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**Effect of Multiple Participation in Urban Regeneration:
A Case Study on Enning Road**

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Abstract

With the growth of urban economy and the acceleration of urbanization, the old city renewal has increasingly become the focus of government work, and some big cities have taken the lead in implementing a huge number of influential old city renewal projects. In 2006, Guangzhou started to promote a new round of old city renewal and construction and put forward the urban development strategy that transferred the focus of urban and rural planning practice from the traditional "incremental plan" gradually into the "stock plan", from pursuing economic growth to improving people's livelihood, perfecting urban functions, optimizing the spatial layout and improving the overall quality of urban development. In the progress of reconstruction, public participation plays an important role in the conservation of historic areas, but there are still many problems in China that make it unprocurable.

Induced by great events, Enning Road regeneration is the first old city regeneration project led by the government, which has great significance in innovation and progress compared with previous projects, while it is much questioned and criticized in the process of implementation. This project is a typical case in which the unilateral decision-making of the government meets up with challenges. The problems happening and the progress made in the process of regeneration reveal that the government should accept and organize social forces to participate in the urban regeneration and that there is a need to build a government-guided multiple

participation mode, so as to complete the transformation from unilateral decision-making to multiple-participation decision-making which can be realized by adopting diversified targets and establishing complete decision-making mechanisms.

This paper analyzes the role and the effect of stakeholders, media, urban planner, social scholar, NGO organization and local government. The complementary relationship between them provides a new perspective for the study of urban regeneration.

Keywords

Urban Regeneration; Public Participation; Urban Planner; Media, NGO, Conservation of Historic Areas. Decision-making Mechanism.

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1. Introduction

With the advancement of urbanization, urban planning and construction is no longer limited to the unilateral decision-making of the government, especially in the old city renewal project, which involves the redistribution of social space and economic benefits. Under the trend of multiple forces, the stakeholders all want to strive for more benefits for themselves. As developers and owners are at opposite sides of interests, while the government pays too much attention to economic balance, and the civils' public awareness is weak, the interests of vulnerable groups are often damaged. At this time, the participation of urban planner, sociologists, social media, non-governmental organizations and other indirect stakeholders is more conducive to coordinating limited social resources, maintaining the balance of multiple interests, and seeking the maximization of public interests.

1.1 Research Background

Guangzhou is one of the first national historical and cultural cities announced in China. On January 27, 1998, the Standing Committee of Guangzhou Municipal People's Congress promulgated the Regulations on the Protection of Guangzhou Famous Historical and Cultural Cities (Hereinafter referred to as the “Regulations”), which determined the legal basis for the protection of Guangzhou famous historical

and cultural cities. The regulation defines four main points: the objects to be protected in famous historical and cultural cities, the delineation area of historical and cultural reserves, the protection measures and legal responsibilities in historical and cultural reserves. On December 13, 2000, Guangzhou Municipal People's Government announced the 16 historical and cultural protection areas, and 21 internal control historical and cultural protection areas, and then officially approved and announced them as historical and cultural protection areas when the conditions are mature^①.

As the first city to be included in the list of famous historical and cultural cities in China, the lack of comprehensive historical and cultural protection planning of Guangzhou makes the protection of the old city lack of legal planning basis. Despite the old district of the city has been compiled protection planning or urban design scheme, but partial planning lay particular stress on the protection of cultural relics and historical block, and ignore the protection and control of the old city feature as a whole. Only a handful of planning scheme is carried out in accordance with the main method of conservation planning, such as "Five Fairy Historical Block Protection Plan", "Hualin Temple Historical Block Protection Planning^②".

Since the 1980s, along with the urbanization process in China, most big cities have

^①“The announcement of the first batch of historical and cultural protection areas in Guangzhou (NO.200 Doc) ”

^②Guangdong Institute of Urban and Rural Planning and Design, School of Architecture Tsinghua University. “Planning of Guangzhou Historical and Cultural City”, pp. 2007:98-101

been carrying out large-scale old city reconstruction projects (Tab.1). The old town generally refers to the central area of a former city, densely populated and recognizable for its traditional way of life. In these areas, historic buildings and architectural complexes are widely distributed, which are an important part of the expression of cultural and historical values and witness to the development of the city. In addition to public infrastructure and facilities, commercial development plays an important role in regeneration projects. Due to its short-sighted and profit-seeking nature, commercial development inevitably destroys or even destroys valuable historical heritage. Due to imperfect legislation and lack of public supervision, commercial development often leads to cultural subversion or even disappearance. Either a large number of historic buildings have been demolished or the traditional cityscape has been destroyed by jarring new buildings.

	Historical value	Reason of damage	Damaging degree
Meihuacun neighborhood	Villa groups in Minguo age	Government constructions	Mostly demolished
Xinhepu neighborhood	Cantonese style residence	Real estate development	Partially demolished
Mazhan academy	Academic architectures in Qing dynasty	Real estate development	Mostly demolished
Liuersan veranda style street	Cantonese veranda style architecture	Road construction	All demolished
Jiefang veranda style street	Cantonese veranda style architecture	Road construction	All demolished

Renmin veranda style street	Cantonese veranda style architecture	Overpass construction	Hidden by the overpass
Daihe traditional block	Traditional neighborhood	Road construction	All demolished
Zhongshan veranda style street	Cantonese veranda style architecture	Metropolis construction	All demolished

Table.1 Damaged historical areas in Guangzhou

(Source: Ni Wenyan, "Strategy research on reuse of historic buildings in Guangzhou old City ", South China University of Technology, 2009)

As for changes in the spatial pattern of old urban areas in Guangzhou, the construction of the viaduct of Renmin Road (Fig.1) and Yuexiu Road and the widening of main roads such as Kangwang Road and Dongfeng Road have changed the street shape and scale of historical urban areas; Historic districts have been demolished, and a large number of historic buildings are badly damaged due to lack of repair. High population density and arbitrary building make the neighborhood environment quality worse; Liwan Square, Hengbao Square, Century Square and other high-rise buildings have damaged the fabric of the old city. The historical water system has disappeared. The Dagan River, which used to carry Xiguan Commercial Street in Guangzhou, has been silted up and transformed into ordinary streets. Driven by land value and market economy, the areas with concentrated historical features that have not been included in the historical and cultural reserves have suffered serious damage in the process of urban renewal due to lack of effective planning and control.



Fig. 2 Improvement to existing framework of public participation in China

(Source: <https://news.boxun.com/news/gb/china/2010/08/201008130853.shtml>)

At the end of 2007, Liwan District carried out the investigation and renovation research of the old city of the whole district, and compiled and completed the "Guangzhou Liwan Old City Renovation Plan". In 2010, "Guangzhou Old City Reconstruction and Renewal Planning Outline" published. According to the history and cultural protection value of the region, the Outline divides old urban areas into coordinated areas with distinctive features and general old areas, and establishes guidelines for renewal and renovation respectively. From January 6, 2012 to February 4, 2012, "The Protection Planning of Guangzhou Historic and Cultural City (draft)" was publicized on the website of Guangzhou Planning Bureau for a period of 30 days, as the final formation of the first city-wide historical and cultural protection planning framework.

In December 2017, the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development listed Guangzhou as one of the first pilot cities for the protection and utilization of historic buildings in China, requiring that protection and utilization and innovation practices be strengthened. Guangzhou is a city with a long history and is one of the first batch of national historical and cultural cities. The total area of the historic urban area is about 20.4 km². At the same time, it has 26 historical and cultural blocks, 19 areas with historical features, and a total of 817 historical buildings in the first to sixth batches. At the national and municipal levels, several policy documents related to historical and cultural cities have been developed to protect Guangzhou, a city of high historical value. Therefore, seeking new development on this basis is both an advantage and a challenge for Guangzhou. According to the requirements of the relevant government institute, beginning in 2016, Guangzhou Liwan district government organizes to carry out “The Historical and Cultural Blocks of Enning Road Protection and Utilization Planning ”and “The Historical and Cultural Blocks Of Enning Road Pilot Detailed Design and Implementation Plan of Scheme” (Fig.2), and start the Enning Road Yongqin Town project construction.

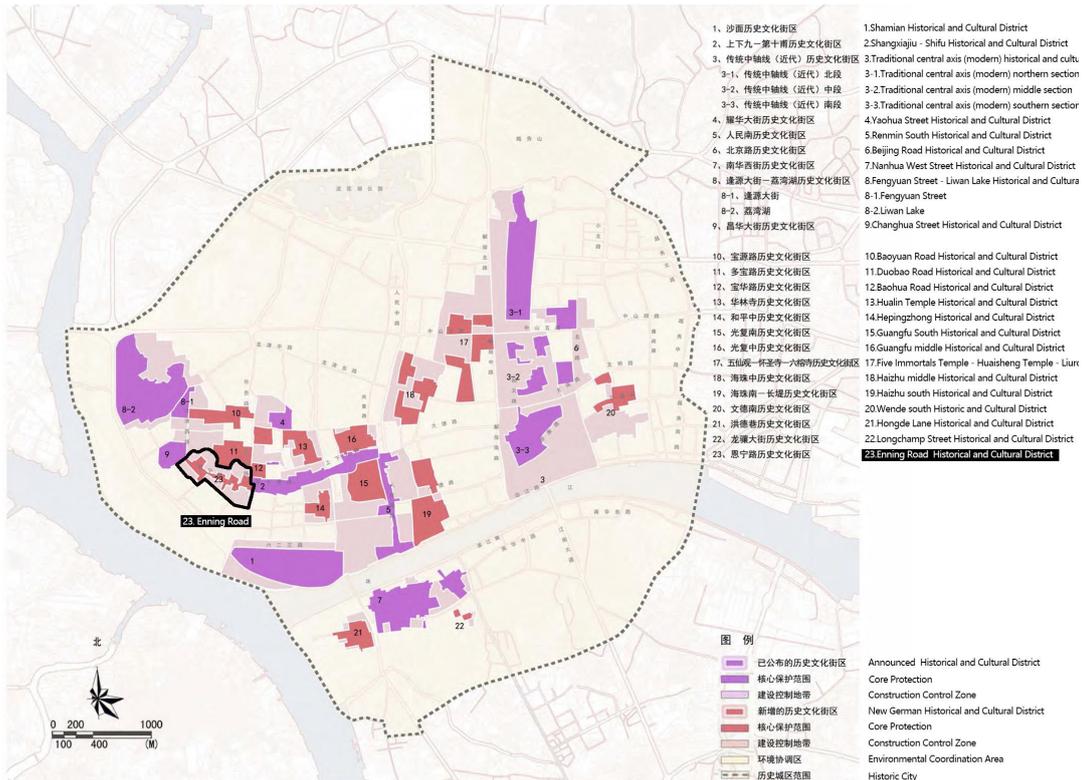


Fig. 2 The Historical and Cultural Blocks of Enning Road Protection and Utilization Planning

(Source: http://ghzyj.gz.gov.cn/ywpc/mcbh/mcbhtzgg/content/post_2745308.html)

1.2 Research Purpose and Significance

As the carrying space of all social strata, the city's urban planning and development will face a variety of interest demands. Urban planning, as a tool to regulate and control the most important resources in a city, such as land, housing and public facilities, inevitably undertakes the function of coordinating diverse interests. Therefore, the Urban and Rural Planning Law of the People's Republic of China promulgated in 2008 clearly defines the function of urban planning as a public policy, and at the same time includes public participation in the legal process of planning. Public participation in urban planning becomes an institutionalized means of harmonizing interests. However, the current role of public participation in urban planning in China has not been highlighted as a coordination of multiple interests, which is reflected in the emergence of "nail households" incidents and urban mass incidents. The lack of coordination of multiple interests has caused serious impact on urban development and planning.

In the current urban public life in China, whether it is citizens' petition, owners' rights protection, workers' collective protest, or the urban movement of "defending

homeland", they are often included in the study of social protests^①. These studies focus on analyzing how citizens, owners and workers form collective actions, but in many cases, citizens, workers and owners are not only fighting for their own interests, but these struggles are often linked to broader public issues and attract the participation of other groups in society. This participation may be in the form of "citizen observer group", or it may be in the form of more active assistance to social protesters, increasing their social capital, expanding their resource, and even the researchers themselves are deeply involved in these events. These events that fight for their own interests will evolve into public events that involves citizens with the participation of other social participants. The rise of public participation in cities is also seen as a manifestation of "political pluralism without democratization"^②. Compared with collective protests, civic participation composed of indirect stakeholders has become a fresh prospect in China's political life. In the past studies, China has always been considered a lack of citizens participation in public life environment, pursuit of the individual or small group interest as the main target, in a particular way of "looking for leadership contact", "looking for a relationship"^③ as the main form, people rarely combined with the same situation of collective action, and tend to take individual action to collaborate. Even for the organizations representing the growth of civil society, the study also found that excessive official

^① Shi Fayong. (2005) Guanxi Network, Legal Protest, and Urban Collective Action in Contemporary China [J], XueHai(3): pp.1-27.

^② Mertha, Andrew. (2009). "Fragmented Authoritarianism 2.0": Political Pluralization in the Chinese Policy Process." The China quarterly 200: pp. 995-1012.

^③ Shi, Tianjian. (1997). Political Participation in Beijing. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

control weakened the inner connection of the organizations. Chinese organizations still regarded the assistance of the government as the most urgent need, and the dependence on the government is so strong that even groups such as environmental groups actively seek to establish informal relationships with government officials, using state authority and administrative networks to achieve their goals.

In view of the problem of public participation in urban planning, scholars have carried out many studies and discussions. Relevant researches basically attribute the current problems to the deficiencies of China's current public participation system. The imperfection of the system leads to the lack of channels for individuals or groups to participate, and the unilateral decision-making of the local government also hinders the effect of participation. In addition, urban planners who should speak for public interests and diverse coordinate interests have also become "government planners"^①. Some scholars believe that it is due to the lack of public participation ability, including the public's low willingness to participate, lack of professional knowledge and public awareness, which leads to the low effectiveness of public participation^②.

The research shows that under the current structure of public participation, whether

^① Qi Dongjin, Zhou Jianyun. (2005) Public Participation in Urban Planning: Two Cases in Mainland China and Hong Kong [J]. *City Planning Review*, (7): pp. 52-56

^② Hao Juan. (2008) Improving the Ability of Public Participation in Urban Planning [J]. *Urban Development Studies*, (1): pp. 50-55

bottom-up active participation or top-down passive participation, the effect of participation is not good, and it fails to coordinate diverse interests. The third party with professional ability can directly improve the ability of public participation, and can also serve as a bridge between the public and the local government, thus improving the effect of public participation.

With the economic development, the trend of urban development will inevitably shift from incremental to inventory, that is, the way that depends on urban expansion will be replaced by the way of renewal. In other words, urban renewal will become the key to urban planning in the future, and it will bring new challenges to the improvement of urban planning public participation mechanism due to the complexity of its interests and the increasing strengthening of residents' awareness of rights protection. In the face of the new situation and social demands of urban planning, public participation, as an important content and means of decision-making democratization process in urban development, will be constantly strengthened, and will lead to the overall reconstruction of urban planning concepts, methods and planning processes.

This paper aims that through the study of all parties' aspirations of the interests and behavior patterns in urban regeneration project, taking the Guangzhou Enning road public participation as an example, to show the progress from "owner to the government" pattern to the pattern with public participation, and reflect the

third-party's professional influence and the importance of the neutral position, and find out the adverse effects of government behavior under the China's current system during the process of urban regeneration and accomplish social accountability, and find out the effective way of public participation in urban planning.

1.3 Research Object

The interests involved in old city renewal are complex and diverse. It can be summed up as direct stakeholders and indirect stakeholders. Government and relevant public departments, developers and old city residents can be regarded as direct stakeholders of old city renewal, and every decision of old city renewal planning is closely related to them. Planners, media, social groups, NGOs and social experts and scholars can be regarded as indirect stakeholders of old city renewal, and their actions indirectly affect the direction of old city renewal and the power of each object.

