asked to do auto-photography, however, only four of the respondents were willing to add an auto-photographic documentation process to the mental mapping. The interviewees were given one-way cameras and the task to document places that were important to them and that expressed certain qualities discussed in the previous semi-structured interview or as mapped in the mental map. The photos taken by the respondents were discussed in further interviews.

In three out of the four cases, though the interviewees had cameras themselves or offered to use their cell phone to take pictures. An appointment was made for the next meeting in which we discussed the pictures. In the follow-up interview, questions related to the choice of motive and the importance of the aspects highlighted in the picture(s) were raised. More detailed questions were adopted according to the actual content of the pictures. The auto-photography allowed me to gain further knowledge on the perception of the built environment. Discussing actual pictures also made it easier to circumvent cultural misunderstandings of different spatial qualities.

5.2.5_Narrative interviews

Narrative interviews include both object orientation as the focus of the interview and process orientation as a method of interviewing. Object orientated interviews focus on the object of research (here the cultural and social norms such as identity, the 'self' and roles, etc. of the interviewee). A general statement at the beginning of the interviews served as a strategic narration in order to state the object of research and to establish a dialogue (Witzel 2000). The

aim is to avoid rhetorical answers and to develop a culture of communication that is flexible. Therefore, an initial dialogue was established in order to establish a mutual understanding and confidence (e.g. Küsters 2006). During the interview, thematic aspects of the narration are used to gain detailed information and to encourage further dialog. Ad hoc questions were raised, especially when certain themes were neglected or not mentioned by the interviewee. As a strategy, already gained knowledge during the interview was used to summarize during or at the end of the interview in order to allow the interviewee to correct or detail certain aspects (Witzel 2000) or in order to ask questions concerning some of the points raised by the interviewee (Küsters 2006: 61).

At the same time, the dialogue/interview is understood as a process (*process orientation*). The perspective of the interviewee and the ability to follow this perspective is developed during the interview and was further analyzed afterwards. The interviews thus are a process in which the interviewee repeats him/herself, corrects articulations, discovers new aspects, etc. All interviews were recorded and transcribed by native speakers. The transcriptions were then discussed with the translator and issues that were not very nuanced in the direct translation during the interview were further reflected.

Five families with three generations originating from Guangzhou were identified with the help of a Chinese colleague. Criteria were set that all three generations should currently be living in Guangzhou; that the youngest generation should be older than 18 and that the oldest generation should still be mentally accessible.⁷⁴ No request was made to limit the discussion to talks with the female or male representatives of the families, and accordingly the sample represents a mixture of both depending on the availability of the interviewees. In addition, different income levels were selected, which led to a sample group with a mixture of different backgrounds and living conditions (representing two of the three housing types in the previous sample).⁷⁵ The narrative interviews were sometimes conducted throughout one day, or sometime divided over several days. The assignment was for the interviewees to describe themselves and their life story in relation to the city of Guangzhou in a narrative manner,

⁷⁴ One of the interviewees from the oldest generation was less mentally accessible than expected. She did mostly reflect on the past and her experiences in Malaysia where she spent several years until her husband and herself were deported to China due to their relationship with the international communist party. Also, one of the interviewees from the youngest generation was 16.

⁷⁵ 'Urban villages' were excluded from the second sample because most of the inhabitants were migrants, and accordingly the first generation seldom was accessible. Further the interviewees in 'urban villages' in general were less accessible than in other residential areas.

which would allow me to identify cultural norms on an individual level (e.g. family structure, roles, status, identity, etc.).⁷⁶

In the selection of families, many were often too skeptical to participate in the interviews from the start. The families selected were relatively open and even the elder generation had no problem talking about the past. Also, many families did not come into consideration either because the third generation was younger than 18, was no longer living in Guangzhou, or was studying abroad. Therefore, it should be taken into consideration that the three-generation interviewees have a slight bias and that it is impossible to talk about a representative sample. The narrative interviews were unstructured and had no other focus than to let the interviewee tell me their life story in relation to the city of Guangzhou. The interviewees often turned out to have a strong focus or a specific way they wanted to represent themselves, i.e. their role within society and their identity reflecting cultural and social norms. Recorded interviews are reflections of longer conversations that mostly stretched over a whole day. The actual interviews took between an hour and two and a half hours (with direct translations). All narrative interviews were translated during the interview (from Cantonese to English), in order to make it possible to have a conversation and for me to be able to phrase and pose questions during and after the interviews. Some of the interviews conducted with the younger generation were conducted in English. The interviews were recorded and transcribed into English by the translator who did the actual interview with me, however, not all interactions which were informative were recorded and transcribed, but only the actual sit-down interview.

5.2.6_Expert interviews

In the initial phase of the research, expert interviews were conducted with academic scholars who were working with similar issues or had experience in the field of understanding social space in the cultural context of China. The aim was to gain a better understanding of the complexity of the topic and to test some of the wording and questions applied in the semi-

⁷⁶ Culture cannot be understood as the sum of cultural products and psychological constructs which are accessible for an 'outsider' (see also Kim 2000 on bias in cultural psychology). Crucial insights into the creation and re-creation of the Chinese culture are naturally missing and impossible for me as a researcher not indigenous to the culture to identify. Thus, it is neither the aim to claim a complete understanding of the Chinese culture, nor is it to conduct a complete psychological analysis of the conducted interviews. The aim is to identify certain categories and phenomenon that are relevant for the production of social space, which is the main object of research in this thesis (see also chapter two and three on the aspect of culture).

structured interviews. Further, the expert interviews supplemented the semi-structure interviews (including mental mapping and auto-photography) and the narrative interviews.

Expert interviews have often been used to start a phase or to gain easier access to a field etc. however, for a methodological perspective little approaches have been developed (Bogner/Menz 2009). For this research, expert interviews were used as an initial way of identifying major challenges in the field research on the production of social space in the context of China (e.g. Prof. Tang Wing-Shing) (see also Bogner et al. 2009 on the use of expert interviews). After a first round of data collection, expert interviews were conducted with the aim of discussing some of the first findings with someone more familiar with the cultural context (e.g. Prof. Cai Yongjie).

5.3 Problems and limitations of data collection

First, semi-structured interviews and mental mapping were used to gain information on the social action and cognition related to the city of Guangzhou and specific residential areas. At the end of the interview, the interviewees were asked to make a self-documentary with pictures of places they had described in the interview or of other places with similar significance or qualities that they had not mentioned in the interview but would come to their mind during further reflections. This form of self-documentary served the purpose of first of all giving the interviewees more time to reflect on places that were important to them due to certain qualities or dimensions, and second of all, to give the interviewees a chance to reveal places or aspects that they might feel uncomfortable mentioning in an face-to-face interview by using a ‘different language’ – visualization through pictures. The responses were limited however and it was difficult to gain knowledge on other aspects than on the everyday routines within the perception of the built environment.

Second, in order to supplement the knowledge, narrative interviews were conducted. The task for the interviewee was to tell their life story and relate it to the development of the city of Guangzhou. The main purpose was to gain more knowledge on cultural and social norms on an individual level as well as on individual attitudes, assuming that certain aspects must have changed over the generations and that these changes could have an impact on positioning and spacing, i.e. on how social space is produced in the context of Guangzhou, but also on other scales. As the interviews were narrative, each interview took its own path making many aspects incomparable, however general concepts such as spatial perception, social and

cultural implications, in relation to processes of change can be found in all interviews. The interviews were often conducted over a whole day taking from four to eight hours for all generations within one family to tell their stories. Often the meetings included several hours of talking, eating and discussing before actually doing the interviews. One of the major challenges was to conduct the interviews in private homes with no possibility for separation of the interviewees. Therefore some interviewees had time to prepare and to think of how to present themselves and their life story, whereas others didn't.

5.4_Evaluation of the data

The evaluation of data was based on a circular process of interpretation, in contrast to a linear process (collection, interpretation, results), which allowed for a constant returning to the field and to the collected data.

5.4.1_Coding of interviews

The narrative interviews were 'dismantled' by a process of open coding and then followed by a process of axial coding. Three types of coding of the raw data are suggested by Corbin and Strauss (2008): 1) Open coding (dismantling data), 2) axial coding (relating concepts to each other), and 3) selective coding. This procedure is typical for Grounded Theory, which has been developed to elaborate theories based on systematically collected social data.

Throughout, the coding process categories were developed and dimensions of these categories were identified (e.g. identities, roles, 'self' etc.). Social phenomena that became articulated through the coding process were further investigated and primary and secondary literature were consulted. The coding was done by hand with the use of colors for different categories. The categories presented in the chapters reflecting the empirical data represent the phenomenological result of selective coding based on the core dimensions discovered. In a similar manner the semi-structured interviews were evaluated and recurring categories related to the built environment were identified (e.g. boundaries, zones, isolation, etc.).

5.4.2_Coding of visual material

Within the fields of (visual) ethnography and (visual) sociology, little has been developed on the theory of images. Attempts of theorizing the use of images in these fields have been approached from a phenomenological perspective (e.g. Husserl 2006) and from a semiotic perspective (e.g. see for example Eckardt 2004 on the 'semiotics of the urban') among others.

Dirksmeier (2009) offers an approach towards theorizing images used in qualitative research, strongly relying on the concept of habitus by Bourdieu. For this research, the mental maps were analyzed in their spatial expression and along the lines of Rapoport (1977) and Lynch (1960). The images produced through auto-photography were further discussed with the interviewees and, in turn, the images and the interviews were 'coded' in a similar manner as the narrative interviews (see also Ball/Smith 2002). The images were evaluated according to social, political and economical values; the spatial aspect of 'place' is also important in terms of claiming territory, etc. The pictures can be seen as a means of communication, which transports the 'meaning' of certain aspects and of places. The intentional aspect of documenting certain places however, should not be overestimated. By documenting certain places already mentioned in the previous interview, for example, the interviewee adds proof to the statements – maybe unconsciously. The visualization offers an easier approach for understanding the underlying socio-economic and cultural aspects of the statements – photo elicitation (Thomas 2009).

The coding process of both the interviews and the visual material was a circular process constantly leading to new questions and aspects that needed further investigation either in the field (possible in the initial phase) or in primary and secondary literature.

5.5_Critical reflections and general limitations

First, this study does not attempt to generalize the gained understanding to a broader Chinese context; rather, it is the intention to specifically focus on Guangzhou and the selected housing types. However, even within Guangzhou, the data collected cannot claim to be representative. Second, the field studies were carried out in the post-Asian Games optimistically. The Asian Games, as a mega event, was used to push the improvement of infrastructure (traffic, metro, green areas, etc.) and living condition in many of the inner city areas in Guangzhou. This recent improvement of many aspects in the city let several interviewees to rather cherish the future improvement than to look back.

Third, the sample of families for the narrative interviews cannot claim to be representative in any way. Most of the families were willing to participate in the research due to their open-minded spirits with little concern about the official opinions.

Fourth, it should be mentioned that all the information was translated, and thereby it went through a first ‘interpretation’⁷⁷ before being accessible to me in English. Also, Chinese literature published in Chinese on the ‘production of space’ in the Chinese context has been screened by a Chinese student. Generally, literature research in Chinese language was done by a Chinese student, under my guidance, and on the recommendation of experts – resulting in multiple translations of articles.

Finally, this study should be seen as a rather explorative study not representing the general opinions of the Guangzhou population. It is based on an in-depth understanding of a small selection of families originally from Guangzhou as well as on a small sample of inhabitants living in dedicated housing types willing to participate in the research. Therefore, the general statements and lessons learned require further research in order to support or further develop a theory on social space for the Chinese context.

5.5.1 Accessibility to the ‘field’

It was not always easy to gain access to the different residential areas, especially since most residential areas, including ‘urban villages’, are guarded. More over, there was a tendency for interviewees with a temporary or no registration in Guangzhou (mainly in the ‘urban villages’) to be very nervous and unwilling to give out any personal data, such as age and legal status. During the semi-structured interviews it was difficult to gain trust, even over the course of several visits, and often interviewees expressed their anxiety for what other people might think if they would take pictures of their everyday life. By drawing mental maps several interviewees were challenged, but most of them made an attempt.

There was an obvious difference between younger and older generations in their willingness to take part in the interview. Most of the younger interviewees had no concerns in terms of letting me record the interviews neither did they have problems taking pictures of places they had described in the interviews. Most of the interviewees however, were rather curious and willing to meet me several times and to talk about their habits, their perception of the built environment and the city. Finally, all interviews have been presented here in an anonymous manner in order to protect the identity of the interviewees.

⁷⁷ Guidelines for transcribing were developed and signed up on by the translators (see appendix H). In the transcripts the actual statements by the interviewees are transcribed into English as well as my questions in English – leaving out the translation done during the interview. Thereby a higher degree of detail can be gained in the transcript than in the actual interview.

5.5.2 Role of the researcher

In several studies on cultural identity in Chinese psychology, it has been argued that culture is adaptive (e.g. Yang/Bond 1980). The phenomenon of adapting cultural behavior according to a certain situation has been labeled ‘cultural frame-switching’ (Liu et al. 2010a). This concept of ‘frame-switching’ implies that people (with knowledge of several cultures, e.g. Hong Kongness or bilingual Chinese) are capable of adapting their behavior and cultural norms to the setting (see also Hong et al. 2010 on this aspect in relation to cultural psychology). As a foreign researcher, my presence on several occasions led to larger dinner invitations by the second generation in the narrative interviews, or to direct interest from the second generation in introducing or exposing their children to an English speaking person.

During the narrative interviews many questions were asked in return (which I offered) on the living standard in Germany or Denmark, or on my own life story. This helped establish a base of confidence that made the exchange of experiences easier and more comfortable.

5.5.2.1 Decoding a foreign culture

Especially within the field of ethnography and anthropology, foreign researchers engaging in research on subjects in a cultural setting not indigenous to the researcher can have a colonial taste. In the last decades the world has experienced an increasing investigative interest in global issues, with an increase in ‘globalizing’ research(ers) from western academic traditions. Several research projects have been funded by European institutions to engage with scholars and topics in foreign countries, especially in the Global South. However, little reflection is done on the post-colonial aspects of these approaches (Roy 2009). Within the field of urban development (to some extent born out of the proximity to development cooperation (see also King 2003)) a discourse on north/south exchanges and the dominance of the north in academic scholarship on issues and research on issues of urban development in the Global South (Robinson 2011; Watson 2009) has evolved. This research is no exception in terms of a non-indigenous researcher encroaching on foreign territories.

In order to try to circumvent some of these challenges, continuous discussions with other researchers (expert interviews with indigenous researchers) and translators have helped to understand some of the aspects not accessible to me otherwise. Also, the use of visual material was helpful as well as the follow up interviews discussing the images taken by the interviewees. Often it would reveal contradictions between the previous articulations and the

more unconscious statements made through visualization. In the evaluation of data, it is attempted not to apply western explanatory models for the findings and categories, but rather to rely on reference frames from primary and secondary sources of indigenous research (i.e. Chinese) within the fields of urban studies, urban sociology and cultural psychology.

The fieldwork specifically for this research was carried out from February to May 2011. However, the area in the south of China had been visited several times between 2008 and 2012 in relation to a research project founded by the DFG and led by Prof. Dr. Peter Herrle and Prof. Dr. Detlev Ipsen on mechanisms and dynamics shaping the mega-urban landscape and the role of 'urban villages' within the Pearl River Delta (see Herrle et al. 2008).

6_Urbanization and planning in China⁷⁸

The discourse on urbanization in China is often divided into several periods characterized by the political atmosphere. While some scholars focus on the ‘tradition’ or ‘pre-modern’ urban development (Gaubatz 1996; Wheatley 1971; Golany 2001; Wu 1986), others take their starting point in the founding of the People’s Republic in 1949 (Zhang 2004). The period between 1949 and 1978 is often further divided into the Great Leap Forward (1958-60), and the Cultural Revolution (1966-76) (Pow 2012: 49), while others make an even more detailed division according to the spatial development approach: Adaption period (1949-57), Great Leap Forward (1958-60), Urban-Rural convergence (1961-76) and Reassessment (1977-1979) (Kwok 1981: 148). In the following, a brief overview of urban planning in ancient cities, as well as during 1949-1978 (socialist urbanism) and post-reform (1979-present) interpretations of the urban will be given. It is not the intent to present a complete overview of planning approaches and mechanisms over the last century, but rather to point out some tendencies in the approach towards ‘the urban’ and cities in China that provide sufficient context and are relevant for understanding the following chapter on planning in the Pearl River Delta, and especially in the megacity of Guangzhou.

6.1_Ancient concepts of urban planning

Some scholars have argued that urban planning in ancient China had a very consistent nature (see for example the overview of the development of capital cities in China in Wu, L. (1986)). This has led to the identification of certain physical constants: a ceremonial center, a city wall, a hierarchical organization of urban space and the inclusion of geomancy for geographic location and orientation (e.g. north-south oriented streets and buildings) (Gaubatz 1996: 126). The physical shape of a city was depending on the administrative hierarchy of the city within the nation as far back as in the Qin dynasty (Gaubatz 1996: 127). The placement of an urban settlement within a large hierarchy according to political, economic, social and administrative issues has been a continuous characteristic of the ‘urban’ in the Chinese context.

In terms of spatial planning, Zhou li, which is part of the Confucian canon, includes the Kaogong ji on planning and techniques for construction and handcraft, especially chapter 21 on ‘master-builders, builders and carpenters’ (Wenren 2013: 95). The Kaogong ji was

⁷⁸ For a brief overview of legislative adjustments and planning acts on the national level, see table 6 on urban land management, appendix B and table 8 on rural land management, appendix D.

supposedly added as a sixth chapter to the Zhou Li based on the previous five chapters being ‘pre-han’ and the Kaogong ji western han (Elman/Kern 2010: 7). The original Kaogong ji has been dated back to the early Warring States period in Qi (Wenren 2013: xxiv).⁷⁹ Some argue that the capital of Chang’an was constructed according to the records of the Kaogong ji (Wu, L. 1986). Correlating the spatial hierarchies with social hierarchies, some scholars argue that the entire city layout was detailed into scales between macro and micro planning, related to the geomancy aspects, and respecting harmony between nature, spirituality and humans (e.g. Gaubatz 1996). The relationship between urban space and social order has been described as follows:

‘...basic tenets of Confucian ethical philosophy that assigned separate identities and characteristics to heaven, man, and earth, and sought to reproduce this natural order in human creations of spatial design’ (Gaubatz 1996: 129).

⁷⁹ The Mo Jing/Mozi is by some scholars considered as one of the first books that includes aspects of place and location (Ying 2007). The part ‘Defense of a city’ (Mozi 52-71 in Johnston 2010:732) has a considerable amount of lost material – originally assumed to have twelve chapters, yet only six have been preserved. The preserved chapters discuss defense techniques according to different possible attacks (from above, from below, etc.). Topographic statements such as: *‘Apart from these the ancestral graves of the defenders should be there. Apart from these, the mountains, forests, grasslands and marshes should be abundant and sufficient to be of benefit. Apart from these, the topography of the land should be such that it is difficult to attack and easy to defend...’* (Mozi 52.2 in Johnston 2010: 737) are among some of the considerations and otherwise very specific guidelines for how to navigate through attacks.

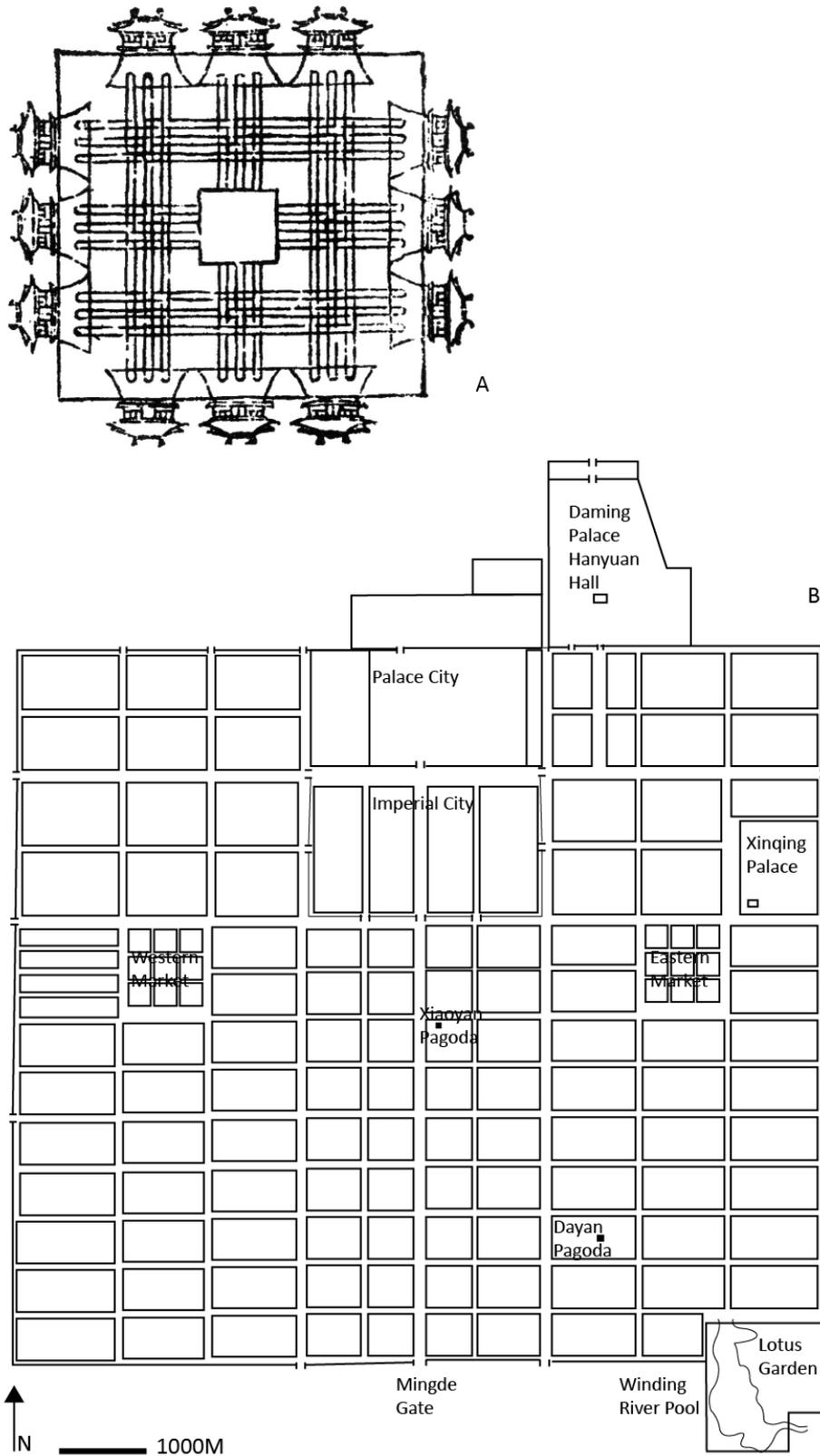


FIGURE 6: A) CLASSICAL CITY LAYOUT ACCORDING TO THE HIERARCHY BETWEEN HEAVEN AND EARTH. B) SIMPLIFIED MAP OF CHANG'AN, CAPITAL OF TANG DYNASTY. SOURCE: A) CAI 2011; B) BASED ON WU, L. 1986: 29.

Ancient cities were constructed to represent the earth in a squared form, which was oriented on the cardinal directions. The city walls had gates in regular intervals (e.g. the capital city of Chang'an from the Tang dynasty, see figure 6). The width of the street patterns, oriented according to the cardinals, depended on the imperial administrative hierarchy (e.g. the capital city Kaifeng of the northern Song dynasty; Wu, L. 1986: 45ff.). In the center of the city, the administrative center and the religious areas were located. These walled areas were independent from the street pattern of the city, but connected through gates (Gaubatz 1996: 127) (e.g. the capital city Beijing of the Ming dynasty).

On the one hand, a macro level with a 'planned' framework of the city was strictly planned according to geomancy principles and the hierarchy within the dynasty (physically, administratively, politically and economic). On the other hand, the micro level, was guided by individual decisions according to geomancy aspects and other traditions (Gaubatz 1996: 130). This division between the 'controlled' and the 'uncontrolled' or the 'informal' is also reflected in the appreciation of and value ascribed to buildings and places. Thus, permanence in vernacular architecture or on the micro level was not a quality that was valued, resulting in a constant rebuilding and modification (Gaubatz 1996: 130). On the contrary, not the aspect of 'time' (e.g. permanence or old), but rather the importance of certain buildings or places in relation to their cosmological or their representational function within the dynasty was relevant. Thus, it can be argued that the ancient concepts with this principle inherent, was only applied to the overall framework of the city and not to the spatial configuration of everyday life.⁸⁰ A change from urban centers defined by 'religious' or cosmological ordering principles towards controlling influences, such as economics and mobility, was documented by the beginning of the 20th century (Kögel 2011: 13).

6.2_Socialist 'urbanism' – urban planning 1949-1978

The planning approach between 1949 and 1978 has often been defined as either ideology driven (for example the elimination of rural-urban antithesis as promulgated by Marx – e.g. Ma 1979), as recognizing land as a natural resource and not as a commodity or as an implementation of the Soviet land allocation system through a highly centralized planning

⁸⁰ A similar approach has been applied after 1978. Several Special Economic Zones were defined and given large autonomy in order to attract investors and to experiment with the inclusion of capitalism into a planned economy. As has been argued in previous publications, the urbanization process in the Pearl River Delta has in the past been largely based on negotiations between local actors within the centrally defined framework (see Fokdal/Herrle 2010; Herrle et al. 2014).

system. These lines of argumentation, however, have been critiqued for using ideology as an explanatory model, neglecting socio-historical aspects (e.g. Tang 1994). The following paragraphs will give a brief overview of the literature and the development of planning during ‘socialist urbanism’.

In 1952, the first urban planning bureau was established, strongly supported by Soviet experts. In the same year the first five years plan was developed. The aim was to establish administrative infrastructure for further urban planning (Peisert 1984: 13). Planners from USSR played a role in the development of plans and in training of planners and several universities started teaching urban planning (Peisert 1984).⁸¹ The Soviet model, however, was only introduced into Chinese urban planning by translations of publications and by Soviet experts in China; no first hand information or professional assessments were made by Chinese planners traveling to Moscow (Stein 2010: 260). The main discussion around the first five year plan was whether to focus on the already developed former colonial cities, mainly along the coast, or to focus on the industrial development in the inner parts of the country. Additionally, the architectural association came together in 1953 to discuss the new approaches related to USSR. On this conference Liang Sicheng gave a speech in which he questioned the socialist architecture under the title ‘Probleme des sozialistischen Realismus in der Baukunst’ (Peisert 1996: 51).⁸² Planning was seen as the production of land use plans for the promotion of industries in the cities – the major aim was to turn the consumption oriented cities into productive cities (Peisert 1984:8). Up until the end of the first five years plan, planning initiatives were made for around 150 cities, including 39 newly established (Peisert 1984: 32; see also Stein 2010 Chapter three for an overview of ‘model cities’ established in the 1950s in China).

In order to deal with rapid growth and to promote industrial development at the same time, several incentives were made in order to modify the same general planning ideology to be applicable for a large amount of cities. The first incentive included the control of demographic movements, such as birth control and ‘forced’ migration (e.g. urban residents

⁸¹ It has been argued, however, that in the 1950s the Warschau and the Rotterdam Model – the reconstruction of the World War II – were also taken as reference for Chinese planners. In June 1953, for example, Liang Sicheng guided a delegation through Poland and concluded that the Chinese planner should learn from the successful experience of their Polish companions (Stein 2010: 249-251). In particular, the zoning concept of moving industries out of the inner city and residential areas as well as open space in the core of the city are pointed out by Liang Sicheng (Stein 2010: 259-260).

⁸² For a detailed account on the conference and the role of Liang Sicheng in the discourse on architecture at the beginning of the newly founded republic, see for example Peisert (1996) and Stein (2010).

were sent to the countryside for ‘reeducation’) (Stein 2010). Two types of forced urban to rural migration were applied: a temporary and a permanent (Peisert 1984). At the turn of the century and during the uncertain periods before the founding of the People’s Republic, most movements had been from the countryside to the city, however, with Mao Zedong this concept was turned around and the revolution was made to move from the cities to the countryside (Peisert 1984: 12; see also Dikötter 2010).

Second, ‘urban planning’ in the industrial cities was focused on functional spaces and infrastructure (e.g. streets and water pipes). Third, the administrative boundaries of the cities were extended to include further land resources. Fourth, satellite cities were to be constructed. These can be seen as a last attempt to integrate USSR planning concepts (see Kaltenbrunner (2000) or Kwok (1981) for a detailed account of the first socialist satellite town in China ‘Minhang’ or in general Qian 1984). In addition to the incentives, attention was given to a set of ‘priority cities’⁸³, which were selected according to their proximity to natural resources and the accessibility. They were mainly located in the inner parts of the country, in contrast to the coastal cities, which had to a large extent been colonialized. While some scholars question the benefits of ‘socialist urbanism’ (e.g. Weggel 1989), others argue, that in contrast to the context of European/Western urban planning in which the Charta of Athens promulgated the role of living space in urban planning, the Chinese focus was rather on cities of production, however, both attempt aiming at improved conditions for the citizens (Stein 2010: 307).⁸⁴

⁸³ Priority cities: Lanzhou, Xian, Luoyang, Baotou, Wuhan, Chengdu, Taiyuan, Datong, Zhanjiang, Zhuzhou, Changchun, Zhengzhou, Shijia, Zhuang, and Anshan (Peisert 1984: 15).

⁸⁴ Increasing densities in the inner cities of Europe (especially London and Paris) led to counter historical approaches in urban planning (e.g. the functional zoning in ‘plan voisin’ by Le Corbusier, presented in 1925) (Rodenstein 1992). In parallel, the international style in architecture developed in the 1920s and 1930s. Le Corbusier in large focused on the growth of population in urban areas and the increasing role of the car in his plan. As utopian as his plans were, he managed to spread his concepts on functional urban planning through the founding of CIAM in 1928 and the formulation of the Charta of Athens in 1943. As a counter reaction to architects seeing and developing the city from a bird’s eye perspective, and building on the traditions of the Chicago School of urban sociology, the spatial discipline (e.g. architects and urban planners) started to reconsider their practice in urban planning. In 1956, the first conference on Urban Design was organized at Harvard University by José Louis Sert. Lewis Mumford stated the following at the conference as a critique of the functionalist urban planning approaches:
‘If this conference does nothing else, it can at least go home and report on the absolute folly of creating a physical structure at the price of destroying the intimate social structure of a community’s life. It would then think better of the sort of projects I see so often on the drawing boards of the schools, and begin with the intimate body of the community as something that has to be preserved at all costs; and then find its equivalent modern form in sufficiently economical fashion to be available to shopkeepers and others’ (Mumford 2006: 8).

Scholars such as Lewis Mumford has largely shaped the discourse on cities and can, to a certain extent, be seen as the followers of the Chicago School, focusing on the role of cities in the development of individual human personalities (LeGates/Stout 1996: 92).

The first incentive, however, was largely challenged due to a devastating harvest, and hunger and starvation in many areas. It resulted in the migration of an estimated 20 million people from the countryside into cities between 1958 and 1960 (Peisert 1984: 45)⁸⁵. In 1958, the people's communes (rural and urban) were established as a unified concept with the aim of optimizing control through decentralized power/surveillance under the 'guidance' of centralized power, already accounting for 90 percent implementation in rural areas in the same year (Lu 2006: 104). The initial aim of the communes was to collectivize everyday life: *'the commune aimed to revolutionize traditional social institutions by collectivizing family life'* (Lu 2006: 105). The urban communes aimed at organizing the street industries and provide facilities for the residents (Kwok 1981: 181); however, this aim was modified to focus rather on small factories in residential areas.

These small factories were seen as suppliers for the larger factories, which had been constructed during the first five years plan.⁸⁶ The concept of people's communes, however, was soon focused on rural areas (food production – as a reaction to the Great Famine), based on the argumentation of the all too high complexity and the still represented bourgeoisie, the urban people's communes should be seen as experiments (Peisert 1984: 39). The overall objective of the rural communes was to reorganize the countryside. The rural communes introduced complete new ways of living and new social arrangements. Men, women and children were often separated to break with the traditional family structures (see chapter nine on the empirical findings on family structure). Also, the traditional elements of rural life such as temples, etc. were abolished and replaced by new social institutions. The aim was to end the peasantry and its tradition (Kwok 1981: 149). The concept aimed at developing an integrative approach for including industry, agriculture, education, and diminishing the rural-urban differences (Lu 2006: 101). Diminishing the rural-urban divide was among other things achieved by the rise of industry in rural areas. However, the large focus on industry in the cities as well as in the countryside combined with a minimal harvest (Peisert 1984) led to the starvation of thousands of people.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ This time period is also known as the 'Great Famine' in which it is estimated that between 15-45 Million people died due to starvation, exhaustion or physical violence (see Dikötter 2010).

⁸⁶ *'Die Mobilisierung ging also mit einer einschneidenden Rationalisierung der traditionellen städtischen Infrastruktur einher, die Infrastruktur des Alltagsbedarfs wurde zugunsten der industriellen Infrastruktur beschnitten'* (Peisert 1984: 38).

⁸⁷ Little has been published on the challenges encountered and the large famine which led to the death of millions of people in the countryside. In his empirical interviews collected in the publication, 'the corps walker' Liao (2008) creates an authentic account on the impact of some of the political ideological campaigns in the countryside, and the extremes to which they were implemented, as well as the extreme consequences they had for the development of the countryside but also for individuals.

In the 1960s, further industrial settlements were constructed in the periphery of the cities. However, the culmination of multiple events as briefly described, made the central committee change their focus in 1961 from industry to agriculture in the rural areas in order to ensure food security and the urban people's communes were abolished (already by 1960, however revitalized in 1966 (Kwok 1981: 1818)), while the rural communes continued existing. In 1962, a strong institutionalization of the migration movement from urban to rural was reinitiated as a consequence of lacking food security. With the end of the Great Leap Forward, the peasants were given 'private plots' and the responsibilities were given to the production teams (decision-making) and the production brigades (accounting).

In the early years, planners were sent to the countryside to help spatially organize the rural communes and students were encouraged to design people's communes. The concepts of communes were influenced by the neighborhood unit⁸⁸ and the Soviet model of the 'microdistrict'.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, urban planners had little guidance for the development of the people's commune. No land use plan or infrastructure guidelines were developed. In addition, in urban areas, no specific criteria were developed for a selection of the street factories. This condition led to a rather uncontrolled modification of the existing structures in many cities (e.g. courtyard houses were extended, small productions were installed in residential buildings, etc.)⁹⁰. Thus, the central government played the role of creating a socio-spatial

⁸⁸ The neighborhood unit is a concept that was developed in the 1920s in America, and the early 'garden cities' by Edward Howard can also be seen under the label of 'neighborhood units'. However, it has traveled widely and is also reflected in the Chinese context. Similar concepts have been implemented by the Japanese during the 1930s in China and planned by the Chinese during the 1940s, however, not implemented before the 1950s under the label of 'microdistricts' (Lu 2006: 20). Previous models of communes as references were the Paris Commune of 1871 and the peasant communes in the USSR in the 1930s.

⁸⁹ As connections to western influences were cut off, the state oriented toward influences from the former USSR. More than 10,000 Soviet planners visited China during the 1950s and they strongly supported the more economic and pragmatic approach of the 'super blocks' in contrast with the 'bourgeois' western neighborhood concept. However, as deficits in the adaptation of the Soviet model became obvious, the almost one to one translation of the concept was modified and made more flexible according to the context (Peisert 1984). The so-called 'microdistrict' was a concept for residential buildings introduced to China in 1956. It was a socialist planning instrument which was alleged to strengthen the local political participation and which had already been applied in several socialist countries (e.g. Bulgaria and USSR). It was soon replacing the western concept of 'neighborhood unit', which in reality was just a relabeling and not completely different in concept. Planners started to experiment with the implementation of 'microdistricts' paralleled with the introduction of the people's commune movement in 1958 (Lu 2006: 37).

⁹⁰ The rather radical wording of the leaders (i.e. Mao) and prominent scholars in the urban planning discourse using 'Aufbau' as the main approach to 'construct' the nation, has been pointed out and thoroughly analyzed by Stein 2010, chapter 3. The wording is otherwise mostly used in a context in which most has been destroyed (e.g. following war or natural disasters) (Stein 2010: 311).

Der 'Aufbau' bestand aber in allen diesen Fällen nicht nur in einer konstruktiven Reaktion auf kriegsbedingte Zerstörungen oder infrastrukturelle Mißstände, sondern beinhaltete seinerseits weitreichende Zerstörungsprozesse. Städtebaulich bedeutete das vor allen eines: Platz zu schaffen für repräsentative

environment leading to industrialization through dictated frameworks (Peisert 1984: 6). Starting in 1966, the urban planning bureaus, which had been closed down during the Great Leap Forward and reestablished in 1963 were critiqued for having a too western style. The street factories were strongly supported and the urban to rural migration was further intensified. In parallel, the state owned factories could do almost whatever they wanted in terms of spatial planning (e.g. expand) (Peisert 1984: 52).

During the Cultural Revolution, urban planning mainly focused on diminishing the differences between rural and urban, based on Marxist objectives. In the 5th Five years plan the revised focus was primarily on agriculture, secondly on light industry, and thirdly on heavy industry. The overall objective was the ‘...*urbanization of the countryside, the Daqing model, rural-urban convergence, and the development of medium and small cities*’ (Kwok 1981: 172).⁹¹ Urban planning became a matter of the municipality and the rural planning was taken care of by the counties, which reflects a tendency toward decentralization in the planning system in comparison to the previous centralization during the first years of the newly founded People’s Republic.

Also, in more recent years, the state has experimented with decentralization and re-centralization of planning instruments and decision-making processes. Urbanization in China itself as a process can be seen as both the mediator and the outcome of the ‘*process of extending the state’s control over the economy and society*’ (Tang 2000: 354).

The increased opening up towards western concepts and over flooding of global influences after 1978 has led to what has often been described as a transitional condition from a planned economy to a market economy (e.g. Wu, F. 2004; Zhu 2005; Ng/Tang 2004) and in terms of governance as a way of ‘muddling through’ (Smart 2002) or as negotiations among actors on the local, national as well as global stage (Fokdal/Herrle 2010).

6.3 Post-reform urban development in China

In the post 1978 era, the coastal cities and regions in particular have been highly influenced by globalization. In the Pearl River Delta, the proximity to Hong Kong and Macao has played

Bauvorhaben der jeweiligen neuen Ordnung.’ (Stein 2010: 357).

⁹¹ Daqing, a self-sufficient oil producing city, was a role model for an industrial city, which has been newly created within a rural context in the northeast of China. The planning and implementation was proclaimed by Mao in 1964 to be followed as a model ‘In Industry Learn From Daqing’ (Kwok 1981).

a large role in accelerating development in the Delta. In the ‘mega-urban landscape’ of the Pearl River Delta, the promotion of economic growth has led to major infrastructure and location developed. The main challenge, however, is the lack of coordination between the initiatives, which leads to parallel infrastructure (e.g. two highways between Shenzhen and Guangzhou).⁹² However, it is useful to make a differentiation between local forces and drivers of globalization (McGee 2009a). Using Hong Kong as the major hub for export and import in order to establish joint ventures and later on allowing foreign direct investment, local actors, such as the former collectives (i.e. rural communes) have been the main providers of land for investors, housing for migrant workers and constructing factory buildings (McGee et al. 2007; Lin 2009). The unique rural industrialization processes taking off after the south China visit of Deng Xiaoping in 1992, has led to a ‘hybrid’ rural/urban landscape with islands of ‘urban villages’ and corridors of rural landscape (Herrle et al. 2014). The major mechanism of growth has similarities with the concept of the urban ‘growth machine’ developed by Logan and Molotch (1987) for the North American context. An example is the dominant logic of growth and interrelation between capital, labor and land. In the more classical understanding of ‘urban regimes’ (Stone 1993), the role of the state is mostly interpreted as a political organization guiding development for the common good and with unquestioned power. In the Chinese context, however, local governments have often been accused for being entrepreneurial (Zhu 1999), and the role of local governments has not been restricted to political issues, but rather they have had a two faced role, also playing the capital investor (e.g. as in the case of highway infrastructure, which was not within the central or provincial governments’ reach) and with fragmented power, which is constantly being negotiated between different levels of government but also between actors on the local level, such as private investors and landlords.

⁹² The first highway connecting Shenzhen and Guangzhou was constructed by a private investor in the 1980s (Gordon Wu). This highway, however has high toll fees and in 2000 a highway running parallel was constructed by the municipality of Dongguan; the first highway in China to be only financed by a prefecture municipality (McGee et al. 2007: 115).

6.3.1 Pearl River Delta

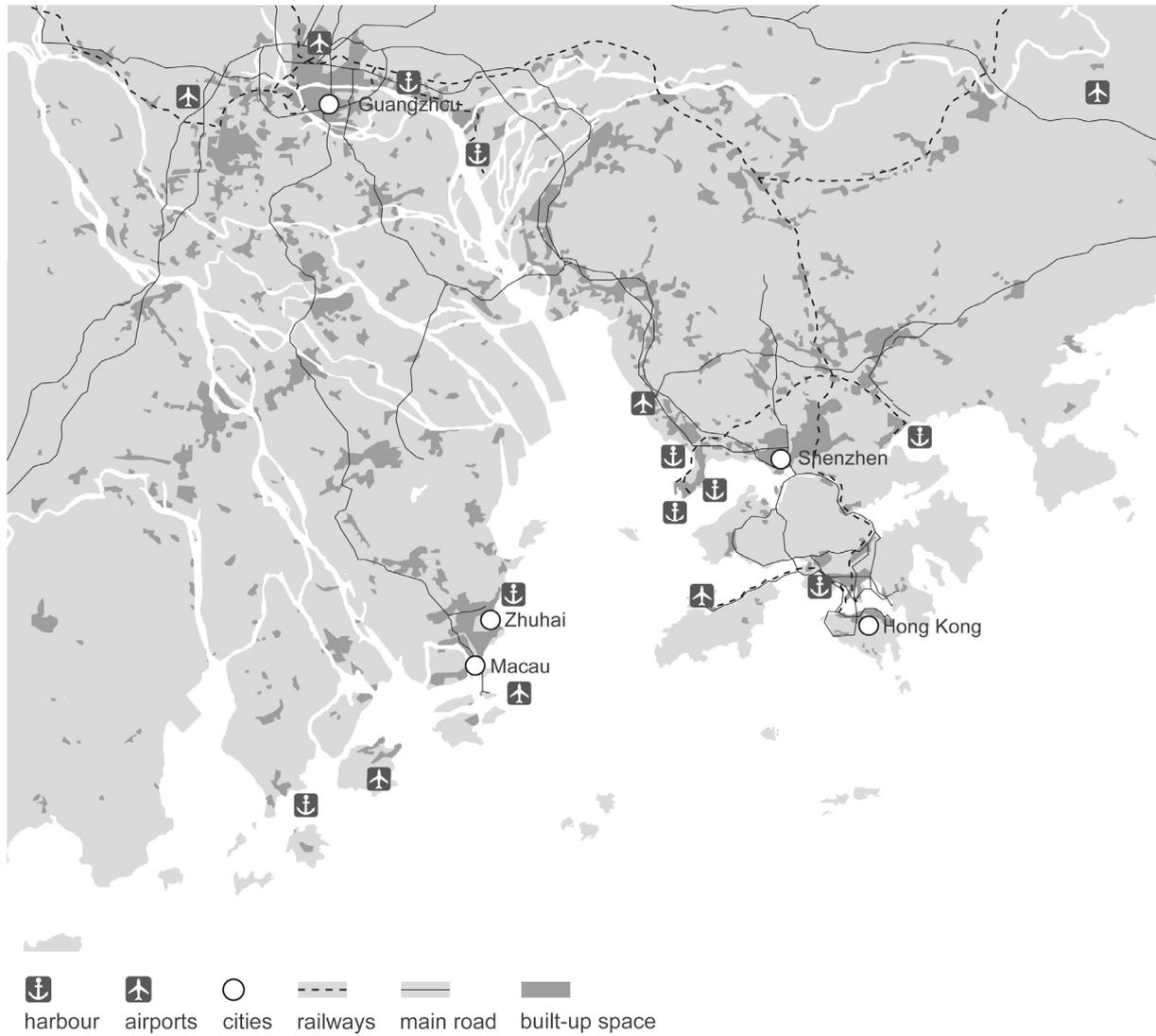


FIGURE 7: PEARL RIVER DELTA AND THE BUILT-UP AREA IN 2000. SOURCE: BASED ON SURVEY AND MAPPING OFFICE, LANDS DEPARTMENT, HONG KONG.