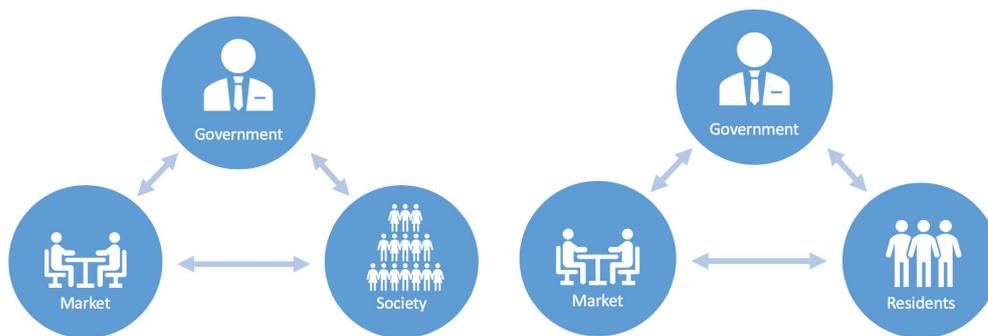


Figure.2 Relationship among Government, market and society (residents)

(Source: owner-draw)

In past old city reconstruction projects in China, the relationship between the three

groups could define to these three scenarios, as shown in the following table:

Scenario 1: The government dominates the market, outperforms it, and even supplants it. Society and its inhabitants are vulnerable.

Scenario 2: The market dominates, the government lacks decisive power, and society and residents are weak.

Scenario 3: Government and market cooperate and balance each other, leaving society and residents vulnerable.

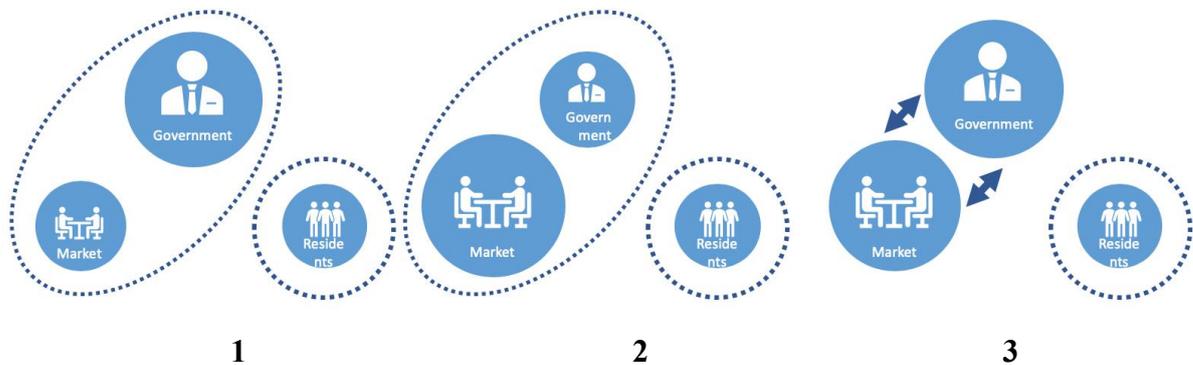


Figure.3 Relationships of 3 different scenarios

(Source: owner-draw)

1.3.1 Government Department

Government department, established in accordance with national laws, enjoy administrative power and shoulder administrative functions. The objects of this paper refer to the relevant government departments involved in urban renewal, such as the Bureau of Planning and Natural Resources, the Bureau of Land and Planning, the

Bureau of Housing and Urban-Rural Development, etc. It mainly undertakes the review and approval process of new projects and plays a decisive role in the implementation of old city renewal. In this paper, we will analyze the key role and explore the system problems in the process of old city reconstruction and then extend the relevant thinking of social accountability.

1.3.2 Community Designer

Community designers is a third party or team, appointed by the government departments, to provide professional guidance and technical service in the planning, construction, management aspect. Its working content mainly includes the work for the government decision-making to provide professional consulting services, understand community needs and problems in community space environment and put forward suggestions for improvement of the quality of urban community environment, and build a communication bridge between the government, experts and community residents.

1.3.3 Expert and Scholar

Experts and scholars refer to those who have specialized skills and rich practical experience, or comprehensive professional knowledge and social influence in a certain field. This paper mainly discusses the relevant experts and scholars in the field of urban planning and ancient architecture protection. In the renewal of the old city,

they mainly undertake the revision and compilation of relevant protection lists and provide theoretical support for public opinion in the later stage, improving relevant laws and regulations to coordinate the interests of all parties and promoting the project successfully.

1.3.4 Media

In this paper, media refers to a social institution engaged in information collection, processing, organization and communication, that is, the journalists serving the communication department or the institution. Experts and scholars have various definitions of media. Media plays a key role in controlling the communication process such as information content and news flow. Media is collected and integrated by mass communication institutions such as newspaper offices, Internet and TV stations, and its production scale is huge and its audience is wide. Media is the initiator of communication action. The media objects studied in this paper refer to journalists engaged in mass media and non-direct stakeholders of old city renewal. They influence the process of old city renewal through social information collection, news collection and dissemination, communication and supervision with residents, experts and scholars, and government managers.

1.3.5 Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO)

A non-governmental organization (NGO) is a non-profit group that functions independently of any government. NGOs, sometimes called civil societies, are organized on community, national and international levels to serve a social or political goal such as humanitarian causes or the environment.

In this paper the third party organization, Enning Road Academic Concern Group, is made up of a group of university students from different school, has the rich professional knowledge background, including urban planning, architecture, art design and economics and so on. The aim of the group is committed to the old city reconstruction of multiple participation and cultural conservation. The main work contents is to reflect the public opinion of the reconstruction in old city renewal through relevant public survey and depth interview of residents and experts. At the same time, they use professional knowledge of urban planning to come up with professional questions in renewal scheme of government, and hoped that a more reasonable plan can be put forward to truly protect and promote the protection and development of Guangzhou old city renewal projects.

1.4 Concept Definition

1.4.1 Social Accountability

Political accountability can be divided into horizontal accountability and vertical

accountability. Horizontal accountability mainly refers to the form of accountability carried out by the legislative, judicial and independent administrative supervision bodies of the country. Vertical accountability refers to external accountability, including electoral accountability and social accountability. Different from election accountability, "social accountability" refers to accountability through the direct or indirect participation of citizens or civil society organizations^①.

"Social accountability" is a way to implement accountability through the direct or indirect participation of citizens or civil society organizations^②. Promoting social accountability through public participation is an effective way to achieve political accountability. In a long period of time, the form of political accountability in China is an institutional arrangement of "upward accountability", which hinders the restriction and supervision of public opinion on government power to a certain extent. In recent years, the public is increasingly calling for government accountability. The transformation of economic growth mode and the strengthening of government's public service function make the government no longer only pursue economic development performance. How to effectively respond to public opinion and properly deal with social demands to promote government social accountability? It has become an important gauge of the public's trust and satisfaction with the government. In the

^① Andreas Schedler, Diamond Larry & Marc Plattner. (1999) *The Self-restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies*. New York: Boulder.

^② Charles D. Kenny. (2000) "Reflection on Horizontal Accountability: Democratic Legitimacy, Majority Parties and Democratic Stability in Latin America", University of Notre Dame,

process of social accountability, various social actors respond to each other, promote the publicization of local events, form public opinions, and participate in the process of public policy in an orderly way. This kind of public participation seeks to influence public policy and requires the government to take responsibility for its decisions, thus pointing to the social accountability of the city government. Taking the public participation and social accountability in the reconstruction of Enning Road in Guangzhou city as an example, we try to reveal the current picture of public participation and social accountability in China from one side, and then analyze the realization methods and limitations of promoting social accountability through public participation.

Of course, compared with other forms of political accountability, relying on citizen participation to implement social accountability has its own characteristics. Other forms of accountability tend to be post-event accountability and punishment, while social accountability is a proactive process that involves the participation, dialogue and evaluation of citizens and civil society organizations before or during events. Officials need to inform and demonstrate their decision-making plans, behaviors and results. At the same time, although social accountability cannot directly punish those who hold public power, it can impose formal and informal symbolic punishments, such as public pressure and legitimacy questioning on governments that go against public opinion, and promote the initiation of internal accountability through public participation. Therefore, the ultimate result of social accountability is to make the

government and officials more responsible to the public, and the formulation and implementation of public policies properly reflect the will and interests of the public^①.

In the process of social accountability, citizens and civil society organizations can express protest and seek government accountability through non-institutionalized means such as marches, sit-ins and mass petitions. Citizens can also seek government accountability through a more institutionalized public participation mechanism. Compared with non-institutionalized ways, institutionalized public participation mechanisms can establish more cooperative state-society relations. Public participation in promoting social accountability has become a practical democratic practice in many third World countries.

Comparatively speaking, China's public participation mechanism is still not sound enough. The Opinions of The State Council on Strengthening the Construction of a Government under the Rule of Law issued in 2010 clearly stated that "public participation, expert demonstration, risk assessment, legality review and collective discussion and decision should be the necessary procedures for major decisions", in which, public participation mainly includes two aspects. First, it vaguely stipulated that "before making major decisions, opinions from all sides should be widely heard and fully absorbed, and the situation and reasons for the adoption of opinions should be fed back or announced in appropriate forms". Secondly, it clearly stipulates that the

^① Mainwaring Scott. (2003) *Democratic Accountability in Latin American*. London: Oxford University Press.

hearing system of major decision-making should be improved, the scope of hearing should be expanded, the hearing procedure should be standardized, the participants of the hearing should be widely representative, and the opinions of the hearing should serve as an important reference for decision-making^①.

This paper takes the reconstruction of Enning Road in Guangzhou city as a case study to explore how to promote social accountability through public participation under the current imperfect institutionalized public participation mechanism. Although the public participation mechanism is still not realize the institutionalization and routinization, but the public issue is put forward and the formation of a wide range of social support network, also the government gradually response to public participation, these can still push the relatively benign interaction between state and society, so as to more effectively implement the social accountability. In contemporary urban public life, this kind of social accountability based on public participation has gradually become possible, which demonstrates the power of civil society, restricts the power of the state, and is also an important part of the political development of contemporary China.

1.4.2 Public Participation

Public participation is the process of urban construction in which environmental users

^① “Opinions of The State Council on Strengthening the Construction of Government”, [2010] No.33 Document

and urban residents participate in the investigation, conception, evaluation and decision-making of urban planning. The theory of public participation can be traced back to the New Social Movement or Pluralist Movement in the West around 1970s. Up to now, there are a lot of research achievements on public participation (Davidoff P. & Reiner, 1962; Davidoff 1965; Arnstein, 1969;)^① However, there is relatively little public participation in the field of urban heritage protection. British scholars Pendlebury J. and Townsend T. earlier paid attention to the necessity of public participation in heritage site protection, and analyzed the related issues of public participation in heritage site protection through investigation, which involved the influencing factors of public participation in heritage site protection, but did not go deep. To sum up, these factors include epistemology, socioeconomic structure, participation level and regional factors, educational reform, technology and so on. It should be pointed out that the above research results are based on the premise of Western-style democracy, but whether they are in line with China's national conditions needs empirical research.

Foreign planning fields have put forward a series of theories to improve the original theory and framework of public participation. Advocacy planning and communication planning are two typical theories^②.

^① Pendlebury J, (1999), Townshend T. The conservation of historic areas and Public participation [J]. *Journal of Architectural Conservation*

Davidoff P. (1965). *Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning*. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*

Sherry Arnstein. (1969) *A Ladder of Citizen Participation*. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*

^② Yu Hong. (2001). Davidoff's Advocacy Theory [J]. *Urban Planning Overseas* (1): pp. 30-32

In the 1960s, in the context of the rise of Democracy and civil rights movement in the United States and the promotion of "urban renewal" in the United States, advocacy planning was put forward by Paul Davidoff P. on the basis of "Planning choice Theory". David's thought, the traditional rational planning seriously neglected the equality and justice, and no one can represent the needs of the society as a whole because of the increasingly differentiation of public interests. Thus advocacy planning encourage various groups to participate in the process of planning actively, planners should represent different interests of the group, especially the social vulnerable groups (Davidoff, 1965). Under the influence of this theory, The Community Planner system was established in Taiwan in the 1990s. It makes full use of the professional ability of community planners to enhance the participation of the public, and at the same time promotes the building of communities and the transformation of public space and landscape environment (Fig.4). The community planner system can effectively solve the communication barrier between the bureaucracy and the public (community), safeguard the interests of vulnerable groups, and effectively improve the effect of public participation.

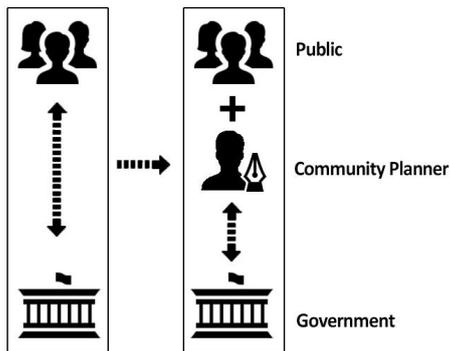


Fig. 4 Framework of public participation

(Source: owner-draw)

Communication planning is a planning theory arising in the 1990s in the United States. According to this theory, the main job of planners is to communicate and communicate with the upper and lower parties, which is the process of participating in decision-making, rather than "stepping back" and relying on reports and drawings to influence decision-making. At present, communication planning is still in the development stage, and practice is relatively few.

Whether advocacy planning or communication planning, its core is still the transformation of the role of planners. However, under the current national conditions of China, it is difficult for Chinese planners, whether they serve the government or market oriented commercial planners, to act against the will of the government in their planning. Therefore, it is difficult to estimate the public's opinions or play a role in safeguarding public interests. Because of this, it is difficult for planners to gain the trust of the public and cannot achieve the function of coordinating diverse interests. Therefore, advocacy planning and communication planning are difficult to be implemented in China in the near future, and new ways of public participation in

urban planning in China still need to be found.

The third party force is proposed on the basis of civil society. In western urban planning theory, it mainly refers to NGOs and community organizations^①. Third party participation refers to the participation of the third party in urban planning with a neutral identity. With the deepening of China's understanding of the concept of civil society, third-party organizations, mainly NGOs, have achieved rapid development and gradually become involved in urban development (Fig.5).

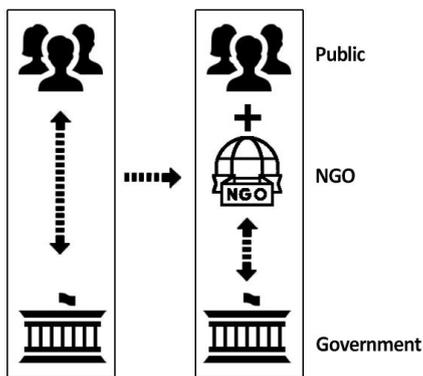


Fig. 5 Improvement to existing framework of public participation in China

(Source: owner-draw)

At present, the third party has played a very important role in nature protection, environmental protection, government performance evaluation and even urban management, especially in nature protection and environmental protection. The publicity, supervision and actions of the third party have achieved very good results in safeguarding public interests. However, in the field of urban planning, due to lack of awareness and professional knowledge, the participation of third parties is relatively

^① Xie Shixiong, Zhou yueyun, Li Hao. (2012). Fair and Efficiency-Construction of the Third-party Planning[C]. Proceedings of the Annual National Planning Conference: Diversity and Inclusion.

small, and only a few third parties are active in the field of planning in China. The expertise of the third party can improve the participation ability of the public, influence the way of public participation, and improve the efficiency of participation. The neutral position of the third party, to some extent, can become an intermediary between the public and the government to better coordinate interests and resolve conflicts. In addition, when the government attaches importance to economic interests and the public awareness is not strong, the third party can also play an important role in maintaining the public interests of the city.