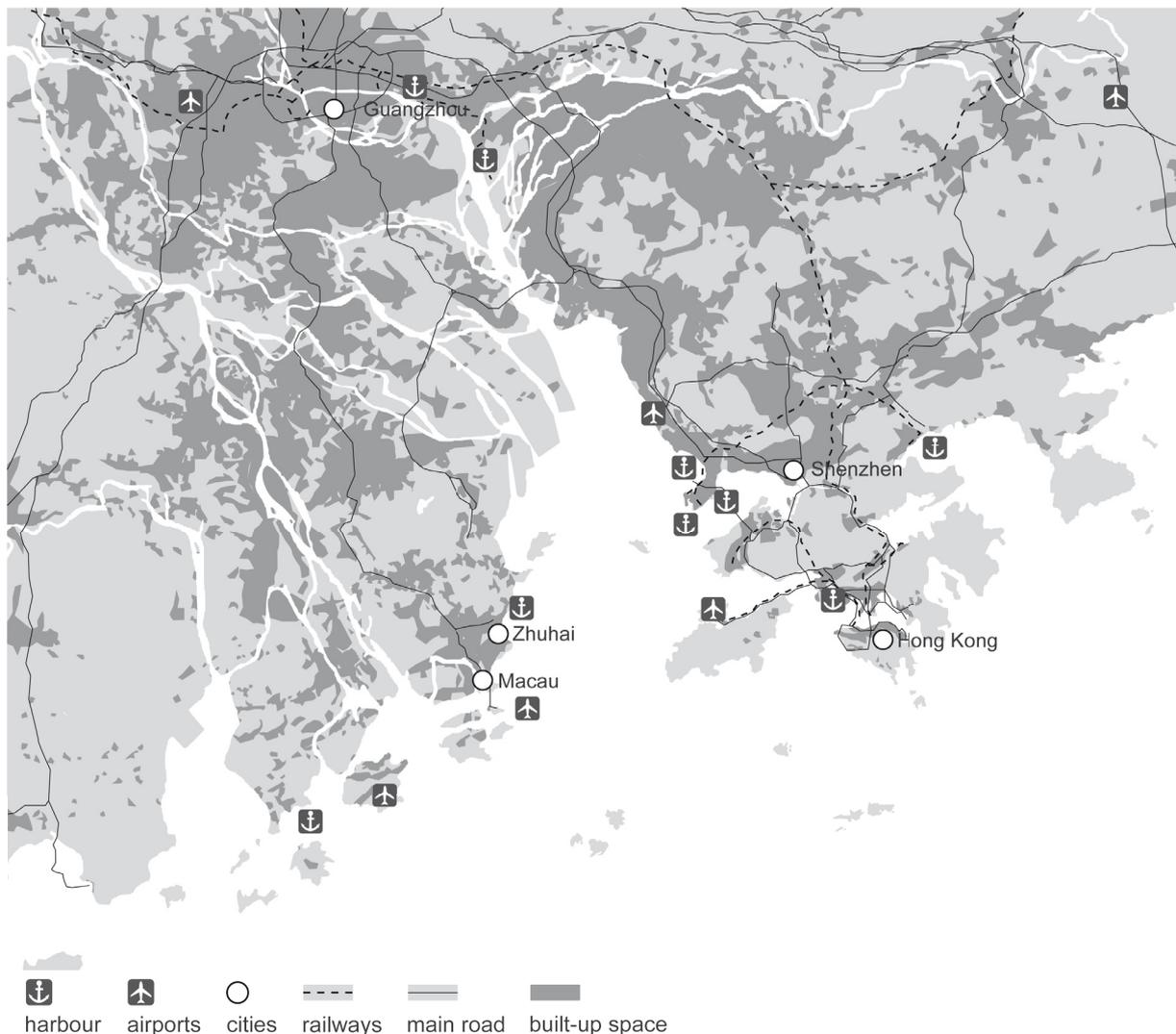


FIGURE 8: PEARL RIVER DELTA AND THE BUILT-UP AREA IN 2007. SOURCE: BASED ON SURVEY AND MAPPING OFFICE, LANDS DEPARTMENT, HONG KONG.

In 1979, Shenzhen and Zhuhai, among other cities, were dedicated as Special Economic Zones, which enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy in terms of tax relaxations. In 1984, additional ‘open cities’ (later expanded to open regions) were defined with the objective of creating controllable and limited testing grounds for opening up for the global economy (McGee et al. 2007). The Pearl River Delta in the south of China was one of the open economic regions, which was selected as ground for experiments. Several reasons for selecting the Pearl River Delta can be identified. First, its spatial proximity to Hong Kong with easy access to international firms and infrastructure (e.g. airport and harbor) was crucial. Second, Guangdong Province has a large emigrant community living abroad in other regions of Asia (see for example Yeoh/Huang 1998 and Yeoh/Chang 2001 on Guangdong migrants in Singapore). In addition, a large amount of mainland residents from the Delta had migrated to Hong Kong and Macao during the 1960s and 1970s. The bonds between relatives made a

strong case for investments and remittance in the Pearl River Delta during the 1980s and 1990s. Finally, the Delta is located far away from the central government in the north of China (i.e. Beijing).⁹³

From a multi-scalar analysis of actors and mechanism, a crucial role has been subscribed to the village level in terms of shaping local forces and accelerating the rapid development of the Pearl River Delta (McGee et al. 2007). Several parameters have been identified. First, after the abolishment of the communes and the introduction of the ‘Household Responsibility System’ the former brigade and production teams (i.e. rural communes) obtained certain liberties and had the possibility to generate profit from their production and their individual surplus (see also Ho/Lin 2003, 2004; Lin/Ho 2005 for an elaboration on the land issues and land markets).⁹⁴ Second, in the first period of ‘opening up’, major cities within the Pearl River Delta were still ‘sleeping’ in terms of guided investment and urban planning. On the contrary most villages in the rural-urban interface soon saw the potential for leasing out land, later on buildings as well, and attracting labor by providing low cost housing for the millions of rural to urban migrants that ‘floated’ into the Pearl River Delta to work in the labor intensive productions. Illegally converting dedicated agricultural land into industrial or construction land, the village committees⁹⁵ and their economic joint unions⁹⁶ attracted global investors, who had an interest in circumventing long and expensive formal procedures, often unavoidable in the cities (see also Herrle et al. 2008). Finally, the indication by the central government (e.g. Deng Xiaoping on his south tour in 1992) to activate the local level and encourage former rural communes to play a leading role in the development, allowed for a rather flexible governance concept in terms of spatial and economic aspects (Fokdal/Herrle 2010). The resulting ‘mega-urban landscape’ has been thoroughly analyzed and described

⁹³ The cities in the Pearl River Delta had been accused for being too capitalistic, too close to the enemy during the era of Mao and had not achieved much attention during the years of rural industrialization (McGee et al. 2007). The strategic location within the nation and the hierarchy of city within the power structure has been described in-depth by Gaubatz (1996) in the late dynasties.

⁹⁴ During the Household Responsibility System the central state had control over what and how much the communes were to produce. An incentive for converting from agricultural production to rural industries was developed by giving more ‘marks’ for certain industrial products than for agricultural products (Herrle et al. 2014).

⁹⁵ Village committees have their origin in the former commune system established in 1958. Prior to the proclamation of the ‘Organic Law of Villages’ Committee’ in 1989, rural villages were defined as communes with sub levels of brigades and production teams.

⁹⁶ Economic Joint Unions are umbrella organizations for smaller subsidiary companies (also known as Economic Unions). Many former rural villages which have shifted from relying on agriculture to becoming real estate Managers (i.e. ‘Urban villages’), have changed their former structures consisting of Brigades and Production teams into Economic Unions. Some ‘urban villages’ have even established shareholding cooperative companies which financially support the social security system at stake in the left over rural system. See also Schoon 2013; Lin, Y. et al. 2011, 2012; Herrle et al. 2014 for further elaborations on the administrative structures in ‘urban villages’ in the Pearl River Delta.

(Maharika 2004; Enright et al. 2005; Lin 2002; Smart/Lin 2007; Yeung 2010) and will not be the focus of this work. Rather, it is important to understand the speed and the underlying mechanisms of urban growth and development in the regional context in order to investigate the impacts of these changes on the production of social space in the megacity of Guangzhou located in the Pearl River Delta. Following, table 2 summarizes the main aspect relevant for urban planning.

Year	Event	Urbanization	Tendencies
1949	Founding of the People's Republic of China	'Socialist Urbanization' – all land is state owned. Differentiation is rural and urban land. Rural land is distributed to communes.	Industrialization of cities and of the countryside – eliminating the differences between rural and urban. Limited urban growth.
1954	<i>Hukou</i> system introduced		
1955	Establishing city and town governments		
1958-61	'Great Leap Forward' Introduction of urban and rural communes.		
1963	Adjustment of the city and town governments to reduce the number of urban inhabitants		
1966-1976	'Cultural Revolution'		
1978	'Open Door Policy'	Post Reform Urbanization	The Pearl River Delta becomes an experiment of letting capital forces into the socialist system (from a central- to a market-controlled economy). Encouragement to active relations abroad for investment; allowance for foreign investment
1980	Shenzhen become a Special Economic Zone; fiscal deal between central government and Guangdong province	Urbanization increasingly led by market forces. Increased negotiation of land leads to multiple 'land markets':	
1983	Adjustment of the establishment criteria for city governments	Black markets → Within 'urban villages', declared agricultural land is turned into construction land. Further, housing plots are changed from hosting two-story to ten-story buildings.	
1985	Pearl River Delta declared an 'Open Economic Region'	→ Land defined as rural and under the control of 'urban villages' is being expropriated by the city government and 'sold' for commercial purposes or given to state units.	
1987	Shenzhen: Land use system reform – first transfer of land use rights	→ State units 'sell' their land to commercial purposes.	
1988	Separation of land ownership and land user rights	Official markets → City government can	
1990	Inclusion of Guangzhou, Shenzhen and Zhuhai in the Pearl River Delta Open Economic Region		
1992	South Tour by Deng Xiaoping		
1997	Hong Kong handed over to China		
1999	Macao handed over to China		

2001	China joins WTO	expropriate land in possession of the 'urban villages' for infrastructure purposes and must return 10 percent as Economic Development Land to the village → Expropriated land (by district governments) can be used by state units, for infrastructure or for commercial purposes.	Slow down the urbanization process.
2007-2008	World financial crisis		
2013	Suggestions for national blueprint on 'sustainable' urbanization developed by the National Development and Reform Commission (further research enquired by Premier Li Keqiang)	Urbanization to boost consumption, investment and employment.	Increased emphasis on people. Improve living conditions for people in rural areas – limit migration to large urban centers – aiming at steady urbanization.

TABLE 2: TIME TABLE OF EVENTS RELATED TO URBANIZATION IN THE PEARL RIVER DELTA.

6.4_Urbanization and planning in Guangzhou

The immense growth of cities and inter-urban areas largely influenced by global forces such as a global capital investments and the division between production, services and headquarters (e.g. Sassen 2001), has led to large regions of fragmented spaces with rural and urban 'islands', or nodes. One of the urban nodes within the Pearl River Delta is the megacity of Guangzhou. Guangzhou has a long history of urban planning and is quite characteristic in its regional identity.⁹⁷ Formerly the city of Panyu, it has played a crucial role as a trading port within Canton and in the Lingnan region of South East Asia. The city of Guangzhou occupies an area of 7,434 square kilometers (Tian/Shen 2011) and currently has an officially registered population of 10.18 million inhabitants (UN-Habitat 2013: 38).

Guangzhou has been the focus of research from multiple perspective, especially after the reforms in terms of its economic and political role within the region of the Pearl River Delta (e.g. Zhou/Zhang 1997; Lin 2002; Vogel 1989; Xu/Yeh 2005; Wu 2009; Enright et al. 2005),

⁹⁷ The language in the region is Cantonese and the culture is seen as differentiated from the attempted homogenized Han culture of the entirety of Mainland China.

but also with a stronger focus on strategic developed and urban planning of the city of Guangzhou (e.g. Tsin 1999a, 1999b; Hugentobler/Lütolf 2006). Urban planning within Guangzhou has been discussed from a perspective of globalization (see for example Gaubatz 2005), health issues (e.g. Bork et al. 2009; Bercht 2011), often with a focus on migrant workers (e.g. Gransow 2007; Bork-Hüffer 2012). The aim of these paragraphs is to give a brief overview of the urban development of Guangzhou within the regional context. For a broader overview of planning in Peoples' Republic of China after the reforms, see the previous chapter (see also Tang 2000; Ng/Tang 2004; Leaf 1998; Leaf/Hou 2006; Ma 1979, 2006; Peisert 1984; or Stein 2010 for an overview of planning in the early years of the People's Republic).



FIGURE 9: A) LOCATION OF GUANGDONG PROVINCE IN CHINA. B) LOCATION OF GUANGZHOU CITY IN GUANGDONG PROVINCE. C) GUANGZHOU CITY AND ITS DISTRICTS. SOURCE: BASED ON BERCHT 2011.

6.4.1 History of Guangzhou

Guangzhou has for centuries played an important role as an open port with foreign trade. During the Tang dynasty (618-907 AD), Guangzhou was established as an international port in 714 AD, which later became the starting point for the ‘Marine Silk Road’ (Zhou 2005: 39).

In 1557 the Portuguese were among the first to sign a trading agreement and to establish a colony, holding a trading monopoly for more than two centuries (Perkins 1999: 194). In the 17th century, the coast was ‘sealed off’ by the Qing central government in order to avoid invasions by pirates. The port of Guangzhou was reopened as the sole international port in China in 1757 (Xu/Yeh 2003: 363). In 1760, the ‘canton system’ was introduced (until 1842) which only allowed foreign trade in Canton, with the trading price for import/export determined by Chinese merchants. With the signing of the Nanking Treaty in 1842, Guangzhou and Shanghai (Xiamen, Fuzhou, and Ningbo; Xu/Yeh 2003) were among the first ports to be ‘reopened’ after the (first) opium war (Tsin 1999a). As a consequence of the (second) opium war, concessions of European powers were established in Guangzhou (and in Shanghai) on the Shamian Island in 1860; however, the new British colony, Hong Kong, became the southern international hub.

By 1920, Guangzhou was a prosperous international port relying on its European connections as well as on its large emigrant communities abroad (Perkins 1999). Nevertheless, the first part of the 20th century offered large political changes. After the revolution in 1911, the Republic of China was founded in 1912 and the Qing emperor resigned (Qing dynasty 1644-1912). In parallel to the expanding network of ports included in the trading treaties, Guangzhou gained in political importance. First, Guangzhou played a crucial role on the political scene around the Chinese Nationalist Party ‘Kuomintang’ (KMT). The KMT was proclaimed in Beijing in 1912 by Sun-yat Sen (1866-1925) – the Father of the Chinese revolution of 1911 (Rea 1977: 1). Second, two politically important institutions were established in Guangzhou in 1924: the Military Academy, as well as the National Peasant Movement Institute for party cadres (Perkins 1999: 194). Spatially, the demolition of the city wall began in 1918, and in 1921 Guangzhou was established as a modern city, with Sun Ke⁹⁸ as the head of the city administration. A process of modernizing and developing the city of Guangzhou started (road construction, sanitary systems, public education, etc.), with architects and planners largely educated in North America (Zhou 2005: 41). In the period

⁹⁸ Son of Sun Yat-sen (1895-1973) studied in North America and became the mayor of Guangzhou upon his return. Within the Kuomintang he represented the left wing.

1929-36, the urban development of Guangzhou was further accelerated, including among others the construction of the Haizhu Iron Bridge (finished in 1933).

In 1937, the Japanese invade China, a conflict which evolved into the larger Pacific War after 1941. Guangzhou city was under constant bombings for ten months, destroying most of the infrastructure (Zhou 2005). Between 1938 and 1945, Guangzhou was under occupation by Japanese forces (Staiger et al. 2003: 280). Following the Second World War, devastating civil war broke out until the founding of the Peoples' Republic of China, led by the Communist Party and comrade Mao (See Vogelsang 2012; Weggles 1989; Perkins 1999; Færøvik 2010 for overviews of the history of China in general).

6.4.2_ 'Socialist planning' in Guangzhou

After the proclamation of the new republic in 1949, political and economic focus was given to secondary and medium size cities away from the larger urban agglomerations in the coastal areas infiltrated by capitalistic forces (Kirkby 1985; see also table on urban planning in appendix B). As a consequence, the service sector diminished and the secondary sector increased during the 1950s and through the 1970s in Guangdong province (Staiger et al. 2003). Land was allocated to state owned industries, which would construct their own amenities (schools, housing, etc.) – since the city government of Guangzhou could not afford to relocate residents from the inner city areas, most newly established danweis/industries were located in the outskirts of the city (Wu/Yeh 1997: 1853). The city of Guangzhou was downgraded to an administrative center in the south under the attempt to transform consumer cities into industrial cities. In the 1950s, urban planning in Guangzhou (as elsewhere in China) was dominated by Soviet ideals and the city was rebuilt under the guidance of Soviet experts (reconstruction of the Haizhu Bridge, etc.) (Zhou 2005). During the Cultural Revolution, only a few major projects were realized (e.g. the Guangzhou Railway Station). At the event of 1978, *'the city [Guangzhou] was densely populated and had the burden of an outdated heavy industry, an ineffective administration and a lack of capital to invest in the urban infrastructure'* (Weichler 2005: 94; for a detailed overview of the development of the city of Guangzhou see Xu/Yeh 2003; Tsin 1999a, 1999b). As in most of the country urban planning was rather a matter of economic planning in Guangzhou (Jüngst et al. 1984).

6.4.3 Post-reform urban planning in Guangzhou

After 1978, several reforms concerning rural areas and their structuring in ‘people’s communes’ were postulated (See Table on rural planning in appendix D). Among others was the Agricultural Production Responsibility System (APRS) introduced in 1983, which allowed farmers to sell their surplus goods and food (Weggle 1989). In addition, land parcels for residential purposes were distributed to farmers in rural areas. In the 1980s, Special Economic Zones were established as testing grounds for opening up foreign trade, among others the city of Shenzhen, Shantou and Zhuhai in 1980 (Wang et al. 2009; see also table on urban planning in appendix B). Shenzhen was located directly next to the British colony Hong Kong⁹⁹ and had large potential for economic development – consequently, it grew faster than any other city and became a testing ground not just for economic reforms but also for new urban forms (Zacharias/Tang 2010; see also Ng 2003 for a city profile of Shenzhen city). In 1984, Guangzhou became one of 14 coastal open cities in China, and by 1985, around 3.2 million were living in Guangzhou (Xu/Yeh 2003: 364). In the same year, the tertiary sector (52.6%) surpassed the secondary sector for the first time since 1949 (ibid: 365).

The Pearl River Delta Economic Development Zone was defined in 1985 and included 12 counties and 4 cities (Vogel 1989: 161) (Guangzhou was not included!). The region including Hong Kong, Shenzhen and Guangzhou currently has an estimated population of 120 million (UN-Habitat 2013: 35). With an area (41,698 square kilometers) similar to Denmark (43,098 square kilometers), as compared by Bercht (2011), around 45 million people reside (officially)¹⁰⁰. Greater Pearl River Delta, which includes Macao and Hong Kong has approximately 52 million inhabitants (defined in 1987) and Guangdong province has approximately 95 million inhabitants (officially) (Bercht 2011: 184). Currently, the Pearl River Delta incorporates three megacities (Shenzhen, Hong Kong and Guangzhou), eight medium size cities (Zhuhai, Dongguan, Foshan, Jingmen, Zhongshan, Huizhou, Zhaqing and Macao) and multiple county level cities and towns (UN-Habitat 2010: 227). With newly defined privileges and an eye on opportunities, Guangzhou city set in the 1990s the strategic aim of overtaking the ‘four little dragons’¹⁰¹ in Asia by 2010.

⁹⁹ For a detailed city profile of Hong Kong, see Cullinane/Cullinane 2003.

¹⁰⁰ The statistical numbers do not incorporate the so called ‘floating population’ and millions of migrant workers are not officially registered, but do still hold their *hukou* from their province or town of origin (see also Chen et al. 2011 on the consequences for housing).

¹⁰¹ Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea and Hong Kong – see also Vogel 1989 for an elaboration on the industrial standing of those four nations in economic terms.

As a consequence not just for the city of Guangzhou but also for the region, the Pearl River Delta saw decades of ‘high speed urbanization’ (Ipsen 2004) largely influenced by informal dynamics from the 1990s and onwards. The negotiation processes around resources such as land and capital, power and legitimacy have been the driving force for the economic and spatial development of the region (Herrle/Fokdal 2011). Within this process, the so-called ‘urban villages’ have played a major role in urbanizing the Delta, through accommodating migrant workers and by leasing out land to investors (see also Fokdal/Herrle 2010). These dynamics and the experimental role of the Delta in a national perspective has fostered several challenges for urban planners in Guangzhou.

First, Guangzhou as the capital city of the Guangdong province, should position itself in relation to regionally important cities (e.g. Dongguan and Shenzhen). As the result of a survey conducted in 1997 stating that 73% of the inhabitants in Guangzhou were unhappy with the physical environment, Guangzhou city defined three steps (between 1998 and 2010) to be taken in order to become a prosperous, livable and civilized city in the region. In 2002, a renewed survey revealed that 96% approved of the new developments (Xu/Yeh 2003: 368). Further, the city of Guangzhou should position itself domestically and internationally (e.g. among Singapore and Taiwan). Consequently, in 2008, the ‘Conspectus of the Reform and Development Plan of the Pearl River Delta (2008-2020)’ was announced, declaring it the aim of Guangzhou to become an ‘international metropolitan city’ (Zhu et al. 2011: 223). In an international comparison, Guangzhou was ranked 131 in the livability index of global cities (UN-Habitat 2010: 179) in 2007 after Shanghai (rank 100) and Hong Kong (rank 70).¹⁰² Second, the divided planning system between rural and urban land management is too rigid and has contributed to the lack of instruments for dealing with rural settlements located in urban built up areas as the result of rapid urban development. Consequently, such ambiguities have created new opportunities for actors such as ‘villages-in-the-city’ (i.e. ‘urban villages’),¹⁰³ which are a specific phenomenon in the south of China, especially in the Pearl River Delta.

¹⁰² Livability index is based on an annual survey conducted by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) based on 39 criteria in relation to the urban environment (UN-Habitat 2010: 179).

¹⁰³ The label ‘urban village’ is based on a vague concept if at all, which in the Global South or in China has a connotation different from what western scholars may have in mind. Western scholars often refer to planned urban settlements, characterized by mixed land-use, medium density communities and urban design concepts strengthening the community. Examples are frequently associated with the post-modern concept of ‘new urbanism’ (See Neal 2003 for a general overview and see Franklin/Tait 2002 for a detailed overview of ‘urban villages’ in the UK). In many rapidly urbanizing cities in the Global South there is, however, another type of ‘urban villages’ consisting mainly of former rural settlements that have been encircled by the urban fabric due to uncontrolled and rapid urbanization processes. Frequently, they show poor living conditions and are inhabited by low-income groups. In China, according to a commonly accepted definition, an ‘urban village’ is a village that has been enclosed by the urban fabric. This broad and somewhat blurred concept of

Third, due to the rapid urban development and the changing urban housing system, a housing gap, especially for low-income people has continuously increased. The pressing need for housing has been catered for by actors such as the ‘urban villages’.

6.4.3.1 Planning in Guangzhou

In urban areas, planning is done by the development of City master plans, district plans (in larger cities) and ‘site development control plans’. The city master plan is a strategic plan with a 20 years outlook. It includes the definition of land use areas (residential, industry, etc.) as well as infrastructure and various other ‘subject plans’, including housing (Tian/Shen 2011). Further, a division is made between areas in which projected land use is to be strictly followed and areas that are more adaptable to the development and the market situation. The master plan is mostly dominated by physical aspects and barely takes social and financial factors into account. Also, it does not incorporate phasing for the implementation.

In addition, the districts in larger cities are obligated to prepare district plans, as is for example the case in Guangzhou. The ‘site development control plan’ is a detailed plan of development within the framework of the district plan and the city master plan. It articulates the land use and the plot ratio, among others. A ‘site development control plan’ is in general developed by the district government or the municipality; however, in Guangzhou it is the Urban Planning Bureau which is in charge of these plans (Tian/Shen 2011: 17). The city is thus divided into ‘Planning Management Units’, which range from a size of 0.2-0.5 square kilometers to 0.8-1.5 square kilometers depending on the district (ibid.: 17).

‘urban villages’ based on rather superficial physical characteristics has become generally accepted by scholars (for a detailed overview of definitions see Altrock/Schoon 2011: 38; Hao et al. 2012; Wu, F. 2009; Tian 2008) although it does not capture any social, economic or demographic criteria let alone the aspect of ‘urbanity’. Characteristic for ‘urban villages’ in South China is that they hold land tenure.

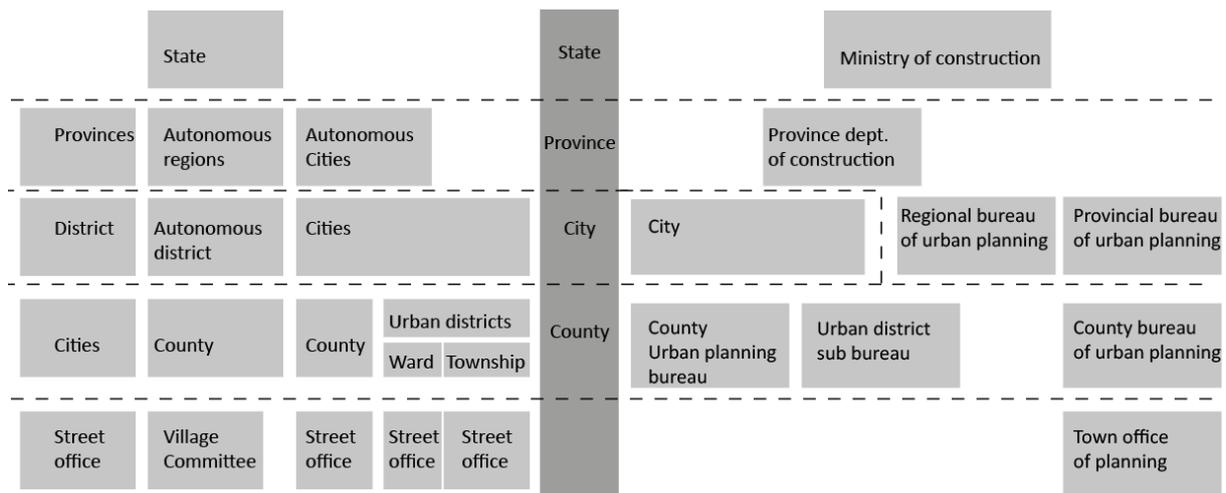


FIGURE 10: ILLUSTRATION OF THE DIFFERENT ADMINISTRATIVE LEVELS (LEFT) AND OF PLANNING BUREAUS (RIGHT) ON DIFFERENT LEVELS. SOURCE: OWN DESIGN, BASED ON LEAF 1998 AND STEIN 2010.

City master plans have been produced in Guangzhou since 1954 by the Guangzhou Municipal Government – thirteen until 1979 in total (Xu/Yeh 2003: 364); however, the early master plans lacked up-to-date information on land use, etc. In 1984, the 14th Urban Master Plan of Guangzhou – developed with the involvement of planners from all over the country – was approved by the State Council (Zhou 2005: 45). The ‘Triangle Economic and Technological Development Zone’ was established by the municipality in Huangpu district in combination with a new deep water port in the 1980s (Weichler 2005: 95). The city primarily developed in the east-west direction along the Pearl River Delta, however, the central administrative core of Guangzhou (Liwan, Yuexiu and Dongshan) did not change until the incorporation of the districts Panyu and Huadu in 2000.

In 2001, the General Strategic Plan for Urban Development of Guangzhou (15th Master Plan) was developed, which outlines spatial development aims for the next decades and divides the city into five zones: expansion in the south, optimization in the north, advance in the east and linkage in the west.’ (Zhou 2005). In total, Guangzhou comprises ten districts (Yuexiu, Dongshan, Haizhu, Liwan, Tianhe, Baiyun, Whampoa, Fangchun, Huadu and Panyu) and two county level cities (Conghua and Zengcheng (Xu/Yeh 2003: 362)); the latter are often excluded when discussing the city of Guangzhou. According to the 15th Master Plan, Guangzhou city aims at developing four new city centers along the east-west axis and the north-south (e.g. the Tianhe district and the Guangzhou South Railways Station – See for example Bercht 2011: 196ff on the Railway development; or hosting the Asian Games in 2011). The strategic plan further includes a green axis and ecological zones in the city (e.g. the greenway along the Pearl River Delta in the inner-city and a green ring around the city

connecting to several green corridors in the city in order to control urban growth – see also Zhou 2005 for a detailed description). The objective is to make the city competitive in domestic as well as international rankings. The Strategic Master plan revolves around three main aspects: 1) Infrastructure (e.g. Baiyun international airport and the expansion of the subway network); 2) Land Use (partial renewal of the old city district in Guangzhou; Guangzhou University Town, Zhujiang New Town (project in 1992 as the new CBD), etc.; and 3) Eco-system (e.g. the Pearl River Sea Gull Island in the south – see also Wang et al. 2006).¹⁰⁴

There are major challenges in the urban planning system. First, the lengthy procedure of approval of the city master plan, which has to be approved by the city, by the province and the state council (Tian/Shen 2011: 16) leading to an obsolete master plan once approved! For example, in the 1990s, Guangzhou had to abandon the master plan foreseeing a ‘compact city’ in order to keep up with the actual land development and expansion. Second, it is the district or the Urban Planning Bureau which is in charge of settling major parameters influencing the value of the land. Consequently, developers often try to bargain for higher densities, etc., which makes the decision-making process behind the development control plans very opaque. In an evaluation conducted by Tian/shen (2011) of the 2001 developed master plan of Guangzhou in terms of the implementation of residential, commercial, industrial, public facilities and open space land uses, they found that there was a 50% discrepancy between the 2001 master plan and the actually implemented land use for residential purpose.

On the one hand, the large number of migrant workers ‘floating’ into the Pearl River Delta, but also into Guangzhou city,¹⁰⁵ challenges urban infrastructure, especially in terms of housing.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, the city of Guangzhou strives to become an internationally renowned megacity and strongly promotes large scale projects, partially designed by international architects paying little attention to the local context (e.g. the new Opera House by Zara Hadid, or the Canton Tower finished in 2010 for the Asian games and designed by

¹⁰⁴ See also Xu/Yeh (2003: 368ff) for a detailed overview of all the most prestigious projects included in the strategic development plan.

¹⁰⁵ The urban population growth rate in Guangzhou between 1990 and 1995 was 8.69 percent and has decreased to 1.69 percent between 2005 and 2010 (annual population growth rate at 0.6 percent between 2005-2010 – without Hong Kong and Macao (UNDP 2013) and is estimated to continue decreasing (UN-Habitat 2013: 154).

¹⁰⁶ In 2010, in China 47 percent of the population reside in urban areas (compared to an average of 50.5 percent in the world and 42.2 percent in Asia). At the same time 53 percent of the population in China in 2010 were living in rural areas compared to an average of 49.5 percent in the world (UN-Habitat 2010: 256). Of the urban population in China 31 percent were living in informal areas in 2007 (UN-Habitat 2010: 260).

the Dutch architectural firm Information Based Architecture and Arup). The image created of the city functions as a pull factor and at the same time push factors, such as lack of income and job opportunities in rural areas, accelerates the internal migration. In addition, by creating a livable environment, the city of Guangzhou seeks to attract high skilled labor and international investors from around the globe. The consequences are a strong socio-economic leap-frogging and spatial fragmentation within the city (see for example Wu/Webster 2010 on the marginalization and social fragmentation within Chinese cities).¹⁰⁷ While luxury communities emerge in inter-urban spaces within the Pearl River Delta, low-income groups have difficulties to access affordable housing (Renaud 2011).¹⁰⁸

6.5 Summary

Rapid change and ‘high speed urbanism’ (Ipsen 2004) characterizes the Pearl River Delta and the megacity of Guangzhou. From the planner’s perspective of the city and the image created by planners and politicians, three scales of positioning have been identified as they developed over time. First, the city of Guangzhou initially experienced increased competition from the rural villages in attracting foreign investors. Second, the competition among cities within the Pearl River Delta as well as among cities and regions on a national scale increased. Third, the strategic plan for Guangzhou witnessed the next step of increased competition and the willingness to position its self among other megacities in the world. In parallel, there seems to be a shift away from rather quantitative approaches toward a qualitative urban planning approach (e.g. the focus on ecological issues and better infrastructure, for example in the form of a new rail hub in the south of the city), from aims at attracting further industry based on enormous resources and low skilled workers to attracting high skilled labor and upgrading the urban environment.

Nevertheless, rapid changing urban development has led to a decreased implementation of planning and increased local negotiation processes, resulting in socially and spatially segregated and fragmented city (e.g. Fokdal/Herrle 2010). Some scholars have described a similar division between hierarchies and rules applied as guidelines or only applied to certain places, in parallel to an everyday negotiation of places in ancient cities in China (e.g. Gaubatz 1996). In addition, so it has been argued, fragmentation of the urban fabric has a long

¹⁰⁷ The Gini Coefficient in 2002 in China was 0.32, in Hong Kong in 2001 it was 0.53 and in Shenzhen in 2004-2005 it was 0.49 (UN-Habitat 2010: 267).

¹⁰⁸ The increasing problem of housing backlog not just in Guangzhou but also in China in general is not the main focus of this work (for further elaborations see Wang, Y. P. 2000; Zhang/Wan 2006; Wu, F. 2004).

tradition in the Chinese context and should be understood within its historic references rather than be compared to simingly similar phenomena in western planning cultures.

Some of the major challenges for implementation of planning are that bureaucratic procedures are too slow in relation to the actual development and that the distance between investors and decision makers is too short, sometime with rather blurry boundaries. As a consequence of lacking overall planning and limited implementation of planning, a differentiation in two scales becomes the reality: the city and the neighborhood. Whereas the city to a large extend follows the strategic plans developed, the actual implementation on the neighborhood scale often ends up depending on personal decisions due to the proximity between the demand side (i.e. investors) and decision-makers (e.g. district planning office). Consequently, the city becomes a collection of fragmented islands, increasingly moving from a reliance on cosmological ordering principles towards economics as a controlling influence of the urban (e.g. Kögel 2011).

7_Housing development in China and in Guangzhou

Housing provision for different income groups has been examined with a focus on ‘urban villages’ (e.g. Chan 2004), on ‘gated communities’ (e.g. Zhang 2010) and with a more general focus on residential neighborhoods and social cohesion in Guangzhou (e.g. Forrest/Yip 2004). In the following a brief overview of housing in ancient China, during the era of Mao and post-reform will be given.

7.1_Ancient housing concepts and socio-spatial layering¹⁰⁹

In older residential building structures both in the north and in the south of China, similar layering of spatial qualities within the household, but also within a neighborhood can be identified. In the Hutongs in the north for example, a courtyard is the center of the household, whereas the surrounding rooms build a boundary towards the exterior (see Wu, L. 1999 for a detailed analysis of the Hutongs in old Beijing). In Shanghai the old style shikumen lilongs have a similar concept of groups of ‘row houses’ all with their back to the streets in the city but with an internal street system independent of the street system of the city. The boundary between the settlement and the city is often constructed in a manner that the ‘walls’ are commercialized (for a detailed documentation of lilongs in Shanghai see for example Estève/Cheval 2010 or Lü et al. 2001).

Some scholars argue that in ancient times the household could be understood as a political unit (e.g. Lewis 2006. See also Cao (1973, 1977) on the Zhou family in ‘the Story of the Stone’). Similarly, the spatial unit of a household (Jian or Jia) is identifiable already in ancient cities (i.e. documentation of capital cities as well as temples) or in literature. A clear distinction between social as well as spatial ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ can be detected, as for example what is manifested in the spatial descriptions of the Story of the Stone, here illustrated by Yeo and Li (1991: 162):

¹⁰⁹ For a good overview of the correlation between culture and spatial expression in the form of settlements in China see Knapp 1989.

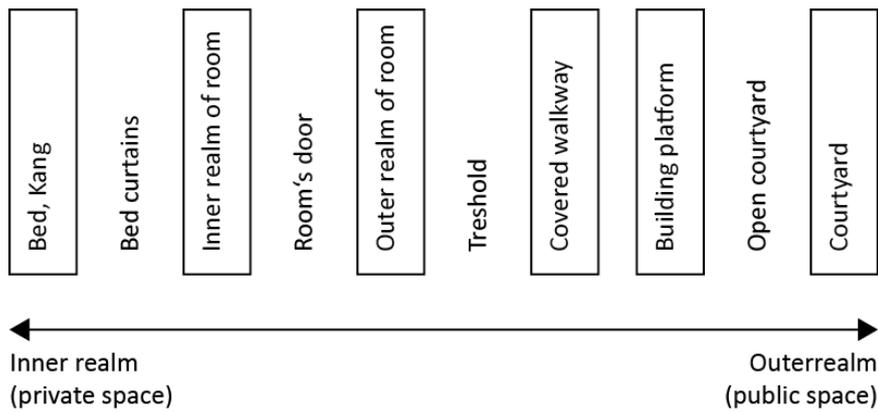


FIGURE 11: SOCIO-SPATIAL ORDER WITHIN THE HOUSEHOLD LEVEL AS DESCRIBED IN 'THE STORY OF THE STONE'.
SOURCE: YEO/LI 1991: 162.

They show a clear section of *boundaries* or spatial and social layers within the household that are permeable and, according to Yeo/Li (1991), illustrate the different nuances between private and public space on the household level.

Ancient socio-spatial constructions of residential areas in the south of China (especially in Guangdong and Fujian province) are for example reflected in the Tulous (see figure 12). The Tulous were constructed by the Hakka people, and were each occupied by family clans (for an overview and documentation of Hakka buildings in Guangdong province, see Knapp 2005: 192ff).

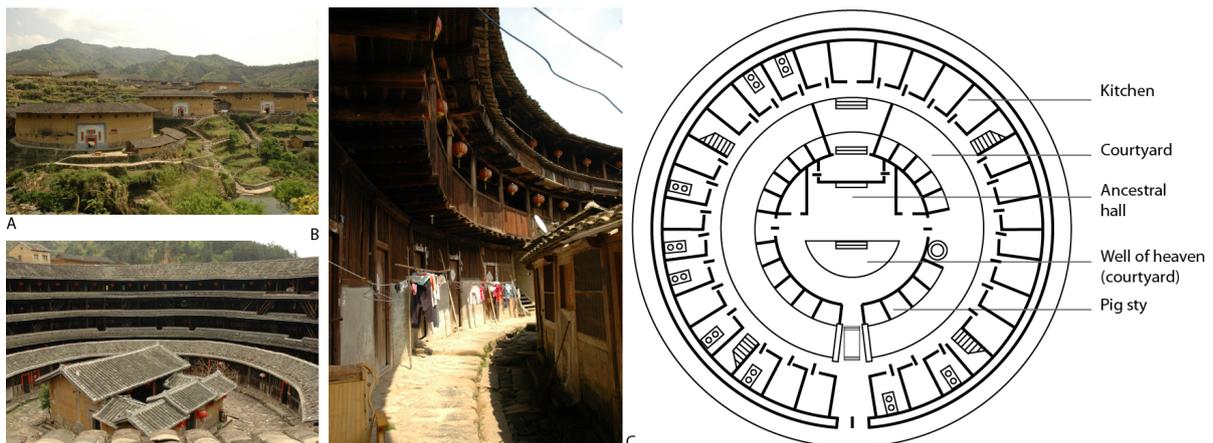


FIGURE 12: IMAGES OF HAKKA BUILDINGS – FUJIAN PROVINCE: A) ENSEMBLE OF HAKKA BUILDINGS, B) INNER COURTYARD WITH ANCESTRAL HALL, C) 'COURTYARD' BETWEEN THE KITCHENS AND THE PIG STYS.
SOURCE IMAGES: FOKDAL 2011. GROUND FLOOR OF HAKKA BUILDING. SOURCE: XU, P. 2000: 205.

Further, the spatial expression of this complexly defined unit can be related to fragmented islands (not only spatially) and in a dynamic manner to a continuous interpenetration or

infusion of *boundaries*, let it be social, political, economic or spatial. In a similar manner as on the scale of the city, the Hakka building reflects a clear hierarchy of spaces. In the inner courtyard the cosmological relation between heaven and earth is established through the ‘well of heaven’. In addition, the ‘hall of ancestors’ witness of the importance of and continued relevance of ancestors.

In the 19th and 20th century in the south of China, the architecture was inspired by the western colonialist, especially the Portuguese (Macao) and to some extent the British (Hong Kong). In addition, the Lingnan region is known for their large emigration to western countries, from where architectural influences might also have come. In the south of that region, especially in Guangzhou, stilt houses dominated the landscape and were partially documented by Ernst Boerschmann during one of his travels at the beginning of the 20th century.¹¹⁰ In the 1920s and 1930s, arcade dwellings with pillar corridors were constructed and can still be found in the inner city of some of the commercial areas in Guangzhou. These buildings are rather narrow and deep with shops at the ground floor and living areas on the top floors. The arcades provide shadow in a rather hot and sunny climate in addition to very rainy spring and summer seasons (see for example Deqi 2010).

The concept of enclosed residential areas as briefly described here, has experienced a revival after the Reforms and can be seen as a new local governance concept promoted after the turn of the century. However, in contrary to western modern concepts of ‘gated communities’ for example, the roots for the Chinese neighborhood concept can be found within the Chinese traditional planning concepts (e.g. the Baojia unit) and can be described by the terms of enclosure and boundaries (see also Münch 2004 on the aspect of ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ in relation to ‘neighborhoods’).

7.2_‘Socialist’ housing concepts

After the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, two types of urban housing emerged: Housing owned by the local government and housing owned by an enterprise (also state owned). Commoditized housing was stopped with the founding of the People’s Republic of China, and all property was turned over to the state. Instead, the employment related housing (*danwei*) was developed; it operated as a multifunctional neighborhood within the city, providing for all services needed. While some scholars argue that the ‘imported version’

¹¹⁰ For a detailed account on Ernst Boerschmann and his view on the Chinese city see Kögel 2011.

of the westernized and Soviet concepts of the neighborhood unit should be seen as overlays of the traditional concept of enclosed residential units within the context China (Webster et al. 2005); others argue, that the urban state owned factories (i.e. *danweis*) have similarities to the western concept of ‘company towns’ based on common characteristics related to the concentration of production (Lu 2006). A major difference however, is the location of the two types; while the company towns in the USA, for example, were often located in rural areas, *danweis* were mostly located in urban areas.

At the beginning of the 1950s, first attempts of constructing westernized influenced neighborhood units were made in Shanghai (e.g. Caoyang Xincun) and Beijing (e.g. Baiwan Zhuang) (Kwok 1981: 157; see also Stein 2010). Kwok (1981) defines the residential cluster as the smallest unit (300-500 residents), the neighborhood, including nursery and kindergarten (2,000-3,000 residents), the neighborhood cluster or village with primary schools and shops (8,000-9,000 residents), and finally the ‘new village’ with secondary school, department stores, post office, etc. (50,000-60,000). This – partially relying on traditions¹¹¹ – adaption of a western system, however, was soon overruled by the Soviet concept of ‘super blocks’. The objectives of the two concepts were described as follows:

‘The microdistrict aimed to organize residents’ lives efficiently, distribute facilities economically, and create an aesthetic living space. The neighborhood unit, in contrast, disguised class conflicts in capitalist society by creating a social and geographical unity’ (Lu 2006: 39).

No housing was constructed in Guangzhou between 1949 and 1979 apart from *danweis* and some residential areas for party cadres (Vogel 1989). Consequently, living space decreased to four square meters per capita during the same time period (Lü et al. 2001: 22).

In contemporary cities, some scholars argue that the space of the former *danweis* have become more ‘fluid’ based on three examples of spatial and social confrontations between working units and newly introduced forces, such as private investors (e.g. Lu 2006). Hereby Lu relies on the production of space as defined by Lefebvre (2007) and later labels the concept ‘liquid urban space’ (e.g. Lu 2006).

¹¹¹ One attempt of combining the American concept of neighborhood units with the traditional Baojia system took place in Chongqing under the guidance of the American planner Norman Gordon (Lu 2006: 26-27).

7.3 Post-reforms housing

After 1978, a set of national conferences on housing reforms were held (see table on urban housing in appendix C). Following, the state has largely transferred the task of constructing housing to private developers and sold most of the state owned housing.¹¹²

Some scholars argue that a dual track housing market has developed: one within the former welfare system (danwei) and one at the ‘open’ market (e.g. Sato 2006). In addition, an informal rental housing market has developed, which provides housing for the millions of migrants that have no legal access to either of the formerly mentioned public housing markets or for the private housing market lacking capital (Herrle/Fokdal 2012).¹¹³

The first housing market within the former welfare system includes what Wang (2011) defines as ‘modified work-unit residence’. In the following, the term ‘former danwei’ will be used.¹¹⁴ The former state owned housing has to a large extent been privatized and strongly subsidized due to rents below the market price. In 2000, the rental prices for an apartment in China were highest in Guangzhou (\$48.6/m²) followed by Beijing (\$36.8/ m²) (Logan et al. 2011). The pricing per square meter for the sale of public housing is based on characteristics on three levels: the location, the building and the apartment. Location in terms of infrastructure, shopping, public transport, etc.; building in terms of building materials, elevators, height of the building etc.; the apartment in terms of which floor and the direction bedroom windows face, etc. (Logan et al. 2011: 73ff).

The second housing market is the commercialized private housing market. Within two decades, the percentage of homeownership in urban areas in China has increased from less than 20 percent to 82 percent (Huang/Yi 2011: 89). Based on data from 2000, Logan et al.

¹¹² Even though the central government has promulgated the increased construction of social rental housing by at the latest 2007 by the state council, document No. 24 (see also table on urban housing in Appendix C), local authorities often see subsidized housing as non-profitable and as a short term solution (Wang, Y. P. 2011: 25). Approximately ten percent of the population is in need of social housing, however, in most cities implementing the policy only reaches around two percent. In other cases, the local authorities have turned the strategy into a cash subsidy, leaving it up to the applicant to find accommodation in the rental market (Wang, Y. P. 2011: 26). In Guangdong province, only 0.5 percent of the target affordable housing provision was reached (ibid.: 26). Some cities have made a division of the population into low-income with access to affordable housing, middle-income with access to ordinary commercial housing, and sometime a third category of ‘restricted commercial housing’ (Wang, Y. P. 2011: 27). The system has also seen some skewed distribution, in terms of giving privileged to public-sector employees.

¹¹³ Migrants with permanent residency in urban areas, however, can gain access to the public purchase or rental market if they are employed by a state-owned enterprise or enrolled at university (see Logan et al. 2011: 85ff).

¹¹⁴ In the 1980s, the inner-city areas comprised 21 percent of the total areas of Guangzhou city but equally housed 60 percent of its population (Xu/Yeh 2003: 365). The average floor area per capita of urban housing increased from 12.7 square meters in 1987 to 27.1 square meters in 2006 (Chow/Niu 2011: 48).

(2011: 78) found that purchasing prices of apartments were highest in Guangzhou (\$23.85/m²) followed by Shanghai (\$22.21/ m²) and Beijing (\$17.77/ m²).

The third housing market is the informal housing market in ‘urban villages’, which provides housing for non-urban residents (‘floating population’) or for low-income groups with otherwise no access to the two other housing markets.

Two major financing models for housing purchase have been identified: policy-driven (the Housing Provident Fund (HPF)) and market-oriented financing (mortgage loans – bank loans) (Deng/Fei 2011). The HPF is a saving scheme applied to urban areas in which all employers and employees¹¹⁵ have to contribute a percentage of their salary.¹¹⁶ The money is deposited into a commercial bank account by both parties. The account and the procedure is mostly taken care of by the state owned enterprise. Each city has a supervision center, which is under the responsibility of the respective municipality. Thus, the policies around the process vary from municipality to municipality since the policy execution is placed at the municipality level. The HPF system then provides low-cost loans to its members for housing repairs, construction or purchase (only for housing). The reality, however, shows that most purchases are financed by a hybrid version combining mortgage loans and the HPF (Deng/Fei 2011: 125).

The three main types of housing (markets) have been summarized in figure 13. While the former danwei housing and commodified housing can be found in most cities in China, the urban villages and their extent of bridging the housing gap is rather specific for the Pearl River Delta and for the major cities within the Pearl River Delta. At an increasing pace after the reforms, former rural villages found themselves in rapidly urbanizing areas. Over the decades, the former farmers have changed their main income from farming to real estate management, specialized in leasing industrial land as a collective and renting out housing to the increasing amount of internal migrants who have little access to the official housing markets.

¹¹⁵ From its initiation in 1991 until 2004, the HPF was only available to urban residents with an urban *hukou* or for employees with permanent residency in urban areas. Since 2005, participation has been made possible for employees with rural *hukous* and those who are self-employed (Deng/Fei 2011: 124).

¹¹⁶ The minimum payment is five percent by each of the parties, as stated by the central government. However, this payment varies from municipality to municipality according to local policies (Deng/Fei 2011: 123).

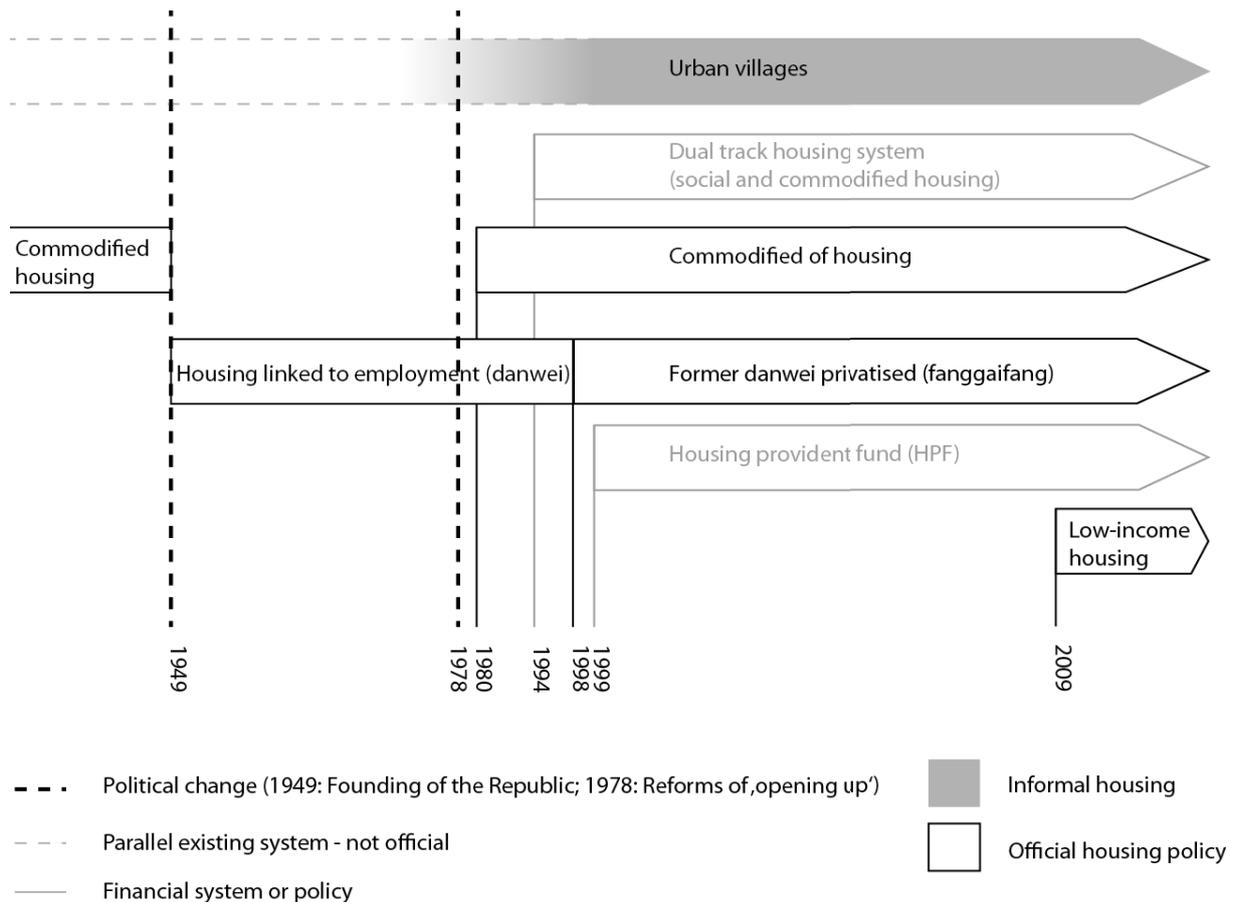


FIGURE 13: HOUSING TRENDS IN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. SOURCE: OWN DESIGN.

Several scholars have focused on specific housing conditions in Chinese cities, such as urban villages or migrants (e.g. Zhang et al. 2003; Wang, Y. P. 2004; Chan 2004; Liu et al. 2010b; Lin, Y. et al. 2011), on danwei (e.g. Lü/Perry 1997; Leaf 1998; Bray 2005; Wang/Murie 1999; Stein 2010), low-income housing (e.g. Wang, Y. P. 2011; Man 2011) on commercial housing or new residential areas (e.g. Zhang 2010). Wang, Y. P. (2011: 36-37) divides housing into 'modern gated communities' (luxury housing), 'modern semi-gated communities' (ordinary commercial housing, affordable housing and relocation projects), 'modified work-unit residence' (privatized danwei (*fanggai fang*) and housing cooperatives), old inner-city neighborhoods and finally, 'urban villages'. For this work, inner-city areas have been left out, as have 'modern gated communities'. 'Modern gated communities' are often located at the fringe of Guangzhou and are used as second or third apartments, and not as the primary place of residence. In the inner-city areas of Guangzhou, the lanes of rather deteriorated houses are full of life and multiple shops, however, the ownership constellation is often unclear and the living conditions are rather precarious. Between the categories 'modern gated communities' and 'modern semi-gated community' a whole range of communities that

are gated, however not luxury housing as stated by Wang, Y. P. (2011). In the following the term ‘gated community’¹¹⁷ will be used.

7.4_Housing in Guangzhou

Living space per capita in urban districts in Guangzhou increased from 3.82 squared meter in 1978 to 21.89 squared meter in 2011 (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2012a). In 2011, the selling price for residential buildings (RMB/m²) was 15.518 RMB/m² in Beijing, 13.566 RMB/m² in Shanghai, 21.037 RMB/m² in Shenzhen and 10.926 RMB/m² in Guangzhou. This makes Guangzhou to the seventh most expensive city in China (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2012b). The following diagram illustrates the amount of residential floor space constructed (Gross Floor Area – GFA) in comparison to the total amount of floor space constructed in Guangzhou 2011.

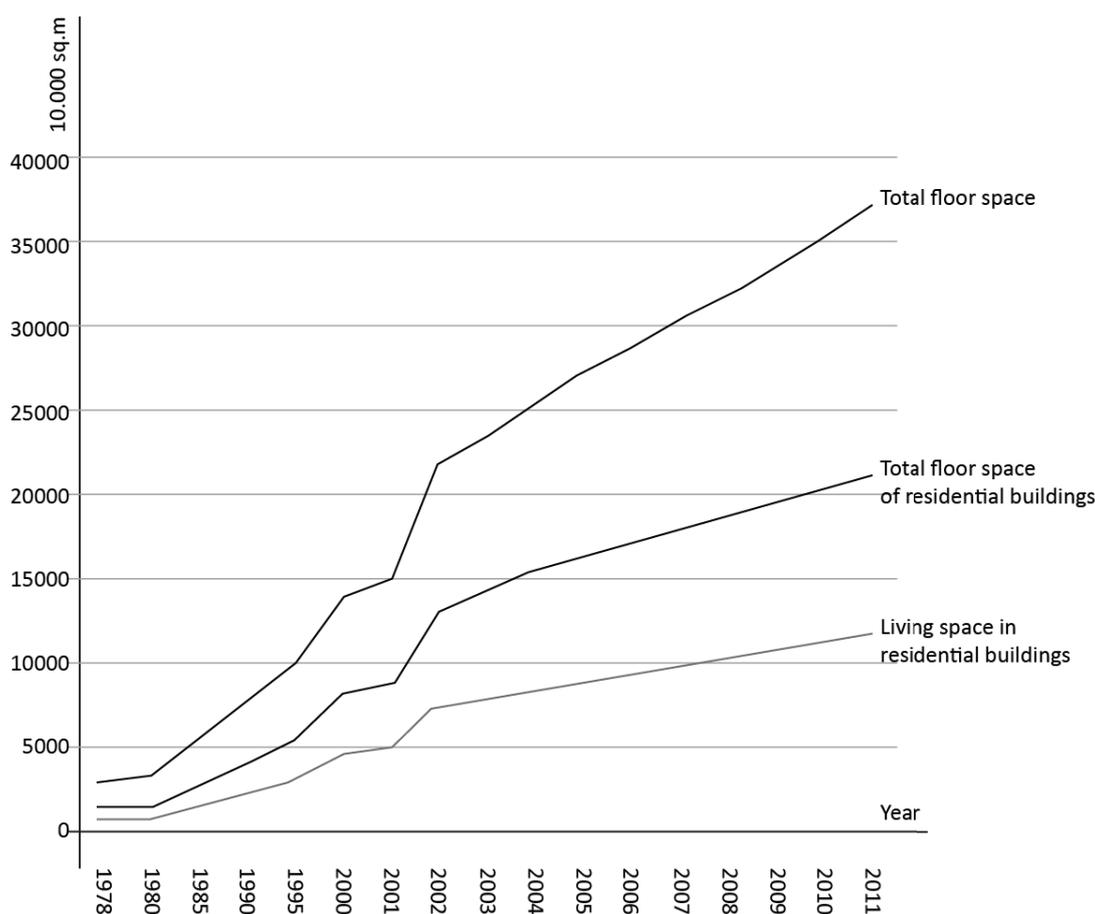


FIGURE 14: FLOOR SPACE OF BUILDINGS IN URBAN DISTRICTS IN GUANGZHOU. SOURCE: NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF CHINA 2012A, TABLE 9-5.

¹¹⁷ The term *gated community* as used here acknowledges the Chinese traditions of enclosure as discussed previously and should not be confused with the western connotations of the term.

In addition, the relationship between floor space in residential buildings (i.e. GFA) and the actual living space in residential buildings (Gross Leasable Area – GLA) has changed only little (living space amounting to 60 percent of the total residential floor space in 1978 and to approximately 55 percent in 2011). While at the beginning of 1980, most residential floor space was still linked to the work-units, the more current numbers are a reflection of the multiple recreational facilities that are used to attract private homebuyers.

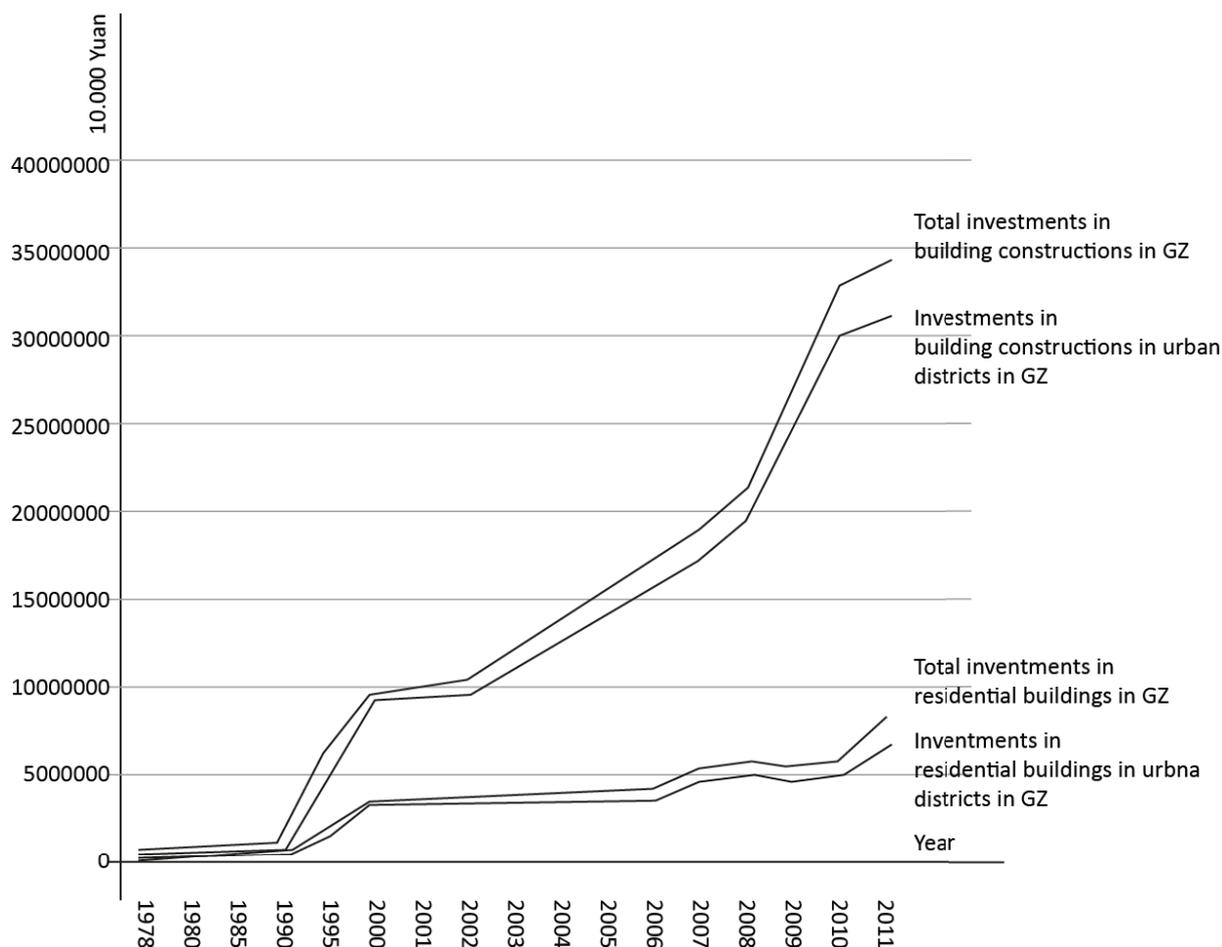


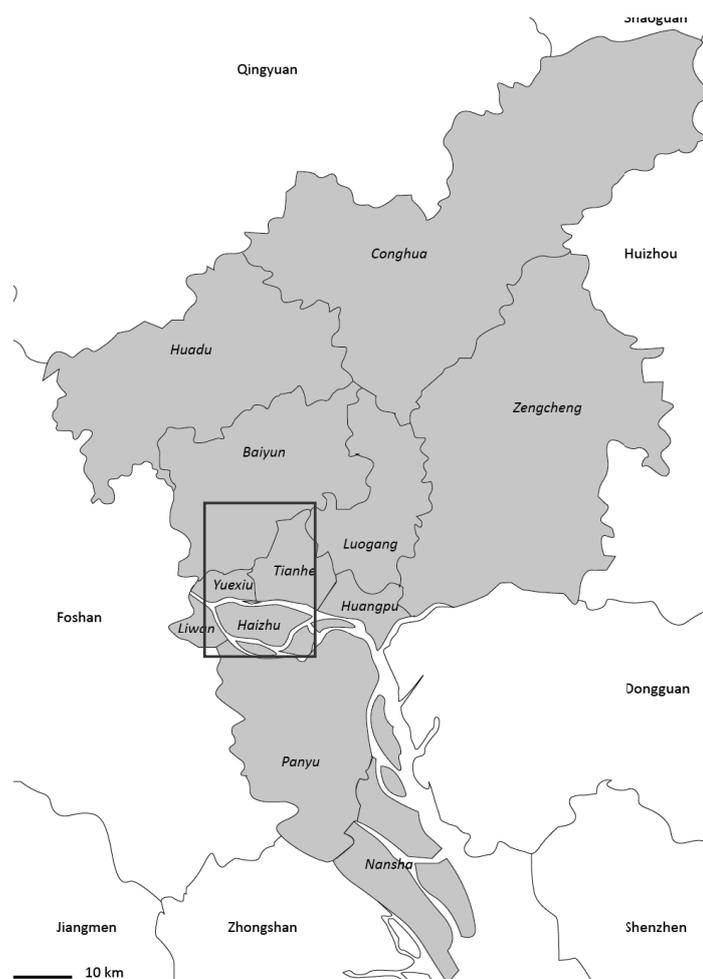
FIGURE 15: INVESTMENT IN BUILDINGS/RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS IN GENERAL IN GUANGZHOU AND IN URBAN DISTRICTS IN GUANGZHOU. SOURCE: NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF CHINA 2012A, TABLE 4-10 AND TABLE 4-11.

Figure 15 illustrates the investment in building construction in total in Guangzhou and the relatively low amount residential buildings account for in urban areas. These data support the assumption that constructing residential floor space is less profitable than constructing office space or industrial spaces. In appendix E, a statistical overview of the main constructors of residential floor space in urban areas in Guangzhou reveals that the state only plays a minor role in constructing residential floor space. Obviously, this aspect is linked with the earlier

statement of local governments being entrepreneurial and having to finance their own budget, which has led to multiple land markets as well as an exploding real estate market with property used as investment. According to Fung et al. (2013):

‘China had more than 4 billion square meters of residential property under construction, enough to satisfy demand for more than four years without a single new project started.’

However, while the urban population is growing rapidly with internal migration from rural to urban areas, most newcomers cannot afford the commodified or former danweis and enter the informal housing market in ‘urban villages’, especially in the south of China. In the following, the former danweis (fanggai fang) (i.e. ‘modified work-unit residence’), the *gated communities* understood as commodified housing and ‘urban villages’ will briefly be described in terms of their history, the accessibility and the administrative structure behind them.



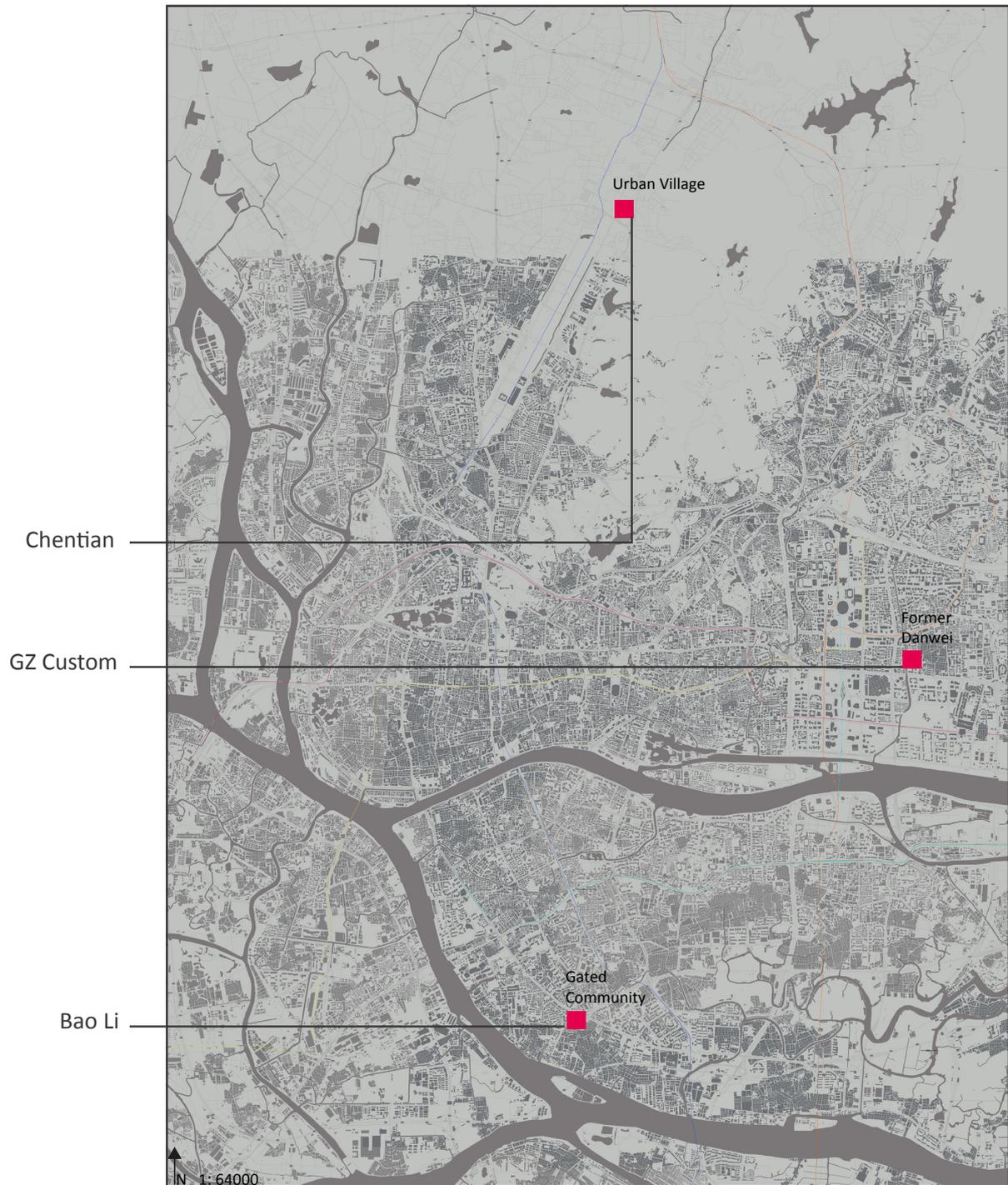


FIGURE 16: LOCATION OF THE THREE HOUSING TYPES SURVEYED. SOURCE: BASED ON GOOGLE MAPS 2013.

7.4.1 Danweis

The *danwei* has been researched from several aspects, among others from the anthropological aspect (Zhang 2010) and from the spatial and social aspect (Lü/Perry 1997). However, the *danwei* can also be seen as a spatial unit for governance, especially within urban areas (Bray 2005). Pre-reform, a *danwei* was a socio-economic working unit accommodating all workers.

In its planning concept it was a combination of the traditional *baojia*,¹¹⁸ the American concepts of ‘neighborhood’ and Soviet ideals¹¹⁹ (Kögel 2004). The scale of the living unit was expanded from the family to a work unit, however, the traditional division between ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ was incorporated (see also Münch 2004). The *danwei* was
 „...*funktional wenig differenzierte(n), standardisierte(n) Stadtlandschaften aus ummauerten Arbeits-, Wohn- und Versorgungseinheiten.*“ (Münch 2004: 45).¹²⁰

Before the opening up and reforms 80 to 90 percent of the urban population lived in *danweis* (Zhang 2010: 31).¹²¹

‘The work unit is one’s rice bowl but it is also one’s ‘face’. So if a person doesn’t have a work unit then they will have no face. Not only does the lack of a work unit exclude the possibility of a person to have face, but even worse, without a work unit they are often pigeon-holed as being ‘suspicious characters’ or ‘dangerous persons’. One can even go so far as to say that, without a work unit, such people come to be regarded as ‘unemployed idlers.’ (Bray 2005: 4).

In the late 1980s, a campaign was launched by the central state for *danweis* to privatize the *danwei*-controlled housing to the tenants (Zhang 2010: 34 – See also table 7 on urban housing in appendix C).

The units could be either financed by the central government (*zhongyang danwei*) or by the local government (*difang danwei*). Each of the entities, however, would have so-called basic work units (*jiceng danwei*) as sub-divisions (Lu 2006: 49-50). The financial capacities and the land resources available were largely depending on the rank of the *danwei* in the national hierarchy; accordingly, central *danweis* often had more funding and larger spatial resources than local *danweis*. Also, the size of the work units varied largely, from a couple of hundred to thousands of workers.

Spatially, one of the main characteristics was the proximity between living and working, however, there are regional differences around the country. Lu (2006: 52) lists a set of

¹¹⁸ *Baojia* was a unit of 10 households, which was used in relation to tax collection for the neighborhood and the village (Elman 2010: 334). Spatially, a *baojia* have also been associated with the typical ‘yard houses’ from the Ming and Qing dynasty, often found in the northern parts of China, were spatial units groups around an exterior space (also labeled *Baojia*).

¹¹⁹ Except for the scale of the Soviet, micro-districts constructed in the 1950s were much larger and could house up to approximately 10,000 inhabitants.

¹²⁰ *...functionally little differentiated, and standardized urban landscapes of walled working-, living- and provision units.* (Translated by the author).

¹²¹ During the Cultural Revolution, investment in housing stagnated and led to highly explosive conditions, leaving more than 30 percent of the urban population without accommodation (Wang/Murie 1999: 65).

common spatial aspects for most danweis as follows: 1) an entrance gate, walled enclosure; 2) internal street network; 3) proximity between living and working; 4) social facilities; 5) ‘rationalist architectural layout’. Large work units even resemble a small city in its complex system of services, infrastructure and facilities.

After reforms, housing in urban areas transformed from a welfare system (danwei) to a ‘socialized housing security system’ (Lü/Shao 2001: 190). Consequently, the state started experimenting by selling out state owned housing (*fanggai fang*). In 1998, the distribution of housing through the danwei system was abolished (Chen et al. 2011: 1). Some scholars, however, argue that the former danweis still have a lot of power under the commoditized housing market (Zhang 2010). They are often used as a negotiator between the real estate developer and the investor (former workers). Further, Logan et al. (2011) found that the allocation system of ‘nonmarket’ housing (public purchase and public rental) functions in a quite similar matter as under the socialist system (the danwei system).

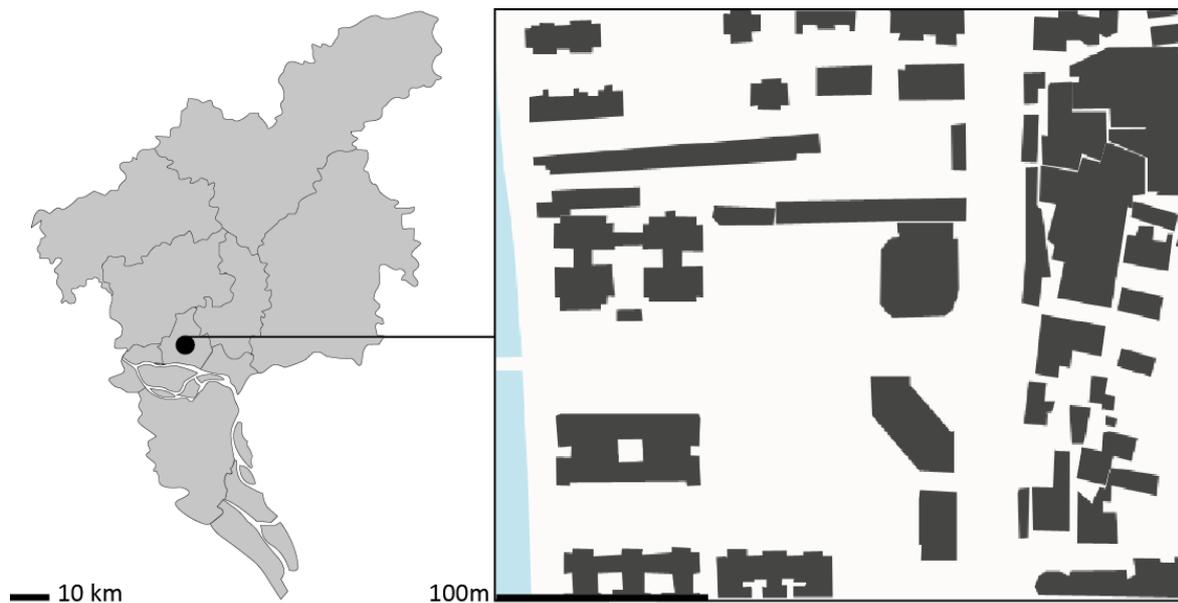


FIGURE 17: GUANGZHOU CUSTOM, FORMER DANWEI AS SURVEYED. SOURCE: OWN DESIGN.

Guangzhou Custom owns multiple buildings (nr. 1 through to nr. 44) along the Haixin Road in Tianhe district. An example of a former danwei is building nr. five which was constructed in the 1970s and has apartments in an average size of 70 to 80m². The average selling price (RMB/ m²) is announced as 14.474, however a former owner states that she sold her 88m² apartment for 21.590 RMB/m² in 2013.



FIGURE 18: A) VIEW DOWN ON THE GREEN AREA WITHIN THE FORMER DANWEI AREA. B) THE ENTRANCE GATE OF THE FORMER DANWEI AS SURVEYED. SOURCE: FOKDAL 2011.

7.4.2 *Gated communities* – private home ownership

The 1980s were characterized by a transition in which prices of rental housing stayed very low, resulting in little interest for the real estate market which was slowly evolving. Between 1980 and 1983, the investment of individuals in housing went from 1.6 to 7 percent. The increase in individual initiatives and investments, however, was not coordinated with the overall city master plans – leading to a large fragmentation of urban areas. In 1985, a ‘Blue Paper on Technical Policies’ stated the need for improved living conditions (Lü/Shao 2001: 191). Experiments such as largely subsidized purchasing of urban dwellings were introduced. The buyer would get the property rights, which were confirmed in a housing property certificate from the housing administration department. In the planning of residential areas, three levels of consideration were to be included in the designs: the residential buildings, the neighborhood cluster and the residential area as such (Lü/Shao 2001: 230).

The definition of the apartment unit, which included different functional spaces into the living unit, such as kitchen and bathroom, was a first step to improve living conditions. A second step included the increased flexibility and adaptability to different lifestyles.¹²²

In 1991, the number of real estate developers was around 4,000, however by the end of 1992 it increased to 12,000. Around 16 percent of which were purely founded by foreigners or by

¹²² For a detailed overview of different housing designs and layouts of residential areas in the 1980s and 1990s, see Lü/Shao 2001.

joint ventures¹²³ (see also Zhang 2010 on commodification of housing and the dreams of the new emerging middle class in China).

In the newer residential areas established by real estate developers, the concept of ‘enclosure’ as described earlier is carried on. The main idea is a residential area with an offer of various facilities (e.g. kindergartens, sports facilities, restaurants, etc., and fees being paid by the residents, increased security). However, the commodified housing market does also underlay restrictions to include certain facilities when constructing residential complexes, (e.g. community clubhouses and services which have been ‘privatized’) (Lu 2006).

The result is a ‘city of islands’ of ‘communities’, recalling the image of the typical American gated community, however, with a completely different historical background.

In more recent years, the housing market has seen some challenges in terms of an artificially created demand due to the fact that real estate is seen as a good and secure investment.

Consequently, the supply has increased drastically and has led to so-called ‘ghost cities’ in suburban areas of major urban agglomerations. Further, the artificial demand has increased the per square meter price of real estate in most larger cities. The central government has introduced stricter regulations for controlling the housing market – see the table on urban housing in appendix C.



FIGURE 19: *GATED COMMUNITY ‘BAO LI GARDEN’ AS SURVEYED. SOURCE: OWN DESIGN.*

¹²³ In 1993, the number of real estate developers in China had increased to 30,000 – see Lü et al. 2001 for an overview of housing development in China since the 1840.

An example of a *gated community* is Bao Li Garden located at Gongye Avenue in Haizhu district was constructed in 2004. The community is limited by the Gongye Avenue running north-west/south-east and the Shigang lu running south-west towards north-east. Bao Li Garden was constructed by Bao Li Real Estate Company and the first apartment was sold in December 2004. The complex has apartments with two to five living rooms and living areas from around 70m² to 300m². Multiple facilities such as swimming pool, a small lake, kinder garden, and three smaller supermarkets are included in the area. A middle size apartment has ca. 93m² construction area and around 80m² living area. In 2005 the average selling price was 5.100 RMB/m² which in 2013 increased to 15.238 RMB/m².



FIGURE 20: A) VIEW OVER 'BAO LI GARDEN' TOWARDS THE RIVER. B) PART OF THE GREEN AREA BETWEEN THE BUILDINGS. SOURCE: FOKDAL 2011.

7.4.3_ 'Urban villages'¹²⁴

He et al. (2010) classify 'urban villages' as a unique 'low-income' residential area among several other types of residential solutions. Based on location, Wang et al. (2009: 960) differentiate between 'urban villages' (*chengzhongcun*) located in inner-city locations; 'semi-urbanized villages' in the rural- urban interface (*chengbiancun*); and 'semi-urbanized villages' in suburban areas (*chengwaicun*). A more ethnographic approach has been suggested by Zhang (2001): For Beijing, he defines an 'urban village' in terms of origin of the inhabitants and their struggle for existence (see also Zhang 1997 on informal settlements in Beijing). Yet a legalist approach focusing on the southern province of Guangdong emphasizes the issue of land use rights (Tian 2008). Land as an asset and resource in the hands of

¹²⁴ Parts of this paragraph on 'urban villages' is being published in Herrle et al. 2014.

villagers is of particular relevance to the situation in the Pearl River Delta. What differentiates the ‘urban villages’ in Beijing from the ‘urban villages’ in the Pearl River Delta is the land acquisition model applied by the city and district governments. These approaches define ‘urban villages’ as passively absorbed by the urbanization process. However, the phenomenon cannot be limited to the core areas of the large cities such as Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Dongguan, Foshan and Zhuhai. Rather, a broad range of villages in different stages of a local urbanization process is to be found within the whole delta, especially in inter-urban areas or along major transportation routes (see Herrle et al. 2014 for a discussion on ‘urban villages’ and their role in shaping the ‘mega-urban landscape’ in the Pearl River Delta).

In Guangzhou city, there are 138 ‘urban villages’ in the inner city area, which are all supposed to be ‘redeveloped’ under the ‘one-village, one strategy’ policy (see Herrle et al. 2014 on the official planning approaches toward ‘urban villages’ in Guangzhou). In Guangzhou, ‘urban villages’ have been an eye sore for planners for decades (Zhou 2005). The inner-city ‘urban villages’ have been thoroughly researched in terms of migration patterns (Zhang 2001, Zhang et al. 2003, Guo/Zhang 2006), partially in terms of their physical structures (land use patterns) and ‘semi-urbanized spaces’ (Wang et al. 2009), and to a limited extent with a focus on housing and property rights (Tian 2008, Chan 2004, Wu 2009).

The ‘urban villages’ fill the gap for low-income housing left by the state. Mostly migrant workers from other provinces but also students find accommodation in the narrow houses. Often the infrastructure is not sufficient and due to the narrow lanes between the buildings, they have turned into firetraps. Most residents rent an apartment from the original villagers and work in nearby located factories. Alternatively, the classic Chinese ‘shop house’ is used as a residence and for business. In a survey conducted within the priority program ‘megacities- megachallenge’ by Herrle/Ipsen in 2010, several migrant workers had rented multiple apartments for various purposes (e.g. storage, living, etc.).

Spatially, the ‘urban villages’ often have a residential core surrounded by workshops and small industries. The main entrance points to the villages are normally gated by a security guard and marked by the gate to the former village.



FIGURE 21: A) TYPICAL HOUSING SITUATION IN THE 'URBAN VILLAGE' CHEN TIAN. B) NARROW ALLEY BETWEEN THE RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS. SOURCE: FOKDAL 2009.

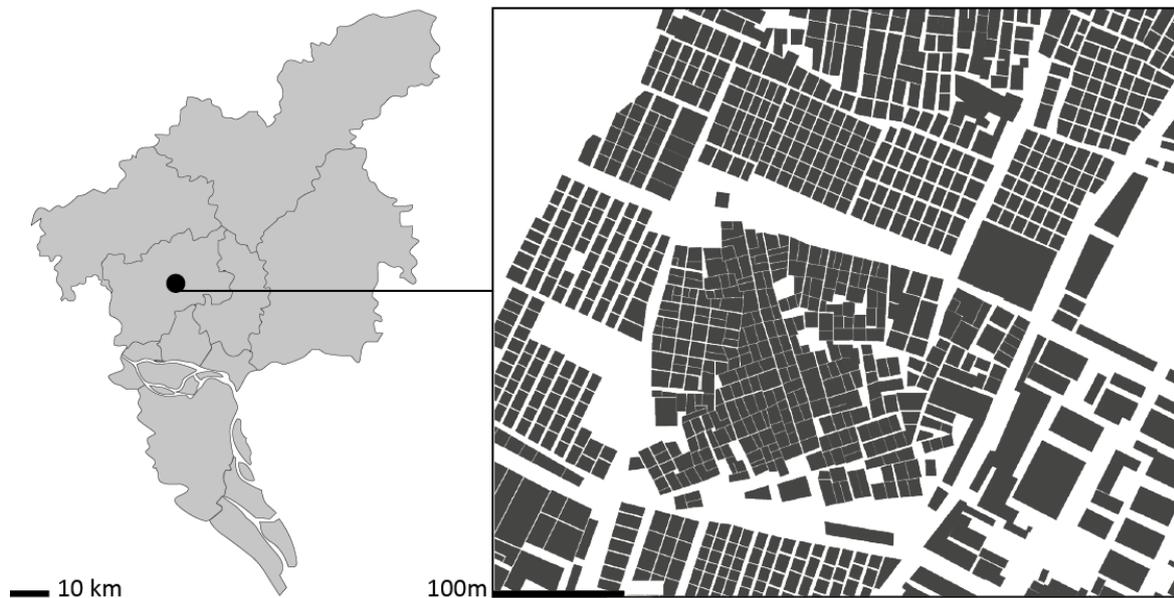


FIGURE 22: 'URBAN VILLAGE' AS SURVEYED. SOURCE: OWN DESIGN.