With the popularity of the Internet and new media, public awareness of historical preservation is on the rise. As one of the most advanced cities in China in terms of public participation, the topic of historical preservation has gradually drawn public attention. With the help of the media and scholars, the power of social organizations has grown and given voice to the administrative authorities. Public opinion increasingly influenced administrative actions that not only blocked a series of demolition projects but also led to new conservation policies. (Tab.2)

	Cause of incident	Public participation	Consequence
Xihu Veranda style street	About to be demolished because of the extension construction of Dafo temple in 2011	Activities lead by scholars on Weibo	Demolishment is canceled
Jinlingtai, Miaogaotai	Being forcely	Activities initiated by	The real estate company

	demolished by real estate company in 2013	citizens on Weibo	is fined and ordered to rebuild the architectures
Enning street	About to be demolished in the regeneration project in 2007	Academic groups on Douban, Scholar groups and residents submit petition	Demolishment is canceled, the district is redefined as historical preservation area
Zhongshansi veranda style street	About to be demolished because of the extension construction of Nanyue museum in 2010	Discussion groups on Douban and scholar groups	Demolishment is canceled
Zhongshanliu veranda style street	About to be demolished because of road construction	Online activities and scholar groups	Demolishment is canceled

Table.2 The public participation events in Guangzhou

(source: multiple newspapers and websites)

1.5 Research Methodologies

This study selected the public participation of Guangzhou Enning road blocks reform as a case study. In view of the city in the old city renewal and reconstruction project to the aspirations of the interests of all parties and the study of behavior patterns, as well as to participate in the transformation of the local organizations of residents, government officials, scholars, and the depth interview, observation, such as “Ening road academic focus groups”, showing a process from "owner - the government" to the “public participation”, to reflect the importance of its professional influence and position. At the same time, to dig into the adverse impact of government behavior

under the current system in China on the process of old city reconstruction and achieve social accountability, and find effective ways for the public to participate in urban planning in accordance with the current national conditions. Event analysis and literature analysis were used in this study.

2. Decision-making Mechanism of Urban Regeneration (DMUR)

2.1 Urban Regeneration

2.1.1 Definition of Urban Regeneration

The concept of urban regeneration was born in developed western countries due to the decline of inner cities. Its core goal is to make the declining areas attract investment again. It can be understood as a process in which the government or community seeks to restore investment, employment and consumption and improve the quality of life in urban areas^①. Under the background of globalization and deindustrialization, the concept of urban regeneration has been widely spread and its concept has become broader. Roberts defined it by using the method of characteristic description, and believed that urban regeneration is an activity across public, private and community, which adjusts the existing institutional framework to cope with changes in economic, social, environmental and political conditions^②. It can be seen from the origin and change of the concept of urban regeneration that in western countries, urban regeneration is considered as the government's intervention in market and social forces^③, and its decision-making process is actually the exercise of public power.

^① Couch C. (1990). *Urban Renewal: Theory and Practice* [M]. London: Macmillan

^② Porter L, Shaw K. (2013). *Whose Urban Renaissance: An International Comparison of Urban Regeneration Strategies* [M]. Routledge.

^③ Couch C, Fraser C, Percy S. [2008]. *Urban Regeneration in Europe* [M]. Wiley.com

2.1.2 Evolution of Urban Regeneration

Bianchini describes urban renewal as a composite concept "covering economy, environment, society, culture, symbol and political dimensions". It is a process designed to revitalize an already decaying urban area (such as real estate, commercial, retail or artistic development) using effective tools to activate the area. It was initially primarily a response to the postwar decline of cities, especially in response to rising inequality, poverty, crime and unemployment in decaying cities. The process of deindustrialization in the late 1970s and the restructuring of the global economy in the 1980s also contributed to many cities in the United States and Western Europe a catalyst for developing urban renewal strategies.

The related terms of urban renewal have also undergone nearly a century of evolution, from urban renewal to urban redevelopment after World War II, urban re-naiissance, urban revitalization to today's urban regeneration. Due to the different focus of urban regeneration in each stage, so the naming of urban regeneration in different stages is also different, and clarifying the focus of the definition of "urban regeneration" in each stage will help us to understand and judge the proposition of urban regeneration in today's society more profoundly (Tab.3).

Development stage of urban renewal	Update content	Update mechanism	Update feature	Update focus
After World War II - early 1960s	Living space improvement especially slum clearance	Government-led	Indiscriminate demolition and construction	Focus on the improvement of urban material space
1960s-1907s	Community construction with national welfare based on welfare housing	Gradually strengthening cooperation between the government and the private institution	Community-wide updates	Perfection of urban social welfare system
1980s-1990s	Development oriented by real estate	dominated by private institution and market forces	The power of urban entrepreneurship grows	Economic development as the engine of urban development
1990s to present	Update of comprehensive	Greater focus on the impact of	Small-scale acupuncture-style	The protection of urban history and

	dimensions such as society, economy, culture, ecology, etc.	globalization and interregional cooperation	organic renewal	culture and the public interest of urban citizens
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Tab.3 Stages and Characteristics of Urban Renewal and Development

(Source: Ding Fan, Wu Jiang. (2017). *The Evolution of the Concept of Urban Regeneration and the Practical Connotation in Today's Society*)

Urban regeneration is the management and planning of the existing built environment, not the planning and development of new urbanization. To some extent, urban regeneration is aimed at urban decline, and it expresses a state of coping with decline and degradation.

The basis of the definition of urban regeneration is: comprehensive and complete vision and action to solve urban problems and seek to achieve lasting improvement in economic, physical, social and environmental conditions^①. The definition of urban regeneration involves: the redevelopment of uneconomic activities; the restoration of problematic social functions; the promotion of social integration; and the restoration of environmental quality and ecological balance^②. In addition, "partnership, spatial orientation, integration, competition, empowerment and sustainable development"

^① Roberts P, Sykes H. (2000). *Urban Regeneration: A Handbook* [M]. SAGE Publications

^② Couch C, Fraser c, PERCY s. (2003). *Urban Regeneration in Europe* [M]. Wiley.

have become increasingly important^①.

Around 2010, the term urban regeneration became more and more widely used. Although urban renewal was a method to quickly solve urban problems at the beginning of urban regeneration. Since the 1980s, the definition of urban renewal has gradually tilted towards urban regeneration, attempting to solve a set of problems and build lasting solutions in a more sustainable way^②. In fact, urban regeneration is a means to solve urban problems, whether from the material level or from the urban strategy level. It can convert unfavorable conditions into favorable conditions.

The term "urban regeneration"(Tab.4) means different results to different people. For some it's just a renewal task, but for others it's a decaying city given new life^③. In fact, even if not acknowledged by those who make policy, the definition of "renewal" varies according to the initiative. For example, local communities or adjacent neighborhoods were renewed and rebuilt, and the physical environment and commercial infrastructure were renewed, making urban land economically efficient again. This is the driving force of local marketing to change the image of the city^④.

^① Peter J, Peter G. (2000). A Review of the BURA awards for best practice in urban regeneration [J]. *Property Management*, 18(4): pp. 218-229

^② Stouten M. (2010). *Changing contexts in urban regeneration:30 years of modernization in Rotterdam* [M]. Techne Press

^③ Obeng Odoo F. (2014). *Regeneration for some degeneration for others* [M]. // Michael J.M, Leary E. *Companion to urban regeneration*, Routledge: pp.189

^④ Veninga C.E. (2008). *Understanding urban policy: a critical approach* [J]. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 74(1): pp.138

Urban renewal term	Time period	Term focus	Subject of the term
Urban renewal	Prevalent after the world war II	Indiscriminate demolition and construction	Government-lead, and gradually evolve into multi-party cooperation
Urban redevelopment	Mainly in America in 1950s	Combination of government and private institutions	Government and private developers
Urban revitalization	1970s-1980s	Activate a certain area	Urban development corporation and social groups
Urban renaissance	1980s-1990s	Rebirth, an urban ideal with utopia	Government, private developers, social groups, the public, etc.
Urban regeneration	After the 1990s	Focus on the phenomenon of urban decline	Government, private developers, social groups, scholars, the public, etc.

Tab.4 Evolution of terms related to urban regeneration

(Source: Ding Fan, Wu Jiang. (2017). *The Evolution of the Concept of Urban Regeneration and the Practical Connotation in Today's Society*)

2.2 Research on DMUR by domestic and foreign scholars

2.2.1 Foreign Research on DMUR

In many countries, the decision-making of urban regeneration is closely related to the change of government management mode^①, so some studies explain the phenomenon of urban regeneration from the perspective of administrative management and understand the urban regeneration policies including decision-making subjects and institutional conditions^②. In this field, the theory of governance is widely used. The basic consensus generated by the concept of governance is that the government does not need to monopolize all management activities, and other organizations in the society can also participate in the maintenance and adjustment of economic and social order on behalf of the government^③. Governance is the process of conveying government goals^④. As a concept of balanced redistribution of power, governance focuses on how to achieve consensus in areas where many interests play a role together^⑤.

^① Bull A C, Jones B. (2006). Governance and Social Capital in Urban Regeneration: A Comparison Between Bristol and Naples [J]. *Urban Studies* 43(4): pp. 767-786.

^② Couch C, Sykes O, Borstinghaus W. (2011). Thirty Years of Urban Regeneration in Britain, Germany and France: The Importance of Context and Path Dependency [J]. *Progressing Planning*,75(1):pp. 1-52

^③ Zhang Jingxiang, (2000). Zhuang Linde. Governance and Urban and Regional Governance [J]. *City Planning Review*, (6): pp. 36-39

^④ Newman J. (2001). *Modernizing Governance: New Labor, Policy and Society* [M]. Sage

^⑤ Luo Xiaolong, Zhang Jingxiang. (2001). Governance and Public Participation of Urban Planning in China[J].*Urban Planning Forum*, 2(0):pp. 9-6

The influence of the change of government management mode on the decision-making mechanism of urban regeneration is most prominent in Britain. The urban regeneration policy has experienced several stages, from the post-war government's direct management of the governance mode to public-private partnerships in the 1980s, from the the non-profit third-party organization accession in 1990s^① until the the emergence of network governance at the mid of 1990s, the evolution of the governance model reflects the trend of multiple participation in decision-making and management of the urban regeneration.

The research on public participation focuses on how to let more subjects, including community residents, enter the renewal decision-making process, and believes that such diversified participation depends on institutional setting. Because the community lacks an effective organizing subject to represent its interests, and it is difficult to have an agenda to satisfy the majority of people, thus, the community has a very weak influence on decision-making^②. As early as 1969, Arnstein put forward the theory of ladder of public participation, which divided the degree of public participation in decision-making, and believed that community participation in urban regeneration remained in the symbolic notification stage for a long time and had no actual

^① Zhang Gengli. (2004). Towards Three-Way Partnership in Urban Regeneration: The Western Experience and Implications to Chinese Cities [J].Urban Development Studies, 11(4): pp. 26-32

^② Atkinson R. (1999). Discourses of Partnership and Empowerment in Contemporary British Urban Regeneration [J]. Urban Studies, 36(1): pp. 59-72

influence on decision-making^①. In addition to the theory of decision-making, The New Institutionalism emphasizes the influence of institutional framework on decision-making, whether participants have power, and the restrictions of existing legal framework on their behaviors^②. The New Institutionalism believes that institutional structure has a great influence on decision-making, and the system has "inertia" and cannot adapt to social changes quickly.

2.2.2 Domestic Research on DMUR

The urban regeneration in China began in the late 1970s, and it is the result of multiple interaction of history, economy and system. In the first five-year plan, it was clearly pointed out that the reconstruction of the old city should be regarded as a long-term process, and should be accumulated gradually and sporadically, to avoid the phenomenon widening streets and demolishing houses indiscriminately only focusing on the beautiful appearance of the city^③. Before the new century, the task of urban regeneration is to renovate and improve the old city roads and municipal facilities system, so that the old city can meet the needs of modern urban traffic and

^① Arnstein S R. (1969). A Ladder of Citizen Participation [J]. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4): pp. 216-224.

^② March J G, Olsen J P. (1984). The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life [J]. *The American Political Science Review*, 78(3): pp. 734-749

^③ Dong Jianhong. (1995). Several issues about urban construction in the first five-year plan [J]. *Architectural Journal* (3): PP. 1-12

various modern urban infrastructure^①. With my large-scale construction and rapid urbanization stage basically ended, the main direction of urban development will also turn to urban regeneration and architectural cultural heritage protection. Under the background of globalization, an urgent problem of urban renewal in China is how to adjust and reorganize the urban space formed under the previous planned economy system to meet the needs of new trends and development^②.

Some domestic scholars also study the decision-making of urban regeneration from the perspective of administrative management and explore the role of government in urban regeneration. On the one hand, from the perspective of government management the scholars analyze the problems existing in the urban regeneration in China, and believe the government is not the only representative of the public interest, against the government's complete control of land development rights, advocated expanding public participation, establishing accountability system, perfecting the laws and regulations to restrict government behavior^③; On the other hand, it focuses on the repositioning of the role of the government, explores how the government should exercise the responsibility of public intervention under the conditions of market economy, perfect the system construction, and guide the market forces and owners to

^① Wu Binghuai. (1999). Retrospective analysis and development suggestions on the theory and practice of urban regeneration in China [J]. *Urban Research*(5): pp.46-48

^② Zhai Binqing, Wu Meiqin. (2009). Urban regeneration and its realities in urban China [J]. *Urban Planning Forum*(2): pp.75-82

^③ Xie Guoquan. (2008). A Study on Urban Renewal Policies from the Perspective of Public Policy Values [J]. *Journal of Jiangxi Administration Institute*, 10(1)

actively participate in the renewal under the premise of protecting public interests.

Urban regeneration has been regarded as a process of exercising public power in China's academic research field, and a large number of studies have drawn lessons from western classical theories and advanced concepts. However, China's social and economic background is quite different from that of the West, and the relevant systems of urban regeneration at the present stage were established before the transformation of the political and economic system, and are deeply influenced by the original "powerful government". The root of conflicts in the urban regeneration largely comes from the contradiction between the old system and the new things in the transition to the market economy, and the institutional setting cannot meet the needs of the new things, and the repositioning of the role of the government is the key to solve this problem.

In terms of participation mechanism, the success of urban regeneration depends on the establishment of a truly effective urban regeneration governance model, which is an inclusive and open decision-making system, a multi-party participation, and a coordinated and cooperative decision-making process. It is a system of multi-interest participation, negotiation and coordination rather than dominated by a single subject (for example, the government or developers). The Enning Road Project is the case about the exploration of open urban decision-making and public participation mechanisms. In the future, this model will be more optimized, and urban regeneration can take into account the real public value and interests.

2.2.3 Characteristics and Defects of DMUR in China

While the urban regeneration involves multi-subject interests, historical and cultural protection and other issues, the government's guiding role is indispensable as they can represent public interests and have interest redistribution and social service responsibilities. However, the government-led planning mode is generally reflected in the unitary decision-making mode in China, and the "top-down" operating procedure is adopted. This model has been widely adopted in the renewal of old cities in China, because under the established administrative goals, simple decisions can avoid many contradictions in the planning stage and quickly promote the project completion of old city reconstruction^①, which meets the goal of pursuing efficiency in China's urban construction. The inherent deficiency of this unitary decision-making mode lies in the following: value orientation must take the established goal of decision-making as the sole criterion; the procedure must adopt the simplified decision-making mode, and reject the value orientation and participation of multiple subjects. With the improvement of the relevant legal system, and the improvement of citizens' awareness of rights protection and the rise of social media, the government's unitary decision has obviously been unable to adapt to the new social situation.

^① Lu Yuan. (2005). Protection of the Interests of Disadvantaged Groups in the Plan-Making Process of City Renewal[J].Modern Urban Research, (11):pp. 22-23

2.2.4 DMUR of Enning Road Project in Guangzhou

Guangzhou Enning Road old city renewal is a special case which aimed at improving the image of the city, with the government as the leading party, decision-making party and early promotion party. Since 2007, a number of articles have taken Enning Road renewal as the research object, focusing on historical and cultural protection, cultural industry development, public participation and social accountability^①.

At the same time, Enning Road urban regeneration project is also a typical case in which the government's single decision-making is challenged, which not only reflects the defects of the government governance mode dominated by compulsion in the decision-making of urban regeneration, but also reflects the lack of cooperation between the government and other stakeholders in the operation of urban regeneration. The traditional unitary operation mode of reducing information transparency to minimize public pressure^② has been questioned by public.