Chen Tian is an example of an 'urban villages' located in the fringe of Guangzhou in Baiyun district. Its land resources are divided by the Baiyun dadao running from the inner city to the new international airport. On the lands west of the Baiyun dadao, the University of Foreign Language is located and the 'urban village' has constructed multiple rows of buildings housing different shopping options, as well as a small square. On the eastern side of Baiyun dadao, the main gate to the 'urban village' is located. Chen Tian was a rural village relying on agriculture and fishponds until changes started in 1994. In 1996 a complete transformation from agriculture to living off revenues from land leasing had taken place. In 2001 the village

officially transformed its status from rural to urban.¹²⁵ In 2008 the rent for a small flat with approximately 15m² was 200RMB/month.

Common for the three different types of housing is the almost consistent gate-like situation indicating the entrance to a new ‘zone’ or area. The examples given here are not case study areas, but should rather be seen as examples of housing types.

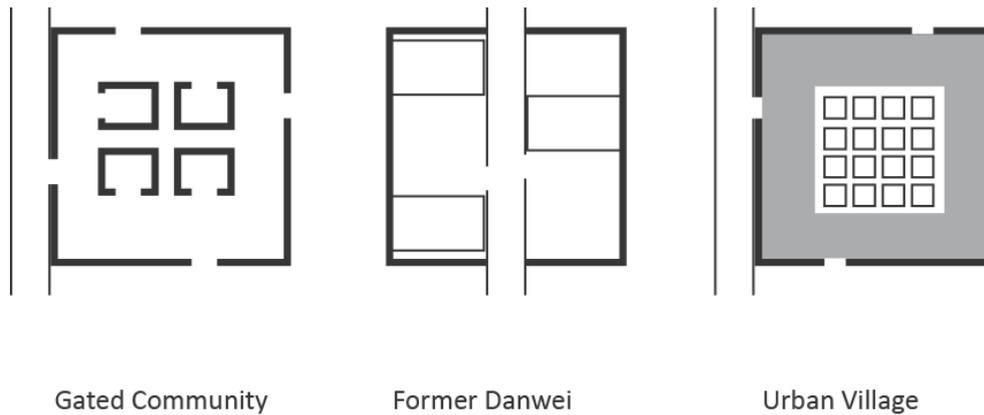


FIGURE 23: DIAGRAMS OF SIMPLIFIED SPATIAL LAYOUT OF *GATED COMMUNITIES* (I.E. RESIDENTIAL AREAS), FORMER DANWEIS AND ‘URBAN VILLAGES’. SOURCE: OWN DESIGN.

The *gated community* mostly has a rather visual and guarded boundary and an internal path/street system that is independent to that of the city. The former danweis on the other hand often have larger areas with streets running through the ‘neighborhood’. Mostly, each side of the street is guarded and gated however the complete area is recognized as one unit. The ‘urban villages’ mostly have an entrance gate from former days, indicating which village one is about to enter. The entrance is not just to a residential area but to a complete community with industry, commerce, official administration, etc. The grey zone surrounding the residential area in the diagram above indicates that mixed use of the complete area, which is enclosed. All three types of housing have multiple services or functions included in the residential concept. In the *gated community*, recreational facilities, restaurants and shopping options are included in the enclosed area. In the former danweis, recreational facilities are often also included, however these are often exclusively accessible for workers still related to the employer. In ‘urban villages’, a complete informal system providing services such as kindergartens, healthcare, etc. has developed for the large number of inhabitants who do not have access to the formal services provided in the city (see for example Bork-Hüffer 2012 on

¹²⁵ All land located in urban areas belong to the local government and land declared as rural is administrated by village committees. See also chapter six for a detailed description of mechanisms related to land.

the aspect of informal healthcare). The origin of the inhabitants within the three areas is diverse. Whereas most residents of former danweis originate from Guangzhou, most inhabitants of ‘urban villages’ are internal migrants from other regions of Guangdong province (rural-urban migration) or from other provinces. In the ‘modern semi-gated communities’, a mixture between inhabitants from Guangzhou and from other regions is found. In addition, a differentiation in income can be made between the three areas, with the ‘urban village’ as a low-income area, the former danweis as lower-middle income area and the *gated communities* as middle to higher-middle income area.

7.5_Summary

During the last decades, housing as a concept as well as a system has changed: from being within the hands of the state and as a service distributed to the workers of a danwei (work unit), to becoming a commodity that has developed into one of the most prestigious objects of speculation and of status. The state has almost completely withdrawn from its responsibility of providing housing for the lowest income groups despite increased demand. Large numbers of migrant workers with limited access to the commercial housing market have moved into the city seeking jobs in various industries and in the service sector. Accordingly, so-called ‘urban villages’ fill the gap of housing for the ‘invisible’ population in densely populated areas within the city. For higher income groups, many people purchased apartments (i.e. units) in *gated communities* either with the help of their former danweis or by investing personal capital. Middle income groups often buy the apartment formerly owned by their danwei (state owned). These different housing situations reflect various degrees of social cohesion within the residential areas, as well as the complexity bound to the concept of housing.

Even though several western (e.g. neighborhood unit) and Soviet (e.g. ‘micro residential district’) concepts for spatial organization of the city have been imported, implemented and at times adapted to the Chinese context, ancient socio-spatial ordering concepts (e.g. Baojia) seem to lay the foundation for the acceptance of enclosing concepts. Danweis, as they were developed in the early era of the People’s Republic of China are examples of socio-spatially defined areas with mixed use incorporating ancient principles as well as imported concepts in various degrees (e.g. Münch 2004; Kögel 2005; Hassenpflug 2013). More recent examples of enclosure in the city are *gated communities* and in a larger and multi-diverse fashion, ‘urban villages’ (e.g. Herrle/Fokdal 2012). While *gated communities* should not be understood in

equal manners as the North American concept, serving the higher income levels, 'urban villages' serve the informal housing market. All three types of areas have limited access through gates and are spatially enclosed by walls or buildings turning their 'back' to the street.

Focusing on the three types of housing 'systems' (i.e. 'urban villages', former *danweis* (*fanggai fang*) and *gated communities*) introduced in this chapter, the following chapter will further elaborate on the physical manifestation of social action and the symbolic meanings subscribed to places in the three housing types.

8_Social action, cognition and the built environment

Following the examination of the built environment, housing and its (re)configurations according to different spatial scales, this chapter looks into the activity system (social action) and cognition. The aim of this chapter is to investigate the correlation between social action, cognition and the built environment (i.e. the three housing types previously defined). An underlying hypothesis is that terms such as ‘private’ and ‘public’ as they are used in the western connotation do not apply in a similar manner to the perception and preferred qualities of places in the context of Guangzhou in the south of China. Further, it is assumed that the quality of places is rather defined through social action than by planned functions. Accordingly, the symbolic meaning implied by social action in relation to the built environment on different scales is being investigated in the following.

8.1_Views on Guangzhou

Reflections on the city of Guangzhou in the semi-structured interviews revealed a clearly divided opinion on where the city center of Guangzhou is located according to the length of the interviewees’ stay in Guangzhou. All respondents who stayed shorter than five years defined Tianhe as the current downtown, whereas all other respondent defined Haizhu or Zhujiang as the current downtown of Guangzhou.

‘It depends on whether it is in the past or in the future. In the past, it was the Tianhe District, in the future it might be the Zhujiang New Town’ (23032011).

By some the megacity of Guangzhou was defined as a dynamic city, as in the quote above, by others it was defined as a polycentric city as stated below: *‘Guangzhou has several downtowns’* (see for example 31032011).

As pointed out by Rapoport 1977, a city’s center is attributed different meanings, which was also the case in the semi-structured interviews (see figure 24). One bias in this aspect is that the meaning of ‘city center’ can be understood differently (e.g. personal center of the city or the ‘official’ center of the city, the commercial center, etc.). In the megacity of Guangzhou, the various answers on the location of the city center (e.g. downtown located in Zhujiang new town and for others the downtown of Guangzhou is in Haizhu district) could also be a reflection of the constantly evolving city with multiple centers – a mirror of the planners

striving for a ‘modern and civilized city’. Thus, correlating the meaning of center in terms of function (business, commerce, residential, etc. – lifestyle related aspects) with the geographical aspect, the city of Guangzhou is perceived as a polycentric city. In addition, the current restructuring of inner city areas can be seen as an important influence for the dynamics reflected in the answers. Discussing the city, it becomes obvious that certain elements are constant but the meanings subscribed to them are different (e.g. the city center). The degree of simplification within the hierarchy of spaces is linked to the aspect of frequency. Thus, routines in an urban environment that are done on a daily base are much more detailed, than routines done on a less frequent base or without frequency (Rapoport 1977: 124):

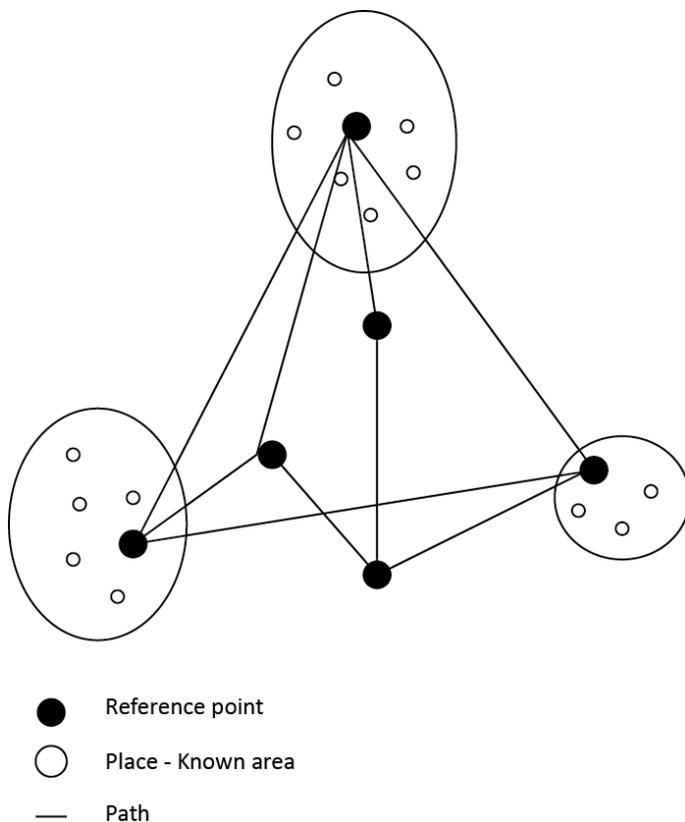


FIGURE 24: TYPICAL PATTERNS OF MENTAL MAPS. SOURCE: BASED ON RAPOPORT 1977: 38.

Further, Zhu et al. (2011) found that the image of the city of Guangzhou as a global and civilized city was strongly influenced by the image created in the advertisements in the subway of Guangzhou. Relevant for this work is not just the perception of the inhabitants of the city, but mainly their perception in relation to the built environment (i.e. housing), with a focus on different spatial zones and spatial qualities.

Below a selection of the mental maps combined with findings of the auto-photography is presented according to the housing type the respondents were living in (see also the chapter on method for a more in-depth discussion on the relevance of this method for research of cognitive processes in relation to the built environment).

8.2_Former danwei

All interviewees living in former danweis originated from Guangzhou city or from surrounding towns or villages meanwhile incorporated into the urban fabric of Guangzhou city. *Places of belonging* thus were mainly defined within the city of Guangzhou. Also in describing the city of Guangzhou, the ‘officially’ proclaimed city center was mostly recognized, however the district, in which the interviewees were living, was always mentioned as the personal center of the city:

‘Many may say that the center of Guangzhou is in Tianhe or at Zhujiang New Town, but for me the center is always in our district...’ (29032011).

This identification with the district, or at times even with the (former) danwei, has also been described by Bray (2005). Thus, both the actual building, the district and the city of Guangzhou played a large role in the respondents identity and self-perception.

8.2.1_Spatial perception

Most of the interviewees living in former danweis had bought the apartment they were living in. Some stated that they had two apartments, leasing the second apartment to others, having moved to another building constructed by their danwei with better conditions or into a *gated community*.



FIGURE 25: MENTAL MAP DRAWN BY AN INTERVIEWEE LIVING IN A FORMER DANWEI.

Multiple aspects are interesting about the mental map presented in figure 25. First, the level of detail, which is added to the map and which is characteristic for all mental maps drawn by interviewees living in former danweis. Second, the way in which areas are enclosed by a line and third, the clear indication of the gate which divides the street from the areas 'inside' the gate. Another interviewee describes the different zones in relation to her apartment house *'there actually is a garden in the area...it is not between the road and my house though. It is just near my house. I think it cannot be called a community'* (31032011). The statement clearly indicates that there is a clear perception of what a 'community' is. In this case it is related to a completely enclosed area with gated entrances.

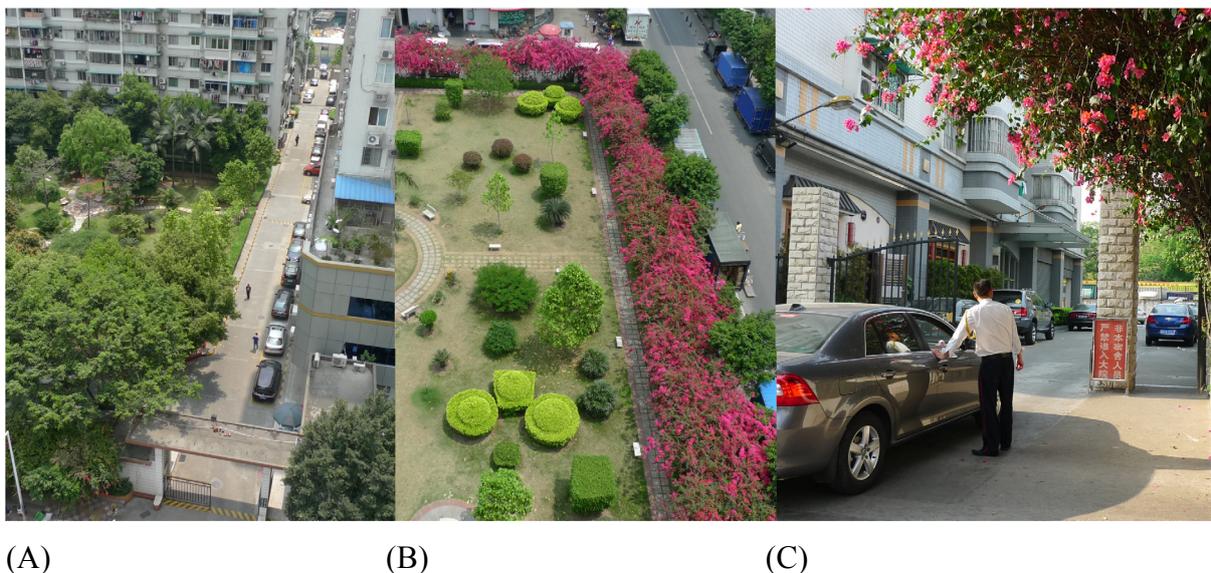


FIGURE 26: (A) VIEW ACROSS THE STREET SEPARATING TWO GATED AREAS WITHIN THE SAME FORMER DANWEI. (B) THE GARDEN WITHIN THE GUARDED AREA IN WHICH THE INTERVIEWEE LIVES. (C) THE ACTUAL GUARD AND GATE TO ENTER THE LIVING AREA FROM THE STREET.

The interviewee who took these picture orients according to ‘communities’: ‘...*I cross the runway and then I walk into another community. I just walk straight and then get out [of the community] ...*’ (31032011).

One of the interviewees for example, did not mention the green area incorporated in the former danwei territory, however, in the follow up interview on the auto-photography, it turns out that there is a larger area with a garden and sports facilities connected to the community. The facilities are differentiated and limited in access between employees of the Guangzhou Custom and residents. Residents can only access the sports facilities, for example, during working hours, whereas employees have continuous access. Even though the interviewee did not see the outside areas as part of the residential community during the first interview, it turns out that when she shows me her pictures, she appropriated it by stating ‘this is *my* garden’. She often goes jogging there or walking while others dry their clothes (this is however, later on in the interview only subscribed to elderly people).

When discussing the spatial boundary between inside and outside, one of the interviewees clearly states her appropriation of the communal space – the playground at the housing estate – for laundry drying or for setting out her plants.¹²⁶

¹²⁶ The interviewee was in her late forties and does not fall under the actual sample of 20-30 years old respondents. However, the information is included here in order to support the recognition of changing ways of defining and subscribing qualities to places.

Seeking to be alone, most of the respondents preferred to stay in their own room. All respondents have their own room in the apartment. As stated by one of the interviewees:

'At home, I am always alone. My mom is not at home all the time, and my father is in Beijing. So...I am always alone at home' (31032011).

Physical boundaries on the level of architecture, such as façades, are mostly described in relation to their function. Balconies, for example, are mostly used for drying clothes and are understood as a place belonging to the apartment – without reflection on the representational value the interface between inside and outside could have:

'I have got some flowers and a fish tank. I put them outside my apartment...You know, these things need sunlight and fresh air' (29032011).

Thus, the physical isolation through walls seem to be the main way of seeking to be alone for the interviewees living in former danweis, and the apartment in itself seems relatively mono-functional in comparison to the common spaces of the former danweis, in which communal life was described by most of the interviewees as something positive. On the one hand, thus, spatially-defined functions define the quality of the place in terms of seeking to be alone, whereas on the other hand, communal places are rather defined through social action than through defined functions (especially by the elderly; see also Goffman 1969 on this issue).

8.2.2_Symbolic meanings and practices

Independent of the belief of the interviewee, the practice of worship was always mentioned either as a seasonal recurrent action of visiting the hometown or a specific church or temple as described in following statement:

'My grandma is Christian and she always go to the church located in FangCun, while my parents are Buddhist and we always go back to my hometown to celebrate, since there is no such place in Guangzhou' (23032011).

Thus, the actual *place of worship* seems to be consistent for the respondents living in former danweis. Nevertheless, traditions for example are integrated into new places of commerce. The traditional morning tea, for example, for which Canton is famous is still part of the rituals practiced by the younger generation. Morning tea is mostly enjoyed in restaurants. In the

semi-structured interviews, it became obvious that the tradition has been integrated into new commercial places such as going for a morning tea in the tea mall in Tian He district.

One of the interviewees described how her ritual for celebration has changed as she and her family got more wealthy: *'In the past, we prepared meals in our apartment [for celebrations]. Now, as life is better, we go to restaurants to celebrate'* (29032011). Several interviewees living in former danweis mentioned KTV as a social action for celebration or as *places of representation*.

8.3_Gated community

The interviewees living in *gated communities* had a mixed background of people originating from Guangzhou city or Guangdong province. Comments were made to distinguish between renters and owners and thereby between 'foreigners' as in people from other provinces and 'Guangzhou-ness'.

8.3.1_Spatial perception

According to one of the interviewees living in a *gated community*, there are many gates, and different types of gates are more or less permeable. Sometime the boundaries are just limited by a code only letting people in with a resident card and at other times by a guard, especially in the interface with the street. In most cases, the buildings themselves also have a lobby in which a guard is standing.

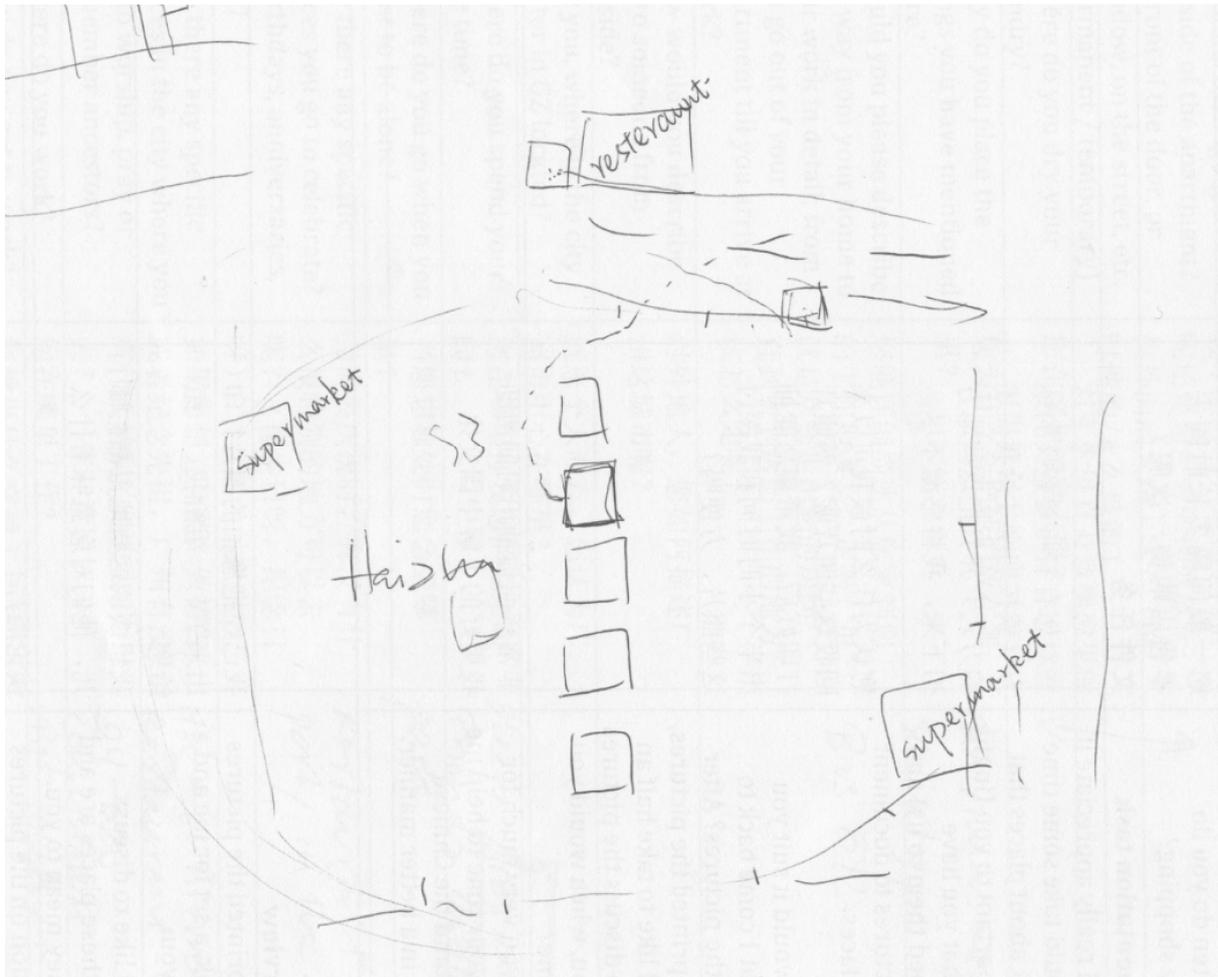


FIGURE 27: MENTAL MAP DRAWN BY ONE OF THE INTERVIEWEES LIVING IN THE *GATED COMMUNITY* 'BAO LI GARDEN' IN HAIZHU DISTRICT.

The mental map has clear indications of first, the complete area which is enclosed; second, the gates penetrating the boundary; and third, that the area between the gates and the buildings is relatively large. Finally, the indication of supermarkets also highlights some of the facilities that are included into the concept of *gated communities*. Thus, the boundary between the street and the actual residential buildings is relatively 'thick'. Through auto-photography, another interviewee documented the boundary in detail as shown in figure 27 and articulated in the interview:

'This is the gate of my home... this is the lobby of the community... this is the back gate... if you want to go through that door, you have to use a door card' (31032011).

A third interviewee described the area as follows: *'There are so many guards in my house, because it is a commercial garden, so there is a professional team of guards... there are so many kinds of gates...'* (31032011).



FIGURE 28: (A) SHOWS THE DISTANCE BETWEEN THE BUILDING AND THE GATE DIVIDING THE INSIDE OF THE AREA FROM THE STREET. (B) ILLUSTRATES THE ENTRANCE TO ONE OF THE BUILDINGS IN THE *GATED COMMUNITY*. (C) THE DOOR BETWEEN THE HALLWAY AND THE ENTRANCE DOOR TO THE ACTUAL APARTMENT.

According to some of the interviewees, the doors to apartments were documented in the auto-photographic task (see image (C) in figure 28). Here it became obvious that two doors are often used to separate the actual apartment from the common staircase or lift, as in this case one metal door between the hallway and the apartment and a wooden door that differentiates the zone to the actual living area. In a similar manner, one of the interviewees describes how she first closes the door to her apartment, then the ‘anti-burglar door’, passes the guard and then exits the final door or gate leading to the street.

Further, a differentiated division of zones within the ‘thick’ boundary of the *gated communities* became obvious in some of the auto-photographic images. For example, is the zone between the residential building and the gate further divided into small gardens that are fenced off from the common garden in one of the cases.

In most cases, the entrance to the area was made by car and consequently, the garden (i.e. *gated community*) was often not part of the perceived space but rather just a status symbol in its pure existence. Respondents living in *gated communities* in general took distance from placing belongings and objects in the garden or in the street, which was seen as uncivilized. The garden though is often labeled as a ‘park’, thus most interviewees stated that they use the garden inside their residential settlement for walking around or jogging. In general, however, social action in outdoor places in *gated communities* was by most interviewees seen as uncivilized in terms of appropriations, e.g. for exercise or drying clothes. Seeking places to be

alone, the interviewees mostly mentioned their room in the apartment. Balconies are used for drying laundry or temporarily for placing plants (e.g. 24032011). Private mobility is only mentioned by one of the interviewees who lives in a *gated community*: *'I prefer driving, but traffic jams are a nightmare. It is terrible. If I am going to a place far away, I will drive. If it is not that far I will just take a bus or the subway'* (31032011).

8.3.2_Symbolic meanings and practices

The residential area is often measured according to a set of parameters that are interrelated with status symbols. In one of the interviews, the layout of two gardens within the residential area is used to differentiate them from each other. The relevant parameters are: First, the quality of the in-between zones of the 'thick' boundary in the *gated communities*, as for example stated by one of the interviewees: *'we do not have a big garden, but we do have many trees or grass between different buildings.'*

Second, the facilities offered by the management company. Some of the 'gardens' have all needed infrastructure, such as supermarkets, kindergartens, restaurants, etc. One of the interviewees points on the pictures he took of some of the functions he described in the previous interview that are available in the *gated community* he is living in. Obviously, supermarkets, etc. do not differentiate in architecture, but are integrated buildings that are similar to the residential buildings (or maybe even mixed) with the residential area. Apart from sports facilities and supermarkets, restaurants are often integrated in the *gated communities* as well. The vast offer of facilities, however, are on the one hand used as status symbols, but on the other hand, residents do not seem to actually use them, neither are they willing to pay extra fees for them and consequently, the facilities are closed down.

One of the interviewees stated during the first interview that he was living in Bao Li garden in Haizhu district in Guangzhou on the 23th floor. During the follow-up interview, it turns out that the apartment on the 23th floor belongs to his grandparents who are living in Canada and that he actually lives on the first and second floor. The aspect of height, e.g. on which floor an apartment is placed, seems to be rather important in terms of status symbols (see also previous chapter where the parameters for setting the land price are mentioned).

Places of representation were mostly defined as guest rooms within the apartment and as restaurants by respondents living in *gated communities*. For celebrations such a birthdays, all respondents living in *gated communities* answered that they would go to a restaurant or at

times, especially if multiple relatives were invited, they would prepare meals at home. In particular, Chinese New Year is described in detail by one of the interviewees as a continuous dining event with different family members.

Places of worship revealed two aspects. First, the regional aspect of seasonal frequency of returning to the hometown, as stated by one interviewee: ‘I would go back Shantou. In Shantou, there are hills and temples for worship’ (24032011). In this statement, the perception of nature as sacred places, especially hills (i.e. mountains) is obvious. Second, new ways of interpreting *places of worship* were mentioned by one of the interviewees whose father originates from Hong Kong:

‘In Hong Kong, it [visiting ancestors] is different....space is limited, so we go to a tall building, we remember the number of our ancestor, for example like 312...and we tell the keeper. Finally, there is a machine, which brings a picture of my ancestor and the ash into a very tiny space’ (11042011).

In this articulation, the ritual of visiting the ancestors tomb on Tomb Sweeping Day is kept intact, however, the burial place is in a high-rise building. The visitors have a picture and the ashes of their ancestor and the visit is timed and fully automatic. Thus, the recurrent ritual and the frequency of practice are continued, but the place of origin has lost its importance in a territorial manner.

8.4_ ‘Urban village’

None of the respondents living in the ‘urban village’ originated from Guangzhou or Guangdong province; rather, they had migrated to the city within the last 10 years.

8.4.1_ Spatial perception

The boundary between places that are defined as common and places used for retreat, such as sleeping, is very thin. For example, several of the interviewees sleep in the place they also used for business. The respondents living in ‘urban villages’ all accounted of second apartments within the same village. These apartments were often used for storage, but were also mentioned when asked for representational places in case relatives or friends would come visit. Thus, the representational places are disconnected from the everyday multi-functional place serving both for ‘public’ and ‘private’ purposes. Differently than the disconnection in the two other cases, where restaurants or KTV places were used as representational places, all

respondents within the ‘urban village’ described the process of preparing homemade dinner and serving it in the second apartment.

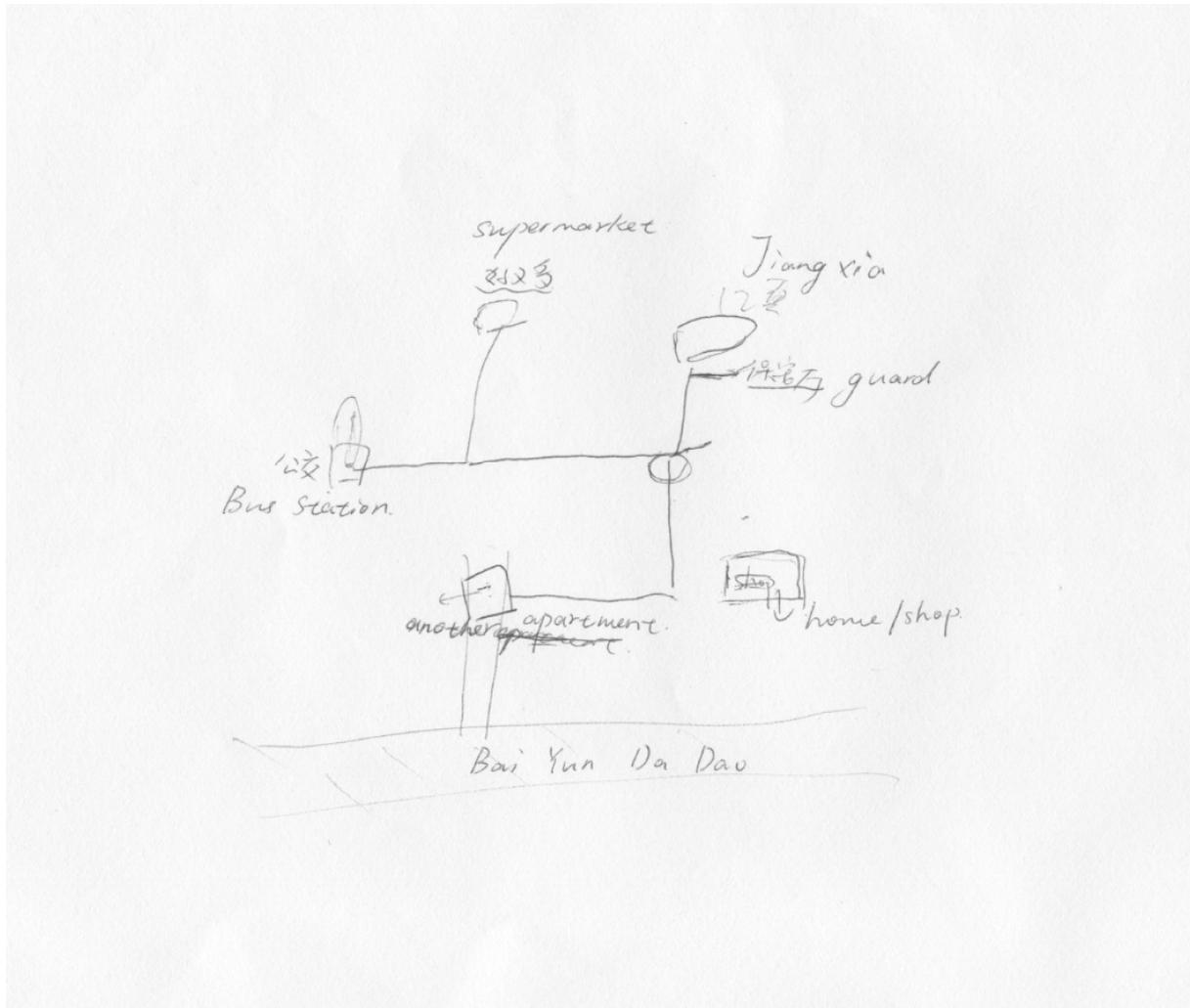


FIGURE 29: MENTAL MAP OF INTERVIEWEE IN THE ‘URBAN VILLAGE’ OF CHEN TIAN IN BAIYUN DISTRICT, GUANGZHOU.

In this mental map (figure 29) the second apartment of the interviewee is obviously located in walking distance from the multi-functional place used for everyday life. In addition, several interviewees in the ‘urban village’ used the guards (most ‘urban villages’ have a guard at the main entrance points of the village – see also chapter seven) as point for orientation when describing their path taken in their everyday rhythms. In the case of the ‘urban village’ Chen Tian, the entrance gate to Jiang Xia village or the west gate are often mentioned as stated by one of the interviewees:

‘Just go straight, it is about a 4-5 minutes walk. It is just pass the guard between Chen Tian and Jing Xia village’ (06042011).

Here the gate between the two villages is a boundary that is used for orientation, or as a landmark. In the description of one of the interviewees living in a former danwei, not the gates as such, but rather the communities were used for orientation in the city or in the neighborhood.

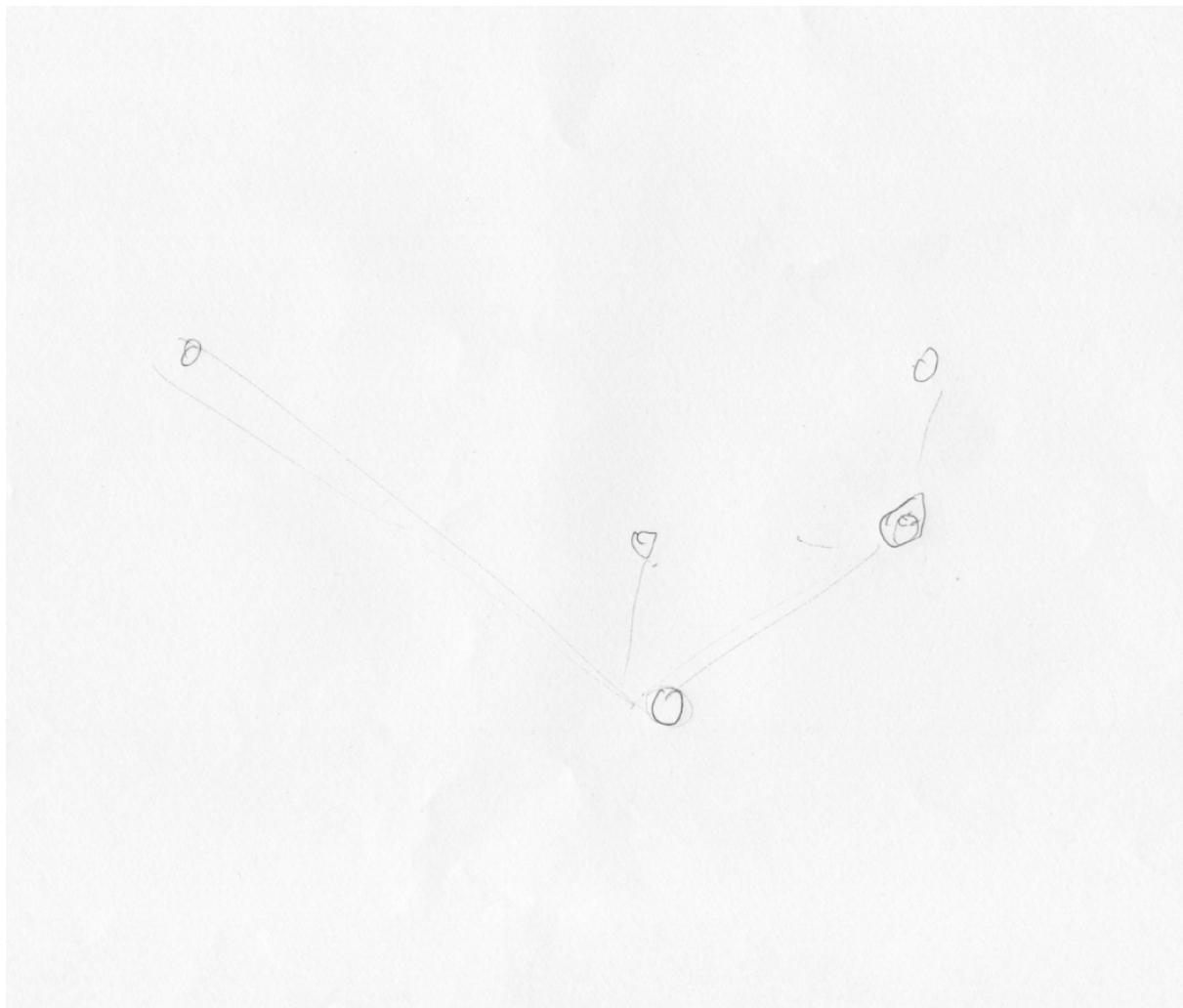


FIGURE 30: MENTAL MAP OF INTERVIEWEE IN THE ‘URBAN VILLAGE’ OF CHEN TIAN IN BAIYUN DISTRICT, GUANGZHOU.

The mental map above (figure 30) shows a highly fragmented view of the city or of the ‘urban village’ Chen Tian. In the ‘urban village’, there was a tendency for the interviewees to move less in the city in general, and more within the ‘urban village’ – like a ‘city in the city’. Obviously, the proximity between living and working places play a large role in this perspective. In previous studies, albeit in other cultures, the importance of recognizing the crucial aspect of proximity for locations of informal settlements and for residents of low-income residential areas has been pointed out (e.g. Ley 2009). Consequently, most of the interviewees living in ‘urban villages’ described very few details when describing their

everyday routines or paths through the city due to the lack of mobility and consequently due to proximity of living and working.

8.4.2_Symbolic meanings and practices

Having time to travel though the city was seen as rather exclusive. For example, other places in the city rather than within the ‘urban village’ were only mentioned in relation with either celebrations (e.g. birthdays) or worship (e.g. visiting a temple or church). Leisure time aimed at seeking solitude was by all respondents in the ‘urban village’ mentioned to be very rare. One of the interviewees mentions that she ‘*will go shopping... find some lively places to do shopping*’ when she spends her leisure time.

All interviewees in the ‘urban village’ mentioned parks as preferred places of retreating or seeking to be alone. Contrary to the interviewees in the two other types of housing where the physical enclosure and defined function were accepted and used for seeking to be alone, the small apartments and often crowded living conditions in the ‘urban villages’ do not allow for such physical boundaries. Instead, being unknown among people provides a feeling of being alone in places such as parks or markets.

In addition, all interviewees in the ‘urban village’ mentioned that they placed objects outside of their apartment (e.g. clothes, shoes, quilts, etc.). Two of the respondents have balconies, which they only use for drying clothes or for their flowers to get sun and air. Thus, in this case the quality of the place is defined rather through social action than through a defined function through planning.

Hometowns are mentioned for celebrations such as spring festival. Most of the interviewees in the ‘urban village’ did not practice any kind of worship in ‘the city’ but always mentioned their *hometown*. The frequency of visiting the *hometown*, however was low for most. One of the respondents converted to Christianity since she moved to Guangzhou. Due to a lack of time, though, the visits to the church were only limited, however, she clearly identified with the place of a specific church. Some interviewees even completely changed their habits of worship: ‘*I do not do that in Guangzhou. When I was in my hometown, I would climb the hills*’,¹²⁷ (06042011).

¹²⁷ Mountains have a sacred value in the Chinese context, especially related to Buddhism and Daoism. For example, the five sacred mountains: Tai Shan in Shandong province, Hua Shen in Shanxi province, Heng

One of the interviewees has left her child in her hometown in HuBei province with her mother-in-law while she and her husband are working in Guangzhou. The question of *hometown* is also related to official identity in terms of *hukou* registration. In the ‘urban villages’ where all interviewees were migrants, a strong cognitive space with the duality between hometown and their current location became apparent in two aspects: 1) the *hukou* registration, and 2) the emotional connection to a child or other family members (e.g. husband) as well as in *places of belonging*. The rural-urban dialectic and patterns of migration have also been thoroughly researched and discussed by Solinger (1999) and Massey (1994) in terms of place making in the context of China.

8.5_Summary

8.5.1_Fragmented islands, boundaries and zones

Several of the interviewees do not describe their everyday rhythms in detail, neither do they indicate directions but rather ‘islands’ or fragments are described. This rather fragmented perception of the city is reflected in the fragmented or sporadic mental maps as presented above. One of the interviewees describes the fragments as the communities she walks through. She uses communities for orientation and finds her way by connecting the internal path system with the street system of the city. Accordingly, the modes of orientation¹²⁸ moves away from architecture toward an understanding of the city as fragments of communities and *gated communities* (e.g. gardens) as described by one of the interviewees:

“I grew up in Li Wan district. When I was a child I lived in a building directly at the street. There was no such thing like ‘gardens’. But, it disappeared, because all of these houses have been destroyed, they [contractors] prefer to build communities”(31032011).

The term ‘garden’ is mostly used by the interviewees who actually live in a *gated community*, also often described as ‘commercial gardens’ in reference to the fact that the residential area is managed by a professional management company. The term ‘community’ is mostly used by other interviewees that do not live in a *gated community* but described them according to, for example, their purpose for orientation in the city. The reference to a ‘garden’ can also be

Shan also in Shanxi province, and Song Shan in Henan province. Their position is related to the cardinals defined through geomancy principals.

¹²⁸ Some scholars argue that the Chinese use cosmological orientation systems (Wheatley 1971) and that Japanese use an ‘area system’ for their orientation in contrary to a linear orientation system most common in western societies (Rapoport 1977: 143-44).

found in the Story of the Stone by Cao (1973, 1977) in which the residential areas of the Zhou family is divided into several gardens with the references to far away imagined places or to *places of worship*. Obviously, the imagined space of a ‘garden’ as a status symbol is a reference that creates a social hierarchy. The location of the area within the city is one of the parameters that is used for calculating the price for an apartment together with the floor level a unit is placed on. In addition, the facilities offered within the residential areas are part of the parameters reflecting the social hierarchy.