The government originally represents the public interest and does not make profits in the renewal process, but it cannot get the support of residents and social capital because it is contrary to the interests of residents. In the Enning Road project, the contradiction between the government and residents and excessive public financial

^① Huang Dongya. (2013). Civic Engagement and Social Accountability in the City: A Case Study of Enning Road Transformation in Guangzhou [J]. Wuhan University Journal(Philosophy & Social Sciences), (001):pp. 62-63

^② Song Litao, Wu Song. (2013) Analysis of the Mechanism Unbalance of China's Urban Renewal[J].Journal of Anhui Administration Institute, (1):pp. 113-117

input reflect that complete government action does not have advantages even if it is aimed at public interests. This paper analyzed the influence while the multiple subject involved in the decision making process (including preliminary decision-making and implementation), and recommended the government to adjust the decision-making mechanism in the old city renewal and accept the social forces to participate in the old city renewal.

3. Review of Enning Road Regeneration

In the last chapter, we analyzed the theory and current situation of decision-making mechanism in the renewal of old cities, and sorted out the roles assumed by all parties in the whole process of the urban renewal and problems existing in the current environment of China. In this chapter we will deeply analyze the behaviors of various parties in the Enning Road (Fig6) event and discuss their effects on the renewal of the old city of Enning Road in various aspects and their mutual influence relationship. In the past ten years, media and government management officers, residents of Enning Road, planning experts and scholars have established a relatively deep communication relationship, and have a relatively comprehensive and profound understanding of Enning Road. The government and the planning designers also updated the plan many times in ten years, in order to reach the local cognition and meet the needs of different interests of all parties, and promote the revival of Guangzhou old city. The story of Enning Road in its ten years of transformation can be described as a rare and valuable empirical case to discuss the process of old city renewal under the participation of many parties. In this chapter we will start from the origin of the case, sort out the characteristics and promoting effects of their actions in different stages, and then discuss their relationship, and analyze the role function deficiency in the renewal of the old city, and seek for improvement ideas and strategies.



Figure. 6 Street views of Enning district

(Sources:www.baidu.com)

3.1 General Situation

Guangzhou is located at the estuary of the Pearl River and the center of the Pearl River Delta, with an advantageous geographical location (Fig.7). It is the central city of the Pan-Pearl River Delta Economic Zone^① which concludes Hong Kong, Macao, Shenzhen, Dongguan and etc. Also as the “Belt and Road” hub city^② and China’s “South Gate” to the world^③, Guangzhou has been positioned by the State Council as an international metropolis and a national comprehensive gateway city, and has been continuously selected into the list of international metropolises of the Globalization

^① The Outline Development Plan for the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area is released. CNR. [2019-11-26]. (Original content archived on 2020-02-16).

^② Li Xin. Financial experts tell you how the “Belt and Road” can achieve shared and win-win results. Guangzhou Daily Dayang. [2019-11-26]. (Original content archived on 2019-11-28) (Chinese (Mainland China))

^③ Guangzhou - China's "South Gate". Chutian Golden News. 2008-05-07 [2012-06-29]. (Original content archived on 2017-08-11)

and World Urban Research Network, ranking 27th in the world in 2018. It is still a first-tier city in the world, ranking 34th in the world according to “the United Nations’ 2016 China Urban Sustainable Development Report, Guangzhou”.

At the end of 2019, the permanent population of Guangzhou was 15.3059 million, and the urbanization rate was 86.46%. The urban resident population is 9.6652 million, and the floating population accounts for 37.69% of the total. Guangzhou is one of the cities with high population density in China, most of the population is concentrated in the old urban area. Comparing the economic strength of first-tier cities in China like Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Shenzhen, they are relatively at the leading level in all aspects. For instance, Beijing is the political and cultural center; Shanghai is the economic and financial center; Guangzhou is the commercial and trade center and Shenzhen is the science and technology innovation center.

With a solid economic foundation and considerable political resources, Guangzhou has the ability to radiate many surrounding cities because of the strong educational resources, profound culture, prosperous and beautiful night scenes, extremely convenient transportation and unique urban charm.



Guangdong, China



Guangzhou, Guangdong

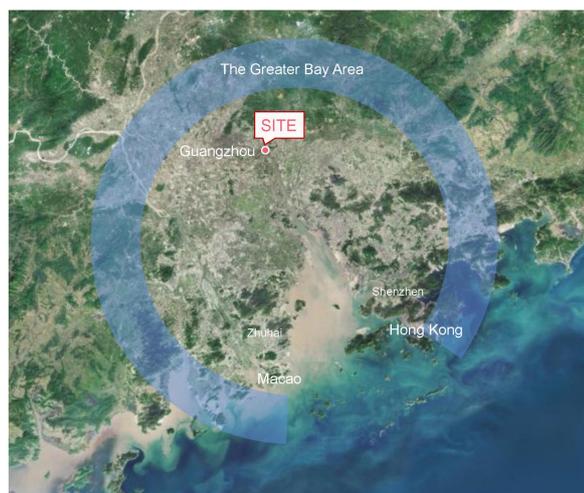


Fig. 7 The Location of Guangzhou

(Source : owner-draw)

On December 20 of 2017, the China Urban Competitiveness Research Association released the 2017 "Global Urban Competitiveness Ranking" in Hong Kong. Among them, in China, Shanghai continued to rank first, and Hong Kong and Shenzhen ranked second and third. The fourth and fifth cities are Beijing and Guangzhou respectively.

From the GDP growth rate, we can see that the general trend of economic GDP growth is: Shanghai>Beijing>Shenzhen>Guangzhou.

Guangzhou is one of the famous historical and cultural cities in China. It is the core part of Lingnan's characteristics. Enning Road is located in the Xiguan^① area of Liwan district, Guangzhou city, which is the concentration of local historical protection urban tourism resources and characteristic resources. At the same time, Enning Road is surrounded by famous historical and cultural districts. It is connected with Changhua historical and cultural block in the west, Shangxiajiu Pedestrian Street in the east, and Duobao Road historical and cultural block in the north. The block is close to the Shamian which is the former British and French concession in Guangzhou. At the same time, it is connected with Shangxiajiu, the most prosperous commercial pedestrian street, which is also a historical block of Guangzhou. The arcade in Enning Road block is connected with Longjin West Road, Shifu Street and Shangxiajiu

^① Guangzhou Xi Guan is the present Liwan old town, formerly known as "Xi Guan", because the area is surrounded by green bay and green water with red litchi on both sides of river known as "Litchi Bay", is the core of the old city of Guangzhou.

Pedestrian Street, forming the most complete and longest arcade street and the essence of Xiguan arcade in Guangzhou(Fig.8).

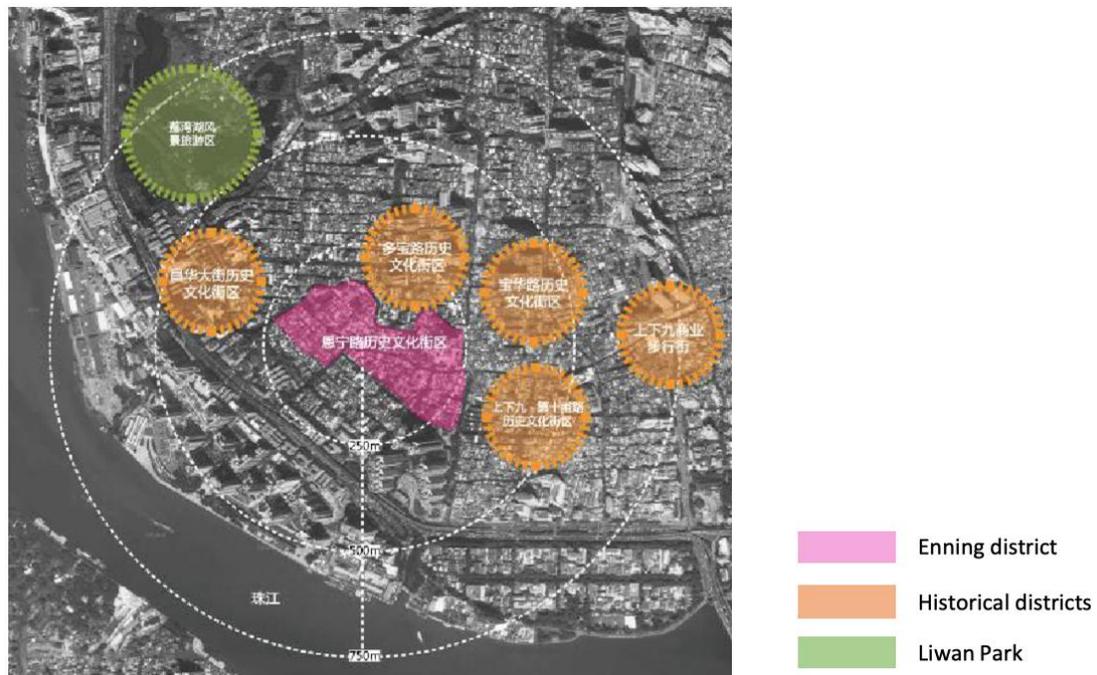


Fig. 8 The Location of Historical and Cultural Blocks of Enning Road

(source: multiple newspapers and websites)

There are more than ten cultural relics and historic sites in the block. The famous buildings are Taihua Building, Bahe Guild Hall, Bruce Lee's ancestral residence, Golden Sound Cinema and so on(Fig.9). In addition, Enning Road is an old city with rich Guangfu culture, and also the center of Cantonese opera culture (Fig.10).

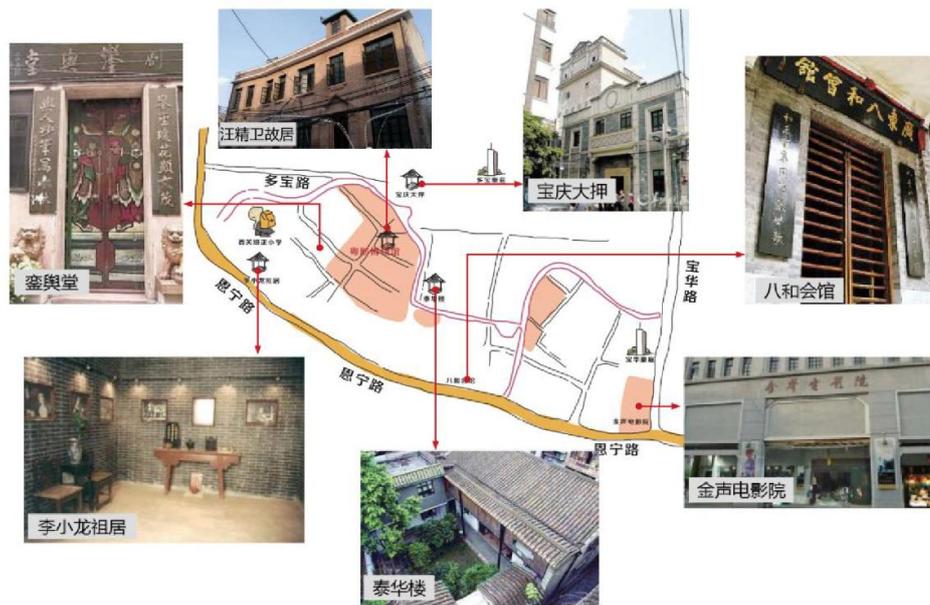


Figure.9 Traditional cultures of Enning district

(source: multiple newspapers and websites)



Figure.10 Traditional cultures of Enning district

(source: multiple newspapers and websites)

Xiguan District of Guangzhou has a long history. At the end of the Ming Dynasty and the beginning of the Qing Dynasty, Xiguan was the main place for foreign trade in Guangzhou. The development of trade exchanges has gradually produced a distinctive business culture in the Xiguan area. It is mainly manifested in architectural style, dietary characteristics and folk art. In the medium term of Republic of China, In order to further meet the needs of economic development, Enning Road in Xiguan district

was expanded, resulting in a shopping arcade with mixed commercial and residential mode. Enning Road has a long history, unique architectural style, unique customs and culture. It is a historical symbol of Xiguan Business District in Guangzhou from the late Qing Dynasty to the Republic of China. It is a historical witness of cultural exchanges between east and west. So the revival of Enning Road is very significant.

But at the same time, due to disrepair, there are a lot of brick and wood structures built before liberation in the block become dangerous houses, building quality and lighting, ventilation, sanitation and other environmental conditions are relatively poor. In 2006, liwan District government proposed the renovation of dilapidated houses in Enning Road area as a pilot project for the renewal of the old city. The renovation scope is the historic blocks north of Enning Road, west of Baohua Road and south of Duobao Road.

3.2 Policy Background

3.2.1 Policy Development

The Enning Road urban renewal project started in February 2006. The original "Enning Road Plot of Dilapidated Houses in Guangzhou Pilot Reform Plan" proposed "residents returning back after renovation", and the buildings in the planned area were basically completely demolished. In early 2007, The Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology of Guangzhou carried out the investigation and research on the

Protection Scheme of Cultural Relics and Historical Buildings of Enning Road Renovation, and the Automation Center of the Planning Bureau carried out the investigation on the historical value of the current buildings of Enning Road in Liwan District. It determines the reserved buildings in the Enning Road plot, and divides the buildings of the Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China with certain value into category A and B. Among them, 43 buildings in Class A are recommended to be protected, while 35 buildings in Class B are recommended to be preserved as far as possible. (Fig.11)

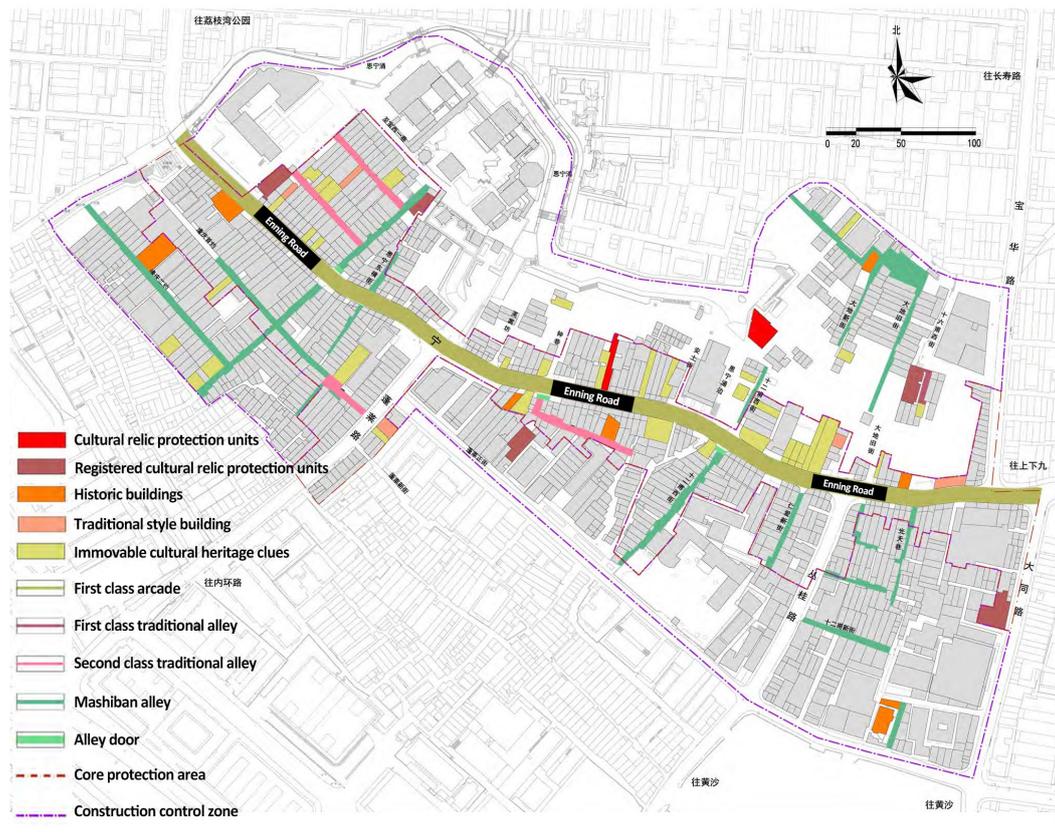


Fig. 11 Map of historic buildings and streets

(Source: http://ghzjy.gz.gov.cn/ywpd/mcbh/mcbhtzgg/content/post_2745308.html)

In September 2007, on the basis of the relevant investigation, the Municipal Planning Bureau recommissioned the design institute to study the transformation scheme, and proposed two schemes with different development intensity. However, from the perspective of economic balance, a large number of historical buildings were demolished and high-rise buildings were built. The previous two schemes were based on the consideration of residents moving back after rebuilt, so it results the old city style and texture destructed seriously.

From 2009 to 2011, Liwan District commissioned the Architectural Design and Research Institute of South China University of Technology to carry out planning and design of Enning Road plot, clarifying the idea of residents' return after regeneration, so that the final plan could preserve the old city style and texture, and adjust it to commercial and cultural as main functions.

The general trend is that the total amount of buildings retained gradually increased. The function of land use tends to be comprehensive. Based on the needs of resettlement and people's livelihood, residential buildings increased. With the increasing public attention to the reconstruction of the old city, from September 2010 to March 2011, Liwan District government organized the "Expert Advisory Group for the Reconstruction Project of Enning Road Old City" by inviting famous experts such as planning, cultural relic protection, architecture and representatives of people's

Congress to strictly check and review the protection and renewal scheme of Enning Road. The final result was formed after the public participation and many times change of manuscripts (Tab.4).

The other urban renewal project before the Enning Road Project of Guangzhou did not regard the block as a historical ones which carried with protection value, just take it as an ordinary renovation area of dilapidated houses, and adopted the general idea of real estate development. Due to the influence of the Upcoming Asian Games and the special location of the plot, Enning Road project became the first dilapidated house reconstruction in Guangzhou where residents could not move back in place at the beginning of the expropriation. At this time, the the Enning Road reconstruction project changed from a local livelihood project to an old city reconstruction project.

Enning Road renewal planning is an innovation in the process of Guangzhou old city renewal, which is the first case of government-led overall transformation of blocks into cultural and leisure functions, the first old city renewal plan, in which the construction quantity decreases instead of increasing, maintains the original style and texture of the plot. Because of this different meaning from the past, Enning Road project has become a public issue and attracted extensive attention from all walks of life.

Time	Name	Total Land Area (ha.)	Total construction area (m ²)	Reserved construction area %	Planning FAR	Planning building coverage %
2006	The Pilot Reform Plan of Dilapidated Housing in Enning Road	9.2	/	/	/	/
2007 Sep.	The Historical and Cultural Blocks of Enning Road Protection and Utilization Planning. [Draft1]	11	15.6	19.2%	1.4	40%
2009 Sep.	[Draft2]	15.5	27.6	68%	1.78	65%
2009 Oct. --2010 May	[Draft3]	11.3	14.6	33%	1.29	47%
2010 Oct.	[Draft4]	11.3	16.7	44%	1.47	47%
2011 Jan.	[Draft5]	11.3	13.6	54.8%	1.2	40.32%
2011 Sep.	The Historical and Cultural Blocks of Enning Road Protection and Utilization Planning	11.3	13.6	44%	1.2	40.32%

Tab.4 Enning Road plot planning scheme and main economic and technical indicators

(Source: http://ghzyj.gz.gov.cn/ywpd/mcbh/mcbhtzgg/content/post_2745308.html)

3.2.2 Policy Content

In the “Old City Renewal Planning of Enning Road, Liwan District”, the Enning Road block is positioned as a “consumption block” with Xiguan style^①, it is continuing the traditional living atmosphere, a place where general public can experience Lingnan customs and a nostalgia tourism cultural center. The planning is based on the idea of cultural renewal, focusing on the protection of historic blocks in the old city, preserving the scope of buildings and adding a number of contiguous traditional blocks on the basis of the original protection scope. At the same time, the volume ratio was set according to the morphological capacity of the historical texture. The planning is focusing on protecting the overall style of Xiguan traditional residential area in Guangzhou with historical value in the late Qing Dynasty and early Republic of China, and advocating new buildings with Xiguan style, so as to greatly reduce the plot ratio and improve the living environment and public landscape.

The Yuanhe Street inside Enning Road block was originally a branch of Xiguan river system, which was then covered as a street due to the accumulation of silt in the river. The plan envisages the restoration of the original river flow. In October 2009, the decision of the scheme directly contributed to the implementation of the Litchi bay river which is at the adjacent section of Enning Road before the Guangzhou Asian Game.

^① Xiguan or Saikwan is an ancient town and an area in the Liwan district of Guangzhou. Xiguan continues to have a distinctive culture within Guangzhou and some residents speak a distinctive dialect of Cantonese.

According to the regulatory plan of the Enning Road plot, there will be a main urban road with a red line of 40 meters wide in the plot slanting through the southeast corner of the plot. The implementation of the planned road network will require the demolition of many old dwellings on Arcade Street on Enning Road, which will destroy the integrity of the plot and the traditional texture of the old city. When the compilation unit of Enning Road old city renewal planning studying the original old city traffic organization mode, suggesting that the old city should set up with a “special traffic” policy, they proposed that the Enning Road system should be replaced by a “close road network” rather than a 40-meter and 30-meters’ main road in the historical features of the old city, when applying the “close road network” system, it will meet basic traffic needs. The determination of this scheme directly drives the revision of regulatory plan of the Enning Road plot .In January 2011, the detailed regulatory planning guidelines for the Enning Road plot were changed, and after being approved by the Guangzhou Municipal Planning Bureau, it was announced on the "Planning Online".

3.3 Reason of Enning Road Regeneration

On the one hand, the renewal and reconstruction of Enning Road block in 2006 was closely related to the serious aging of its buildings and municipal facilities and the

shortage of public service facilities. Due to the dense population and the shortage of housing in the block, the phenomenon of illegal construction and reconstruction was prominent and the living environment was bad. On the other hand, it is also related to the unique geographical location of Enning Road. Enning Road block is close to Shangxiajiu Road, a famous commercial pedestrian street in Guangzhou. However, compared with the developed commercial tourism economy of Shangxiajiu Road, Enning Road is obviously much depressed. From the perspective of economic added value, its business types are generally "low-end". In 2005, the commercial route price of Enning Road is only 1500 yuan/square meter, which is only 8% of that of adjacent Shifu Road and 11% of Baohua Road. Smith pointed out that the gentrification phenomenon in urban renewal mainly occurred in those blocks where the Potential Ground Rent was much higher than the Actual Ground Rent. In other words, areas with large "Rent Gap"^①. In terms of Enning Road, the actual rent is much lower than that of the nearby Shangxiajiu Pedestrian Street and Baohua Road, and even in the downtown of Guangzhou, it is one of the streets with the lowest rent. Therefore, there is an obvious "rent gap" in Enning Road block which has great commercial value in terms of investment output. This is the economic motivation that drives its renewal and transformation.

Moreover, the renovation of Enning Road block started in 2006 is also closely related

^① Smith N. (1979). Toward a theory of gentrification: a back to the city movement by capital not people[J]. Journal of the American Planning Association (4): pp. 538-548.

to the holding of the 16th Asian Games in Guangzhou in 2010. The Asian Games is the largest international sports event held in Guangzhou. Guangzhou hopes to show its modern image and profound cultural heritage through the Asian Games. For this purpose, it has launched large-scale "dressing and wearing hats" with river treatment and urban renewal projects. Because Enning Road block is located in Xiguan district with the oldest Guangzhou customs and is close to Shangxiajiu road commercial pedestrian, which is a hot tourist destination, its renewal is highly valued. In addition, the start of Enning Road renovation is closely related to the rapid development of China's culture and economy in recent years. With the transformation of first-tier cities from industrialization to post-industrialization, from production center to consumption center and the expansion of middle class, cultural consumption has become a hot topic. Culture-led Regeneration has therefore become an important strategy for urban redevelopment. Enning Road has rich historical and cultural heritage, profound cultural deposits and good geographical conditions, which are conducive to creating cultural and economic products with high commercial added value.

3.4 Renewal and transformation process

3.4.1 Episode 1 Protocol Publicity

The reform of dilapidated houses on the Enning Road plot in Guangzhou in 2006 was the cause of the Enning Road incident. The early plans started from the perspective of

marketing, the plan wanted to renovate as a whole in the form of in-situ relocation, therefore, almost all the historical buildings in the plot were demolished. With the regulated road network (two road with 30 meters width and 40 meters width) as the basic structure of the block, the traditional texture was broken, and modern commercial and resettlement communities will replace traditional residential communities (Fig.12).



Fig. 12 Banners of protesting the demolition of heritage buildings

(Source: <https://www.wikiwand.com/zh/%E6%81%A9%E5%AE%81%E8%B7%AF>)

As the general public strongly opposed the decision of the Liwan District Government to demolish the arcade Street on Enning Road and the planning road network in

regulatory plan. Therefore, the government commissioned the Guangzhou Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology and other relevant departments to conduct a detailed investigation of the historical buildings on Enning Road, then, they identified 43 key protected buildings and some of the historical buildings that are recommended to be preserved Based on the research results. The Enning Road Old City Reconstruction Plan was revised with the overall texture of the block is taken into consideration. However, due to the pressure of regional economic balance, the revised plan still replaces historic buildings with high-rise residential buildings, and cannot retain traditional spaces and street textures. At the same time, the government initiated the demolition project of Enning Road at the end of 2007, while at this time, the renovation plan has not yet been passed.

Enning Road is a typical government unified decision-making plan. The government is responsible for all matters related to the implementation of the demolition and the preparation of related funds. From proposing updated issues to plan discussion and formulation, the government has been implemented and closed operation, and the residents, the public and other relevant subjects are excluded from planning and decision-making in the whole process. The government is both decision makers and executors of the whole plan. After the reserved buildings are determined, other buildings that are not included in the reserved scope are moved forward.

In the initial stage of the project, the planning bureau and the design unit under the

cultural relics department deliberated on the area's reserved buildings, the functional form after the transformation, the other issues, and formulated a series of plans. But at the beginning of the relocation, there was no mature planning plan, and it was not disclosed to the public. Since then, the demolition and planning modification will be carried out at the same time, and the planning plan will not be announced until two years after the project is launched. Although the renovation of the old city on Enning Road has the above-mentioned innovative significance, it lacks the correct decision-making process, and the project has great resistance to advancement. The Enning Road project has inherent contradictions in the renewal of the old city, and the unitary dominant thinking that excludes other subjects has also led to a lot of criticism and doubts about the Enning Road reconstruction project.

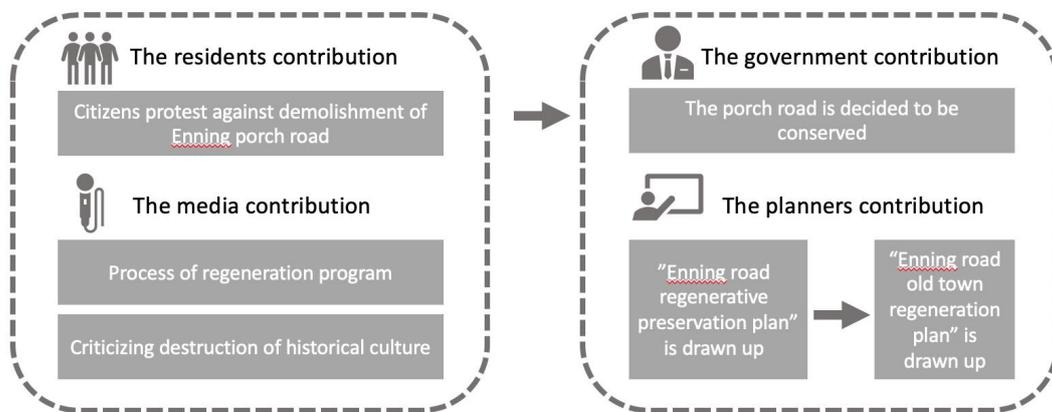


Figure.13 The acts of different bodies in the first phase

(Source : owner-draw)

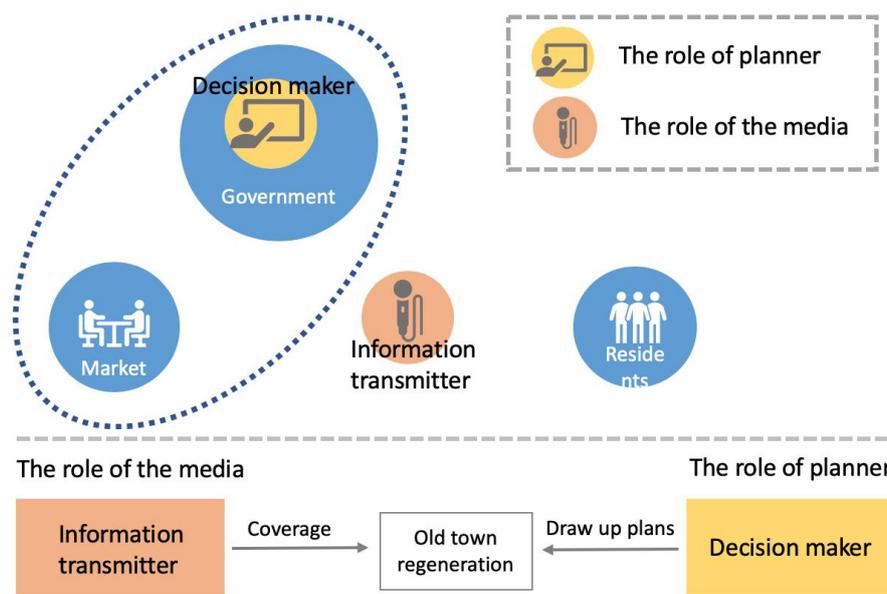


Figure.14 The stakeholders' relationship in phase one

(Source : owner-draw)

During this phase, the planners worked exactly as the government asked them to, and the media acted only as journalists. With the joint efforts of the two, the original plan to demolish the corridor area became preservation, and the government formulated the plan to protect historical buildings and cultural relics.

3.4.2 Episode 2 Residents Protest

At the beginning of Enning Road reconstruction, the government began large-scale demolition in the name of improving the old city environment. The residents of the community initially only knew that the block would be renovated, but they did not know how will the government to renovate it. The demolition started in December

2007 in secret, with ignoring the residents' right to know and their opinions on demolition, which caused the masses to fight for their rights (Fig.15).



Fig. 15 The parade of protesting the demolition

(Source: <https://www.coolloud.org.tw/node/92448>)

The demolition notice was pasted on the wall of the old house on Enning Road without any prior communication between the government and the residents. At the time of the rapid development of the property market, the government did not give a reasonable compensation scheme for demolition and resettlement. While the residents were dissatisfied with the hasty arrangements for demolition and relocation, they also questioned the compensation for demolition and resettlement. As a result, the

residents began to petition spontaneously. The scattered and weak civil forces and the evading of each other among government departments made petitioning ineffective.

As early as the beginning of the relocation of Enning Road in 2007, the resident Aunt Sun submitted petition materials to the Municipal Land and Resources Bureau, requesting that the scope of demolition would be announced. It was not until February 2008 that the Municipal Bureau of Land and Resources issued a reply letter, referring the issue to the Planning Bureau, which did not announce any demolition plans in accordance with relevant regulations within nearly two years after the relocation was started. On December 22, 2009, the "Planning Plan for the Protection and Development of the Historic and Cultural District of Enning Road" was finally announced.

On January 27, 2010, five resident representatives from Enning Road, Dadi Old Street, Jixiang Square and other places, representing 183 households, submitted a proposal (Fig.16) jointly signed by the 183 households to Zheng Hanjia, director of Liwan District Urban Renewal office with Strongly opposition to the "Enning Road Historical and Cultural Block Protection and Development Plan" which was announced on December 2009, The residents' representatives made it clear that "the demolition should be stopped immediately before the plan is officially approved. They expect the government to review urban renewal plans that involve public interest. The residents demand the organization of symposiums involving experts,

scholars, leaders, residents and relevant persons; The Government needs to listen to the views and suggestions of various sectors, and the relevant agencies should revise the planning on this basis, or reformulate the planning. The plan is finalized after a public hearing involving all parties. Moreover, the residents also raised four major objections to the commercial development orientation of the existing planning, the preservation of Xiguan historic buildings, the uncovering of the river and the compensation and resettlement of the demolition.