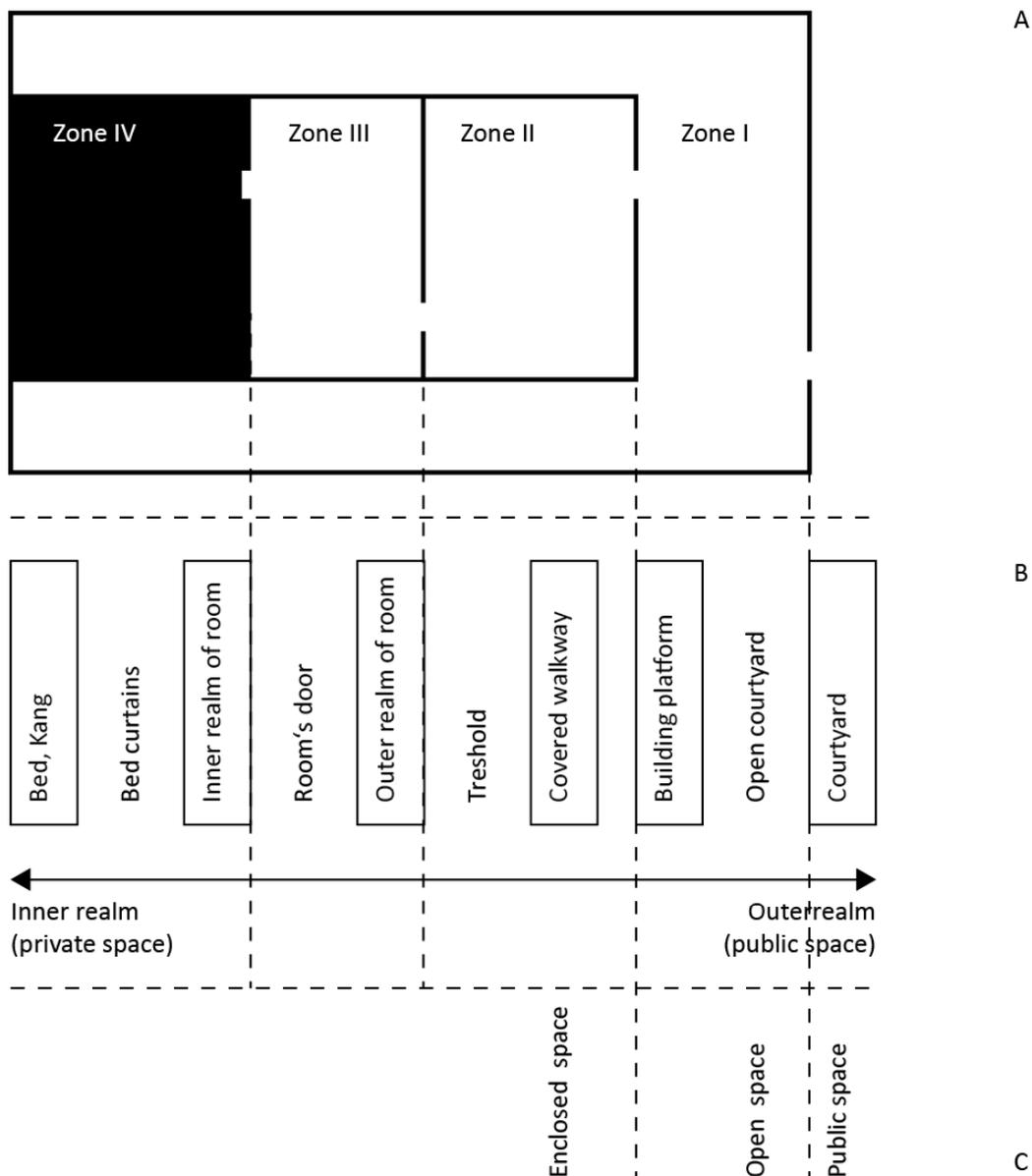


FIGURE 31: COMPARISON OF DIFFERENT ZONES IN RELATION TO THE SPATIAL QUALITIES AND THE BOUNDARIES. A) THE TYPICAL ZONES WITHIN A *GATED COMMUNITY* AS SURVED. B) THE SOCIO-SPATIAL ORDERING PRINCIPLES AS SUGGESTED BY LI/YEO 1991. C) THE RELEVANT SPATIAL DEFINITIONS AS SUGGESTED BY HASSENPLUG 2009.

The fragmented understanding of the city is often subscribed to the means of transport, which for most interviewees were bus and subway, to the limited mobility within the city and as a reflection of the size of the megacity. In a study of high school youth in Jamaica in which data was collected by auto-photography, Dodman (2003) found that there was a significant correlation between the means of mobility (the spatial distribution of the images) and socio-economic status. In the cases described here, only one of the interviewees had his own car. During the second interview on the auto-photography, the interviewee, however, stated that he mostly moved through the city by public transport due to the bad traffic conditions. In the mental mappings, the respondents living in the ‘urban village’ had a comparatively good knowledge of the ‘urban village’, whereas they had very little knowledge of the city. Partially, they would rely on walking distances in everyday life. In the discourse of urban poverty and urban informality, it is generally recognized that proximity matters (see for example Herrle et al. 2006). Thus, the correlation between socio-economic factors and the spatial distribution is nothing new, but can rather be confirmed in this case, as illustrated in figure 31.

The fragments, thus, should be differentiated in permeable fragments, as described by interviewees who walk through fragments and non-permeable fragments such as gardens; both fragments are gated however, and do accordingly have a boundary.

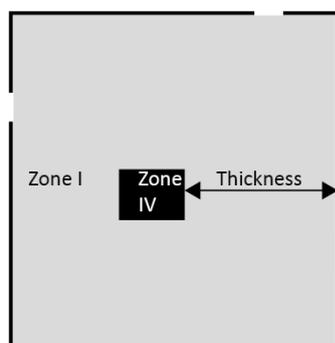
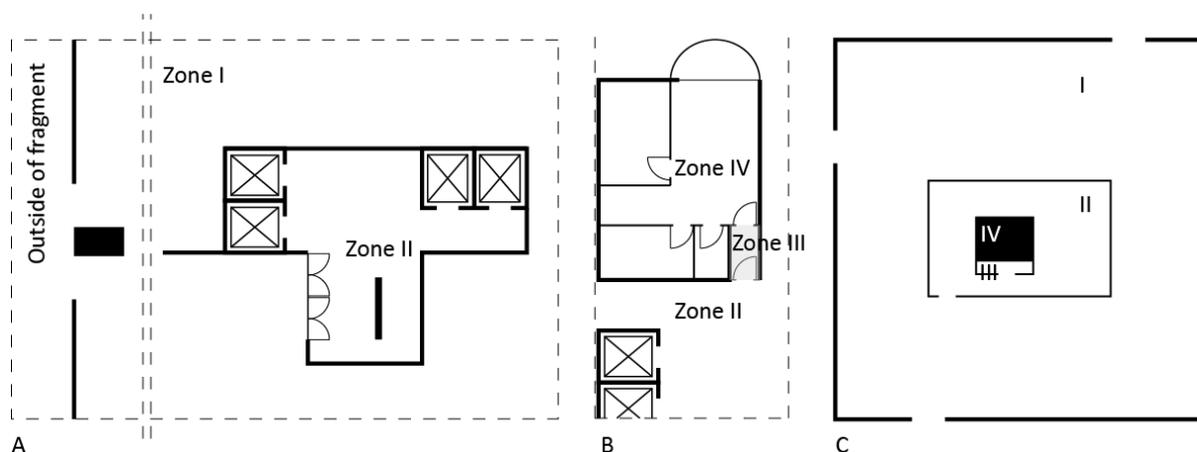


FIGURE 32: DIFFERENT THICKNESS OF THE BOUNDARIES IN RELATION TO THE ZONES. SOURCE: OWN DESIGN.

FIGURE 33: A) DIAGRAMATIC DRAWING OF THE GROUND FLOOR INCLUDING THE BOUNDARY WITH ITS DIFFERENT ZONES IN A TYPICAL *GATED COMMUNITY*. B) DIAGRAMATIC FLOORPLAN ILLUSTRATING ZONE III BETWEEN THE HALLWAY AND THE ACTUAL ENTRANCE DOOR TO THE APARTMENT IN A *GATED COMMUNITY*. C) DIAGRAMATIC ILLUSTRATION OF THE DIFFERENT ZONES WITHIN A *GATED COMMUNITY*. SOURCE: OWN DESIGN.



However, the spatial boundaries of the fragments in the city are differently ‘thick’ in the three types of housing dealt with (see figure 32). In the case of the former danwei, the boundary between the building and the gate to the street (zone I, figure 33) is relatively narrow. The gate is guarded, however in several of the former danweis the boundaries are permeable and people can walk through the fragment or enter the area without too many questions. In the *gated communities*, on the contrary, the boundary is relatively thick and gates are all guarded. In most cases, not just the boundary between the street and the *gated community* is guarded but also the actual building, or each of the buildings within the *gated community*, is guarded. In the ‘urban village’, the complete village is normally guarded and has entrance gates. The ‘urban village’ is like a small but very dense ‘city in the city’ or as the Chinese name suggests ‘village-in-the-city’ (*chengzhongcun*). Thus, the boundary between the street system of the city and the actual apartment is rather thick, however, the boundary between common life in the streets of the ‘urban village’ and the apartment is very thin.

Boundaries can also be understood as a social manifest. For example, living in danweis or work related housing, everyone knew each other and had blurred social boundaries between work-relations and friendships as well as a horizontal structure rather than a vertical hierarchy (similar salary for everyone, etc.). Several of the respondents who moved out of the former danweis would spend time in their former danwei on a daily or weekly basis either due to obligations or because of social relations. Accordingly, the aspect of boundary (i.e. edge as defined by Lynch (1960)) is rather crucial in combination with the qualities subscribed to places as will be dealt with later on in this chapter. Following, the places outside the fragments, what has been defined as ‘public’ space by Hassenpflug 2009 or by Li/Yeo 1991, or maybe rather between the fragments and the places inside the fragments, what has been defined as ‘open space’ with multiple zones will be discussed.

Places outside fragments were often described as ‘very messy’: *‘It is very messy. People... I try to avoid this... go to this place, therefore I always walk through the community’* (31032011).

Obviously, the fragments are perceived as controlled and ordered places, whereas the areas outside are left for multiple actors defining the places through social action, which leads to a perception of the places as chaotic and messy.

Another interviewee states that she likes to wander around in the city but has problems getting lost. Consequently, she often looks up online how to get where she is going in order not to get lost (virtual orientation) before leaving her apartment. As stated by one of the interviewees, in order to not get lost in the city: *'I do some research [online] before I get out of the gate'* (31032011). Thus, the places in-between the fragments (i.e. 'public space') are often perceived as difficult to grasp or non-readable.

Especially within fragments (i.e. 'open space') with thick boundaries, different 'zones' were defined (see figure 33). As briefly described above, the first boundary divides the fragment from the streets. The second boundary is at the bottom of the building and a third boundary was identified through the auto-photography as a zone between the 'anti-burglar' door and the actual door to the apartment. These different zones are like rings on an onion layering and buffering between the streets of the city and the apartment, thus a functionally defined 'privacy' is being made explicit in a rather exclusive manner. All interviewees living in *gated communities* found it inappropriate to seek social interaction in the 'in-between' zones, whereas all interviewees living in former danweis and 'urban villages' appreciated social interaction and welcomed social action in the areas surrounding the apartment.

The question of when one crosses a spatial boundary, though, is quite obvious in the Chinese context due to its physical manifestation, often in form of gates. The thickness of the boundary however, was related to the aspect of defining qualities of places and varied between the three types of housing. Whereas interviewees living in *gated communities* take distance from social action in the 'in-between' zones for pragmatic purposes, such as laundry drying, most interviewees living in either former danweis or 'urban villages' defined the outdoor places in rather pragmatic/functional terms, e.g. places where wind and sun is good for the plants or where the laundry dries faster in the sun. The lack of room inside is a major reason for appropriating other zones and crossing boundaries.

8.5.2_Social action define(d) the quality of places – changing concepts

Questions related to the more 'public' stage of residential life (in reference to Goffman 1959) were related to *places of representation* such as having guests, inviting people or celebrations. Contrary to the close link in western cultures between the 'home' and identity of the inhabitants (see for example Cooper 1974), this does not seem to be the case in the context of China, as reflected in the presented data here.

Only by interviewees living in the ‘urban village’, the apartment was identified as a *place of representation* – here though it was the second apartment and not the apartment used for everyday life. From the respondents living in *gated communities* and in former danweis, the apartment was not seen as a *place of representation* but rather places in the city linked to three types of places: 1) places for food (e.g. restaurants), 2) places of entertainment (e.g. KTV or game centers) and places of consumerism (e.g. malls). In addition, only respondents living in *gated communities* stated that they had a guest room in their apartment.

Places for celebration were restaurants and KTV for all interviewees living in former danweis and in *gated communities*. In the ‘urban villages’, the place for food and for celebration was embedded in the second apartment, which was also used for receiving and hosting guests.

In general, ‘privacy’ was defined by two architects/planners as ‘not being disturbed’. In their mind it had nothing to do with actually being alone or spatially isolated. In the interviews with residents from different areas, the question of spatial preferences for being alone encountered several misunderstandings. Most of the interviewees did not really understand the concept of wanting to ‘being alone’. Many of the younger generation (one-child) claimed to be alone most of the time, especially when they were living at home and commuting to university, or during weekends or holidays. For example, one the interviewees described how her father is living in Beijing due to his job and her mother is also working and consequently not home so often. As for being alone, almost all respondents living in former danweis or in *gated communities* retreat to their living space; respondents living in the ‘urban villages’ mostly seek places outside of the apartment. Several interviewees mentioned that they would seek places in the city, such as the library, the park or places of consumption for being alone. On the one hand, respondents were questioning the underlying hypothesis that it was wishful to seek places where one could be alone. On the other hand, respondents articulated an overwhelming frustration with having a lack of time leading to social and spatial isolation. The aspect of spatial isolation will be dealt with in chapter nine, here it suffices to make the link between loneliness and the way of living and organizing the city after reforms in China.¹²⁹ While this category has a negative connotation, the two others ‘being alone’ and ‘not being disturbed’ have positive connotations.

¹²⁹ Social loneliness: The policy of one-child, which has for decades reduced the natural growth rate in China, has produced generations of single children. The lack of a welfare system combined with traditions of family relations covering the needs of the elderly, has led to generations of young people who carry the responsibility for an ever-increasing amount of elderly people within the Chinese society. Many consequences of the increased living standard and the prolonged lifespan have been registered and discussed

When discussing ‘private’ and ‘public’, the qualities related to ‘private’ are often related to actions or customs that are understood as ‘private’, such as wearing a pajamas while doing grocery shopping¹³⁰ or drying laundry on the street or in the green area related to the former danwei. Accordingly, one might argue that qualities of places are rather defined through social action than by the functions of the physical places (as intentioned by the urban planners). The articulations of the interviewees between the ages of 20 and 30 on ‘uncivilized’ social action in certain places such as physical exercise in the area between the buildings in a *gated community*, however, could reflect a shift first of all in social and cultural norms, but second from defining places through social action towards accepting the functions of places as ‘predefined’ by urban planners.

8.5.3_Symbolic meanings and rituals in relation to places

At the same time the interrelation between symbolic meaning, ritual and places seems to be changing. For example, the commodification of leisure time: All respondents mentioned that they would go to the mall during their spare time. Also, places for celebration, as briefly described above, are mostly located in malls. For example, the tradition of morning tea as previously mentioned was kept alive by all respondents originating from Guangzhou or Guangdong province. The places for enjoying morning tea were all located in malls. Thus, malls are becoming the new places for ‘old’ traditions and worship. In one example, the practice of worship has completely changed due to spatial limitations in Hong Kong. During an interview with an interviewee from Guangzhou and Hong Kong, the interviewee shows where his family goes for Tomb Sweeping Day:¹³¹

‘...in Hong Kong it [the rituals on Tomb Sweeping Day] is different, because Hong Kong people are busy and space is limited. So we go to a tall building (Bin Yi Guan = Funeral home), we remember the number of our ancestor, for example like 312, and we tell the

(e.g. increasing level of education among the youth, gap between rural and urban perception, brain drain from rural areas, etc.). The psychological effect is, among others, the perception of increasing responsibility on the shoulders of the single children and the contradictions between traditional structures with ‘modern’ urban structures (see for example Schoon 2007 on everyday life and the challenges of defining the self, creating an identity among the youth in Shanghai). Tian, X. (2010) to large extent blames modernization for an increased sense of loneliness in Chinese society.

¹³⁰ The often discussed subject of pajamas worn outdoors is specifically for wearing outside of the homes four walls and is not (necessarily) the same as is worn to bed. This phenomenon could be related to the trend in the 1980s of wearing jogging clothes outside of the private spheres in North America or in several North European countries (e.g. Denmark).

¹³¹ Tomb Sweeping Day (Qingming jie) is a recurring festival that is typical for the south of China, but which has been established as a national holiday in Mainland China since 2008. It is a day for worshipping ancestors and visiting their graves.

keeper...there is a machine bringing a picture and the ashes of grandma or grandpa...'(31032011).

Lack of time and space has led to vertical solutions that are in proximity to living and working areas within the city – a rather pragmatic solution. The interrelation between the symbolic meaning, or the ritual, and a specific place is questioned in this aspect, though; however, the place was newly defined or embedded in new spatial structures, whereas the ritual or one might say the social action was continued (e.g. visiting the ancestor on Tomb Sweeping Day, even though the place where the ashes remain has nothing to do with *hometown* or identity).

8.5.4 Places of worship in relation to scales

Several social actions based on cultural traditions were mentioned in the semi-structured interviews. On a seasonal frequency, especially celebrations in relation with ancestors (e.g. Tomb Sweeping Day or New Year) were mentioned. These rituals are closely linked to places (of worship), either on a city level or on a regional level, however always within the family network. For example, several of the interviewees mentioned their place of origin as their *place of belonging* – however, this was dependent on how long they had lived in Guangzhou city. The concept of *hometowns* as *places of belonging* is closely linked with recurring actions such as visiting the hometown for spring festival (often mentioned by interviewees originating from Guangdong province).

Several of the interviewees, especially those residing in the ‘urban village’, described how moving to the city has changed their practice of worship. While some have completely stopped practicing since they moved to Guangzhou, others have converted from Buddhism to Christianity and thereby have changed their pattern and places for worship. Often, traditions of paying respect to ancestors overlay with new forms of worship (e.g. Christianity) and consequently, several places in Guangzhou city were mentioned as places for practicing rituals related to the collective culture (e.g. Guangxiao Buddhist Temple, the temple in HuaDu district or the NanHua Temple). Thus, religious or traditional rituals (i.e. places of worship) seem to be either regional, in the city or bound to the apartment. In a regional perspective, it is closely linked with aspects of identity (as will be discussed in the following chapter) and to the category of *hometowns*. Understanding the apartment as a place for worship is both related to traditions of having small alters in the homes – establishing the link between the currently living and the deceased (i.e. vertical integration beyond the grave – see

also following chapters) and to newer belief systems, such as Christianity. Due to political restrictions on the practice of religion, private homes are often used for gathering and worshipping for Christian.¹³² Certain places thus become ‘imagined’ spaces with a strong symbolic meaning that are however created through social action in certain frequencies (e.g. seasonal, weekly, etc.).

	Boundaries and zones	Qualities (place/social action)	Symbolic meaning in relation to scales	Relation between symbolic place and ritual
<i>Former danwei</i>	The zones within the fragment are restricted and have limited access for the inhabitants (e.g. sports facilities). The gates are at times permeable.	The elderly define places through social action, whereas the interviewees took distance from this practice and rather accepted the defined functions of the built environment. For example, being alone was related to enclosure of the apartment’s walls	All respondents originate from Guangzhou and have specific places in the city that they visit for worship. Places of representation are also linked to places in the city (e.g. KTV or restaurants).	Traditions such as morning tea are still practiced, however, the place of practicing is integrated into new commercial places such as malls.
<i>Gated community</i>	‘Thick’ boundaries including multiple zones and layers of guarded entrance points. Within the fragment or the boundary different social practices are contested, however the boundary is not being negotiated between the inside and outside of the fragment. There are multiple gated situations that are mostly not permeable.	Qualities are predefined by planned functions. These are accepted and used by the interviewees. The elderly define the qualities of place through social action (e.g. morning exercise), especially in the zones within the boundary.	Places of representation were located in the city. Places for worship were either in the city or in the region – in the hometown.	A tendency for places for worship to disconnect from the actual symbolic place (e.g. the ancestors tomb).

¹³² For an overview of Christianity and how it is practiced by different groups in the city of Guangzhou see for example Haugen 2013.

‘Urban village’	The boundary in ‘urban village’s is on the one hand ‘thick’ between the streets of the city and the apartment; on the other hand very ‘thin’ between the streets of the ‘urban village’ and the apartment. Apartments are multifunctional.	Qualities of places are mostly defined by social action.	Places of representation were related to (second) apartment. Places to be alone were all at the city scale (e.g. public parks). Changing practice in worship (e.g. converted to Christianity) or the hometown was the place of worship, however seldom visited.	Changing practice of worship requires new places of worship in the city.
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TABLE 3: OVERVIEW OF THE FINDINGS IN RELATION TO THE THREE DIFFERENT HOUSING TYPES.

Multiple tendencies relevant for a better understanding of the production of social space in the Chinese context have been identified. First, the perceived fragmentation of the urban fabric and the experienced spatial and social isolation with an increasing living standard (e.g. *gated communities*) has led to the definition of different ‘thickness’ of socio-spatial boundaries related to the three types of housing. Boundaries are often related to the aspect of power relations (e.g. Borden 2001) and appropriation and domination as negotiation processes (e.g. Lefebvre 2007). In this sample, however, the boundaries of the fragments are barely negotiated, rather the places ‘in-between’ are negotiated and witness changing value systems within society, as the next chapter will deal with. Thus, qualities of places are to a large extent defined through social action, however increasingly defined by predefined functions of the physical, subscribing more importance to the built environment.

Second, this change of defining qualities of places is also a change from the body as a space constituting element defining boundaries (e.g. in the ‘urban village’, or historically in the *danwei*) towards the built environment in terms of the building or the neighborhood defining the boundaries.

Finally, three scales have been identified as relevant for the production of social space. The apartment is subscribed importance in terms of status and is expressed as a place of representation as well as a place of food and entertainment in the city. The city as well as the region are also relevant in terms of *places for worship*. The region maintains importance as *space of belonging* under the category of *hometown* (the regional importance for identity and governance has for example been argued for by Lewis 2006). In the sample, however, the

relationship between symbolic elements (e.g. the ancestors ashes) and the actual place linked to identity is increasingly dissolving.

9_Spacing and positioning within the Chinese culture

In this chapter, the aim is to first examine cultural and social norms (e.g. status and family structure) and second to examine some of the symbols and meanings on an individual level subscribed to parameters impacting the spacing and positioning within the Chinese culture (e.g. roles, identity, etc.). Thus, the focus is on the parameters that impact the relationship *between* the positioned objects or humans. A major underlying hypothesis is that in collective cultures the ‘self’ cannot be understood in isolation and therefore cultural and social norms are much more dominant variables than the individual attitude. Consequently, one needs to ask how cultural and social norms are along the lines of identity, roles, status and family structure defined in the Chinese context and reflected by the individuals originating from Guangzhou in order to make a differentiated statement and to reflect the culturally defined parameters in the theoretical framework of the production of social space. These questions are based on the assumption that the symbolic meanings and value system in China have changed dramatically within the last few decades due to political and economic changes on a national as well as on a regional and local level (collective). Consequently, it is assumed that the perception of roles and identities on an individual level as well as aspects such as status and embeddeness of family structure must have an impact on spacing and positioning, and thus on the production of social space (see also chapter four).

The findings are structured according to generational levels (across families) and according to the categories: roles, family structure, identity, self, status and space/environment. Along these lines, categories that evolved during the coding process are presented. Consequently, the findings presented here reflect very personal perceptions of these aspects depending on different motivations and personalities as well as on more collective value systems, which will be reflected upon in chapter ten.¹³³

9.1_First generation

9.1.1_Roles

In the interview with the first generation, it became obvious that most of them considered themselves in a passive role in relation to their destiny and to the state. Statements like ‘*I was*

¹³³ A universal understanding of motivation and personality as for example argued by Maslow (1970) in his hierarchy of basic needs, is not seen as appropriate for exploring the cultural framework.

assigned to the construction company in Guangzhou by my school [in 1953] and *'we did what the country [central government] asked us to do'* (110404_1) were made in all five interviews. One of the interviewees was chosen to move to the city of Guangzhou with a cadre (110330_1) and consequently stayed.

In Haag/Zhao (2004), a division of their interviewees who all experienced the era of Mao is made between excited revolutionary (who however, often felt themselves victim of the ever-changing campaigns by the party, such as the 1957 campaign 'Hundert Flowers'¹³⁴ to criticize the party) and people who created resistance against the regime. As quoted out of one of their interviews:

'...In jener Zeit durften wir keine eigenen Gedanken haben, wir mußten uns völlig konform mit den Zielen der Partei zeigen, hatten keine Wahlmöglichkeit. So wurde das eigentlich Menschliche in der totalen Unterordnung zerstört' (Haag/Zhao 2004: 357).¹³⁵

Accordingly, in one of the interviews conducted with the first generation, the interviewee articulated his enthusiasm around joining the revolution and wanting to join the CCCP.

Another interviewee, who did not work for the state during the era of Mao pointed out the exclusive system of the danweis and some of the challenges faced by not being part of the system:

'There I experienced the most difficult time of China in 1961 and 1962, The Great Famine. In these years, I could not buy food even if I had money, for there was nothing to buy. Only those who worked in a commune could get food from the state' (110401_1).

It raises the issues of inclusion and exclusion from or within the system. Nevertheless, within the framework of the state, most of the interviewees pointed to their active engagement with the roles subscribed to them and several attributed themselves with valued characteristics, such as 'hard working'.

9.1.2 Family structure

The family structure and the roles within the structure were reflected in several manners.

First, the first generation made statements on how the state during the era of Mao would allow

¹³⁴ 'Hundred Flowers Campaign' was a campaign created by Mao to let hundred of flowers blossom and to let hundred of school compete against each other thereby inviting intellectuals to critique the state (i.e. the Party). However, due to the massive critique, the campaign was cancelled in 1957 and it was replaced by an Anti-Rightist Campaign cracking down on the intellectuals, who had articulated critique against the regime (Vogelsang 2012: 547ff).

¹³⁵ *'At that time, we were not allowed to have our own thoughts; we had to be completely in compliance with the aims of the Party, we had no choice. Human aspects were completely destroyed through repression'* (Translated by the author).

some family members to migrate to the city because others were already part of political campaigns. Second, the role of the first generation in terms of taking care of the third generation was clearly stated as in this quote:

'I always move around. Because all my children have set up families and can provide me with a place to live. So I do not want to settle down any more' (110401_1).

Third, sacrifice has to be made for the family in order to obtain the best for the family as a unit, and not for the individual benefit. One of the interviewees provided the following example:

'Later my husband said that I had to retire because he wanted to make three of our children work in the factory. So I retired and let my youngest daughter replace me. My husband used some back door connection to get my youngest daughter to replace me' (110410_1).

Here the principles of collectivism with the family as a unified group become obvious.

9.1.3_Identity

The phenomenon of identification with the *hometown* is often found in the city of Guangzhou.¹³⁶

'I knew the community that I used to live in very well. I could have moved my Hukou away, but because of the good relationship with the community I choose not to do so' (110330_1).

One of the interviewees moved to Jianggao zhen when she got married and where her husband is from (she is originally from Baiyun district in Guangzhou). Even though she has by now given up her own place of living, she will return at least once a year to Jianggao zhen in order to honor her *ancestors* and meet with relatives. Consequently, she belongs to a place that is no longer part of her everyday life, a place that does not even reflect her own origins (110401_1).

Another interviewee originates from Xinxing district in Zhaoqing city. He grew up there and moved there during the Japanese invasion. Meanwhile he only goes back for tomb sweeping day (*traditional ritual*) in order to honor his ancestors. His family has no house there anymore.

¹³⁶ In several of the 'urban villages' surveyed within the city most original residents choose to keep their rural/non-agricultural *hukou* due to the aspect of belonging (family temple, etc.), but also due to the benefits related (e.g. pensions, dividends from the investments of the village, etc.) (see previous chapter; see also Fokdal/Herrle 2010 and Herrle et al. 2014 on this aspect).

'The countryside is my real hometown, it is where my ancestors are from...My father's brothers are in the village. When you have no house there, you will have no mood to go there. If we go back, we need to live in a hotel, it is not so good' (110404_1).

In this statement, the *place of belonging* (i.e. hometown) is clearly stated as an indicator for identity. However, the attachment to a specific house or buildings (or lack of possessions) in that place has changed from being attached to an object of possession to becoming projected to an area or village in general. While some interviewees decide to keep their *hukou* registration in their place of origin it is often a mixture of 'vertical integration' and pragmatism related to the benefits attached to the *place of belonging*. In addition, there is an indication in the interviews of dissolution of territoriality in relation to the 'vertical integration' or *place of belonging*.

Consequently, the territorial aspect can no longer be argued to be an actual (emotional) connection between the countryside and the city (rural and urban), and thereby a regional identification (this aspect will be further elaborated on in the discussion), but rather a cognitive relation. Thus, instead of *places of belonging*, we need to talk about *spaces of belonging*.

In terms of identity, objects from the past are often indicators for memories, etc. in other cultures, however none of the interviewees from the first generation had any pictures, furniture, etc. to remind them of the past. One of the interviewees had invested in real estate since the days of the reform and did by the time of the interview own three apartments in Guangzhou. He and his wife were living in a *gated community* in a small apartment filled with glossy furniture. Upon my inquiry, I was informed that most of their old furniture was stored in the other apartments, which were rented out (110404_1).

9.1.4_Self

As stated under the category 'roles', the first generation of interviewees saw themselves as passive actors with little influence on their destiny and their 'assignment' for the nation or the family. One might argue that the 'self' in the first generation is rather defined by the group, as in 'family' or by the state as in the past. The following statement reflects the self-perception within this framework: *'I was very often selected to be the working model at the time, because I worked as hard as I could'* (110330_1).

In several of the interviews with the first generation, aspects of geomancy were mentioned – pointing to the passive perception of self in relation to superstitious forces, as in the following statement:

'The geomancer said that I am not smart. But the geomancer also said that my fingermarks are very special, which indicates that I would spend my remaining years in comfort. My brothers and relatives used to stare at my hands. They were very surprised about the special marks' (110330_1).

9.1.5_Status

The first generation mostly stated the aspect of 'hard work' as a primary characteristic of status:

'I was working in a canteen for several years, then I thought that the salary was too low so I wanted to leave. But the boss did not want me to leave because he thought that I worked very hard;' (110410_1)

and

'I worked really long time for that factory, normally people retire at 45 but I retired over 50' (110410_1).

Also, the system of reward within the factory for working hard or for obtaining certain quotas was mentioned several times, as in the statement under the category of identity. Only one of the interviewees mentioned the changing living conditions and opportunities that the era of reform brought in terms of possession:

'I had been living in those shabby workers' dormitories until Deng Xiaoping rose to power. Afterwards, I built myself a two-and-a-half floor house for my family near my work place in Jiang Cun' (110330_1).

During an interview in the apartment of the second generation, the first generation interviewee started bragging with his son and daughter-in-law. In particular, they recounted their good achievements because they were working hard and have, as a result, been selected as the role models for their respective firms (see for example interview 110330_1).

9.1.6_Space and environment

The city of Guangzhou was mentioned as a place for inspiration for the spirit. When discussing the development of the city of Guangzhou in general, one of the interviewees

stated: *'People who pay money can build everywhere they want'* (110404_1). Consequently, the city becomes a collection of personal landmarks and of individual interests.

A clear division between *inside* 'islands' and *outside* 'islands' in the city was made, and clearly there was a lack of care for the areas outside of the residential areas. A similar duality between *inside* the city and *outside* in the countryside was made, reflecting the *places of belonging* (e.g. identity) and the dialectical relationship between the rural and the urban.

Talking to the elderly generation, an overall surprising observation and conclusion was that few of the elderly had pictures or documents from the past. Most of them lived in apartments with new glossy furniture and no sign of history of their past. This was explained as partly due to the fact that most of the families had several apartments and had left the 'old' furniture in one of the other apartments, which was rented out. Partly, many of the elderly generation might just have had few belongs until the open door policy gained ground in the 1980s.

9.2_Second generation

9.2.1_Roles

The Cultural Revolution started and schools were closed. Consequently, one interviewee was sent to work in a factory in 1972. He sees himself as lucky because he did not have to spend time (for 're-education') in the countryside. The main reason given for his 'luck' was that his brothers were already 'serving' in the countryside. This is an indication of the family, and not the individual, being seen as the smallest unit in society. On a personal level (or following my previous argumentation on the level of a family), one interviewee, who initially studied music, decided to become self-employed and currently has three companies in different fields. He started a computer business in 1995, a commercial company in 2006 and an advertisement company in 2008. Family members of his wife's family have become partners and daily managers of his firms (110330_2). According to the concept of 'horizontal integration' as described by Hofstede (2001) – a phenomenon that is especially strong in highly collective societies – the inclusion of non biological relatives is a strong indication for a high degree of horizontal integration. Further, it supports the assumption that the individual does play a role, but only in a dialectic understanding within a group, i.e. the family.

9.2.2 Family structure

In a similar manner, the collective understanding of the family as a group is expressed in the following statement: *'Sometimes I would take care of the shop [her husband owned a car shop] and when I had time, I would stay at home and take care of my son' (110411_2)*. The grandparents would take care of the son most of the time (the son states that he did only see his parents twice a week). The 'family' is a unit where everyone has to make sacrifice for the group and where everyone helps everyone (e.g. the wife her husband and the grandparents their son):

'Jedem Mitglied wird sein Rang zugeordnet. Das Gefühl gegenseitiger Verpflichtung bestimmt auch die erweiterte Familie, ebenso wie größere soziale Gruppierungen...-es herrscht eine strenge Wechselseitigkeit bei Fügung in die Rollenerwartungen' (Haag/Zhao 2003: 359).

This rather simplistic way of defining an individualistic versus a collectivist society must, however, be contextualized (Kim 2000: 275). It will be further discussed at the end of this chapter.

9.2.3 Identity

Identity within the second generation was reflected on several levels. First, in relation to the family or the horizontally extended family, as for example manifested in the former work units (danwei). As one of the interviewees describes it:

'During my time in kindergarten, primary school and middle school, I was in the heavy machinery factory. Even when I graduated from high school, I still worked for the factory' (110404_2).

Even though many of the workers have moved out of the factory dormitories, most of them are joining the provided busses for daily commuting (many factories have been relocated due to the avoidance of pollution in the inner city).

Also, in relation to the family as a group, but initiated by the third generation, some of the interviewees described considerations of converting to other belief systems (such as Buddhism). One clear indicator for a highly collective society, as stated by Hofstede (2001), is the decision-making process of converting to a certain group or religion. As an example, one might think of the mass baptisms that are taking place, where whole families are baptized, or whole communities, clans, etc. Several of my interviewees were Christians. In only one

case was it just one family member who decided to become a Christian. In an interview with the mother of the converted, she stated:

'I took part in some of the activities, but felt myself not being able to blend into the spirit, so I kept believing in Buddhism' (110410_2).

Consequently, an attempt to follow or to stay within the collective understanding of action, the mother tries to convert, but finds herself incapable of 'finding the right spirit'.

Third, the relation to the *hukou* origins, or the hometowns, was seldom mentioned and a lack of interest for traditional rituals of worship can be identified. The relation to places related to ancestors was much more pragmatic and at times not even mentioned. One interviewee for example phrased her relationship to the place of her parents' origin in such a manner: *'Now we have been in Guangzhou for so many years, we are not willing to go back to our hometown any more' (110411_2).*

Mostly, the interviews took place in the apartments of the second generation. Three of the five homes I visited had visible house altars, however, several of the second generation interviewees did not have any specific relation to these: *'I am not sure about that; the decorations were made by my mother in law. But according to our customs, the ancestors will follow their descendants wherever they move' (110411_2).*

9.2.4_Self

In the interviews with the second generation, different self-perceptions and reflections of attributes in relation to status became obvious. One of the interviewees did for example present himself as open minded and specifically pointed out the places he had traveled to. Instead of talking about himself, he showed pictures from his travels to Dubai and made comparisons between Dubai and Guangzhou, cherishing the forward looking approach in planning applied in Dubai.

'The main purpose of my going abroad is to see the differences between China and other countries;' and, 'Life in Guangzhou is not as lively as in Dubai because our city still does not have its unique attractiveness' (110330_2).

Thus, he wanted to present himself as a modern and forward-looking man. In a similar manner, another interviewee pointed out her knowledge about Canadian society as a modern and civilized country.

Face was only mentioned once by one of the interviewees: *'If we do not sign [the homework] the teachers will critique the kids and they will not get a red flower as their prize'* (110411_2).

In this statement, the aspect of control is closely linked to the cultural aspect of losing face, however, one might argue that the effect would have been similar in most other cultures if the mechanism was implemented. The reflection on the family (i.e. unit) if one individual loses face, however, is typical for rather collectivistic societies.

9.2.5_Status

Attributes such as technology, modernity, size, affordability, living standard, possession and hard work were mentioned as indicators for status. Along the increasing commercialization of the housing system after the reforms, the aspect of possession has become a major status symbol as stated by one of the interviewees:

'Before we lived in a dormitory, of course we were not satisfied with that, so when we had enough money, we bought a new house outside...It was great for one family to own a house at that time. We even didn't know what the layout of the house was. We had no idea....Most of the workers live in the original dormitory area. Only a few of them, like us, can afford a house here' (110404_2).

The attribute of 'hard working' (i.e. industriousness) is only mentioned by one of the interviewees in the second generation:

'People have different faith, some people stop working when they are 40, playing mahjong all day long, dancing or shopping. I kept working because I thought I can still work, so I continued' (110410_2).

She was working for the street office as an accountant and is continuing in parallel doing accounting for private firms.

9.2.6_Space and environment

The following statements on the city of Guangzhou were made in relation to processes of changes, in terms of physical changes: *'The first time I came to that area it was very poor, there were many blank spaces, especially in Nanzhou lu. Now with more buildings it becomes more and more beautiful'* (110411_2).

In terms of changes in income and improved living standard, one of the interviewees pointed out the commodification of housing. In his statement, however, there is also an obvious critique of the government and their handling (or lack thereof) of the escalating real estate market.

'I think the greatest change is our apartment...the price of the real estate rose in the last two years. This change on the one hand proves that our society is developing, but on the other hand shows that the government has made some mistakes' (110330_2).

The second generation of interviewees has experienced acutely both the era of Mao as well as the rapidly developing society of the reforms at the end of the 1970s. Their reflections of the change of parameters within the society in terms of social norms and cultural values, however, were limited. In general there was a tendency to be rather forward looking and to articulate little on the past.

9.3_Third generation

9.3.1_Roles

All interviewees of the third generation reflected upon themselves and their roles in relation to the expectations and obligations towards the family, more explicitly the parents. Education was the number one factor that impacted all aspects.¹³⁷ Consequently, one of the interviewees explained how he started playing volleyball after a running competition in order to be guaranteed entrance to the university: *'The coach of the 12th grade middle school told me that he could help me to enter university if I go to his volleyball team' (110330_3).*

The responsibility assumed for parents and the family made most of the interviewees study very hard, which led to an increase in their social interactions: *'For the first two years of high school I used to got out with friends. But this years I do not have any [friends]' (110330_3 – see also 110406_3).*

'There is a dual emphasis in how Chinese students perceive the value of learning. On the one hand, students are propelled by a sense of obligation to their parents, the family and society. On the other hand, they also clearly see the importance of education as a means for personal cultivation and perfection' (Hau/Ho 2010: 190).

¹³⁷ On this matter, the sample of the three families is biased. Four of the five interviewees had access to higher education or were currently enrolled at a institution for higher education.

Consequently, it is rather a fulfillment of obligations to the family and society than a personal matter to achieve academic excellence (Ho 1986: 196).

One of the interviewees describes how he failed to play the role subscribed to him by the family and the authoritative role his father has played throughout his childhood. When returning from school with bad grades he would get punished for example.¹³⁸

9.3.2_Family structure

One of the interviewees tells me how he was very unhappy as a child. He was crying all the time and missed his parents, whom he would only see once a week. He spent most of his time in kindergarten and at his grandparents. Growing up, he realizes that he has a responsibility to assume in relation to his parents and to the family, so he tries to be strong. Consequently, he states, *'I consider that respecting the old is the most important virtue for me'* (110330_3).

Several of my translators who came from the countryside referred to what has been labeled 'horizontal integration' (Hofstede 2001). Cousins and other relatives at a similar age were often referred to as brothers and sisters. This phenomenon, however, I have not been confronted with by the younger generation who originates from urban areas. Rather, most of the students and pupils I have been in contact with reflected an 'artificial'¹³⁹ horizontal integration, compensating for the lack of siblings under the one-child policy. Some scholars argue that the vertical integration in the ancient system, in which the authority and the family was the dominant pattern, has been replaced by a rather horizontal integration, which is promulgated from childhood through institutions and the inclusion into a group – e.g. peers in kindergarten, school, etc. (Ho 1979: 146).

9.3.3_Self

By the third generation, the 'self' is only defined in relation to the parents. In addition, several correlations of changes in society are related to their self-perception such as: *'With the development of the economy, the houses get bigger and people become lonely'* (110406_3).

¹³⁸ When talking about this issue, he asked his parents to leave the room; they moved into their bedroom and closed the door (110403_3).

¹³⁹ Horizontal integration indicates an integration of non-biological relatives. What I mean here by 'artificial' is a construction of horizontal integration that is institutionalized. For example, does everyone have younger 'brothers' or 'sisters' assigned to them once they enter university. The system dictates a horizontal integration in order to control and guide the process. This phenomenon also includes a strong horizontal integration of groups and of classmates (see also Haag 2011 on this phenomenon).

The aspect of loneliness or *social isolation* is further related to a lack of time for social interactions as in the following statement:

'Actually, I do not spend much time on social network because my study is very hard, I have classes six days a week and I just live in the house one day a week and on that day I work as a private teacher; I teach math for the union students' (110406_3 and 110411_3).

9.3.4_Identity

Identity was reflected upon on two levels. On the personal level, new belief systems were defining some of the interviewees, as in the case of one of the interviewees who was living with her parents. She describes herself as 'not so outgoing' and as lacking confidence. Consequently, she seeks social networks or belief systems that bring her in contact with other people who care about others, and she becomes a Christian. *'Every Sunday we will go to church and we will listen to what the father says. But on every Wednesday evening we will have a small group in the baoli garden'* (110410_3).

On a national level, the position of China within global economics and politics was mentioned several times. China has positioned itself as the second largest world power in terms of economics with specific characteristics: *'China is a socialist country with Chinese characteristics'* (110406_3). Also China should fulfill its responsibilities towards other nations: *'China is a big country, so it should take responsibility to help the countries under development in Africa'* (110406_3).

9.3.5_Status

Wealth is the main aspect mentioned as status, however, several side effects were also mentioned by the third generation. The category of hard working is not reflected as a matter of status by the third generation but rather as an obligation towards one's self, the family and the society. In describing her best friend, one of the interviewees makes the following comparison: *'This person [her friend] also live in Haizhu district, she is also living in a big house, bigger than mine, a very tall house, she lives on the 16th floor'* (110406_3).

The aspect of wealth, is also seen as a socially inclusionary (or exclusionary) aspect:

'The impressive feeling of this school is that many are very wealthy. Some of them, their parents are very...I cannot say they are famous, but of course they are not a small potato person...Because I am not so wealthy, I cannot get along with these people' (110410_3).

In addition, increased wealth was mentioned as a reason for spatial and social isolation:

'And then I moved to a bigger house but I felt lonely. Because I do not have much communication with the neighbors' (110406_3).

Further, one of the interviewees correlated wealth with not having to work hard. As an example, she mentioned her fellow pupils who did not have to depend on having good grades in order to take the university entrance examine because they would just pay for access, mainly abroad (110410_3). Consequently, the aspect of *not* working hard has become a status symbol.

9.3.6_Space and environment

The third generation mainly uses places in the city when seeking privacy or to not be disturbed, such as the library. Statements on the physical environment are made in relation to the residential area

'The surroundings [of the new apartment] are very good. You can see there are many plants;' and, *'We liked this baoli garden because the surrounding is very good. And you can see that many people will go outside and talk with each other'* (110410_3).

and to the city, *'Guangzhou is a beautiful and at the same time busy city. It is very lively and dynamic here. When you live in Guangzhou, sometime you feel a little bit uncomfortable'* (100411_3).

Finally, the third generation is the only generation which articulated concerns about safety.

One of the interviewees defined the *inside* of a community as a safer space than *outside* (110403_3), while another interviewee articulated how he was afraid of not being able to react in case something happens:

'I keep boxing every day after school. But I do not wear the boxing gloves because I want to let the skin on my hands get thicker; when some special situation comes, I can actually fight it' (110411_3).

Any other of the interviewees, however, did not mention the aspect of safety.

9.4_Summary

In a relational concept of social space, the constituting processes are ‘positioning of’ and ‘spacing between’ elements (including human beings). Recalling that the production of social space can only be understood within the cultural context in which it is produced, several parameters have been defined as relevant for the two processes. In the following, the parameters as presented above will briefly be defined and discussed within the cultural framework.

	Roles	Family structure	Identity	‘Self’	Status	Space/ environment
1. Generation	Passive. Fulfilling obligation in relation to the state	Obligations within family and towards the state (e.g. take care of the third generation)	Identity related to ancestors	Lacking influence on the self, rather defined by supernatural forces or by the state	<i>Hukou</i> ; hard working (+)	Hometowns, ancestors place: regional
2. Generation	Fulfilling obligations within a society in transition. Take advantage of opportunities arising.	Neutral. Obligations towards the first generation.	Identity related to Danwei – place based.	Forward looking	Hard working (o)	China in the world or the city of Guangzhou in relation to other places in China
3. Generation	Active. Fulfilling obligations in relation to the family	Including non-blood relations. Obligations towards the second generation.	Identity related to family. Conscious about a national identity	Isolation, lacking social competences and emotions	Material goods; Hard working (-)	The city and fragments of the city in relation to other places

TABLE 4: OVERVIEW OF THE FINDINGS IN RELATION TO THE FIVE VARIABLES.

Status (i.e. changing value system) has for a long time been related to the *hukou* registration in Chinese society. Whereas an urban *hukou* would indicate that the holder had access to state provided services, a rural *hukou* holder would often be seen as uncivilized or ‘backwards’ thinking, relying on their commune or production team. With the increasing capitalization of the society and relaxations of the *hukou* system, new status symbols (e.g. material wealth) have taken over older non-material concepts. In discussing status symbols, the change

between the generations, and accordingly the positioning of the ‘self’ within society (e.g. the first generation in relation to the state or the third generation in relation to other peers), became obvious. For example, ‘hard working’ was a category that occurred in the interviews with all three generations, however it was subscribed different meanings. The first generation relates ‘hard working’ with status within the society and recognition of the individual by the party or by the system. The second generation does also see ‘hard working’ as a positive aspect related to status within society (e.g. in relation to their danwei or as working longer than the retirement age), however, it is increasingly linked to the aspect of possession. The third generation does not seem to relate ‘hard working’ with status but rather they relate ‘hard working’ to the negative aspects of possessing wealth – an expression of the increased capitalization of the value system. Those interviewees who had to ‘work hard’ related it to social aspect such as ‘lack of time’ and ‘loneliness’. One main difference between the three generations presented in this chapter is that none of the interviewees from the first and second generation had an academic education (except for one), whereas all interviewees of the third generation had an academic education, or were still studying at university. This is also an indicator of changing value systems within an increasingly wealthy population.

In this chapter, two aspect related to **family structure** have been identified. First, that the vertical integration includes ancestors. Thus, the vertical integration extends beyond the grave in such as way that ancestors of the past still have relevance for the present. This aspect is spatially related to *spaces of belonging* as they have been defined in this work.

Second, the family dominates over the individual, as it has also been research by psychologist in the Chinese culture (e.g. Haag 2011; Yang, K. S. 2006). Thus, while the first generation sees their obligations within the family network in forms of taking care of the third generation, the third generation seems to rather feel a pressure from the family and society to avoid losing face (with implications for the family) by achieving certain levels of wealth.

The embeddeness of the individual into the family structure has also been expressed as follows: *‘It is not the family which existed in order to support the individual, but rather the individual who existed in order to continue the family’* (Hofstede 2001: 226).

Consequently, the individual only exists when embedded in the smallest unit – the family. Further, the concept of family includes an extension of non-blood relatives. As a result of the one-child policy, all interviewees in the third generation had no siblings. This understanding

of the individual must have an impact on the aspect of spacing and positioning, and consequently for the production of space.

The **roles** as identified by the interviewees revealed a clear distinction between the three generations. While the first generation had a lack of influence on their ‘positioning’ within the nation state (i.e. the party) and the system, the younger generation was mostly positioning themselves in relation to the family and to other individuals (especially in terms of status).

Several interviewees described the phenomenon of *isolation*. The phenomenon occurs as a social, and as an economic aspect, which often correlates and leads to spatial isolation. Consequently, *loneliness* turned out to be an issue mainly for the third (and second) generation. The correlation between economic wealth (or lack of the same) and social isolation almost equals *spatial isolation* of individuals or families. Another social aspect under the phenomenon of isolation is ‘*lack of time*’, or the consequences of decades of the one-child policy, which has led to generations feeling an increasing pressure from the family on their shoulders for being ‘successful’, which often directly translated into earning good money. This aspect is closely related to a lack of a social welfare system to take care of the elderly in society, resulting in a reliance on the family network. In addition, Confucianism also prescribes that the elderly should be paid respect and that the young are to take care of them (Haag 2011; see also Schoon 2007 on the perception of the younger generation in Shanghai on their roles and responsibilities in modern society).¹⁴⁰ While one family created a social and consequently also a spatial isolation due to their extreme wealth (something which was reflected in both the second and third generation), the third generation of another family felt excluded socially and economically due to a lack of economic resource.

The phenomenon ‘*lacking time*’ also led to exclusion socially, but in some cases it led to the selection of certain places such as the library in order to optimize the efficiency of their time.

¹⁴⁰ As is the case with the current development of turning Confucianism into a (state) religion in China. The aim is to convert Confucian values into a norm set that is applicable for solving some of the current challenges, especially demographic challenges. An example is the challenge of how to cope with the large percentage of the population that is aging in relation to the relatively small population generating income that the one-child policy has fostered (Kögel on a symposium in Stuttgart 29.07.2013). A study in Hong Kong on the correlation between caretaking and Confucian concepts of filial piety has shown the adaptation of the concept to everyday practice (Wong/Chau 2006). From the Classic of Family Reverence (*Xiaojing*), which is part of the Confucian canon following quote illustrates how to practice family reverence: ‘*The Master said: ‘Filial children in serving parents in their daily lives show them real respect (jing), in tending to their needs and wants strive to bring them enjoyment (le), in caring for them in sickness reveal their apprehension, in mourning for them express their grief, and in sacrificing to them show true veneration. With these five dispositions firmly in place, they are truly able to serve their parents’* (Rosemont/Ames 2009: 111).

Consequently, most of the interviewees across the generations defined their role as passive in terms of reflecting cultural and social norms, whereas they all defined themselves as active player in fulfilling obligations in relation to the state (e.g. the first generation), in relation to a society in transition (e.g. the second generations) and in relation to the family (e.g. the third and first generation, as discussed above). Finally, many of the younger people (third generation) expressed worries about lacking social competences and emotions. This depression of a whole generation has created one of the highest suicide rates in the world as has been argued by Haag (2011).

Several interviewees, mainly the second and the third generation, expressed a seasonal frequency of returning to their **place** of ancestors, often located in the outskirts of Guangzhou or at least in Guangdong province. In a similar manner, the first generation had a strong relation to their ancestors' place and thus, the place of birth is always mentioned in detail. While most of the first generation lost the actual self-identification with a territorial manifestation, their identity was closely related to the 'imagined' place of their *hometowns*. The second and third generation on the contrary had little imagined space related to the regional identity, but rather a symbolic space closely linked to traditions and seasonal rituals (e.g. visiting the place of the ancestors on tomb sweeping day). Consequently, the phenomenon of *space of belonging* seems to be rather abstract than actually bound in a territory. During the era of Mao, all interviewees from the first generation stated that they had little influence on their placement/positioning within the city or region. The territorial belonging was freed from a geographical place and became rather a spatial concept of belonging instead. Contrasting this, all interviewees from the third generation had a very narrow spatial reference frame, mainly relying on the city of Guangzhou or on *fragments* of it; however, the place of the ancestors was always known!

Identity as a national identity, will be further discussed in the following chapter, here it suffices to summarize with the understanding expressed by one of the third generation interviewees of her national identity as supporting the Chinese ice-curling team (110406-3). The correlation with sports and national identity has also been established in studies on the Olympic Games in 2008 held in Beijing, which impressed the world from the perspective of the Chinese (Schwartz 2010: 624).

Another interviewee (second generation) compares China with other countries by traveling to surrounding countries that seem 'forward looking' to him (e.g. Dubai). In particular, he points

to the planning of infrastructure and the attractiveness of superlatives leading to an increase in tourism and international reputation (110330_2): *'Dubai has introduced building technology from elsewhere in the world'*; and *'China has beautiful nature'*.

By presenting his knowledge of other places and his 'forward' thinking, the self-perception of being a modern and civilized person is reflected. The aspect of '**self**', however, should be seen in relation to the previously defined variables (i.e. family structure, identity, roles and status).

Related to the hypothesis that during the Cultural Revolution an individual positioning and spacing within society was impossible, the phenomena of collective positioning and passive roles have been identified. The work units (danweis) functioned as political control organs, but at the same time they also took care of all functions necessary. Danweis had kindergartens and schools integrated. The danweis took decisions on whether a child was allowed to participate in higher education, etc. (see for example interviews conducted by Haag 2011).

'The embracement of the communist ideology has, of course, resulted in a significant, new dimension in Chinese collectivism. To the individual, the center of loyalty is no longer the family but the state' (Ho 1979: 147).

Others point to a change from a dominantly social-oriented culture to a more individual-oriented society within the Chinese context (Yang, K. S. 1986). Some scholars (especially from the field of cultural sociology) label the dualistic understanding of integration as 'hierarchy' versus 'solidarity' (e.g. Jacobs 2012; Alexander et al. 2012a), however attempts to avoid the dualism by arguing that hierarchy (in relation to power and social status) and solidarity (e.g. 'horizontal ties of belonging' as expressed through a network culture for example) are both part of a the cultural environment (Alexander et al. 2012b: 17).

The dependent variables discussed in this chapter strongly support the assumption that the individual cannot be isolated but needs to be seen within the larger network of the family (or at times, the state). Accordingly, the challenge of positioning of the body as a space constituting element, as well as spacing within the cultural framework of China call for a further investigation of the concept of scales and a stronger differentiation between social spaces that are manifested in a territory and space that are not.

10_Space with Chinese characteristics

Even though this study takes its starting point in the megacity of Guangzhou in the south of China, the intention is by no means to objectify the city as suggested by Löw (2008a), nor is it to understand the city in itself as the ‘local,’ as has been critically reflected by Marcuse (2006). Rather, this work wishes to investigate social action in the city of Guangzhou, from the perspective of the production of social space. In contradiction to the dominant political aspect of the Marxist approach towards the production of social space (e.g. Lefebvre 2007; Brenner/Elden 2001; Harvey 2008), this work suggests a stronger inclusion of cultural norms and rules into the concept of socially produced space, without neglecting highly political aspects such as power relations. By taking a starting point in a relational concept of social space (e.g. Leibniz/Clark 1956) and introducing space constituting processes (i.e. spacing and synthesis) as the relation between ‘social goods’ (Löw 2001), culturally defined parameters such as family structure and roles of the individual within the society gain importance. Further, by including synthesis as a space constituting process, cognitive processes – which can only be understood within a cultural setting – gain significance. The aspect of synthesis, however, also poses the challenge of differentiating between a social space that is manifested in a place, i.e. at the ‘local’ level, and a social space that is not bound to a specific place but rather constituted through the process of spacing and positioning within society. In order to overcome this challenge, scales relevant for the Chinese context as defined either physically or symbolic within the cultural framework are suggested. Further, by introducing scales to a relational concept of space, constituted through spacing and positioning (and synthesis when involving human beings), a differentiation between the individual positioning itself in space in relation to certain concepts (e.g. the communist party) and spacing and positioning elements on the same level should be made. In the Chinese context, the positioning of the individual in relation to the nation – for example during the era of Mao, specifically a positioning in relation to the Party, thus on a national scale, becomes obvious through the interviews. As an example of the latter, one might think of global cities (e.g. Sassen 2001) and the network of global cities, which is constituted through ‘nodes’, positioning themselves in relation to other ‘nodes’ within the network (e.g. Löw 2008b). Thus, these ‘nodes’ are territorialized in their spatial-political definition of a ‘city’ or a nation state, and their positioning is mostly related to one or two parameters (e.g. economics) but not to the ‘eigenlogik’ of a city, as has been suggested by Löw (2008a). In the following, several aspects

that have been examined in the previous chapters will be discussed with reference to the approaches presented in the theoretical framework.

In the theoretical framework the following assumptions were made: First, the production of social space depends on the built environment, the meanings and values subscribed to the physical environment, cognition and social action. Second, it was assumed that human beings through their social interactions, position themselves in relation to other elements and human beings who, through cognition (synthesis), subscribe meanings to places and other elements temporarily manifested in the built environment. It is argued that the space constituting factor of synthesis, however, can only be part of a social space that includes human beings and is consequently manifested in a geographically defined place. The space constituting process of spacing (and positioning) is both part of the production of social space in combination with synthesis as manifested in a place, however, it can also be the major space constituting process of spaces that are non-physical and therefore a reflection of individual positioning within a society and culture or between cities and fragments of cities.

10.1_Reflections on the variables in relation to the place bound categories

The culturally defined variables suggested in the theoretical framework for gaining further knowledge on the space constituting processes of spacing and positioning have revealed multiple aspects in the previous two chapters. In addition, as stated in the theoretical framework, socially produced spaces are mostly place-bound (at least temporarily). Thus, the places revealed in the first set of empirical data with their symbolic value should be taken into consideration in order to further develop an understanding for how space is being produced in the context of Guangzhou. Before attempting to theorize the findings in the discussion, the variables in relation to places and scales and their relevance will be briefly summarized below.

10.1.1_Status

The relevance of identifying indicators for status as they are defined in a given society and within a certain culture for the socially produced space has shown high in correlating with places. In past history, the *hukou* (household registration) served as status symbol during the era of Mao and does to some extent continue existing. In addition, the *hukou* registration is still highly relevant for the respondents living in the ‘urban village’, since it limits access to

resources and excludes individuals certain rights. Indicators of status for the second and third generations (including the respondents between 20 and 30 years old) have almost completely changed from a place-bound status related to ancestry to places related to economic wealth. An example is the possession of apartments and the relation to what has been identified as *places of representation*. Although the *places of representation* are always disconnected from the place of living (indifferent to housing type), use of and access to *commercialized places* (restaurants, malls, etc.) serve as a status symbol. Another example of how the image of a place serves as a status symbol is the naming of *gated communities* as ‘gardens’. The role of gardens in Chinese culture, as described in the ‘Story of the Stone’ (Cao 1973, 1977), reflects a historical reference to wealth and power (e.g. the Zhou family). Thus, the imaginary status created through labeling is strongly embedded in history and in the cultural reference frame. In chapter three it was argued that social relations could be divided into a network of social relations (i.e. structure) and ‘nodes’ within the network (e.g. Li/Yeo 1991). The function of these ‘nodes’ is defined as status. The quality subscription to the ‘nodes’ within the network has been researched as family structure.

10.1.2_ Family structure and roles

Social relations are claimed to be cause-effect relationships within the Chinese culture, which can be divided into relationships based on repayment or revenge versus relationships based on predestine (see chapter three). An example of the latter is the way in which the first generation (in chapter nine) defines their role as passive and as predestine in relation to the Party or to the nation (i.e. to the danwei). The imagined identity as a defined role in relation to the Party has been described as the result of political campaigning attempts to break down family structures during the Cultural Revolution (e.g. Haag 2011). Thus the role, as described by the first generation (and partially by the second generation in relation to their danwei), should be seen as the exception within the history of China, rather than a culturally embedded factor developed over time. Nevertheless, in ancient schools of thought, the concept of hierarchies (e.g. between teacher and pupil or between Emperor and officer) is deeply embedded. Thus, loyalty towards the family (blood-related as well as horizontally integrated non blood-related), as is identified in the interviews with the third generation, proves to be a cultural variable that has been overlaid with other structures such as loyalty towards ones danwei or towards the Party.

It is especially the younger respondents in the samples (all born under the one-child policy) that strongly identify themselves with the family and with their role within the family.

Nevertheless, they all see themselves as lonely and, depending on the type of housing they were living in, as spatially isolated. In relation to spatial isolation, multiple categories are revealed. First, the aspect of boundaries and their ‘thickness’ both spatially and socially is identified in relation to the fragments of the city. The ‘thickness’ of the boundary is further related to how qualities of places are defined and also to the age of the respondents (older generation). Consequently, the physically defined functions and their ‘dominance’ increase with the thickness of the boundary of the fragment and the age (younger generation). This aspect leads to the assumption that the negotiations between involved actors and an increased power struggle for dominance will be prevalent in the future of the production of spaces in Guangzhou.

10.1.3_Identity

The family structure clearly extends beyond the grave, especially for the first generation of interviewees. Here, the inclusion of cosmological aspects and their relevance for the present is clearly stated. Multiple place-bound aspects related to the family structure and to identity are identified. First, the aspect of *hometown* is identified in both samples. Second are *places of belonging*, which are closely related to the *hometown* but include a larger range of places and are also interlinked with *places for worship*. These place-bound identities seem to be in transition, changing from an actual manifestation in a place towards an imagined place. Thus, the aspect of Identity is strongly linked to the family and culturally defined concepts such as vertical integration manifested in places, but it has changed dramatically over three generations towards a stronger identification through economic status symbols.

10.1.4_‘Self’

The ‘self’ as defined through status has greatly changed over time, not just from the household registration towards economic wealth, but also as a matter of identity in relation to non-material value towards an economically defined status symbol. Take for example the previously defined category of ‘hard-working’. It is an attribute used to describe the identity and the self-perception of all the first generation interviewees. In their statements, the fact that they were diligent is not described as self-fulfilling or fulfilling for the family, but rather as a duty or a pleasure for the Party, i.e. for the nation. This collective ‘positioning’ can be seen as a balancing act between the self-perception of a passive role (or a predestine role) and an active role in terms of repayment within a cause-effect relationship in the family network.

Obviously the five suggested variables are overlapping in their complexity. For example, the variable ‘family structure’ could be incorporated under the variable ‘roles’ since the concept of roles is multi-layered and would include the defined role within the family structure. In addition, the variable Identity could be attributed to the ‘self’ in order to avoid overlapping. However, the variables often have different manifestations in places and on culturally defined scales. In the following, multiple aspects of the findings are discussed with their relevance for theorizing the production of socially produced space in the context of the megacity of Guangzhou.

10.2_ The relevance of scales

Scales are in themselves a socio-spatial ordering system, but should also be seen as providing the framework for understanding further principles. The socio-spatial ordering principles found in ancient city planning for example, reflects the regional and national scales in terms of hierarchical positioning. Some scholars argue that the construction of space¹⁴¹ in ancient China cannot be understood without understanding the different scales and how they are inherent in each other (e.g. Lewis 2006). Lewis (2006) defines five scales: the body, household, city, region and world/cosmos. Others have defined three scales: family, neighborhood or quarter and district (Hassenpflug 2013). These scales, however, seem to be based on the ‘administrative’ units within the Chinese society that are used to ‘govern’ and to control the population politically and socially. Li/Yeo (1991:8) suggest the following scales for analyzing the correlation between social and spatial configurations: ‘*the building; the complex, cluster of buildings, settlement or community; the city or territory; etc.*’ However, apart from Lewis (2006) all suggestions are limited to physically manifested scales. In addition, several scholars, especially from the anthropological field, argue that the history of China is a history of regions (Skinner 1964, 1965a, 1965b; Lewis 2006).

First, in early writings on governing, the regional aspect was mainly seen as a threat¹⁴² and defined by regional customs. Accordingly, the regional powerful families were used for

¹⁴¹ Here a rather physical space is meant, even though Lewis (2006) states that he is relying on Leibniz’s theory of space.

¹⁴² Especially the powerful families such as the Zhou family or as described in the Story of the Stone, certain powerful families were the ones ruling locally. This of course was standing in contradiction to the rather centralistic approach of the emperors (see Lewis 2006 for a detailed account on regionalism in ancient time; or Wheatley 1971 on the role of capital cities and the political and spatial correlation of centralistic thought). In addition, the concept of ‘legend’ was used to exceed regional boundaries and to overcome the regional customs in order to increase the centralistic thought (Lewis 2006: 196). Politically, to break down the power of regionally prominent families during the Warring States and in the early emperors years, administrative

controlling their respective region within the eastern Han dynasty, however they increased their local authorities by accumulating wealth and creating a network of members of their lineage (Lewis 2006: 189ff).

Second, the role of the region has experienced a revival and has been politically utilized after reforms (e.g. defining regions for experiments such as opening up for foreign investment as for example the case of the Pearl River Delta). Especially in the south of China, the large emigrant communities were ‘activated’ politically to invest in the place of origin as a way of initiating economic growth after 1978 (one might think of the famous south tour of Deng Xiaoping in 1992, in which he encouraged the villagers and inhabitants of the Guangdong Province to use their kinship network and to develop/promote the region). Consequently, the south of China, and especially the Pearl River Delta, has developed into a vast urban-rural landscape with fragments of agriculture, production (factories) and high-density residential areas (see also Enright et al. 2005; Lin 2002). This has led to an increased competition among cities within the region but also among regions within the nation. On an economic and political scale there exists strong competition between cities and ‘mega-regions’ within china. The economically defined Pearl River Delta Economic Zone, as well as the Special Economic Zones (e.g. Shenzhen and Zhuhai), has enjoyed tax relaxations and a high degree of autonomy from the central state in order to increase their competitive conditions within the global market, especially within Asia.¹⁴³ Both the Yangtze Delta and the Pearl River Delta have successfully attracted both domestic and foreign investors. Especially the Pearl River Delta, located in proximity to Hong Kong and Macao, has become the powerhouse of the world (for a detailed account see Lin 2009 and chapter six in this work).

Finally, categories such as *hometown* and *places of worship* and *identity*, as presented in chapter eight and nine, have been activated politically in order to initiate or encourage people to invest, revealing the importance of the regional scale. Based on an ancient patriarchal system of consciousness and responsibility embedded in socio-cultural aspects, one can detect an enthusiasm for returning in glory to the *place of belonging* (e.g. Deqi 2010). Consequently,

units based on the household were introduced (i.e. Baojia). ‘*This fragmentation of the society into its smallest elements for the purposes of control demonstrated the basic principle of imperial administration that unity could be maintained only by preventing the formation of any unit large enough to threaten the center.*’ (Lewis 2006: 213).

¹⁴³ As standard and control increases within Mainland China many factories have moved on to other Asian countries where salaries are extremely low and little requirements or protection of the employees or the environment are requested (e.g. the Jakarta region for example or the Mekong region, etc.).

schools have been opened, temples constructed to honor the ancestors, and factories set up already in the early 20th century.

Interestingly enough, the following process strongly based on local negotiation processes was only partially controlled by the central state. This has spatially led to what has been defined as the Mega-Urban Landscape within the Pearl River Delta, strongly based on informal dynamics and negotiation processes (Fokdal/Herrle 2010). It does however also support the revival of the regional scale both in terms of governing in a domestic hierarchy and in terms of competition (e.g. economically) on a national and global scale.

10.3_Qualities of places and symbolic meanings

Based on the finding that synthesis is not necessarily inherent in the Chinese cultural tradition, which is strongly influenced by Daoism and cosmological principles, one can only speculate on what an impact such as ‘lack of synthesis’ has on social action and on the built environment. Löw (2001: 159) states that spacing without synthesis is impossible, however this assumption is strongly based on western ‘logic’ defining ‘synthesis’ as the main cognitive process leading to social action. The lack of synthesis, or the allowance of contradictions is assumed to be related to the often discussed fluid ‘boundaries’ of ‘private’ and ‘public’ in the Chinese context. Consequently, it raises the question of whether places are defined by subscribed functions applied by ‘dominating’ interest groups, as in the concept of ‘domination’ by Lefebvre (2007), or rather defined by social action, as it has been argued is often the case in East Asia by some scholars (e.g. Hofstede 2001).

In the examination of the relationship between places such as housing types and social action of the 20 to 30 years old sample group, two positively connotated categories related to ‘privacy’ are derived out of the analysis: ‘being alone’ and ‘not being disturbed’. Both of these are related to the apartment for the respondents living in former danweis and in gated communities, whereas respondents living in the ‘urban village’ mention places in the city such as parks. In addition, the negative connotation of ‘isolation’ relates to an increased thickness of the socio-spatial *boundaries* of both higher income groups in the same sample as well as those in the same age group. Further, in the generational interviews, the aspect of ‘being alone’ is used in connection with fragments of the city such as parks or libraries by the first generation, whereas the second generation mostly mentions commercial places as spaces for ‘not being disturbed’. Both the first and the second generation, therefore, mention places in the city that do not allow for physical ‘enclosure,’ neither do these places lack the presence of other people. Consequently, one might argue that certain qualities of places are largely

described through social action rather than through pre-defined functions (e.g. planners). This definition, however, differs from what has been described as ‘appropriation’ by Lefebvre (2007) and as ‘tactics’ by de Certeau (1988) of a power struggle between stakeholders with various interest and ideologies. One aspect for example, is that the role of the state differs in context from which the two concepts evolved. In the context of Guangzhou, the planning process is decentralized to the lower level of government in planning bureaus at the district and municipality level (see also chapter six). In addition, the central government allows for a large degree of autonomy (e.g. decision-making processes) in the Special Economic Zones, and at the same time introduces tax-sharing rules, leading to municipalities becoming entrepreneurial in order to maximize profit (e.g. Lin 1997; Fokdal/Herrle 2010). Further, as it was stated in chapter six, the reliance on land resources as the main income source for the municipal government has led to an overwhelming ‘domination’ of capitalistic forces impacting the physical environment. Thus, one might argue that little ‘strategy’ is applied to the physical environment by the local government. A hypothesis then might be that in the past, a strong ‘dominance’ of the physical environment was guided by the state’s ideological principles exercised by planners. However after reforms, especially in the Special Economic Zone of the Pearl River Delta and here with the example of Guangzhou, this dominance has been given up, leading to the physical environment largely being shaped by local negotiation processes (e.g. by the urban villagers or by private investors).¹⁴⁴ Though there is a certain amount of guidance through a centralistic framework, the actual translation on the local scale is negotiated on a case-by-case basis. Following the extreme relaxation of control of the physical environment, a stronger focus is being promulgated, leading to new conditions that change the parameters for negotiation (e.g. power, resources and legitimacy (Herrle/Fokdal 2011)) within the Delta and the city of Guangzhou. Thus, one might not be able to talk about ‘dominance’ in the same sense as defined by Lefebvre or Foucault in reaction to the modernist ideologies and the 20th century planning approaches of France.

Consequently, it could be argued, that functions of physical place are only defined to a limited extent. The often rather provocative or puzzling temporary appropriations of seemingly clearly defined functional places in the city do not seem to disturb in its inherent contradiction, and call for a definition of ‘hybrid spaces’ or what has also been defined as ‘liquid urban space’ (Lu 2006). This work, however, does not focus on actual ‘appropriation’ of places within the city of Guangzhou through temporary markets etc. In the context of Guangzhou, this form of ‘appropriation’ of places within the city could be seen as a continuous

¹⁴⁴ It should be noticed, however, that regulations have been tightened and a ‘re-centralization’ of decision-making processes is currently taking place (see also Herrle et al. 2014 on this issue).

manifestation within the network of power relations as described by Foucault (1995) (see also Hoy 1986). For one who visits China for the first time, it might seem as if the whole city is appropriated and places are just the ‘backdrop’ of the stage (e.g. Goffman 1969) for ‘appropriation’. However, this assumption neglects the relevance of cultural norms and the history of places. Therefore, it is suggested to place more emphasis on the basic concept of how qualities of places are defined rather than to romanticize or theorize the flexibility and use of outdoor space in such a manner that the pragmatic explanation of lacking indoor space/places is forgotten (e.g. several of the interviewees mentioned lack of space in their apartment as the prime reason for appropriating places outside the living area) or the unequal distribution of access to resources (including housing and land) is neglected (see also chapter six and seven on the limited access for certain groups in the Chinese society to housing). Thus, it is argued that synthesis is not interdependent with spacing as Löw (2001) argues, but instead allows for seemingly contradictory defined qualities of places, which are temporarily defined through social action.

10.4_Loss of places of belonging and increased spatial isolation

Some of the implications of increasing spatial isolation, as was stated by several of the interviewees from the second and third generations, is discussed below. As a consequence of several of the interviewees making a direct correlation between wealth, size of household (physical) and loneliness (e.g. 110406-3), as well as loss of *places of belonging*, the following hypothesis is developed: Loss of *places of belonging* and increased social and spatial isolation (e.g. loneliness) endanger the coherence in a society and challenge traditional concepts such as social responsibility and *pitie fility* (see chapter three for a definition of the concept). While it is not within the scope of this work to investigate the psychological implications of a rapidly changing environment, the following reflection by Tian, X. (2010) serves to raise an awareness of the implications of changing values systems and the deterritorialisation of *identity* within the Chinese context. In his analysis of current urbanization trends within China, Tian, X. (2010) links ‘artificial’ urbanization with an increased loneliness among Chinese people. ‘Artificial’ urbanization occurs with the resettling of millions of people, mainly from rural to urban areas. The main motivation behind this state-driven resettlement is to gain access to land resources (similar mechanism as practiced by local governments described in chapter six). The loss of productivity and of connectivity with ancestral places leads to a ‘cosmological loneliness’. In that sense, the family relations and the almost secular belief system in *family structures* are lost (Tian, X. 2010: 160). Many of the here described

tendencies are obviously a result of increased living standards and the ever increasing square meterage¹⁴⁵ that is available per person, as well as the changing value system within the Chinese culture.

Reflecting back on the discourse on the production of space, the symbolic space or the ‘imagined space’ as defined by Lefebvre (2007) is, by the above stated example, thus increasingly losing its physical manifestation, and consequently moving from *places of belonging* towards *spaces of belonging*.

10.5_Fragmentation of the urban fabric

In terms of urban planning, it is suggested that the importance and role of physical planning in determining qualities of places within the city of Guangzhou has changed dramatically within the 20th century. As an example, one might think of the physical configurations that were ideologically and politically strongly dominant (e.g. Danweis as socio-spatial controlled units and ideological manifestations of the collective efforts) during the era of Mao, which have, so I argue, turned into an individual dominance of manifesting capitalism and globalization throughout westernized landmarks in the city (see also Gaubatz 2005 on Central Business Districts as manifestations of global landmarks). In addition, the fragmentation of planning implementation has increased, as stated in chapter six and seven. The fragmentation of the physical environment, however, is not just a consequence of rapid urban developing and lacking implementation of strategic planning, but is also, to some extent, a consequence of the socio-spatial ordering system in Chinese culture, as is perceived by the respondents of the semi-structured interviews. The first and second generations had a strong relation to their danwei and to their factories – most of them worked for the same company all their lives. With an increasing ‘privatization’ of the real estate market in the 1980s and 1990s, the state stopped the distribution of danwei housing in 1997 (Münch 2004). Nevertheless the spatial and social ordering concept has continued, and is being translated into *fragments* of residential and free time activities and other infrastructures such as kindergartens etc. independent of the open space and its street system surrounding the *fragments*. The influence of economic resources on spatial planning in the city of Guangzhou is described as the following by one of the interviewees: ‘*people who pay the money can build wherever they want*’ (110404_1). This mechanism has created space for negotiations and allowed for rather uncontrolled urban growth, often compromising the environment or living standards. In a

¹⁴⁵ Since the mid 1970s the average ratio of square meter per person increased from 3,6m²/person to 10,3 m²/person in 2000 (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2001).

similar manner Kögel (2011) argues that cosmological ordering principles have been replaced with economic mechanisms as the controlling influence. In addition it has led to a lack of continuous planning concepts and approaches within the city, and has allowed for increasingly fragmented development. The *fragments* have different qualities and functions (e.g. factories, villages, communities/neighborhoods, danwei, etc.). While some of the fragments are interlinked with a regional belonging and a territorial identification, others are socially important in terms of status. Within each of the *fragments* described in the interviews, certain qualities are mentioned and new ‘filling’ presented. Hassenpflug (2013: 45) defines a transition from enclosed space (‘private’) to public space, see chapter three. Open space can be found both in commercial parks and also in what he defines as a neighborhood yard. Thus, open space (see also chapter eight) lacks a functional definition and allows for hybrid concepts of space. It should, however, not be seen as a confirmation of lacking the concepts of ‘private’ and ‘public,’ but rather as a transition between the two and a means for defining them in more or less visual manners, each different and dependent on the culture (Smith/Bond 1998: 101; see also Altman and Chemers 1984).

In relation to *boundaries* the concept of ‘non-places’ as defined by Augé (1992) is interesting. While the definition of ‘non-places’ builds on a negation of the places in terms of historically and culturally embedded places, it does, through the concept of ‘individualization,’ depend on social action (see also chapter two on ‘non-places’). Nevertheless, Augé (1992) argues that social action is re-defined by the assignment of a role to the individual that is appropriate within the ‘non-places’, which is increasingly defined through mobility. Thus, while the findings in this work do suggest that functions and qualities of certain places in the city of Guangzhou are defined through social action rather than through planning, it does not imply that these lack cultural and historical connotations.

10.6_Negotiations of spatial and socially constructed boundaries – power relations

According to chapter six, seven and eight, *boundaries* seem to be manifested both physically and perceptively by the interviewees. In chapter six, the changing interpretation and physical manifestation of *boundaries* and fragmentation within the city are discussed as changing planning concepts in relation to housing types. Historically, the spatial and social ordering concept of *boundaries* was reflected in ancient city planning and translated by the communist

party into the spatial, social, political and economic work units (Danwei) dictated by Soviet ideology, as well as by American ideas of neighborhoods (Kögel 2010).

In chapter eight the ‘thickness’ of the socio-spatial *boundaries* becomes obvious in relation to the three housing types. Further, boundaries of fragments within the city are used for orientation, as documented in the pictures taken by the interviewees participating in the auto-photographic process. The boundaries function as transitions between what, in the western connotation, is defined as ‘public’ spaces and ‘private’ spaces, for instance the green area (as in Bao Li garden) in between the wall surrounding the *gated community* and the buildings. These ‘in-between’ zones are defined as zones for negotiations that challenge social relations and self-perception (Borden 2001). In the Chinese context however, these zones are, on the one hand, rather exclusive and include multiple layers within the ‘in-between’ zone (open space). For example, all the facilities in one of the former danweis was only for employees of that work unit. On the other hand, these ‘in-between’ zones are little negotiated. Therefore, so I have argued, places that receive their quality through social action obviously constantly change the function of those places, however, only a few places seem to be functionally predefined in a manner that conflicts with the qualities prescribed through social action. In chapter eight for example, traditional rituals linked to *places of worship* are increasingly deterritorialized and moved to other places with no symbolic value. For instance, the habit of doing morning exercise in the ‘garden’ continued in the *gated communities*, leaving all the sport facilities offered in the adjacent buildings empty and unused. Or perhaps the place underneath a bridge or a park is used for a choir to regularly rehearse. These practices are deeply inherent in the culture and historically explainable within the Chinese society.

10.7_Geomancy principles and ‘inside’ versus ‘outside’

The layout of ancient cities has been argued to reflect the hierarchy in terms of power and wealth within the larger concept of the state. Within the city, a strong socio-spatial ordering system established the relation to cosmological forces through certain positions of celestial symbols, and as well, a hierarchy within the city was clearly stated through *boundaries* that only allowed for limited access to certain areas, as for example in the Forbidden City Beijing or as illustrated in the historical maps in chapter six.

The principle of enclosure (i.e. boundaries), which has been identified by several scholars as well as in the empirical data of this work, must also be understood as social, political and economic *boundaries* as well as physical boundaries. An example from the empirical data illustrates this: One of the interviewees (second generation) describes how he had been ‘inside

all his life'. Thereby, he is referring to the fact that he was born 'inside' in a danwei, went to school 'inside' a danwei and worked 'inside' a danwei. As the real estate market was opened up for privatization, he was one of the first and only to move 'outside' of the danwei and into a *garden* (e.g. 110404_2) and consequently, he describes himself and his family (as defined through himself, his wife and their daughter) as winners in comparison with the ones who could not afford to make the move. Thus, an overlap of economic, social and spatial boundaries becomes obvious, as does the complexity of the concept of *boundaries*. This is closely linked to social and economic issues, such as status symbols, and thereby is a matter of defining the 'self' within society. The dialectics between 'inside' and 'outside' can also be defined as part of the 'ecdynamische Raum' (Schoon 2007). Based on empirical data in Shanghai, the 'ecdynamische Raum' is constituted by the duality between 'inside' and 'outside' along with the two other dialectically defined parameters old/new and above/below. These categories do incorporate hierarchies (as they have also been defined in this work) and if spatially interpreted, they also reflect the concept of *boundaries* in terms of 'inside' and 'outside' as described in the example above. However, the categories are more relevant for describing status symbols and identities, than for capturing how social space is produced in the context of China.

The common link between FengShui and city planning has been thoroughly investigated in the previous chapter and is supported by several scholars (e.g. Gaubatz 1996; Wheatley 1971; Peisert 1984). In addition, Taoism and Confucianism are claimed to be the most influential directions of thought that influence architecture and urban space in China (e.g. Li, X. 2002; Li/Yeo 1991). While Confucianism provides the structure and indicates the social hierarchy with which space should be ordered, Taoism provides guidance on the household level in terms of balancing for example *solid* and *void*. Further, within Chinese architecture, it has been argued that four principles related to geomancy can be identified: 1) Enclosure and qi; 2) Void versus Solid; 3) Symbolism; and 4) Cardinal orientation and axuality (Li, X. 2002: 98). Even though these socio-spatial ordering principles can be supported by the findings in this work, I argue that geomancy principles should be seen as ordering principles and not as a substitute for a theoretical approach on the production of social space in the context of China.

10.8_Towards a relational space with Chinese characteristics

In a constant dynamic, elements position themselves through spacing in relation to other elements on the same scale or on other scales. The spacing process between elements on the same scale results in territorially manifested spaces, such as three people positioning

themselves in relation to each other in a *garden* for morning exercise, as described in chapter nine. While the spacing process is similar between human beings (e.g. among bodies) and between elements (e.g. regions) several parameters differentiate.

To begin, the process of synthesis can only be a constituting factor when human beings are involved. In the Chinese context, it has been found that synthesis is not necessarily part of the culturally influenced cognition (e.g. Peng et al. 2006). This is illustrated by the fact that contradictions are tolerated in cognitive processes. Even though the aspect of synthesis has not been thoroughly researched in this work, it seems worthwhile to reflect on the ‘Chinese way of synthesizing’ in relation to the production of social space.

First, if social space is understood as relational and includes human beings, the cognitive process of synthesis is seen as space constituting along with spacing and positioning. On the aspect of cognition, it is further pointed out that an abstraction is needed in order to define the relations between objects (Cassirer 1944: 46). Cassirer (1944: 24) goes on to argue that

‘between the receptor system and the effector system [here referring to Uexküll’s definition of the ‘Mensch – Umwelt’ relationship], which are to be found in all animal species, we find in man a third link which we may describe as the symbolic system.’

This is what is defined as a cognitive process of evaluating information, which transcends the *boundary* between inside and outside (e.g. ‘Mensch-Umwelt’). Thus, the bodily process of synthesis is understood along the lines of Luhmann’s (2006) systemic theoretical approach. A ‘noise’ perforates the boundary into a system, which then evaluates the ‘noise’ in a self-referential or external referential (to cultural norms and rules) process.

Second, it has been argued by some scholars that there is no need for synthesis inherent in the Chinese culture (e.g. Haag 2011):

‘Neuere kulturpsychologische Erkenntnisse weisen auf die wichtige Rolle hin, die die daoistische Lehre in Form volkstümlicher Sprichworte oder Parabeln in der chinesischen Sozialisation hat, und sprechen von >naiver< Dialektik (naive dialecticism). Sie grenzen sich in dieser Begrifflichkeit von Hegel ab, weil es in der daoistischen Dialektik keine Synthese gibt: Widersprüche und Unvereinbarkeiten bleiben bestehen, ohne dass es ein Bedürfnis nach Klärung gibt.’ (Haag 2011: 37).¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ *‘More recent findings in cultural psychology indicate the importance of Daoism in popular saying or parables in Chinese socialization and talk about a >naïve< dialectic. However, the concept is differentiated from the term used by Hegel, due to the lack of synthesis in the Daoistic dialect: Contradiction and incongruity persist without a need for clarification.’* (Quote translated by the author).

The allowance for contradictions (as embedded in Daoism) has further been labeled as a ‘naïve dialectic’ (e.g. Spencer-Rodgers et al. 2009). The duality of the dialectical concept, however, has been questioned by other scholars who point to a ‘non-duality’ (Peng et al. 2006) rather than to a dialectical explanatory model. In chapter three socio-spatial ordering principles are examined, including geomancy principles related to the naturalist school of thought of Daoism e.g. yin and yang. Here it is argued that yin and yang cannot be seen as opposing or contradicting each other, but as adverse principles that coexist and are tolerated in Chinese culture (e.g. Peng/Nisbett 1999).

Avoiding consolidating contradictions into a complete whole (i.e. non-synthesis) allow for not only multiple spaces existing simultaneously produced by several persons (e.g. Löw 2001), but for one person to simultaneously produce several social spaces, with contradicting symbolic meaning as discussed below.

For a brief moment, the symbolic value of an element should be discussed in order to reflect on the interconnection between elements that are not human beings and places in terms of symbolic value. It is assumed in the framing of this work, that symbolic meanings prescribed to the physical environment are 1) the result of a cognitive process, thus dependent on a human being as a space constituting element and 2) are reproductions of norms and rules as they are embedded in the respective society. The symbolic value of places has been described as the following by Eliade (1987: 24):

‘There are, for example, privileged places, qualitatively different from all others – a man’s birthplace, or the scenes of his first love, or certain places in the first foreign city he visited in youth. Even for the most frankly nonreligious man, all these places still retain an exceptional, a unique quality; they are the ‘holy places’ of his private universe, as if it were in such spots that he had received the revelation of a reality other than that in which he participates through his ordinary daily life.’