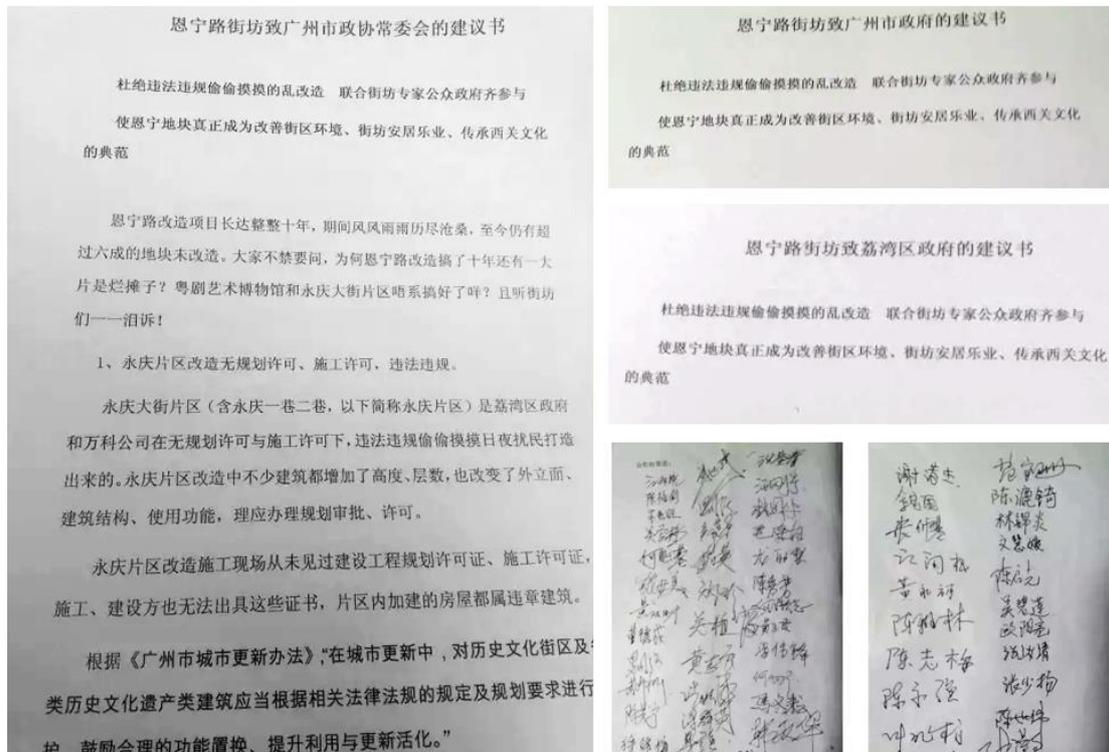


Fig.16 The proposal signed by the 183 households

(Source: "New Express" 2017-02-15)

1. Demolition

The "Enning Road Historical and Cultural Block Protection and Development Plan"

will demolish most of the residential within the red line on the demolition announcement, re-form 6 so-called functional zones, plan 5 renewal areas, and imitate a batch of "fake antiques". This is not about inheriting the style of Xiguan. On the contrary, it eradicated the roots of Xiguan culture. The consequences are like the "breaking of the old and establish of new" of the "Cultural Revolution".

2. Commercial

The “Enning Road Historical and Cultural Block Protection and Development Plan” wants all residents to move out, emulating the so-called "Shanghai Xintiandi" in large-scale commercial development, which is bound to hurt the popularity of Xiguan and forcibly deprive the majority of neighborhoods of their right of residence. Transformation is not a public interest.

3. Resurgence

The “Enning Road Historical and Cultural Block Protection and Development Plan” will uncover Enning river and Dadi river that were sealed in the 1960s. The plan has not been fully demonstrated and feasibility researched, and the consequences will be serious before the current prevent floods by water control in Guangzhou is not effective.

4. Placement

The “Enning Road Historical and Cultural Block Protection and Development Plan”

is full of gorgeous words, portraying the future "New Xiguan" like a fairyland, but it does not mention how to properly arrange the vast neighborhoods, indicating that the plan is not people-oriented.

In the end, the residents concluded: "There is no doubt that the 'plan' is a failure of urban reform that harms the vital interests of consumers, considers and destroys the historical environmental poverty of Xiguan, and causes huge commercial benefits! We firmly oppose and reject it!"

For these petitions, the directors of Liwan District Planning Bureau and Urban Renewal Office either prevaricated or made vague remarks. After the consultation period of the "Enning Road Historical and Cultural Block Protection and Development Plan", residents went to the Liwan District Planning Bureau to ask for the results of the consultation, the relevant people pushed the problem to the Publicity Department: "Everyone's opinions are still being sorted out, please go to the publicity Department if you want to announce it. We don't know when the propaganda department will announce it. Eventually, the Enning Road residents realized petitioning was useless. "We petitioned, it was all blame, it was all kicking, it was all that. I called the district government to look for the demolition office, but it didn't work for several years, said by resident uncle Zhang.

3.4.3 Episode 3 Media Intervention

While the news media's involvement in the incident at this time became a turning point in the transformation of Enning Road. Media reports have promoted the formation of public issues of the Enning Road incident, with more convenient information circulation and a wider range of influence (Fig.17). In 2008, local residents committed a serious violation of the Property Rights Law with the demolition of Enning Road. The National People's Congress initiated a rights protection action and asked the government to give a reasonable response. The news media intervened in investigating residents' complaints, tracking down compensation for demolition, and building public opinion pressure to force the government to launch a special investigation on the progress of the renovation of dilapidated houses on Enning Road. In addition to the original method of monetary compensation and resettlement in other places, nearby resettlement has been added.



Fig.17 The report of New Express on Enning Road demolition project against the Property Law

(Source: arranged according to the network data by author)

Under the influence of news reports, Enning Road residents not only put forward the relocation and compensation issues closely related to their own interests, but also began to realize the urban cultural conservation issues contained in the demolition of Enning Road, so as to connect their own interests with the public issues of urban cultural protection. At the same time, the urban cultural protection and related issues excavated by these news reports are constantly spreading and reinforcing among the media, residents and public participants, which constitute an important basis for stimulating potential participants.

From December 2009 to December 2012, the Enning Road incident was the height of public attention. Growing public opinion forced the government to make concessions. Liwan Government announced the “Enning Road Historical and Cultural Block Protection and Development Plan” and “The Planning outline of Guangzhou old city renewal and reconstruction” solicited public opinions.

Enning Road residents by using the power of the media, expressing their opinions on the transformation of Enning Road on many occasions. In 2010, residents signed a petition to the National People's Congress, demanding the preservation of history and culture, opposition to the plan and a halt to demolition. Residents demanded that planning information be made public and suggestions be widely heard. The residents also took the opportunity of the "two sessions" in Guangzhou to submit a joint open letter to CPPCC members and NPC deputies to expand the scope of their appeal, focusing on historical and cultural protection and the formulation of reasonable compensation plans. One after another "petition", although some experts and scholars responded and related media reported, but the government still did not respond.

The so-called "petition" is actually nothing more than an express mail to the NPC. Although the letter did not get any response from the National People's Congress, however, this action creates a news, received wide media coverage, Enning road thus gained more attention, in addition to influence to expand to the general public, and,

more importantly, the reporter also often directly for the country-and neighborhood, relates to key figures that are more policy influence.

Chen Anwei, a deputy to the Guangzhou municipal people's Congress, played an important role in the renovation of Enning Road. She reported to the government through institutional channels the public health problems in the reconstruction process of Enning Road, and invited the mayor to visit Enning Road under the public issue of Guangzhou Asian Games city appearance construction. Chen Anwei's involvement in the reconstruction event of Enning Road was due to the direct contact and promotion of the reporter. Chen Anwei was born in Enning Road and studied in Enning Road Primary School. She is an old Xiguan and later worked in the Third Hospital of Guangzhou Medical University near Enning Road. In late 2010, a reporter from The New Express newspaper contacted Chen, asking her to report on Enning Road's problems. After visiting Enning Road residents, Ms. Chen began to appeal to the authorities for Enning Road.

Under the reporter's contact and arrangement, Chen Anwei visited more than 20 residents in Enning Road, and also talked with street staff. Subsequently, she immediately made a report to the Liwan District people's Congress. On August 17, the deputy head of Liwan District met with Chen and promised to clean up the garbage and improve public security as soon as possible. On August 25, Guangzhou municipal government held a symposium "to welcome the Asian Games and create a new life.

Two National People's Congress deputies were arranged to attend the symposium. Chen Anwei was recommended to attend the symposium because she talked about the end of the project to welcome the Asian Games at the previous symposium of the Municipal people's Congress. "When I asked this question at the symposium, I said that I hope Mayor Wan will come to the forum and I believe that after attending, the work will be greatly promoted", said by Chen Anwei.

On the afternoon of August 29, Mayor Wan Qingliang, Executive vice Mayor Su Zequn, director of the Municipal Planning Bureau Wang Dong and other officials visited Enning Road to inspect the reconstruction and accept the open letter from residents of Enning Road. Wan Qingliang, mayor of Enning Road, said on the spot that the new planning plan will put cultural protection in the first place. Then, Liwan District Duobao Street office held a symposium of residents' representatives, and communicated with more than 20 residents' representatives of Enning Road face to face. They said on the spot that the streets would try their best to solve the problems reported by residents to Chen Anwei. On August 31, according to the instructions of Deputy Mayor Su Zequn and District Party Secretary Zhou Yawei, 11 staff members from Liwan District publicity Department, Construction Garden Bureau, Culture Bureau, renewal Office, Road Extension Office, Human settlements Office, Changhua Street Office, urban Construction Department and other departments had a discussion with Chen Anwei, explaining and introducing the reconstruction and demolition situation of Enning Road.

At the same time, after mayor Wan Qingliang's inspection, "Liwan District three old renovation Office set up an advisory group, a total of 14 people, 9 experts in architecture and history, 1 delegate to the National People's Congress, 1 CPPCC member, 3 neighborhood committee, residents' representatives.

Chen Anwei, a representative of Guangzhou Municipal People's Congress, threw out the public contradiction problem of Enning Road reconstruction under the topic of "Construction of Urban appearance of Asian Games", which was exposed at the decision-making level of the municipal government and attracted the attention of Mayor Wan Qingliang, which became a key turning point in the renewal of Enning Road.

In June 2011, the residents of Enning Road jointly submitted an Open Letter, calling on the owners to renew themselves. They hoped that the government would take the lead and the public would participate in the renovation. They suggested that the public and private sectors, the combination of commercial and residential areas and the integration of old and new areas should be gradually renovated to gradually improve the status quo of Enning Road historical block. It is an unprecedented new attempt in Guangzhou for local residents to participate in the reconstruction of old city through their own renewal. The proposal submitted by residents this time is the only one supported by the government.

In addition, local residents have also expressed their proposal to the planning bureau that the area north of Enning Road be protected as a historic and cultural district. Through many petitions by residents, the resistance behavior of the neighborhood has changed from scattered to united, from focusing on individual interests to protecting the whole history and culture, and residents' public consciousness has been formed and made progress day by day.

In addition to Chen Anwei, media reporters also kept contacting and interviewing various experts and scholars to attract more people with social influence to pay attention to the reconstruction of Enning Road, and through their criticism of the current situation of the reconstruction of Enning Road, guide public opinion. In July 2007, at the beginning of the Enning Road renovation project, the reporter of Guangzhou Information Times contacted Tang Guohua, professor of architecture department of Guangzhou University, to inspect the historical buildings of Enning Road and reported professor Tang Guohua's introduction of the residential buildings of historical and cultural value on Enning Road. At the same time, professor Tang Guohua advocated preserving the existing architectural pattern of Enning Road and encouraging residents to improve their homes. During this researching, the neighbors left behind on Enning Road got to know Professor Tang Guohua and established contact with him.

News reports continuously expand public opinion, activate potential indirect stakeholders, and trigger the participation of multiple social forces. The chain of appeal expression connects residents, experts and scholars, non-governmental organizations and media. They share information with each other, gathering scattered residents' power and strengthening residents' power. In terms of media, new Express reported "The Last Enning Road" for three consecutive times in 2010, with nostalgia for the old district culture as the theme, showing a large number of neighborhood scene video materials, which attracted the attention of people from all walks of life. Since then, Enning Road has become a "demolition theme park". Teachers from the architecture department of the university bring students to carry out rescue surveys, citizens and photographers come here to take photos, and some foreign artists also come to Enning Road for performance art. A number of NGOs to protect Enning Road and the old town have been set up. The transformation of Enning Road has become a public event attracting attention both at home and abroad, and has further raised the public's awareness of cultural conservation.

News reports and residents' appeals proliferated on this public issue, which attracted wider public attention, while other social forces became involved in the renovation process of Enning Road. The third party involved in the Enning Road incident mainly included the Enning Road Academic Concern Group (Fig.18) (hereinafter referred to as the group) and the Citizen Research Center of CUHK, among which the group was the main participant.



Fig.18 The report of New Express on Enning Road demolition project against the Property Law

(Source: arranged according to the network data by author)

The group is dominated by college students with diverse professional backgrounds in architecture, planning, art, journalism and anthropology. It is an academic research group formed based on enthusiasm for the history and culture of Guangzhou old City. The purpose is to participate in the transformation of the old city and preserve its culture. Since its establishment, the group has taken advantage of its multidisciplinary background to record Enning Road on the one hand, and to publicize the history of Enning Road and the culture of Guangzhou old City through exhibitions, symposiums and exchanges. On the other hand, it also actively involved in the public participation of Enning Road reconstruction planning.

The team members stayed in the community to investigate and interview, listen to the neighbors, and establish good relations with residents. They completed the “Social Evaluation Report of Enning Road Renovation Project” and “The Opinion letter for The Renovation Planning of Enning Road Plot”. The former mainly reflects the impact of the project on the economic and social life of local residents. The latter put forward suggestions based on residents' and experts' opinions on Enning Road planning timing, public interest, planning participation and other issues.

"Enning Road Academic Concern Group" is another non-governmental organization, which has been the most influential in Enning Road reconstruction, tracking the movement of Enning Road demolition through salon activities and community magazine distribution. These folk forces not only protected the history of Enning Road, but also enhanced the residents' awareness of the historical and cultural conservation of the area.(Tab.5)

Main Activities of Enning Road Academic Group		
Type	Date	Specific Activities
Publicity and Communication	2010-03	Communicate with the civic education class of Sun Yat-sen University
	2010-09	Make "Enning Road Dynamic Map" reflecting the vitality of Enning Road Block and exhibited

		in Beijing's 798 Art District
	2011-09	Exhibited the history and culture and the process of public participation of Enning Road Block in the Shenzhen-Hong Kong Biennale
	2011-09	"Civic Dialogue of The Old City" at South China University of Technology Forum
	2011-10	Participate in the Hong Kong Polytechnic University conservation Forum
Expert interview	2010-04	Interview related personnel of Guangzhou "three old transformation" office
	2010-05	Interview with professor of urban planning at Sun Yat-sen University
	2010-09	Interview with ancient architecture expert Professor Tang Guohua
Public Participation of Group	2010-10	Complete the planning proposal and submit it on the mayor's reception day
	2012-09	Campaign with Enning Road residents to protect Enning Road

Tab. 5 Main Activities of Enning Road Academic Group

(Source: Collate and summarize relevant reports from New Express, Southern Metropolis Daily, Guangzhou Daily and other media)

In the Enning Road incident, news media became a social gathering platform for multi-subject information, promoting public participation and influencing the game pattern. Experts and scholars play the roles of professional advisers and technical support to study and judge government decisions and public opinion. The participation of NGOs has drawn more attention to issues related to historical preservation and residents' rights protection.

3.4.4 Episode 4 Project on Ice

At the end of 2012, Enning Road was included in the 23rd Historical protection Area of Guangzhou. Construction has also begun on the Latchi Bay Chung Phase iii comprehensive renovation within the planning area of Enning Road, and the Guangzhou Cantonese Opera Museum has also launched a design competition. Well Enning road public events achievements seem to have achieved good results, very not easy cook until 2013, demolition and fight to a close, culture wins initial success in battle, the Cantonese opera museum control rules also adjust the end, the construction time is ripe, but due to the contradiction between the low volume rate and high land prices, according to the conventional thinking no one willing to accept the risk of investment.