Accordingly, a differentiation between an individual and a collective symbolism has been made, both informed by cultural norms and customs with the individual related to a variable such as *identity*, ‘*self*’ etc. and with the collective related to society and variables such as *collective memory*. What happens though if an element, with a symbolic meaning inherent in the place as reflected in history and culture, is moved to another place – transcending national and cultural boundaries? For example, Löw (2008b) argues that a place is able to carry its symbolic value even though the symbolic object /element is gone, as in her analysis of Josef Tal’s essay on the Wailing Wall. As an example, one might think of the small park at the new

embassy quarter in Berlin (along the Reichpietsufer), in which a piece of the wall (the former Berlin wall which divided East and West Berlin) is standing. The place is not on the former location of the wall, but the object in itself is immediately recognizable as a piece of the Berlin wall for people who know the history of the city. Whereas the ‘space of places’ can be seen as a kind of territory bound to localities, ‘space of flows’ is constituted by electronic circuits and informational systems, but also territories, *‘whose functional or symbolic meaning depends on their connection to a network, rather than on its specific characteristics as localities’* (Castells 2000: 696). Thus, in this case, the history of the object is no longer just bound to the object itself but also to the city in which it was created. Consequently, it raises the question of continuous symbolic meaning in elements. Does an element have the ability to (re)produce a symbolic space in a different place?

In the context of China, many readers of a daily western newspaper shake their heads when yet another article on replication of a certain symbol is being built somewhere in China. Take the Chapel *Notre-Dame-du-Haut* by Le Corbusier (Ronchamp) or the Eiffel Tower for example. Even cities have been built in ‘western’ styles, imitating or at least reflecting a certain resemblance with typical western cities (e.g. the satellite cities around Shanghai – fx. Antjing – the German city (see den Hartog 2010)). The Chapel and the Eiffel Tower are place-bound symbolic objects. In this case we are not talking about the same symbolic object being (re)positioned, but rather being replicated.

The above example clearly states that, in the context of China at least, one needs to look at the symbolic dependency between space (created through spacing and synthesis) and place, and not just as examine the place, which can continue to exist even though the symbolic space has disappeared, or its continuous symbolic elements, which can be re-positioned in a new place. It is not to be neglected that the symbolism subscribed to the element might be different or even change not just over time, but also depending on its location. Take for example the Chapel *Notre-Dame-du-Haut de Ronchamp* church which, in its original position, represents at least two overlapping symbolic spaces: 1) a religious space related to Christianity, 2) a landscape, through its position. But the building in itself – the element – also carries the symbolic value of a manifestation of manpower over material/natural power in its organic shape and the seemingly impossible administration of the material concrete. Thus, the element itself has an inherent symbolic value independent from the place. That this element-bound symbol reinforces the second place-bound symbol by manifesting the contrast between what is natural and what is manmade and at the same time maintains its ‘organic’ shape, the

element does not lose its symbolic value when disconnected from its original place, rather it loses its symbolic value in the place-bound context, although other symbolic values inherent in the element might be reproduced in other places. The latter example of cities imitating western style architecture and urban planning (e.g. Antjing) has not yet proven its value, apart from appropriating western values as a globalized ideal of status for economic benefits.

Finally, one could also argue that the lack of synthesis consequently leads to a lack of production of social space, however, relating the process of synthesizing with cognitive processes (i.e. perception, evaluation, action) excludes this possibility, since synthesis is a westernized concept which can be seen as just *one* kind of cognition and accordingly independent of the more general process of cognition. Nevertheless, it is not within the scope of this research to conduct a psychological analysis on synthesis, however it should be pointed out that parallel existence of contradictions needs to be further researched in the cognitive process related to the physical environment.

To continue, spacing occurs between bodies (in their entirety) while spacing on other levels, such as between regions, depends on fragments (i.e. processes) rather than on the entire 'element'. Nevertheless, its territorial manifestation includes the entire 'element' in its politically defined appearance (see for example Brenner 1999a on the *reterritorialisation* of socio-economic places or for a counter argument, see Eckardt 2004: 102ff on how 'milieus' have lost their geographical anchor through transnationalism). The role of the body as a space constituting factor has mainly played a role in the discourse of 'place making' (e.g. Massey 1996 in terms of gender; see also Löw 2006 on the aspect of Gender and the body) or more recently it has been argued that the role of the body in a dialectical relationship with the built environment should be understood as 'embodied placemaking' (Sen/Silverman 2014: 4). The body has further been argued to be a space constituting element with boundaries as well as a space in itself (e.g. Schroer 2006). The body however, so Schroer argues, is increasingly being fragmented through, for example, transplantation of organs or as presented in art pieces and accordingly, the boundaries of the body are increasingly dissolving and fragmenting. In a similar manner, the body was described in the ancient text of Guanzi as a collection of fragments 'dominated' by the mind. This diminishes the relationship between body and place and makes it difficult to detect the bodily adaption to predefined places. In this work, therefore, the body in its entirety is seen as a space constituting element by its positioning in relation to other elements or bodies. It is thus not the aim of this work to conceptualize the

fragments of the body, but rather to view the entire body as the smallest unit of space configuring elements. Accordingly, it is argued that the positioning of the body in relation to other elements or bodies is dependent on the cultural norms and the rules of the society in which social space is being researched.

The example of how a city or a region positions itself in relation to other regions or cities within a defined nation state illustrates the differentiation between spacing and positioning well. Domestically, a continuous centralization and decentralization has taken place politically and economically in history. Most recently during the era of Mao, in which the southern part received little attention (politically and economically), while a strong decentralization of power (i.e. budget) took place after the reforms at the end of the 20th century, especially in the Special Economic Zones (e.g. the Pearl River Delta – see also chapter six). Local city governments have been accused for being entrepreneurial, and land speculations and negotiations have led to immense uncontrolled growth in many areas.¹⁴⁷ In particular, the increased localized decision-making processes on planning aspects combined with economic liberty (i.e. relaxation of the tax system) has meanwhile led to a re-centralization on some of the aspects in order to stop the uncontrolled growth of many cities constantly competing with each other for a better position through spacing. The spacing among cities has led to a rather homogeneous approach towards physical fragments of the city such as infrastructure and buildings, etc. ‘needed’ in order to win the domestic battle for attracting high-skilled labor (domestic and foreign), which is closely linked to economics but also to political prestige. Shenzhen¹⁴⁸ for example, introduced a museum for modern art and a concert hall adapting westernized cultural norms, while Guangzhou has introduced improved public transport (Bus Rapid Transport (BRT)) as well as greening of the inner city and a large opera house, improving the overall living quality within the city (see also chapter six on ranking of livability of Cities in Asia). In addition, Guangzhou especially managed to speed up the ‘beautification’ process and position the city on the map by hosting the Asian Games in 2010 (for an interesting read on the role of mega events and the impact on urban planning see for example Steinbrink et al. 2011). It is thus, not the physical or administratively defined borders or boundaries of the city or region that is used for the spacing, but rather a parameter such as economics in terms of financial flow, or an opera house. In a similar manner, spatial fragments of a city can be compared to other fragments on other scales.

¹⁴⁷ Several mayors have been imprisoned for their overeager attempts to place their city on the map by using co-opted manners for accessing land resources and speculations on the real estate (e.g. the Mayor of Shenzhen).

¹⁴⁸ Shenzhen is seen as a role model for how to develop a city within China (see also Kögel 2000 on Shenzhen)

For example, the gardens in Lingnan are imitating the hanging gardens in Suzhou.¹⁴⁹ In a similar manner, one might think of the reference of residential *gardens* (imagined space). Within the city of Guangzhou, almost all *gated communities* have names associated with *gardens*. Thus, the ‘positioning’ of fragments within the city or of the city itself in relation to other cities or fragments is a common practice and was very present in the minds of the interviewees, especially of the second generation.¹⁵⁰ Several interviewees mentioned that Guangzhou, in their opinion, had not yet ‘found its profile’ or *identity* – it had not yet positioned itself. One of the interviewees stated that *‘life in Guangzhou is not as lively as in Dubai, because our city still doesn’t have its unique attractiveness’* (110330_2). He went on to point out the uniqueness and its potential for investment: *‘They [Dubai] use their money to build something that other cities do not have. Though Guangzhou also has many parks, these are nothing special compared with others’* (110330_2), thereby indicating that the city of Guangzhou is not positioned on the map of cities in China, or yet in the world.

Even though the spacing is done according to the fragment, it is the ‘entire’ city that positions itself. For example, in terms of economics, China has positioned itself as the second largest world power (in terms of economy):

‘China is large and should take responsibility of helping other poor countries in the world – like African countries, however it should take care of the inner provinces before helping other countries. China is a socialist country with Chinese characteristics’ (110406_3).

The spacing among cities according to parameters resulting in positioning is not just within the nation but also globally, and can be linked to the discussion of global cities (see for example Sassen 2001 for a focus on economics; or Castells 1989, 1998 for a stronger focus on nodes within a technological network and aspects of governance). Consequently, the here described spacing process among fragments of regions or cities has thoroughly been discussed by scholars focusing on ‘networks’ as space constituting elements (e.g. Castells 1999), whereas the positioning of these is mainly reflected in the ranking of cities (e.g. UN-Habitat 2010). Thus, one - or several - parameters are used for spacing when discussing cities, regions, nations, etc. whereas the body is understood in its entirety as a space configuring element. In addition, positioning is reflected by the city (or region/nation) in its entirety – its

¹⁴⁹ As stated by one of the interviewees (110404-1).

¹⁵⁰ For example articulated as following: ‘Guangzhou’s parks are nothing special compared to others’ (110330-2).

administrative and politically defined territory – or by the body, as a space constituting element.

Lastly, for the constitution of social space, a differentiation between reference frames should be made. On the one hand, the space constituted among elements all within one scale seems to use other scales, mostly with a larger scope, as reference frames. For example, regions such as the Pearl River Delta position themselves in relation to other regions domestically, but also in relation to other regions within Asia; or as suggested in chapter six, the city of Guangzhou intends to overtake the ‘four dragons’ within Asia in terms of economic aspects, thereby positioning itself globally.

On the other hand, social space constituted through a relational spacing of bodies uses a more holistic set of collectively defined cultural norms and rules as well as individual variables such as ‘roles’ and ‘norms’ within the respective society as the reference frame.

Consequently, a differentiation between culture embedded in society (structure in forms of institutions as well as seasonal recurring rituals related to traditions) and culture on the individual level as expressed through personality, identity and ‘self-perception’ should be made. An example of a cultural parameter embedded in society is the aspect of vertical integration. Vertical integration within the Chinese culture extends beyond the grave and includes ancestors, which are seen as relevant actors for the present as for example summarized through the categories of *places of belonging* and *places of worship* in chapter eight. An example of the individual level becomes obvious in chapter nine, in which the positioning of the ‘self’ in relation to others in terms of defined roles within society is expressed through identity which projects different scales in the Chinese context. While the first and second generation interviewees experienced a dissolution of the individual through political ideological campaigning, the third generation (born after 1978) experiences a revival of the individual. This has led to changing reference frames and accordingly changing perceptions of roles and identities, as a reflection of changing values systems.

10.8.1_Changing value system

In the previous chapters, it has been argued that the family should be seen as the smallest unit within the Chinese society, which has been defined as having ‘collective’ characteristics (Haag/Zhao 2004 – see also chapter three). The concept of family and social relations is understood as a network. In the past, most political decisions that would control the individual were based on the family as a unit and not on individual members of that unit. Consequently, the individual only existed when embedded in the smallest unit – the family (network –

horizontal integration) and accordingly the positioning and the relational production of social space need to be seen according to different scales, as illustrated in figure 30. It has, however, been argued by some scholars that the family as a reference frame was dissolved during the era of Mao, as stated in following quote:

‘Sich zu seiner Familie zu bekennen, konnte den Verrat am Vaterland oder auch seiner repräsentanten wie der Kommunistischen Partei bedeuten... Dieser ‘Verrat’ musste unter Umständen mit dem Leben bezahlt werden.’ (Haag 2011: 65).¹⁵¹

The following three examples of changing values systems will illustrate this aspect. In chapter eight for example, several of the interviewees from the first generation expressed their *role* as serving the party or the nation with little impact on their own positioning. In addition, the danwei system was based on ‘public welfare – low income’, thus medical care, housing, schools, etc. was all provided within the danwei and thus, the danwei became ‘the family’ (e.g. Bray 2005). Nevertheless, one interviewee describes how he transferred back to the city from ‘re-education’ on the countryside in the 1960s because his brothers were already being ‘re-educated’. This reflects that the family or household was still understood as one unit and delegation was not based on individuals but rather on the family as a unit during the era of Mao. Thus, the interviewees of the first generation interpreted their role in accordance with the party in a passive manner. Thus, on the one hand this reflects a dissolving of the individual mind (see Haag 2011 on a more detailed elaboration on the passive reaction and lack of responsibility in the Chinese culture), but on the other hand it also reflects the aspect of positioning and spacing within a hierarchy that is controlled by domination through a national ideology. Along these lines, it is assumed that the changing reference frame for the individual role within society (i.e. from the family to the party) has led to a resolution of ‘*places of belonging*’. Translating the dominating relationship from the relationship between individual and state as in the example above, to the relationship between the individual and family, one of the interviewees gave up her own ‘territory’ and decided to follow her children: ‘*they decide where they want to live and I follow*’ (110401-1 generation). Further indications of the changing reference frame from the party back to the family was found in the interviews with the third generation (see chapter nine). Since the one-child policy, artificial family structures/networks have been created in educational institutions that serve both to control but also to create networks of ‘family relations’.

¹⁵¹ *‘Staying loyal to ones family could be interpreted as betrayal of the fatherland or as betrayal of the Communist Party...Such a betrayal at times cost the life of the betrayer.’* (Translated by the author).

Another example of changing value systems is the concept of vertical relationships. In China, these are the teacher-pupil or father-son relationships or more abstractly the hierarchy between the emperor, the officer and the common (e.g. Ying 2007). However, similar statements on vertical relationships can be found in ancient texts in which the relationship between heaven and earth is stated but also the hierarchical relationship between the emperor (the representative of heaven on earth) – officer – and common (Ying 2007). A more current example of this vertical relationship is related to positioning one *self* by the use of status symbols within the vertical relations. As an example of spacing in terms of positioning around status symbols as defined at a certain time in history and in relation to vertical relationships, the size of a car serves well. Whenever my colleagues or I would travel to Shanghai, our partner had a new car, and he was always careful to mention why this was the correct size and brand of car in comparison to some of his seniors. This could be seen as a way of spacing in terms of positioning oneself in relation to others socially and economically.

A third example is the commodification of real estate and the increasing social status through possession and economic wealth. For example, one interviewee describes how his family bought one apartment without knowing the exact location and the layout. During the interview, it was described in detail how the current apartment was the show-room apartment, thereby indicating that it was the best apartment in the area. The household or the address is not important in terms of an external aesthetic (See Cooper 1974) or in the western understanding of ‘having an address’, rather it is the floor number the apartment is located on that is important, as well as the kind of housing (as in a *gated community*) and its location within the city (see also chapter seven). Most apartments are sold in the condition of a skeleton. This leaves the buyer the freedom to ‘decorate’ the interior (floor, ceiling, etc.) as wanted.

The three examples above serve to illustrate the changing roles and identities of the interviewees in the dialectical relationship with cultural norms and the changing value systems within society. Thus, without wanting to equalize society with culture, I argue that social action does reflect and reproduce certain cultural norms and rules as they are embedded in the respective society (see also Kemper/Vogelpohl 2011) and accordingly, the processes of spacing and positioning require contextual adaption. Thus, it is suggested that space within the Chinese culture and society depends on how the individual (i.e. the ‘self’) is defined according to roles, status, identity and social norms such as family structure, and thus that

social action and cognition are dependent on these variables (among others). Social goods are humans positioning themselves in relation to other humans or elements. Space constituting processes are spacing, positioning and cognition, however, not limited to synthesis as it has been argued elsewhere (e.g. Löw 2001; see also 2.4.5 in chapter two).

In addition, a division between place bound scales and scales that are not manifested in a physical place. Accordingly, the embodiment of the urban as it is discussed above should be seen in a relational manner within a three dimensional concept embedded in a society and with a continuum of cultural values reflected collectively and individually.

11_Conclusions

The scope of this work is twofold. First, it attempts to argue for a stronger inclusion of culture, understood as a continuum, in the theory of social space both on an individual and a collective level. Second, through an explorative investigation of the relationship between the built environment, social action and cognition and culturally embedded values and meanings subscribed to three types of housing in the megacity of Guangzhou, to suggest culturally dependent variables that are relevant within the Chinese context impacting space constituting processes (i.e. spacing, positioning and synthesis).

11.1_Relational, dynamic concept of space and the inclusion of cultural dimensions

For this purpose, a literature review of both western and Chinese literature serves to give an overview of the three main discourses (urban studies, urban sociology, and urban psychology) relevant for discussing the socially produced space. It is argued that a relational understanding of social space suits the Chinese context in two aspects: First, the concept of constant change is inherent in Daoism (e.g. the Book of Change) as expressed through the dynamic energy of ‘qi’ (see chapter three). Second, the balancing of constantly transforming poles that are interconnected and complementary is a guiding geomancy principle deeply imbedded in the society. An example of this balance is identified in the complementary polarity of yin and yang (see chapter three). Both of these principles are, to a certain extent, still relevant in the current society.

By including cultural dimensions both collectively and individually defined into the framework of how social space is produced in the Chinese context, multiple aspects are revealed. First, as stated in chapter three, the concept of history and following collective memory are highly influenced by ancient principles of honor and of ‘losing face’. This aspect is further revealed in the empirical data in terms of loyalty towards the family, the danwei or the Party, which is also reflected below. Second, geomancy principles are identified in planning on different scales within the Chinese context. Third, the continuum between individual and collective dimensions of cultural factors is revealed through the identification of the role of individuals as part of a network of social relations, which is the empirical research of this work. Fourth, and maybe one of the most important findings for further conceptualizing the production of social space in the Chinese context, is the allowance for

contradictions, i.e. the lacking need for synthesis in cognitive processes as it has been defined in chapter three. This does not indicate that synthesis is non-existent within the Chinese culture, but rather that it is not seen as the major cognitive process leading to social action as it is in many other parts of the world. Having defined synthesis as one of the space constituting processes in chapter two, it is pointed out that synthesis should instead be seen as a way of consolidating cognitive information. This widening of the concept calls for further inclusion of cognitive processes and for further research of cognitive processes in relation to the rapidly changing built environment within the Chinese context.

11.2_The built environment, social action, cognition and cultural variables

The manifestation of social spaces in physical places is further investigated in the empirical chapters eight and nine in part III. In this work, it is argued that social action is the predominant mode for defining functions of places. Even though this tendency is transforming, as a change has been documented over the three generations of interviewees, it differs from the European or western context in which functions of places are defined by creators of the built environment (i.e. planners).

Within the Chinese context, the body, defined as a space constituting element, is understood as an internal system with organs dominated by the mind, as suggested in ancient writings (see also chapter three). For example, one interviewee describes how his mind overcame his body and how it made him advance in the work hierarchy within his danwei. In his fascination for technology and mechanisms, he describes his body like a machine that he keeps working, and the effort is rewarded by the system or by the party. The mind however, needs to be strong-willed. The body (i.e. the mind) is also understood in relation to other external 'systems' (i.e. other bodies – see also chapter two).

However, the role of the body as a major space constituting element that implies qualities and symbols through social action to the built environment is decreasing. Consequently, hybrid spaces in history almost solely defined through social action increasingly turn into contested places in which power relations between different actors echo what is described in chapter two as Eurocentric discourse on power relations.

Not only has the role of the body as a space constituting element changed in history, the role of the city of Guangzhou and its position on multiple scales has altered as well.

After the reforms of opening up, the city of Guangzhou was confronted with changing its role from a rather passive position to a more active position. During the era of Mao, the city was completely dependent on the national government and their budgeting and did not receive

much attention. In the 1980s, the city was taken by surprise by multiple villages and their successful initiatives to attract investors on their land (see chapter six). During the 1990s the cities within the Pearl River Delta competed for attracting investments, therefore placing themselves on the map within the nation. In the last decade, the city of Guangzhou formulated the strategic goal of overtaking the ‘four little dragons’ within Asia and has actively made major physical restructurings (see chapter six).

The strong competition among cities, and to an increasing extent also among regions, has led to rapid development of the urban, highly relying on local negotiation processes that challenge the implementation of master plans and lead to a strong fragmentation of the built environment. Physical fragmentation, however, is a concept inherent in ancient socio-spatial ordering principles in the Chinese context and should not be confused with western tendencies of spatial fragmentation (even though it does have some similarities). Rather, the spatial fragmentation manifests the concept of *boundaries*, which exceeds spatial importance and includes economic, social and political aspects of the Chinese society.

The *boundaries* identified in the three different housing types have different ‘thickness’ both spatially and socially. Spatially, the *boundaries* are distinctly permeable. Socially, the increased ‘thickness’ of *boundaries* leads to socio-spatial isolation and loneliness. The *boundaries* however are not just understood as the ‘backdrop’ of a scene, but rather as zones for negotiation, increasingly related to power struggles that manifest status symbols and reflects the changing role of the body in the cultural context.

The increasing symbolic value of economic status is reflected in the category of *places of representation*. *Places of representation* relate to commercial places such as restaurants, malls and places of entertainment (e.g. KTV) located in the city, and also relate to the apartment. For example, all interviewees, independent of income group and housing type, have second or third apartments. The interviewees living in the ‘urban village’ had rented a second apartment as a *place of representation*. Those living in the two other housing types possessed second apartments for income generation (which is also the case for people originating from the ‘urban village’, see chapter seven and eight).

Other places with implied symbolic value are *places of belonging* and *hometowns*. These two categories refer to the seasonally recurring action of returning to the place of the ancestors for remembering and showing respect. Closely related to the category of *hometown* and *place of belonging* is the category *places of worship*. *Places of worship* identify spaces within the apartment, temples and churches in the city of Guangzhou and *hometowns* within the region

from where ancestors originated and were mostly buried. These places are visited with different frequency and necessitate distinct forms of worship.

The interrelation between the symbolic ritual (e.g. of worship), a symbolic element such as a tomb and the actual places are investigated in order to gain further knowledge on the relationship between symbolic rituals and places in the context of Guangzhou. It is found that meanings applied to certain rituals or elements are becoming increasingly disconnected from places. An example of this disconnect between space and place is the category of *places of belonging*, which are more and more becoming *spaces of belonging* in their symbolic values and the image that is left of that symbolism. Another example is the increase in embedding traditions such as morning tea or the symbolic ritual of worshipping ancestors in new places, be it commercial places such as malls or in the latter example, high-rise buildings with no relation to the origin of the deceased. Accordingly, multiple place bound scales with relevance for the Chinese context are identified: the apartment, the *fragment*, the city, and the region.

The apartment is identified as an important scale in terms of worship. For example, several of the Christian interviewees hold weekly meetings in their apartments within their Christian community. The practice of having small altars within the apartment is also revealed in these generational interviews. The apartment itself is identified as a status symbol in multiple aspects (see chapter eight and nine).

The *fragments* are investigated as different types of housing in Guangzhou (see chapter seven), however, the fragments are also identified in the empirical work as an ordering system largely adapted by the respondents (chapter eight). The *fragments* of the city rely on the concept of enclosure, which is inherent in the Chinese tradition of housing types, as suggested in chapter seven. From the planning perspective, the role of the city in positioning itself has changed dramatically over the last decades, however, from the perspective of the interviewees, the city of Guangzhou in itself is not seen as having obtained its unique profile yet and accordingly is given little attention. This phenomenon is also described in chapter five and discussed in chapter ten. On the contrary, the region played a strong role historically and has been politically reactivated after reforms as an experimental zone for ‘opening up’ (see chapter six). In addition, many of the symbolically embedded places are part of a regional understanding (e.g. *places of belonging* and *hometowns*). The role of the region is further reinforced by everyday routines and rituals practiced with seasonal frequency, which reveals that a regional identity (*hometowns*) is a crucial aspect in supporting the inclusion of the

parameters ‘identity’ and ‘roles’ (among others) as analytical categories for social space. In chapter nine, the definition of cultural and social norms reveals similar scales that are discussed here, however, the national scale in terms of identity is also included.

Individual and bodily expression are defined through culturally dependent variables and accordingly, social and cultural phenomena, as reflected on an individual level, suggest a rapid transformation of the collective value system. The five culturally dependent variables discussed (roles, identity, ‘self’, family structure and status) have all changed dramatically over the last decades, as reflected by the three generations.

Family structure as defined in the Chinese context, has shown crucial for understanding the concept of vertical integration (beyond the grave) and the concept of horizontal integration of non-relatives (artificial brother and sister) as dominating principles for social relations in a network, as revealed in chapter three and chapter nine. These aspects further support the assumption that the role of the individual needs to be seen in relation to the family and cannot be analyzed in isolation.

In addition to a persistent loyalty towards the family, a change from loyalty to ones family towards loyalty to the danwei or the party is identified. Accordingly, loyalty towards the family and loyalty towards the party or the danwei simultaneously exist, however, the latter is slowly decreasing, as the structures and physical places changes.

Multiple parameters are identified as status symbols. For example *places of representation* as discussed above. The change from the household registration (*hukou*) as the main status indicator, which is also related to the strong identification with *hometowns* and *places of belonging*, to more dominating economic values was obvious in the empirical data.

Further, the projection of ‘self’ onto rules and norms in society reveals among others the characteristic of being industrious (i.e. ‘hard-working’) as a status symbol. This quality is closely related to status and to loyalty as described above, which is revealed in the changing meaning applied to the category ‘hard-working’. While attributing oneself with being ‘hard-working’ is a symbol of high status and loyalty among the first and partially among the second generation, it is a symbol of lacking status in terms of economic wealth among the third generation. In a similar manner, the roles that are identified have changed dramatically over time from a rather passive to a more active self-perception. In addition, the manner in which identity is created changed from a predominantly place-bound identity relating to the place of the ancestors to an imaginary space (see chapter ten). These variables, defined as

culturally dependent, have an impact on how social space is produced in the context of Guangzhou.

11.3 Implications for a relation space with Chinese characteristics

Building on a relational concept of social space in which elements are in a constant dynamic, the main space constituting processes of synthesis, spacing and positioning are discussed in the light of the empirical findings. Accordingly, it has been suggested that synthesis is not part of the cognitive processes inherent in the Chinese tradition. Nevertheless, the consequences of a lacking synthesis on the production of social space needs to be researched further in order to be able to make qualified statements. Here it suffices to point out that a major space constituting factor, i.e. synthesis, is different in the cultural context of China. To follow, some reflections on spacing and positioning, as discussed in chapter ten. First, the variables defined in chapter nine related to the role of the individual reveal that the individual should be seen in the context of different networks or groups. In history, this led to a 'collective' positioning of groups or families in relation to the Party, for example. In addition, political campaigning of collectivism even led to a passive definition of the individual role in society. The tendency of collective positioning and the passive perception of the individual have rapidly changed towards a more individualistic positioning. Nevertheless, the embeddedness of the individual into groups and especially into family structures (blood related and artificial) is persisting. A division between attributes subscribed to the individual by defined roles and those culturally imbedded in the rules and norms of the respective society should be made, as argued in chapter four.

Second, the division between spacing of bodies and spacing of other elements has been suggested. While mental mapping and auto-photography (among others) reveal that spacing among elements other than bodies is done according to fragments, however, reflects the positioning of the 'entire' as it is manifested in places; spacing among human beings builds on the body in its entirety and consequently also reflects the positioning of the body in a place. This recognition implies that a division between space constituting elements is crucial and helpful in order to avoid ambiguities in terms of scales within a relational concept of social space. In addition, the differentiation between spacing according to fragments or parameters and positioning as it is demonstrated in its 'entirety' circumscribe the ambivalence of physical manifestation of social spaces. Accordingly, the importance of a holistic approach in terms of analyzing the individual along the lines of the here suggested variables within the

respective society in relation to others or other elements as they are historically produced, reconfigured and transformed has been suggested.

Third, the interrelation between places and social action in terms of quality subscriptions to places through social action is also changing. From the body as the main space constituting factor and *boundary* for defining qualities in hybrid spaces, an increasing dominance of the built environment can be detected (see discussion in chapter ten).

Based in the spatial disciplines, and building on the empirical evidence briefly summarized above, this work has attempted to create an interdisciplinary contribution towards theorizing the social production of space in the context of China by the example of the megacity of Guangzhou. As a result, the inclusion of findings from indigenous psychology (with its foundation in China) leads to questioning the space constituting factor of synthesis, which has been defined as a major space constituting process in chapter two. Further, the institutional and cultural reference frame of the individual in the Chinese context has revealed that parameters such as roles and identities are crucial for understanding spacing and positioning as major processes for configuring relational social space. Accordingly, a first attempt to reflect on the findings within a theoretical framework for a relational social space suggests three main tendencies with implications for how social action, the built environment and symbolic meanings and values could be analyzed in the context of Guangzhou.

11.4_Reflections on the methods

Especially the methodological approach of mental mapping as applied in chapter eight should be questioned due to following reasons. First, the distance between work and living has increased in megacities which cover large areas and at times extends into what has been defined as a mega-urban landscape (see chapter six). In relation to an increasing fragmentation of the built environment, the travel distances for daily commuters increases and calls for other means of mobility than cars (e.g. subway, Bus Rapid Transit or light train solutions). Second, due to the changing means of transport the means for orientation changes and, to some extent, the phenomenon of not relying on a mental map apply – the so-called ‘highway syndrome’. Only when the means of transport is by foot is the actual experience of moving through the city described in detail and the indication of landmarks and perception of places become obvious. The increased use of public transport such as subways, which becomes more frequent the larger urban agglomerations get, questions the methodological appropriateness of mental mapping.

In addition, the relevance of time for detecting changes in society (on a macro level) and correlating them with social action and cognition on the micro level is revealed, especially in the generational interviews. The aspect of time however, did not play a sufficient role in the data collection. Accordingly, there is a need for further research with a stronger inclusion of time as a dependent variable in relation to space. Finally, a larger sample is needed in order to gain further knowledge on how social space is produced in the Chinese culture and to further generalize.

11.5_Outlook

Deepening the understanding of the correlation between social action, cognition and the built environment is crucial in order to be able to create feasible and sustainable cities in the future. Especially in the rapidly growing urban agglomerations in Asia and in China, little emphasis has gone into this field of research and approaches for theorizing how space is produced. While this work is based on a relatively small sample, and consequently lacks any potential for generalizations, it calls for further investigation of several aspects relevant for an improved understanding of spatial practices within the Chinese context (e.g. social action and planning). For example, has it been suggested that loss of *spaces of belonging* (see chapter eight and nine) and social and spatial isolation as a consequence of an increased living standard (see chapter six and seven) leads to social deprivation. These tendencies are being reinforced by what has been labeled ‘artificial urbanization’. In recent suggestions of how to increase levels of consumption on the domestic market in China, artificial urbanization was seen as a way of rapidly creating new urban consumers (see chapter ten). Consequently, not just the urban environment is changing rapidly, but also the value system has experienced rapid change over the last decades. Thus, there is an urgent need for further trans-disciplinary studies reflecting the changing values of society within the cultural setting and in relation to the built environment in order to gain further knowledge on the implications of rapid changing urban development on the individual.

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Appendix A: Time table

Dynasty	Time	Relevance
Zhou	11 th century-256 B.C. - Western Zhou - Eastern Zhou (Spring and Autumn period and the Warring State)	MoZi (ca. 3 th -4 th century B.C.) Kong FuZi (ca. 4 th -5 th century B.C.) LaoZi (ca. 4 th -6 th century B.C.) Guan Zhong (ca. 7 th century B.C. – GuanZi). First application of socio-spatial orderings systems (e.g. Hutongs in Beijing)
Qin	221-206 B.C.	Hakka people first migrate to the south of China
Han	202 B.C.-220 A.D.	
Three Kingdoms	220-280 A.D.	
Jin dynasty	265-420 A.D.	
South and North dynasties	420-589 A.D.	
Sui	581-618 A.D.	
Tang	618-907 A.D.	New migration wave of Hakka people to the south
Five dynasties	907-960 A.D.	
Song	960-1279 A.D.	
Yuan	1271-1368 A.D.	The name ‘hutong’ appears
Ming	1368-1644 A.D.	
Qing	1644-1912 A.D.	1860s first ‘shikumens’ – Lilongs
Republic of China	1912-1949	(1912-present in Taiwan)
People’s Republic of China	1949-present	Established the work unit divisions (danwei) (1978 ‘open door’ policy)

TABLE 5: OVERVIEW OF TIME PERIODS. SOURCE: VOGELSANG (2012: 24).

Appendix B: Table on urban land management in PRC

¹⁵² Year	Event	Level	Aim
1952	Establishment of the ‘Amt für den städtischen Aufbau’ (chengshi jianshe ju) – under the ‘Ministerium für Bauwesen’ (jianshe gongchneq bu) (p. 14)	Central	To provide further guidance and to avoid lack of orientation.
1952	First five year plan		To establish administrative infrastructure.
1953	Central Commission proclaims that the development of priority cities must not limit the development of the coastal cities.	Central	The coastal cities should be the base for the development of the priority cities – avoid a complete lack of investment in the existing cities.
1954	First conference by the ministry of construction on urban development	Central	To modify the concept of planning and to enlarge the amount of priority cities (around 20) within the economic development strategy.
¹⁵³ 1955	Conference on building construction		Decision to establish City and Town Governments.
1956	Conference on urban development	National	The current practice was criticized as too formalistic. Questioning of the Soviet model, especially the norms and the representative forms.
¹⁵⁴ 1956	Recommendation: imitation of population in newly established cities: 200,000-300,000 inhabitants. The development of cities with a population around 800,000 should be stopped!	Chinese state council - Central	To deal with the growing urban population both in the coastal cities but also in the rapidly developing ‘priority cities’.
1957-1959	Administrative reform	Central and city level	Extend the boundaries of the cities to included further land resources – mainly to secure food and water resources
1958	National conference on urban development in Qingdao		Urban development should no longer happen without urban planning – resulted in large

¹⁵² If nothing else is indicated: Based on Peisert (1984) and Lu (2006).

¹⁵³ Bork-Hüffer 2012: 86.

¹⁵⁴ Peisert (1984).

			amount of plans for small to middle size cities.
¹⁵⁵ 1958	People's communes were also initially established in urban areas	Initiative: Central Impact: Local	To create small units with a large autonomy within the central framework – no need for experts/high control of the population and production.
1960	National planning conference		It was decided to stop all urban planning in the following three years – staff was reduced – all urban planning bureaus were closed.
1963	Conference on 'work in the cities'	Central committee	Urban planning within the framework of the 3 rd five year plan was reestablished.
1963	Enactment	Chinese state council	To reduce the number of urban inhabitants.
1966-1976	Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution		
¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ 1979	China land use reform	Central	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ Land administration management reform ➔ Land use system reform, separation of land ownership and land use rights
¹⁵⁸ 1980	Establishment of Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Xiamen, Shantou as special Economic Zones	Central	Experimental test field for market economy
¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ 1980	1 st Financial reform between central and local government governments		"Sino-foreign joint venture enterprise income tax law," "Personal Income Tax Law" "Foreign Enterprise Income Tax Law"
1980	Special fiscal deal between Guangdong Province and central government	Provincial/central	Fixed revenue from local government to central government.

¹⁵⁵ China Reform Network (2011)

¹⁵⁶ News of the Communist Party of China (2006)

¹⁵⁷ Ministry of Land and Resources of the People's Republic of China (2008)

¹⁵⁸ Xinhuanet (2012)

¹⁵⁹ China.com (2003)

¹⁶⁰ People's Daily (2005)

¹⁶¹ 1982	Shenzhen Special Economic Zone start to charge different level of urban land use fees	Local	In reaction to central government's land use system reform.
¹⁶² 1983	'Notice on the Report of the Adjustment of the Criteria of Establishing City Government and the Conditions for City Governing Country'		
1984-1986	Create 14 other special economic zone in coastal cities	Central	Extension of Special Economic Zone Concepts to develop the coastal regions.
1984	Foreign Investment in Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Guangzhou allowed		
¹⁶³ 1984/85	Fiscal system contracts between local and central government		Introduction of Business Tax Reform, define income taxes types for different state owned enterprises. Give administrative autonomy to local governments
1985	Three open economic regions (Yangtze River Delta, Pearl River Delta and Min Nan region in Fujian Province)	Central	
¹⁶⁴ 1986	Release Document <i>"CPC Central Committee and State Council on strengthening land administration, stop illegal occupation of arable land notice"</i> 《中共中央、国务院关于加强土地管理、制止乱占耕地的通知》 Zhonggong Zhongyang, Guowuyuan Guanyujiaqiang Tudiguanli, Jinzhi Luanzhan Gengdi de Tongzhi Establishment of the State Land Administration Bureau	State	State start to limit the illegal occupation of land.
¹⁶⁵ 1987	April State Council proposed that Land Use Right could be transferred	Central	Land use rights has more characteristics like market product.

¹⁶¹ News of the Communist Party of China (2006)

¹⁶² Bork-Hüffer 2012: 86

¹⁶³ China.com (2003)

¹⁶⁴ News of the Communist Party of China (2006)

¹⁶⁵ News of the Communist Party of China (2006)

	September Land use system reform	Local	Shenzhen Special Economic Zone Grant of 1 st piece of more than 5,000 square meters of land use rights for 50 years.
	November The State Council approved the State Land Administration and other departments of the report, choose Shenzhen, Shanghai, Tianjin, Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou for implementing land use system reform	Central	Choose more pilot cities for testing land use right.
	December Shenzhen, a public auction of state-owned land use rights	Local	This is 1 st land auction after the establishment of China.
	China started a pilot land evaluation, release document "Urban Land Grading Rules (Trial)" 《城镇土地定级规程 (试行)》 "Urban Land Evaluation Regulation (Trial)" 《城镇土地估价规程 (试行)》	Central	Develop guideline for land types and categories, and their evaluation criteria in relation to pricing. First pilot land valuation process.
¹⁶⁶ 1988	Separation of land ownership and land use rights		Marketization of land resource.
¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ 1988	The State Council decided to implement in cities and towns in general for land use fees charged (Tax)	Central	Began to implement six kinds of forms of fiscal responsibility, trial transfer of land use rights on a regular basis.
¹⁶⁹ 1988	七届人大第一次会议 Modified the 1982 "Constitution"	Central	Delete the regulation that land could not be rented, and replaced that "land use rights can be transferred in accordance with the provisions of the law."
	"Land Management Law" 1st adjustment proposal 《关于修改〈中华人民共和国土地管理法〉的决定》	Central	The state implement system on the state owned land. Land use rights can be legally assign, transfer, lease, mortgage.

¹⁶⁶Hsing (2010: 1)¹⁶⁷News of the Communist Party of China (2006)¹⁶⁸China.com (2003)¹⁶⁹News of the Communist Party of China (2006)

	Establishment of real estate transactions in different cities	Local	The establishment of the real estate credit specialized banks
1990	Inclusion of Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Guangzhou into the Pearl River Delta Open Economic Region	Province	
¹⁷⁰ 1990	The State Council issued the <i>"urban state-owned land use right transfer and transfer of the Provisional Regulations"</i> , 《城镇国有土地使用权出让和转让暂行条例》 <i>"foreign investment into a piece of land development and management Interim Measures"</i> 《外商投资开发经营成片土地暂行管理办法》	Central	Allows for multiple foreign investors to access to the mainland real estate market.
¹⁷¹ 1992	<i>"Further strengthen the state-owned land use right transfer income management notice"</i> 《关于进一步加强国有土地使用权出让收入管理工作的通知》	Ministry of finance	Local government are required to hand over the land income to finance ministry
	<i>"On compensation for the use of state-owned land use rights of certain income from financial problems Interim Provisions"</i> 《关于国有土地使用权有偿使用收入若干财政问题的暂行规定》	Ministry of finance	Land manage office and real estate office need to hand the land income to central government (5 percent).
1992	Promotion of Foreign Direct Investment in all major cities in Guangdong Province		
¹⁷² ¹⁷³ 1992	China 14 th National Conference of the Communist Party (12-18.10.1992 Beijing) 《中国共产党第十四次全国代表大会》(大会)	Central	The first time explicitly proposed the establishment of a socialist market economic system.

¹⁷⁰News of the Communist Party of China (2006)

¹⁷¹China.com (2009)

¹⁷²Xinhuanet (2011b)

¹⁷³News of the Communist Party of China (2006)

¹⁷⁴ 1993	China 14 th Central Committee of the Communist Party 3 rd plenary meeting (11-14.11.1993 Beijing) 《中国共产党第十四届中央委员会第三次全体会议》	Communist Party	Defines the land use system reform as an important part of economic reform. Defines the specification and development of the land market.
¹⁷⁵ 1993	"Urban Land Valuation Regulations" (Trial) 《城镇土地估价规程》（试行）	State Land Administration	Set up benchmarks for land value assessment.
¹⁷⁶ 1994	Fiscal contract existence between local government and central government		→ Allow local government institutions to keep the surplus → Largest possible administrative autonomy to Guangdong Province
¹⁷⁷ 1994	A central-provincial tax-sharing system introduction 《财政分税体制改革》 Caizheng fenshui Tizhi gaige		→ Diminish a major income foundation of the local governments → Land conveyance for avoiding taxes
¹⁷⁸ 1995	State Land Administration announced the "Agreement to sell state-owned land use right lowest price determination." 《协议出让国有土地使用权最低价确定办法》	State	Strengthen state power on land use rights control and management.
¹⁷⁹ 2001	China joint WTO		
¹⁸⁰ 2001	"On the strengthening of state-owned land assets management notice" 《关于加强国有土地资产管理的通知》	State Council	Established a commercial land practice "auction" system.