The restoration of Liwan Chung and the building of the cultural image of the

Cantonese Opera Museum are part of the reconstruction and restoration of the historical features of Enning Road. Liwan government hopes to attract developers to settle in through environmental improvement and cultural industry, but the reality is not easy. The renewal of Enning Road is even more difficult. After 8 years of slow reconstruction, Enning Road has come to a standstill and become a mess left by demolition. The historic block has become a garbage sorting yard and waste collection station.

On the other hand, as the social attention of Enning Road has weakened, the media has shifted the focus of news, and the social forces and non-governmental organizations that used to be in Enning Road have also faded out of the public's view. In August 2013, the "Enning Road Academic Concern Group" officially announced its dissolution, and its withdrawal also reduced the cohesion of Enning Road neighborhood. Enning Road block was demolished only a piece of ruins, only a few scattered households left behind, which formed a sharp contrast with the renovation of Liwan Chung. The "self-renewal" proposed by residents in 2011 also became "empty talk" due to the lack of specific implementation guidelines. Enning Road lingered, and the voice of memory grew fainter.

"Enning Road Incident" was a turning point for public participation in the protection and renewal of Guangzhou old City. The diversification of participants breaks the monopoly of the government and promotes it to open the channels of public

participation instead of rejecting public participation. Residents' protests and opinions of all parties have an impact on government decision-making; The Enning Road incident has made the concept of cultural protection deeply rooted in people's minds and become the consensus of both the government and ordinary people. Unfortunately, the Enning Road project did not achieve the desired outcome as a result of the delayed public participation. Neither volunteer organizations formed by students nor participating experts have been able to become third-party organizations representing public interests and building communication platforms.

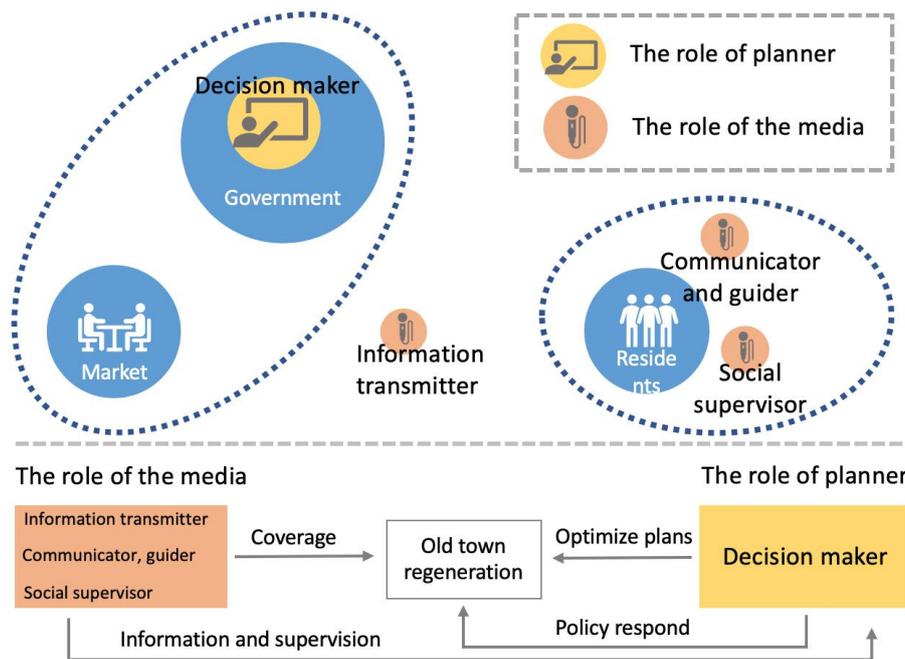


Figure.19 The stakeholders' relationship in phase two

(Source : owner-draw)

During this period, media played a new role as social coordinator and social supervisor, becoming a social force to assist local residents in providing information and spreading their voices, and strengthening the participation of society (residents).

3.4.5 Episode 5 Project Implementation

In January 2016, the completion of the Cantonese Opera Art Museum in the block was an opportunity to re-stage the sequel of the Enning Road story. In February 2016, the government issued the Yongqing area dangerous (old) housing renovation and activation of the project investment announcement (No. 29 transaction announcement). The biggest breakthrough point of the fifth stage is the first time for developers to intervene in the transformation of Guangzhou old city historical and cultural blocks. Yongqing block is located in Enning Road historical and cultural block range, yongqing area transformation includes Yongqing Street, Yongqing Lane, Yongqing Two lane, Zhibao Street, Zhibao West lane range

Before the Spring Festival in 2016, the Yongqing community on Enning Road put up scaffolding, mud shovel into the alley, the renovation project is in full swing. The government in March 2016 revealed that Yongqing area will be micro-transformation as a pilot, follow the principle of "repair as old", by the investors implanted new entrepreneurial industrial park, including mass innovation office, education camp, long rent apartments, life supporting facilities, to create Yongqing community in 2000

square meters of "maker town". The renovation should also focus on the overall pattern of historic buildings and characteristic landscapes.

It seems that Enning Road historic District has seized the opportunity of rebirth, but the "mess" of Enning Road has not been cleared up by the developer and the government. No publicity, no solicitation of opinions, no public participation, construction block, damage to residents' houses, Enning Road at this stage of the micro renovation has been questioned, complaints from the residents left behind. A new round of Enning Road renewal seems to repeat the same mistake. Aborigines, experts, scholars and news media in the neighborhood have spoken out one after another, and a new round of "war of words" has begun. (Tab.6)

The media's evaluation of the transformation		The voice of residents and the public
1	Violation of property law	Liwan entrusted Vanke Company with the management of municipal streets and public space of residents without the consent of the neighbors in the district
2	Seriously affected the normal life of residents	Don't allow the tricycles of locals to enter Don't allow to hang clothes in the neighborhood Set up landscape barricades at big street entrance
3	The transformation affect historical features	Oppose the destruction of the fabric style of the block by the reconstruction of historical buildings
4	Investigate the differences of	Make the interview that whether modern businesses are allowed to enter the city or not

	locals' life	
5	Actively contact experts and scholars	Experts and scholars have different positive and negative attitudes towards concept of Enning Road "Maker Town"

Tab. 6 Media and public evaluation of transformation

(Source: arranged according to the network data by author)

Since the opening of Yongqing Square on National Day in 2016, new Express reporters recently published a continuous report on the transformation of Enning Road Yongqing in the recent situation, continue to pay attention to residents in the face of the transformation of dissatisfaction. The controversy over the micro transformation of Enning Road Yung-ching Square rises one after another, which seems to have returned to the climax of public participation a few years ago. Enning Road is like a "has-been actor", and after years of low tide, it has returned to the public's view. But these voices of public opinion only stay in the news media, planning and architecture scholars, community related interest groups.

According to the announcement of investment promotion in 2016, Guangzhou Liwan Old City Reconstruction Project Center will open investment promotion for the investment, construction and operation of the micro renovation and activation utilization projects in Yongqing District, and the investment party holds about 7,200 square meters of dilapidated houses. It is understood that before the transformation, Yongqing area there are a large number of dangerous houses, belonging to the general

damage of 6, seriously damaged 30, Yongqing Street 21, 23, 25, 27 and Zhibao Street 1 is seriously damaged, almost to collapse. Nearby the old houses, some places are overgrown with weeds and flies, described by residents as "rotten and melting" streets.

In March 2016, Liwan District revealed in the government work report: this year will take Yongqing area as a pilot micro-transformation (Fig.20), the overall preservation of historical buildings and characteristic landscape, implantation of new business model, to create a "maker town". In June, Vanke company related person in charge to the new express reporter confirmed its bid Yongqing micro transformation project(Fig.21).



Figure.20 Location of Yongqing block in the site (source: <research for conservation

planning of Enning road historic cultural area in Guangzhou)

(Source: Vanke document)

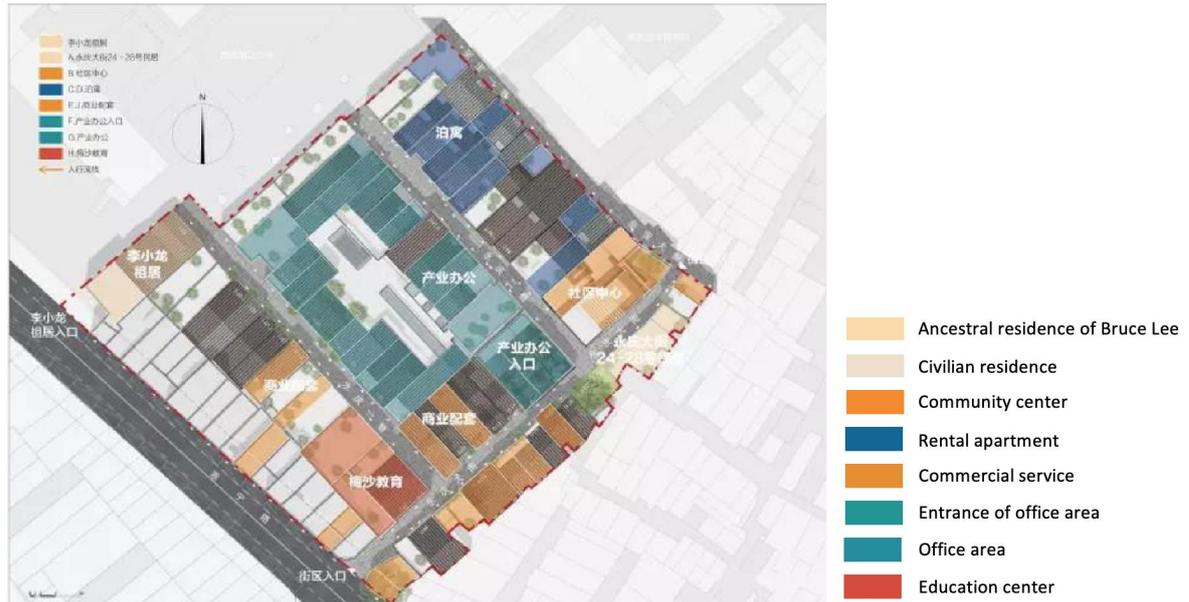


Figure.21 Planning of Yongqing block

(Source: Vanke document)

Liwan District has been introduced into Guangzhou Vanke with BOT mode(Fig.22), transforming Yongqing area of First phase of Enning Road into a fashion block integrating catering, boutique retail, Airbnb and office. According to "the government leading, enterprise to undertake, residents to participate in the" implementation repair maintenance, in the form of Liwan district developed micro control guideline of construction guidelines, forms of reform "principles", introducing market enterprises through public bidding, construction and operation of market enterprise reformed has 15 years for management of project, after the expiration of the return to Liwan district government.

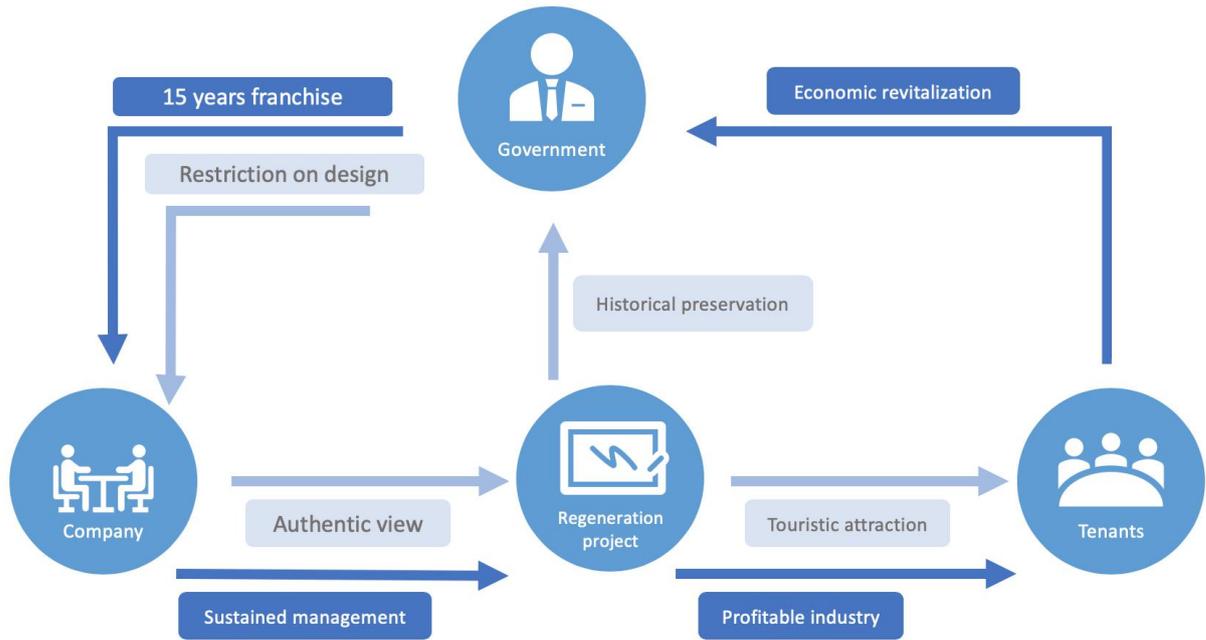


Figure.22 BOT method's functioning in Enning project

(Source: owner-draw)

Yang Chengzhi, director of Guangzhou Urban Renewal Bureau, said in an interview with Nandu reporters at the beginning of this year that the Enning Road renewal model is a model and exploration of the reconstruction of old residential areas, and a signal released is: Guangzhou does not reject the market force to enter the renovation of old residential areas, "but whether it can be copied should be based on the actual situation", enterprises will consider profits, the renovation of most old residential areas in Guangzhou is difficult to balance this economic account, mainly rely on government input.

At the same time, the city's urban renewal Bureau announced the first batch of 38

micro renovation projects, Yongqing Community is only two old city historic buildings renovation and activation of the use of projects. In order to break the decadent situation of Yongqing area, the reform party Vanke to this area in accordance with the "extraction of population, improve the environment, protection of culture," the idea of transformation. Song Gang, founder of Vertical Beam Society and teacher of architecture School of South China University of Technology, one of the design team of the micro-transformation, said frankly that the whole project is completed with the idea of activation, combined with the new commercial carrier, to introduce a new way of life in Enning Road, so as to make the old city radiate new vitality.

Under the continuous attention of the society, the Yongqing Square project finally appeared, and became a "maker town" integrating office, education camp, long-term rental apartment, life support and other industries. "In this model, the government, enterprises and residents have their own positions." Vanke said that the government, as the owner of most of the properties in the area, not only has a clear direction and positioning for the activation transformation from the perspective of policies and regulations, but also has a general grasp of the transformation results and activation process effects. In the form of undertaking "proposition composition", the enterprise obtains the authorization of investment transformation of the base through open investment promotion and bid evaluation of the plan, and refunds the investment year by year with operating income of a certain number of years.

Today, Yongqing square has become the "net red street", every day citizens, visitors an endless stream, feeling the old Xiguan style and new Guangzhou style of organic integration. In fact, the old city micro-transformation of Enning Road area is divided into two phases. In addition to the micro-transformation of Yongqing Square area (phase I) project, the second phase of Enning Road is basically completed at the end of 2021.