¹⁷⁴News of the Communist Party of China (2006)

¹⁷⁵China.com (2009)

¹⁷⁶China.com (2003)

¹⁷⁷China.com (2003). See also (Neubert 2011: 78; Chen 2008)

¹⁷⁸News of the Communist Party of China (2006)

¹⁷⁹People.com (2002)

¹⁸⁰China.com (2009)

	<p>"On rectifying and standardizing the land market order notice"</p> <p>《关于整顿和规范市场秩序的通知》</p>	National MLR	<p>Emphasizes land market system:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ total construction land control system ➔ focus on the supply of urban construction land system ➔ land use rights of the public trading system ➔ regularly updated and published benchmark price system ➔ system of land registration ➔ collective decision-making system
	<p>"Allocated land Directory"</p> <p>《划拨用地目录》</p>	National MLR	Refine the scope of the allocation of land.
<p>¹⁸¹ ¹⁸²2002</p>	<p>"Bidding auction of state-owned land use rights regulation"</p> <p>《招标投标挂牌出让国有土地使用权规定》</p>	National MLR	Business, tourism, entertainment and commodity housing and other types of land management projects must be by tender, auction and listing ways to sell.
<p>¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ 2004</p>	<p>State council 2004, Document No. 28</p> <p>"The State Council on Deepening the Reform strict land management decisions."</p> <p>《国务院关于深化改革严格土地管理的决定》 Guowuyuan Guanyu Shenhu Gaige Yange Tudi Guanli de Jueding</p>	Central	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ Implementation of land management laws and regulations for land use, urban planning, implementation and management of village and town planning ➔ Improve the land requisition compensation and resettlement system ➔ Improve the land utilization and income distribution mechanism
<p>¹⁸⁵ 2006</p>	<p>Ministry of Land and Resource of the People's Republic of China</p> <p>"Bidding auction of state-</p>		Six types of land must be included in the tender, auction and listing to sell, five types land can be included in the scope of an agreement to sell,

¹⁸¹China.com (2009)

¹⁸²The Central Government of the People's Republic of China (2013b)

¹⁸³The Central Government of the People's Republic of China (2004)

¹⁸⁴China.com.cn (2009)

¹⁸⁵China.com.cn (2009)

	<p><i>owned land use rights norms</i> 《招标投标挂牌出让国有土地使用权规范》</p> <p><i>"Agreement to sell state-owned land use rights norms"</i> 《协议出让国有土地使用权规范》</p>		Establishment of state-owned land transfer decision-making mechanism and price coordination mechanism for dispute resolution.
¹⁸⁶ 2006	<p>Ministry of Land and Resource of the People's Republic of China</p> <p><i>"National industrial land price standard"</i> 《全国工业用地出让最低价标准》</p>		<p>Land divided into 15 types, the lowest base price m² in between 840 to 60 RMB.</p> <p>Industrial land use right transfer must be according to the lowest standard industrial land and always take the tender, auction, listing the ways to sell.</p>
¹⁸⁷ 2007	<p>"China Republic of Property Law"</p> <p>《中华人民共和国物权法》 Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Wuquanfa</p>	National	<p>➔ Protection of property rights holders</p> <p>➔ Provides a range of state property</p> <p>➔ Provision of land contract and management rights, Land use right</p>
¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ 2007	<p>Ministry of Land and Resource of the People's Republic of China (MLR)</p> <p><i>"Regulation for Auction to sell state-owned construction land use rights "</i> 《招标投标挂牌出让国有建设用地使用权规定》</p>	National	Important development step for Chinese land market in terms of law for land use right auction.

TABLE 6: OVERVIEW OF EVENTS AND ACTS RELATED TO URBAN LAND MANAGEMENT

¹⁸⁶China.com.cn (2009)¹⁸⁷The Central Government of the People's Republic of China (2008)¹⁸⁸China.com (2009)¹⁸⁹The Central Government of the People's Republic of China (2008)

Appendix C: Table in urban housing reforms in PRC 1978-2011

¹⁹⁰ Year	Event/Level	Aim
¹⁹¹ 1978	Urban Housing Construction Meeting	Starting point of urban housing system reform.
¹⁹² 1980	State Council Document <i>"National Basic construction work conference report outline"</i> 《全国基本建设工作汇报提纲》 Quanguo Jiben Jianshe Gongzou Huiyi Huibao Tigang	Commodification of housing policy.
¹⁹³ 1982	Introduction of Housing Subsidy Scheme (HSS):	Co-financing on housing sector, governments, businesses and individuals each finance 1/3 housing cost, pilot cities are Zhengzhou, Changzhou, Siping, Shashi.
¹⁹⁴ 1985/86	HSS change to Rent Houses Steering System Reform (RHSSR)	Increase the rent for social housing and sell part of the social house, pilot cities include Yantai, Tangshan, Bangbu
¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ 1988	1 st National Housing Reform Conference by State Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ Finalize basic costs for house rent towards the market cost ➔ Integrate housing subsidies to salary system
¹⁹⁸ 1988	State Council, Document No. 11 <i>"Regarding national urban housing system reform implementation in different phase and in different progress plan"</i> 《关于在全国城镇分期分批推行住房制度改革的实施方案》 Guanyu Zai Quanguo Chengzhen Fenqi Fenpi Tuixing Zhufang Zhidu Gaige de Shishi Fang'an	From 1988 onwards, with 3-5 years, promoting urban housing system reform step by step, in terms of different phase and different time for implementation.

¹⁹⁰ Based on Wang, Y.P. (2011: 20ff.) and Deng/Fei (2011: 123) is nothing else is indicated

¹⁹¹ Yang, Y. (2013)

¹⁹² Asia-Pacific Finance and Development Center (2012)

¹⁹³ Harbin Technical University News (2008)

¹⁹⁴ Harbin Technical University News (2008)

¹⁹⁵ Harbin Technical University News (2008)

¹⁹⁶ Yang, Y. (2013)

¹⁹⁷ Xinhuanews (2011a)

¹⁹⁸ The Central Government of the People's Republic of China (1988)

¹⁹⁹ 1991	2 nd National Housing Reform Work Conference	"Rent, sell, built simultaneously, in order to focus on raising the rent"; rent reform becomes an important part of the housing reform
²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ 1991	State Council 1991, Document No. 30 国发[1991]30号 <i>'Continue to stabilize and actively promote the urban housing system reform notice'</i> 《关于继续积极稳妥地进行城镇住房制度改革的通知》Guanyu Jixu Jiji Wentuo de Jinxing Chengzhen Zhufang Zhidu Gaige de Tongzhi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ develop the sale price principles for state-owned houses ➔ set up the assessment criteria and process for setting the sold state-owned house price
²⁰² 1993	3 rd National Housing Reform Work Conference	A New Program "Focus on the sale of public houses, sale, rent, built simultaneously"
²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ 1994	State Council 1994, Document No. 43 (Housing Reform Steering Group of the State Council) 国发[1994]43号 <i>"Decision on deepening the reform of the urban housing system"</i> 《关于深化城镇住房制度改革的决定》Guanyu shenhua chengzhen zhufang zhidu gaige de jueding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ the Decision on Deepening the Urban housing Reform ➔ establishing a housing market (urban) ➔ establish a two track housing system (social housing and commercial housing) ➔ establishment of the Urban Housing Provident Fund (HPF) ➔ reform on Housing Renting

¹⁹⁹ Asia-Pacific Finance and Development Center (2012)

²⁰⁰ Harbin Technical University News (2008)

²⁰¹ Beijing Municipal Bureau of Land and Resources Shijingshan Branch (2011)

²⁰² Asia-Pacific Finance and Development Center (2012)

²⁰³ Harbin Technical University News (2008)

²⁰⁴ Department of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of Hubei Province (2006, No. 43)

²⁰⁵ Asia-Pacific Finance and Development Center (2012)

<p>206 207 208 1998</p>	<p>State council 1998, Document No. 23</p> <p><i>"The State Council on further deepening the urban housing system reform to speed up housing construction notice"</i></p> <p>《国务院关于进一步深化城镇住房制度改革加快住房建设的通知》Guowuyuan Guanyu Jinyibu Shenhua Chengzhen Zhufang Zhidu Gaigei Jiakuai Zhufang Jianshe de Tongzhi</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ stop the housing distribution linked to the employment situation and introduce monetization of housing distribution ➔ establish a subsidized housing supply system for affordable housing ➔ promote the reform of existing public housing, foster and regulate the housing market ➔ accelerate the construction of affordable housing ➔ housing finance financing models (mortgage and loans) for housing ➔ strengthening housing property management
<p>209 210 1999</p>	<p>State Council Release Document</p> <p><i>"Housing Fund Management Regulations"</i></p> <p>《住房公积金管理条例》Zhufang Gongjijin Guanli Tiaoli</p>	<p>Introduction of Housing Fund Management System (HFM) and its relevant regulations</p>
<p>211 212 2002</p>	<p>State Council Release Document</p> <p><i>"The State Council on Revising <Housing Fund Management Regulations>'s decision"</i></p> <p>《国务院关于修改<住房公积金管理条例>的决定》Guowuyuan Guanyu Xiugai <Zhufang Gongjijin Guanli Tiaoli >de Jueding</p>	<p>Revising Housing Fund Management Regulations (HFM)</p>

²⁰⁶ Harbin Technical University News (2008)

²⁰⁷ Department of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of Hubei Province (2006, No. 23)

²⁰⁸ Asia-Pacific Finance and Development Center (2012)

²⁰⁹ Asia-Pacific Finance and Development Center (2012)

²¹⁰ Wuhai State Revenue Office (2004)

²¹¹ Asia-Pacific Finance and Development Center (2012)

²¹² The Central Government of the People's Republic of China (2013a)

<p>²¹³2003</p>	<p>State council 2003, Document No. 18</p> <p><i>"The State Council on the promotion of sustained and healthy development of the real estate market notice"</i></p> <p>《国务院关于促进房地产市场持续健康发展的通知》 Guowuyuan Guanyu Cujin Fangdichan Shichang Chixu Jiankang Fazhan de Tongzhi</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ housing supply policy Improvement ➔ housing system and market system reform ➔ housing credit and management service ➔ land supply regulation and control management ➔ market supervision
<p>²¹⁴2005</p>	<p>State Council General Office 2005, Document No.8</p> <p><i>"About effectively stabilize housing prices on notice"</i></p> <p>《关于切实稳定住房价格的通知》 Guanyu Qieshi Wending Zhufang Jiage de Tongzhi</p>	<p>Guo ba tiao – State Council’s Eight Points</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ stabilize housing price ➔ improve Housing supply structures ➔ give priority to affordable housing ➔ control of passive housing demand ➔ discourage speculative investment ➔ implement the regulation of housing supply ➔ restricting housing loans and mortgage ➔ encourage high density ordinary housing

²¹³ The Central Government of the People's Republic of China (2010a)

²¹⁴ The Central Government of the People's Republic of China (2006)

2006	<p>State Council General Office 2006, Document No. 37</p> <p><i>"The State Council General Office of the Ministry of Construction and other departments on the adjustment Housing supply structure and stabilize housing prices opinion "</i></p> <p>《国务院办公厅转发建设部等部门关于调整住房供应结构稳定住房价格意见的通知》 Guowuyuan Bangongting Zhuanfa Jianshebumen Guanyu Tiaozheng Zhufang Gongying Jiegou Wending Zhufang Jiage Yijian de Tongzhi</p>	<p>'Guo Liu Tiao' Further tightening the objectives stated in the eight points in 2005:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → adjustment of the housing supply structure (*70 percent of housing units should be smaller than 90 square meters) → further develop taxation, credit, land policy regulation, (*increase the minimum down payment for purchase and mortgage (20 to 30 percent)) → control of the scale and progress of urban housing demolition → further rectify and standardize the order of the real estate market → step by step to solve the housing difficulties of low-income families → improve the real estate statistics and information disclosure system
215 216 2007	<p>State Council 2007, Document No. 24</p> <p><i>"The State Council on the settlement of the housing difficulties of urban low-income families a number of opinions"</i></p> <p>《国务院关于解决城市低收入家庭住房困难的若干意见》 Guowuyuan Guanyu Jiejue Chengshi Dishouru Jiating Zhufang Kunnan de Ruoguan Yijian</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> → further establish and improve the urban low-rent housing system → improve and standardize the affordable housing system → gradual improvement of other housing the living conditions of disadvantaged groups → supporting policies and working mechanism
217 218 2008	<p>State Council General Office 2008, Document No.131 国办发〔2008〕131号</p> <p><i>"The State Council on promoting the healthy development of the real estate market, a number of opinions"</i></p> <p>《国务院办公厅关于促进房地产市场健康发展的若干意见》 Guowuyuan Bangongting Guanyu Cujin Fangdichang Shichang Jiankang Fazhan de Ruogan Yijian</p>	<p>'Guo Shi San Tiao'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> → increase affordable housing construction to the end of 2011, targets at 7.47 million low-income family housing → further encourage ordinary commodity housing consumption → support real estate development enterprises to actively respond to market changes → stabilize the real estate market responsibilities and monitoring

²¹⁵ Harbin Technical University News (2008)

²¹⁶ The Central Government of the People's Republic of China (2007)

²¹⁷ Asia-Pacific Finance and Development Center (2012)

²¹⁸ The Central Government of the People's Republic of China (2008)

219 2009	<p>Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of the People's Republic of China (MoHURD) release document</p> <p>"2009-2011 affordable rent housing security plan"</p> <p>《2009-2011 年廉租住房保障规划》2009-2010 Nian Lian Zuzhufang Baozhang Guihua</p>	<p>→ announcement from MoHURD that from 2009-2011, aim to solve the housing supply for 7.47 million low income family</p>
220 2010	<p>State Council General Office 2010, Document No.4 国办口〔2010〕4号</p> <p>"The State Council General Office on the promotion of stable and healthy development of the real estate market notice"</p> <p>《国务院办公厅关于促口房地口市口平稳健康口展的通知》Guowuyuan Bangongting Guanyu Cujin Fangdichan Shichang Pingwen Fazhan de Tongzhi</p>	<p>→ increase affordable housing supply of common commercial housing</p> <p>→ curb speculative investment in housing demand, loan down payment of not less than 40% strengthen risk prevention and market supervision</p> <p>→ accelerate affordable housing projects, to the end of 2012, aim for 15.4 million low-income family housing</p>
221 2010	<p>State Council 2010, Document No. 10 国口〔2010〕10号</p> <p>"State Council firmly curb the part of the city Housing prices in the notice"</p> <p>《国务院关于坚决遏制部分城市房价过快上涨的通知》Guowuyuan Guanyu Jianjue Yizhi Bufen Chengshi Fangjia Guokuai Shangzhang de Tongzhi</p>	<p>→ curb irrational demand for housing</p> <p>→ increase the effective supply of housing</p> <p>→ accelerate the construction of affordable housing projects, in 2010 the construction of affordable housing 3 million sets, all kinds of shantytowns housing 2.8 million sets of tasks</p> <p>→ strengthen market supervision</p>
222 2010	<p>Housing and Urban Construction Department and other seven departments have jointly developed</p> <p>"Accelerate the development of public rental housing guidance"</p> <p>《关于加快发展公共租赁住房的指导意见》Guanyu Jiakuai Fazhan Gonggong Zulin Fangwu de Zhidao Yijian</p>	<p>→ acquisition of public rental housing (through new construction, renovation, long-term rental housing in the market)</p> <p>→ size for public rental housing should be less than 60 sq m</p> <p>→ public rental housing construction sites should be</p>

²¹⁹ The Central Government of the People's Republic of China (2009a)

²²⁰ The Central Government of the People's Republic of China (2010b)

²²¹ The Central Government of the People's Republic of China (2010c)

²²² The Central Government of the People's Republic of China (2010d)

		<p>included in the annual land supply plan</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ encourage financial institutions to grant long-term loans of public rental housing
²²³ 2011	<p>State Council General Office 2011, Document No.1</p> <p><i>"The State Council on Further Improving Real Estate Market regulation work-related issues notice "</i></p> <p>《国务院办公厅关于进一步做好房地产市场调控工作有关问题的通知》 Guowuyuan Bangongting Guanyu Jinyibu zuohao Fangdichan Shichang Tiaozheng Gongzuo Youguan Wenti de Tongzhi</p>	<p>New 'Guo Ba Tiao'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ increase efforts in building affordable housing projects, aim at 10 million units supply ➔ adjust and improve related tax policies, tax collection ➔ strengthen the differential housing credit policy ➔ strict management of housing land supply ➔ reasonable guide housing demand ➔ implementation of housing security and the stability of prices accountability mechanisms work interviews
²²⁴ ²²⁵ 2011	<p>State Council General Office 2011, Document No.45 国办发[2011]45号</p> <p><i>"State Council on the affordable housing project constructions and management guidance"</i></p> <p>《国务院办公厅关于保障性安居工程建设和管理的指导意见》 Guowuyuan Bangongting Guanyu Baozhangxing Anju Gongcheng Jianshe he Guanli de Zhidao Yijian</p>	<p>Comprehensively promote the construction of affordable housing projects, to further strengthen and standardize the management of affordable housing, speed up solving the housing difficulties of low-income families.</p>
²²⁶ 2013	<p>State Council General Office 2013, Document No.17</p> <p><i>"State Council General Office on continue adjustment of real estate market notice"</i></p> <p>《国务院办公厅关于继续做好房地产市场调控工作的通知》 Guowuyuan Bangongting Guanyu Jixu Zuohao Fangdichan Shichang Tiaokong Gongzuo de Tongzhi</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ further improve the existing housing purchase restrictions (Guo Ban Fa [2011] No. 1) ➔ increase the supply of ordinary commercial housing and land ➔ accelerate the planning and construction of affordable housing projects, in 2013 the basic urban housing projects built aim are 4.7 million units, 6.3 million units of new construction tasks ➔ strengthen market supervision

²²³The Central Government of the People's Republic of China (2011a)

²²⁴Department of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of Hubei Province (2013)

²²⁵The Central Government of the People's Republic of China (2011b)

²²⁶The Central Government of the People's Republic of China (2013c)

		and management on long-term mechanism
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TABLE 7: OVERVIEW OF EVENTS AND ACTS RELATED TO URBAN HOUSING IN PRC.

Appendix D: Table on rural land management in PRC

Year	Event	Level	Aim
²²⁷ ²²⁸ 1950	<p>"People's Republic of Agrarian Reform Law"</p> <p>《中华人民共和国土地改革法》 Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Tudi Gaigefa</p>	Central	Distribute land ownership to farmers.
²²⁹ 1953	<p>The central government passed the</p> <p>'Resolution on Agriculture Producer Cooperatives (APCs)'</p> <p>《关于发展农业生产合作社的决议》 Guanyu Fazhan Nongye Shengchan Hezuoshe de Jueyi</p>	Central	Separation of land ownership and land use rights for farmers.
²³⁰ 1956	<p>1st National Congress 3rd Meeting , released document, National Program regarding land ownership</p> <p>"Model Regulations for Advanced Agricultural Producer's Cooperatives"</p> <p>《高级农业生产合作社示范章程》 Gaoji nongye shengchan hezuoshe shifan zhangcheng</p>	National	Individual landownership was completely abolished and converted to collective ownership in the 'Regulation on Advanced Agricultural Producer Cooperatives'.
²³¹ 1958-1961	<p>Great Leap Forward</p> <p>大跃进 Dayuejin</p>	Central	To increase the industrial production with 75 percent and agricultural production with 50 percent within the three years.
²³² 1958	<p>People's communes</p> <p>人民公社 Renmingongshe</p> <p>"Decision on the Establishment of people communes in rural areas."</p> <p>《关于农村建立人民公社的决议》 Guanyu Nongcun Jianli Remingongshe de Jueding</p>	Initiative: Central Impact: Local	<p>To create small units with a large autonomy within the central framework – no need for experts/high control of the population and production</p> <p>➔ individual farmers land ownership system ends</p>

²²⁷Lang (2010)

²²⁸China Reform Network (2011)

²²⁹China Reform Network (2011)

²³⁰China Reform Network (2011) and Lin (2009: 74)

²³¹Xinhuanet (2011c)

²³²China Reform Network (2011)

233 1959	Released document "Regulations on people commune management system (draft)." 《关于人民公社管理体制的若干规定(草案)》 Guanyu Renmin Gongshe Guanli Tizhi de Ruogan Guiding (Zao'an)	Central	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ identified rural land to the production team as the basic system for all units, ➔ restored the members of the family plot system
234 1962	Legitimation of 'people's commune' system 人民公社 Renmingongshe	National	Ensure food production and to support industrialization of urban areas.
235 1977	New era of rural reform 新时期农村改革 Xinshiqi Nongcun Gaige	Initiated: Central Impact: Local - rural	Diversify the rural production
236 1978	11 th Communist Party held in Beijing Reform	Central	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ 1979 first reform concerning the rural countryside was legislated ➔ large credits or loans were supported by the state
237 1980	"Questions regarding further strengthen and improve the responsibility system in agricultural production." 《关于进一步加强和完善农业生产责任制的几个问题》 Guanyu jinyibu jiaqiang he wanshan nongye shengchan zerenzhi de wenti	Central	Farmers got only the land use rights, not the land ownership; allow land contract to family units, but are not allowed to sell land.
238 1983	Abolishment of 'people's commune' system 人民公社 Renmingongshe		Administrative responsibilities shift to Village committees 村民委员会 Cunminweiyuanhui
239 1983	Introduction of Agriculture Production Responsibility System (APRS) 农业生产责任制 Nongye Shengchan Zerenzhi	National	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➔ responsibility of goods and food on the individual farmers (but land ownership is still belong to the state) ➔ privatization of land parcels²⁴⁰

²³³China Reform Network (2011)

²³⁴Leaders-re.com.cn (2004)

²³⁵Wu, G.(2011)

²³⁶Weggel 1989:321

²³⁷China Reform Network (2011)

²³⁸The Central Government of the People's Republic of China (2009b)

²³⁹People.com (2001). See also Weggel, 1989: 323.

²⁴⁰At the introduction of the APRS system in 1983, the land contracts for farmers were only running 15 years.

241 242 1993	Write the "household contract management" into the national "constitution" (APRS) 家庭承包经营 Jiatingchengbao Jingying	National	→ define Household Based responsibility unit is the main form for the APRS system → extend the land contract between farmers and states to another 30 years after the first land contract period (15 years) – aiming at securing ‘land tenure’ for farmers
243 1997	Xinjiang Autonomous Region government set aside 24 acres of state-owned land in rural areas for foreign businessmen Investment	Local	This is the first state-owned land in rural areas open to foreign investment
244 245 1999	"Land Administration Law" 《中华人民共和国土地管理法》	Central	Central government introduces limitations on the conversion of agriculture land to non-agriculture land.
246 2000	"Regarding the 10th National Economy and Social Development Five-Year Plan" 《关于制定国民经济和社会发展第十个五年计划的建议》	Central	To speed up the legal construction of rural land system, long-term stability to the basis of household contract management.
247 2002	"The People's Republic of China Rural Land Contract Law" 《中华人民共和国农村土地承包法》 Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Nongcun Tudi Chengbaofa	National People's Congress Standing Committee	Legal form for farmers to have long-term rural land management rights.
248 2003	"CPC Central Committee on improving the socialist market economic system, a number of issues" 《中共中央关于完善社会主义市场经济体制若干问题的决定》	Chinese Communist Party's 3 rd Plenary Session of the Sixteenth Central Committee	Further regulate rural land system reform.
249 2004	Revision of "Land Administration Law"	NPC Standing Committee	→ the state should compensate on the land acquisition and utilize land resource for

²⁴¹China Reform Network (2011)

²⁴²National People's Congress (2003)

²⁴³News of the Communist Party of China (2006)

²⁴⁴Xinhuanet (2013). See also Staiger et al. (2003: 423)

²⁴⁵Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of The State Council (2004)

²⁴⁶China Reform Network (2011)

²⁴⁷China Reform Network (2011)

²⁴⁸China Reform Network (2011)

²⁴⁹National People's Congress (2013)

	《关于修改〈中华人民共和国土地管理法〉的决定》第二次修正		public interests ➔ The original word for "Land Utilization" is amended into "Land Aquisition"
²⁵⁰ 2005	"Agricultural Tax Regulations " 《农业税条例》 Nongyesui Tiaoli	10 th China National Conference of the Communist Party Standing Committee 19 th Plenary Meeting	Abolishment of Agricultural tax regulations.
²⁵¹ 2008	"CPC Central Committee on rural reform and development of several major issues." 《中共中央关于推进农村改革发展若干重大问题的决定》 Zhonggong Zhongyang Guanyu Tuijin Nongcun Gaige Fazhan Ruogan Zhongda Wenti de Jueding	China 17 th Central Committee of the Communist Party 3 rd plenary meeting	Farmers could subcontract, lease, exchange, transfer, joint-stock cooperative way for the land management rights.

TABLE 8: OVERVIEW OF EVENTS AND ACTS RELATED TO RURAL LAND MANAGEMENT IN PRC.

²⁵⁰People.com (2013)²⁵¹People.com (2012)

Appendix E: Statistical tables

Year and Period	Total Investment (10000 RMB)	Residential Buildings of Total Investment (10000 RMB)	Floor Space Completed (10000 m ²)	Residential Buildings of Completed Floor Space (1000 m ²)
1978	72641	8987	184.97	84.82
1980	99565	24254	269.07	163.33
1985	436197	104015	796.96	531.33
1990	905937	232839	879.68	537.36
1995	6182515	1696316	1847.86	1212.84
2000	9236676	3250326	2404.81	1539.43
2001	9782093	3316894	2138.40	1304.28
2002	10092421	3457617	2129.56	1392.66
2003	11751668	3522168	2243.10	1317.25
2004	13489283	3712961	2308.23	1045.58
2005	15191582	3777003	2405.30	1091.48
2006	16963824	3783416	1677.24	918.05
2007	18633437	5041090	2243.77	1001.43
2008	21055373	5398216	1849.70	865.15
2009	26598516	5246903	2208.57	965.85
2010	32635731	5727122	2388.95	950.10
2011	34122005	8116313	2804.28	938.38
6th Five- year Plan Period	1310742	402770	3328.09	2352.35
7th Five- year Plan Period	3850377	989264	4454.23	2808.76
8th Five- year Plan Period	18092347	5632278	7045.41	4339.71
9th Five- year Plan Period	38562672	12083398	10112.06	6673.86
10th Five- year Plan Period	60307047	17786643	11224.59	6151.25
11th Five- year Plan Period	115886881	25196747	10368.23	4700.58
1950-2011	273007939	70306683	51886.07	28973.86
1979-2011	272305924	70249124	49798.75	28226.94
1991-2011	266970952	68815379	41554.57	22803.78
2001-2011	210315933	51099703	24397.10	11790.21

TABLE 9: TOTAL INVESTMENT IN BUILDING CONSTRUCTIONS IN GUANGZHOU. SOURCE: NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF CHINA 2012A, TABLE 4-10.

Year and Period	Total Investment (10000 RMB)	Floor Space u. Construction (10000 m ²)		Floor Space Completed (10000 m ²)		
		Residential Buildings		Residential Buildings	Residential Buildings	
1978	67021	6663		157.82	158.68	72.97
1980	88684	17690	558.25	310.79	233.90	146.46
1985	362215	89260	1142.77	618.50	537.91	344.43
1990	688267	172394	1320.86	729.61	575.33	350.23
1995	4735978	1237079	3426.14	1926.18	1117.76	735.49
2000	8880172	3158571	5830.09	3569.15	2226.68	1421.84
2001	9422360	3188145	6238.25	3685.09	1929.02	1182.67
2002	9372743	3205783	5869.13	3520.08	1849.92	1226.28
2003	10882562	3246586	5888.04	3313.58	1883.30	1121.31
2004	12420328	3421858	6488.39	3477.32	1913.28	883.07
2005	14192170	3364299	6321.38	3398.52	2074.62	925.35
2006	15732031	3291090	5938.66	3178.68	1410.61	748.77
2007	17232003	4424586	6929.18	3368.54	1814.23	817.32
2008	19384953	4698000	6964.83	3227.93	1585.66	727.06
2009	24556506	4345040	7285.97	2849.02	1845.03	754.87
2010	30080882	4803671	8323.81	3216.56	1958.05	681.95
2011	30984557	6517904	9521.92	3902.08	2270.59	616.67
6th Five-year Plan Period	1080481	297325	4750.85	3146.15	2218.81	1451.69
7th Five-year Plan Period	3037051	758374	6623.53	3566.41	2959.49	1767.11
8th Five-year Plan Period	12949086	3931649	11807.23	6613.51	4161.28	2556.71
9th Five-year Plan Period	31780852	9791254	20675.59	12656.42	6455.27	4366.91
9th Five-year Plan Period	33128872	10377568	21847.44	13327.91	7269.82	4801.97
10th Five-year Plan Period	56290163	16426671	30805.19	17394.59	9650.14	5338.68
11th Five-year Plan Period	106986375	21562387	35442.45	15840.73	8613.58	3729.97

1950-2011	245255607	59953290	125910.83	65801.66	39452.17	21173.59
1979-2011	244612445	59902117	121829.24	64343.71	37535.44	20487.47
1991-2011	240339053	58816179	109424.23	57078.82	31965.41	17044.00
2001-2011	194261095	44506962	75769.56	37137.40	20534.31	9685.32

TABLE 10: TOTAL INVESTMENT IN BUILDING CONSTRUCTIONS IN URBAN DISCRICTS IN GUANGZHOU. SOURCE: NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF CHINA 2012A, TABLE 4-11.

(10000 m ²)				
Year	Floor Space of Buildings (year-end)	Floor Space of Residential-Buildings (year-end)	Living Space of Residential-Buildings (year-end)	Per Capita-Living Space (m ²)
1978	2889,89	1314,03	788,42	3,82
1980	3247,82	1512,88	907,73	3,97
1985	5511,97	2834,43	1700,66	6,62
1990	7567,44	3974,23	2327,55	7,99
1995	9666,45	5276,22	3043,65	9,61
2000	13740,03	7952,05	4515,36	13,13
2001	14829,01	8713,55	4934,19	13,87
2002	21720,35	12995,46	7289,24	15,67
2003	23269,49	14059,48	7874,45	17,23
2004	25372,08	15390,71	8606,63	18,19
2005	27283,78	16300,86	9107,22	18,87
2006	28585,19	17099,69	9546,56	19,45
2007	30217,80	18029,52	10057,98	20,00
2008	31654,28	18798,47	10480,90	20,54
2009	33287,44	19612,62	10928,67	21,01
2010	34962,70	20306,38	11310,25	21,40
2011	36966,70	21007,01	11695,60	21,89

TABLE 11: FLOOR SPACE OF BUILDINGS IN URBAN DISTRICTS IN GUANGZHOU. SOURCE: NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF CHINA 2012A, TABLE 9-5.

THE COVERAGE IN THIS TABLE COVERS THE NEW TEN DISTRICTS SINCE 2002 WHILE THE ORIGINAL EIGHT DISTRICTS IN OTHER YEARS.

	Floor Space of- Buildings Completed (m ²)		Floor Space of- Buildings Actually Sold (m ²)	
		Residential- Buildings		Residential- Buildings
In Urban Districts:	9731784	5708236	8686198	6763671
Grouped by Registration Status				
Domestic Funded Enterprises	6179435	3547039	6240450	4687558
State-owned Enterprises	239668	128165	688422	589629
Collective-owned Enterprises	318577	262920	190965	126531
Cooperative Enterprises				
Joint-ownership Enterprises			94482	87611
State Joint-ownership Enterprises				
Collective Joint-ownership Enterprises				
Joint State-collective Enterprises				
Limited Liability Corporations	2633131	1366306	2273451	1678907
Sole State Funded Corporations			148911	147324
Share-holding Corporations Ltd.	507790	350547	508390	364858
Private Enterprises	2404816	1439101	2484740	1840022
Other Enterprises	75453			
Enterprises with Funds from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan Investors	2907045	1701519	1683546	1348957
Joint-venture Enterprises	116285	107946	197624	129843
Cooperative Enterprises	1617474	824390	629326	434520
Enterprises with Sole Funds	1173286	769183	813964	748563
Share-holding Corporations Ltd.			6686	85
Foreign Funded Enterprises	645304	459678	762202	727156
Joint-venture Enterprises	32859	10421	422973	403723
Cooperative Enterprises	77641	60755	20969	20391
Enterprises with Sole Foreign Funds	534804	388502	318260	303042
Share-holding Corporations Ltd.				
Grouped by Administrative Relationship				
Central Government	341100	181854	396348	237772
Provincial Government	208725	156824	49611	22972
Municipal Government (including district, county governments and others)	9181959	5369558	8240239	6502927

TABLE 12: INVESTORS OF REAL ESTATE DEVELOPMENTS (RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS) IN GUANGZHOU 2011.

SOURCE: NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF CHINA 2012A, TABLE 4-29.

City							Selling Price of Residential Buildings (RMB/m ²)
	Investment Completed This Year (100 million RMB)	Residential Buildings	Office Buildings	Houses for Business Use	Floor Space of Buildings Completed (10 000 m ²)	Residential Buildings	
Total	30367,03	20651,85	1908,08	3568,22	34705,18	26489,90	7081
Beijing	3036,31	1778,31	363,82	296,72	2245,24	1316,13	15518
Tianjin	1080,25	689,28	109,84	176,79	2102,80	1645,10	8548
Shijiazhuang	789,14	548,67	38,62	143,41	1096,50	889,22	4352
Taiyuan	310,55	245,80	6,47	22,40	229,28	209,32	6517
Hohhot	330,03	244,17	16,17	54,39	319,94	264,87	4073
Shenyang	1684,72	1260,96	50,76	272,79	1983,28	1605,56	5613
Dalian	1107,46	869,69	17,97	130,12	942,87	797,74	7929
Changchun	666,42	502,53	15,58	88,97	748,06	622,90	5970
Harbin	570,46	428,13	12,49	53,31	738,52	622,85	5217
Shanghai	2253,83	1465,52	227,90	251,55	2384,33	1645,47	13566
Nanjing	871,76	637,52	42,71	75,74	1169,09	864,15	8415
Hangzhou	1201,51	751,02	119,14	131,21	1223,86	840,89	12749
Ningbo	711,46	392,34	71,06	96,08	842,79	484,58	11286
Hefei	889,60	625,58	37,47	142,26	892,92	664,23	5608
Fuzhou	963,41	680,08	53,26	86,45	541,43	457,87	9553
Xiamen	438,12	248,52	34,24	40,19	602,93	376,83	13423
Nanchang	279,89	206,51	16,35	31,92	446,18	389,20	5323
Jinan	528,92	404,02	25,83	56,48	553,51	415,07	6664
Qingdao	785,82	572,60	28,72	101,01	924,76	671,57	7166
Zhengzhou	926,31	624,31	93,74	86,34	1579,48	1304,76	4692
Wuhan	1282,25	747,44	52,86	166,66	1170,40	969,23	6676
Changsha	926,01	692,78	41,08	86,26	1429,11	1163,71	5481

Guangzhou	1305,56	789,51	125,24	178,01	1292,47	844,09	10926
Shenzhen	514,74	353,21	36,78	64,61	325,00	232,66	21037
Nanning	392,42	269,18	12,88	33,03	564,69	451,96	4996
Haikou	144,64	116,11	10,66	8,20	60,95	45,57	6641
Chongqing	2015,09	1438,45	52,67	218,03	3424,33	2826,78	4492
Chengdu	1588,22	1035,84	83,43	178,16	1555,74	1178,21	6361
Guiyang	460,49	302,77	13,65	57,39	606,54	445,57	4588
Kunming	633,03	427,61	41,07	75,09	565,62	448,87	4550
Xi'an	996,12	836,05	31,86	82,53	633,96	566,13	5830
Lanzhou	154,84	91,32	5,82	13,29	177,08	140,04	4229
Xining	118,55	69,10	3,55	25,58	431,64	368,60	3439
Yinchuan	214,78	148,70	7,16	29,73	578,20	445,86	3980
Urumqi	194,29	158,25	7,21	13,54	321,69	274,31	4970

TABLE 13: INVESTMENT IN CONSTRUCTION AND SELLING PRICE OF RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS IN MAJOR CITIES IN CHINA 2012. SOURCE: NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS OF CHINA 2012B, TABLE 5-43.

Appendix F: Interview guideline

English	Chinese	
<p>I am a German student studying in China. My name is Josefine (Zhou se fen). I am trying to learn about the Chinese culture and its people and their relation to the city. Therefore I am interested in learning about different understandings of places, which is why I would like to talk to you.</p> <p>I would like to record the interview in order to listen to it later on, would that be alright with you?</p>	<p>我是名德国学生，目前在中国学习。我的英文名是 Josefine，中文名为周色芬。我正试图了解中国文化和中国人们以及他们和城市的联系。因此，我想研究下人们对不同地域的理解性差异，这也是我本次和你面谈的目的。我想把谈话内容录制下来以便不时之需，你没什么意见吧？</p>	
Basic information	基本信息	
Gender	性别	
(What is your name?)	姓名	
Where do you come from? (Province/City)	你来自哪里（省/城市）	
How old are you?	年龄	
Where do you live? (place / area)	您住在哪里？（地方/区）	
What kind of housing do you live in?	您的公寓是哪种类型的？封闭式的呢还是开放式的呢？	
Who does the apartment you live in belongs to?	您住的房间归属于谁的？	
How long have you been in GZ?	你来广州多长时间了	
Do you have any family relations in GZ?	您有亲人也在广州吗？	
What is your Hukou status?	您的户口是？	
Spatial perception	空间知觉	
How many rooms does your apartment have?	您所在公寓有几个房间？	
How many people sleep in the same room as you?	睡觉时，您和多少人共享一个房间？	
Where do you receive guest?	您在哪里接待来访客人？	
Is there anything special you do before receiving guests in the place you live?	当您在自家接待客人前，您会做什么特别准备么？	
Where do you retreat to if you want to be alone?	如果您想独处，您会待在何处？	
Do you place any of your personal belongings outside of the apartment? In front of the door, or window, on the street,	您会把您的一些个人物品置于室外吗？是置于门前呢还是窗户旁呢抑或放在很外面	

etc. (Permanent / temporary)	的大路上呢？（临时性的/永久性的）	
Where do you dry your laundry?	您在哪里晾晒衣服？	
Why do you place the things you have mentioned there?	您为什么会把他们放在那里？	
Would you please describe the way from your home to your work in detail; from you go out of your apartment till you arrive at work?	您能详细描述从您家到您的工作地该怎么走吗？也就是从您走出您的房间一直到您到达您工作的地方该怎么走呢？	
How would you describe GZ to someone from outside?	对外地人，您如何描述广州这城市呢？	
For you, where is the city center in GZ located?	就您个人而言，您认为广州市中心在哪里？	
Where do you spend your free time?	您在哪里打发您的业余时间？	
Where do you go when you want to be alone?	当您想独处时您会去哪里？	
Are there any specific places you go to celebrate? (Birthdays, anniversaries, etc.)	当需要庆祝时，有没有什么很特别的地方可以去呢？（像生日呀，纪念日呀）	
Are there any specific places in the city where you go to worship, pray or remember ancestors?	如果您想去拜神，做祷告或者纪念先祖，广州有没有什么特别的地方可以去？	
Where do you work?	您在哪里工作？	
How do you get to work?	您乘坐什么交通工具去上班？	
How do you get around the city?	在广州，您通常使用什么交通工具？	
Mental mapping		
I would like to ask you to draw the city as you have described it to me. Including how you get from your home to work, where you go to be alone, or in general places that are important to you in the city.	希望您把您刚才描述的城市画给我。包括您从家到工作地的路线，您独处时待的地方，或者对您而言某些特别重要的地点。也请您标出您日常买零用品的地点	
Auto-photography	文件任务	
I would really appreciate if you would take some time to think about places that are important to you (in the sense that you have described them to us) and take pictures to document these places. When would it suit you best that I come back to collect the pictures? After having printed	如果您愿意认真思考下这些对您有着重要意义的地方（就按您刚才给我描述的方式）并且把这些地方拍下来，我将感激不尽。 您认为什么时候我可以来回收这些照片呢？等照片打印好后，我希望您能抽出半个	

the pictures, I would like to take half an hour to discuss the pictures with you, when would you have time?	小时时间和我探讨这些照片，方便吗？	
Thank you very much for taking your time to help me understand the Chinese culture in a better manner.	非常感谢你抽出时间帮助我更好的了解中国文化	

I have printed the pictures you took, a set for me and a set for you.	我已经把您拍的照片打印出来了，一组给我，一组给您	
I would like to discuss where these places are and what they mean to you.	我想谈谈这些地方在哪儿，他们对您意味着什么	
Discussion on the pictures	谈论照片	

TABLE 14: INTERVIEW GUIDELINE FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS AND MENTAL MAPPING.

Appendix G: Overview of interviews conducted

Nr.	Code and length	Gender	Age	Semi-structured interviews	Mental maps	Auto-photography	Narrative Interviews	Expert interview
1	110328	Male	21	x				
2	110328	Male	29	X				
3	110324	Female	30	X	X			
4	110314	Female	30	X				
	110325	Female	48	X	X			
5	110326	Female	20	X	X			
6	110326	Female	20	X	X			
7	110329	Female	48	X	X			
8	110329	Male	-	X				
9	110406	Female	26	X				
10	110323	Male	23	X	X	X		
11	110331	Female	22	X		X		
12	110331	Male	22	X		X		
13	110324	Female	20	X		X		
14	110330	Male					X	
15	110330	Male					X	
16	110330	Male					X	
17	110401	Female					X	
18	110401	Male					X	
19	110403	Male					X	
20	110404	Male					X	
21	110404	Male					X	
22	110406	Female					X	
23	110410	Female					X	
24	110410	Female					X	
25	110410	Female					X	
26	110411	Female					X	
27	110411	Male					X	
28	110409	Female					X	
29	110326	Female (focus group)						X
30	110419	Male (Cai Yongjie)						X
31	110427	Male (Li Xiangning)						X
32	110415	Male (Prof. Ho)						X
33	110413	Male (Wing Tang-Shing)						X

TABLE 15: LIST OF INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED 2011.

Appendix H: Guideline for translation and transcription (Chinese to English)

Translation:

The **text** should be understandable in English, but do not add any interpretation to the text! If you are not sure how to translate something, you might add a comment with the Word Comment Tool, so that we can discuss it. **Quotations** in the original article should be indicated as quotes in the translation as well by quotation marks and a reference (see the Harvard Citation Style).

The **bibliographic information** should be stated clearly in the header, so that it appears on each page. Please use the Harvard Citation style.

Ex.: Li, Xiaodong (2002) ‘The Aesthetic of the absent. The Chinese conception of space’, *The Journal of Architecture*, Vol. 7, 87-101.

Keywords such as ‘space’ or names of place and persons should be translated into English and accompanied by a parenthesis in which the Chinese characters as well as pinyin occur.

Ex.: ‘Shenzhen’ (深圳市)

Text style should be Times New Roman, size 12 and 1.5 spacing. For heading bold should be used. Any indication in the article such as italic should be added in the translation as well.

The **margins** should be: top – 2.5 / bottom – 2 / left – 2.5 / right – 2.5. **Page numbers** should be centered on each page. The translation should be submitted as a **Word document** (not as a pdf)! If the article has **images** you think should be included, please indicate the position in the text by adding a caption remark. The image should be submitted separately as a jpg with the file name corresponding to the caption in the text.

Ex.: file name: ‘name of the author of the article’_fig.1.jpg (ex. LiXiaodong_fig.1.jpg) in the text the caption should look like this: [fig.1: Space as understood in Chinese paintings]

Transcription:

If you took part in the interview you are transcribing please do the transcription as soon as possible after the interview was conducted. On the same day, it is easier to recall certain atmospheres or hesitations the interviewee expressed, than several days later.

The recorded interview should be transcribed into English - however, some expressions or **Keywords** such as 'space' or names of places and persons should be translated into English and accompanied by a parenthesis in which the Chinese characters as well as pinyin occur.

Ex.: 'Shenzhen' (深圳市)

The **text** should be understandable in English, but do not add any interpretation to the transcript! The transcript should reflect the interview and the statements and opinions of the interviewee. Interpretations can be discussed after having done the transcript. If you are not sure how to translate something, you might add a comment with the Word Comment Tool, so that we can discuss it. As a **reference**, the name of the interviewee and the date of the interview should be clearly stated in the header, so that it appears on each page of the transcription. The transcript should be structured according to the questions asked and the answers given by the interviewee.

Ex.: in an interview with Li Xiaodong (L.X.): Q: Where do you go if you need to be alone?
L.X.: I prefer to walk around the city.

Text style should be Times New Roman, size 12 and 1.5 spacing. **Page numbers** should be centered on each page. The **margins** should be: top – 2.5 / bottom – 2 / left – 2.5 / right – 2.5. The transcript should be submitted as a **Word document** (not as a pdf)! The file name should correspond with the name of the interviewee and the date the interview was conducted.

Ex.: Interview conducted with Li Xiaodong on the 15th of March 2011 would look like this:
LiXiaodong110315.docx