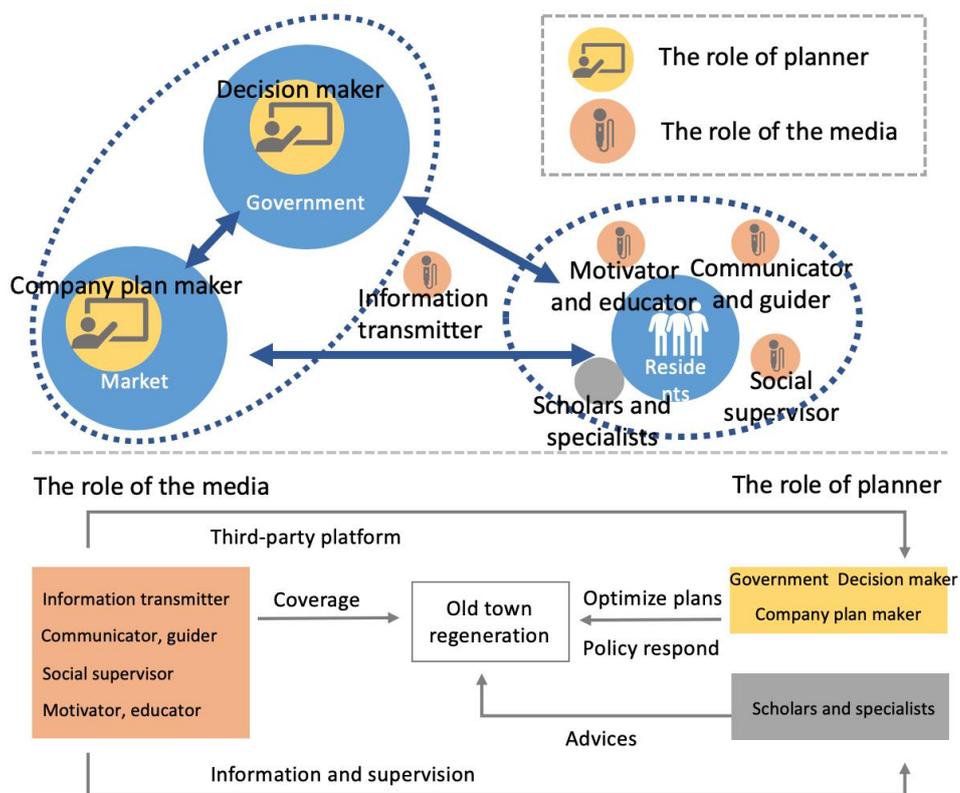


Figure.23 The stakeholders' relationship in phase three

(Source: owner-draw)

At this stage, the media is more active. As a publicist, he kept an eye on the project; It provides a platform for scholars, residents and society as educators to communicate; It

establishes a link between the government, real estate companies and residents as conductors; It pushed public opinion to highlight the illegal behavior of real estate companies as social watchdogs.

In order to avoid the issue of all sorts of problems lead to project progress on hold, in 2019, the government set up well Enning road created jointly commission, the historical and cultural blocks of 25 members, residents accounted for more than half, also absorbed expert consultant, representative of merchants, media, etc., this is Guangzhou's first public participation in the field of historical and cultural blocks on upgrading the platform, By pooling public opinion and adopting the wisdom of the people, residents and the government should be promoted to consult on an equal footing and participate in urban renewal together. In the wechat communication group organized by Enning Road Construction Committee, such a conversation is held every day -- "The construction of Antu Street has broken the streetlight line, and the ground is covered with wooden squares and iron bars. Please send someone to deal with it quickly." "The wiring has been dealt with, and we will check whether the street lights are normal before we leave work every afternoon to ensure the safety of people passing by at night." "Shiyifu New Street is blocked, dadi old street is blocked by large construction vehicles, there is no way to go." "Temporary construction, now it is passable." "The door of the house at 29 Dadi New Street was torn down for several days, leaving the door wide open." "Settled." In this wechat group, if residents find

problems, they can directly remind the responsible persons of relevant departments and construction parties in the group, and their opinions are direct and smooth 24 hours a day. Liwan district head of the old city reconstruction project center, combining with the Liwan district conducted by "you should call me, three-level linkage" the party leading the grassroots governance work mode, establish linkage mechanism to coordinate to deal with transforming region where the "voice" of the street, to oversee "echo" treatment of inaction and slow as a, as a condition for accountability.

3.5 Summary

A city is not a society with a single set of values, but is made up of individuals and groups of all classes, ethnicities and cultural backgrounds. In the process of urban development, each person and each group pursue the maximization of their own interests, but in such a pluralistic society where interaction and competition coexist, no one group should monopolize the decision-making process. Public participation is a process of gradual and continuous improvement, which cannot be hurried or helpless.

It has been 15 years since the start of the Enning Road old City protection and renewal project to its completion this year. During this period, residents

spontaneously organized many public expressions of opinions, defended their interests through the media, dialogues with government departments, and issued open letters, demanding the planning process be transparent and open. A number of NGOs and civil society organizations organized community surveys to help residents find ways to participate and conducted academic studies on the protection and renewal of Enning Road and other old cities in Guangzhou. On the one hand, mass media go deep into the public, collect public opinions, and reflect public opinions to the organizer. On the other hand, mass media communicate with the organizing units of urban planning, obtain the latest information and feedback to the public, and play an important media role in the process of public participation in urban planning. NPC deputies and urban planning experts and scholars express opinions on various issues of old city protection and renewal from different perspectives, and disseminate professional knowledge of old city protection and planning to the public. Government departments respond to the needs of communities and society by publicizing plans, seeking public opinions and revising plans.

It can be seen that public participation requires the active participation of all stakeholders and communication between all parties, so as to achieve fair interest demands and maximize the satisfaction of coordination results of all stakeholders. According to Sheri Arnstein's ladder of public participation theory, truly comprehensive and complete public participation requires the public to truly participate in the decision-making process of planning, while the public participation

in the "Enning Road incident" is still in the "symbolic participation stage", and there is still a long way to go.

4. Discussion of Multiple Participation of Urban Regeneration

4.1 The Dilemma of Multiple Participation in China

In terms of the implementation subject of residential block renewal in China, most projects are initiated by the government and implemented in cooperation with developers, while there are few successful cases initiated by civil forces through gradual small-scale renewal, which to some extent reflects the deficiency of civil forces. Compared with developed countries, the obstacle of multi-participation in the renewal of old cities in China lies not only in the "dislocation" of the role of the government, but also in the "absence" of civil forces outside the government. In addition to the "congenital deficiency" caused by the pursuit of profits by market forces, the residents' weak consciousness of participating in the renewal and the lack of non-governmental organizations are also important reasons.

4.1.1 The Limit of Market Power

In terms of the implementation subject of residential block renewal in China, most projects are initiated by the government and implemented in cooperation with developers, while there are few successful cases initiated by civil forces through gradual small-scale renewal, which to some extent reflects the deficiency of civil forces. Compared with developed countries, the obstacle of multi-participation in the renewal of old cities in China lies not only in the "dislocation" of the role of the

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4.1.2 The Weakness of Social Power

Drawing on the successful experience of developed countries in Europe and the United States, many relevant researches in China advocate small-scale progressive renewal with community as the main body^①. However, different from developed countries, China lacks sufficient financial support, mature institutional construction and strong non-governmental organizations, and the bottom-up renewal motivation is weak, which makes it difficult to achieve community self-renewal. In the absence of government intervention and unprofitable market, the renewal of residential blocks in old cities often loses motivation or is further built at a low level due to housing demand and economic interests. On the one hand, due to the complex property rights relationship, high population density, backward infrastructure and other historical legacy issues, as well as the aging of the population, poverty, foreign and other social issues, residents do not have a strong subject consciousness of participating in the renewal consciousness^②. On the other hand, civil society is still in its infancy, and civil society organizations that can represent public interests, provide technical

^① Wan Yong. (2006) *The Research of Regulative Mechanism of Renewal of Old Settlements in the Inner City of Shanghai* [D]. Shanghai: Tongji University

^② Zhang Song, (2007) Gu Chengbing. *Analysis on the Subject Consciousness in the Campaign for Preservation of Historical Environment* [J]. *Planners*, 22(10): 5-8.

support and build communication platforms have not yet been established.

The participation of non-governmental forces in the Enning Road incident and its limitations reflect the public's demand for a multi-party participation system and regret for the absence of third-party organizations. Similar to the Enning Road project, most large-scale old city renewal projects led by the government in China are directly participated by the government, residents or units, and development enterprises. The government is the initiator and manager, while residents and development enterprises are the direct stakeholders, lacking the participation of a third party, safeguarding public interests and helping vulnerable groups.

4.1.3 Transparency of Information and Social Accountability

The decision-making process of Enning Road old city renewal reflects the "inertia" of the system, as well as the particularity and unrepeatability of decision-making under special conditions. The reconstruction of Guangzhou old city has always relied on the government-led unitary mode, and lacked the self-motivated participation of residents, communities and third-party organizations.

The government-led model represented by Enning Road can only be implemented in some specific areas. Its background is the inducement of "big events" and the high pressure of government decrees, and there is no possibility of replication. With the

improvement of residents' awareness of rights protection, the large-scale renewal of the government's one-yuan policy is difficult to replicate under the condition of limited funds. The rigid restriction of protection planning makes it difficult for market forces to obtain high profits, and there are many difficulties in the government-enterprise cooperation mode of promoting old city reconstruction through real estate development. Under the new development trend, the old city renewal is no longer a single government and market behavior, but a collective behavior that takes into account both public and private interests. In addition to government-enterprise cooperation and unified decision-making by the government, Guangzhou needs to find a new decision-making model for old city renewal. Let a large number of gradually declining old city blocks through renewal to protect the old city style and improve the living conditions of the road of rejuvenation.

For the exploration of this road, the Enning Road incident brings enlightenment: fair and procedural institutional guarantee is the premise, and public participation is indispensable. Improve decision-making feedback, post-decision-making evaluation and decision-making supervision mechanism. The solution is to cultivate third-party organizations, safeguard public interests, build a communication platform and establish a multi-party participation mechanism under the guidance of the government.

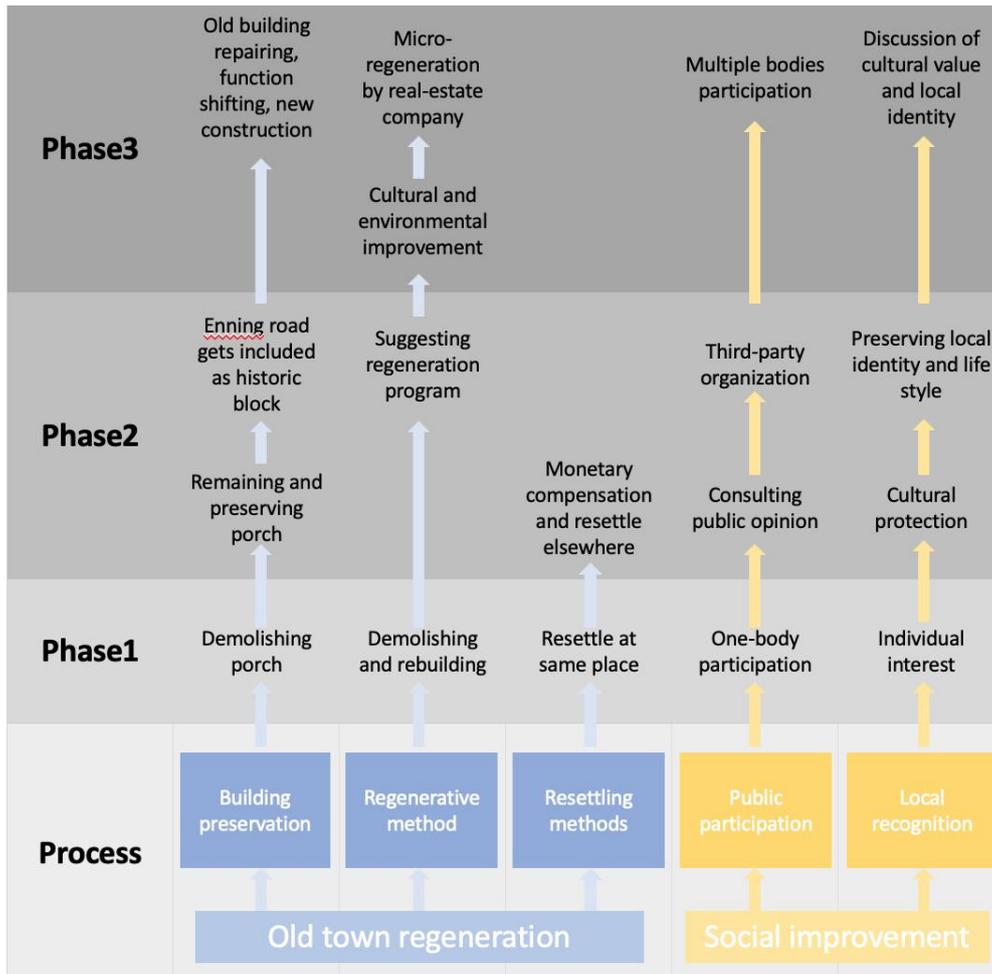


Figure.24 Improvement process of different phases

(Source: owner-draw)

From this perspective, it is too simplistic to consider government as a whole, since power is also uneven within the system of government. However, in this project, we still see the role of the government as a single stakeholder, representing political power. Policy decisions made by political power have the most influential and fundamental influence on the direction of renovation projects, contributing at all stages.

4.2 Solution to Improve Multiple Participation in Urban Regeneration

From the experience of developed countries, with the growth of formal and informal social forces, the best management mode pursued by people is not centralized, but diversified, decentralized and network^①. Since the 1980s, the decision-making system of western developed countries has changed, and experienced a process from direct government management to inclusion of multiple subjects such as private sector and non-profit organizations^②.

Government management is the most direct mode, and the government's goals are directly accomplished by the government. In the west, from the reconstruction period after the Second World War to the early 1980s, the renewal of old cities was dominated by the government management mode, and local governments enjoyed the right to make independent decisions in decision-making and fund preparation. With a more comprehensive and inclusive understanding of urban renewal, and the recognition that urban renewal needs to address diverse needs, as well as its extensive involvement and high cost, the government cannot achieve this, non-governmental organizations (private and non-profit organizations) have been included in the main participants of urban renewal.

^① Zhang Jingxiang, (2000) Zhuang Linde. Governance and Urban and Regional Governance [J]. City Planning Review, (6): 36-39

^② Davies J S. (2001) Partnerships and Regimes: The Politics of Urban Regeneration in the UK [M]. Ashgate

As a guide, the government provides policy and financial support in urban renewal. Take the United Kingdom as an example, the partnership model and the incorporation of third-party organizations are the core of policy changes. Many independent organizations exercise management on behalf of the government, and the role of the government is withdrawn from the background on the surface, but in fact it is a transformation from direct control mode to indirect control^①.

Other developed countries, such as the United States, Germany, Australia, etc., have a considerable number of non-governmental organizations actively participate in the urban renewal process based on well-regulated urban renewal policies. The diversification of decision-making subjects, the cooperation between subjects in the decision-making process, and a more open management network are conducive to the realization of power being widely shared by stakeholders, and more and more types of resources contributing to the overall comprehensive process and goal.

5. Conclusion

In the past few decades, most cities in China have undergone massive urbanization, and urban land expansion has accelerated. Therefore, in recent years, the national urban planning policy is changing from the previous expansionary planning to the protective planning. More restrictions on green space consumption make declining

^① Raco M, Imrie R. (2000) Governmentality and Rights and Responsibilities in Urban Policy [J]. *Environment and Planning A*, 32(12): 2187-2204

urban areas a new economic stimulus zone.

In this case, the renewal of the historic town will take a different approach. In different cases, different approaches are used to deal with commercialization and cultural preservation, and the relationship between government, companies and residents is also different. On the one hand, cultural protection and commercialization are opposed, traditional culture and economy are opposed, and the interests of tourists and the interests of indigenous people are opposed. These opposing issues lead to difficulties in historical revival. However, there is no wrong way, there is only a suitable way, and different ways are suitable for different scenarios. On the other hand, Aboriginal people are in a passive position. In most regeneration projects, how to empower Aboriginal people and communities is the key issue. In this issue, the government is the initiator, and the company is driven by capital. No matter how much compensation is made, the aborigines are not the deciders and can only passively accept it. In different projects, due to different political, economic and cultural backgrounds, the aboriginal people have different rights of decision-making.

Since the development history of the urban planning industry is different from that of Western countries, the challenges it faces in the new political environment are also unique, and only seek its own path of reform. However, there are many experiences and theories worth learning from the successful cases of other countries. In redevelopment projects, the most important feature of these cases is the empowerment of local residents. Some countries do it through a political structure that provides a bottom-up decision-making system, and some do it through the introduction of community planning. In the end, the goal is to achieve a more balanced power structure among the different stakeholders of the regeneration project.

Guangzhou's declining urban areas are mainly composed of historic districts. Historic districts, once bustling city centers, declined due to the loss of original functions. The

conservation policy will rebuild the historic district. Enning District is the first reconstruction project in the conservation policy. The project started with strong protest from the Aboriginal people, because the policy would be to demolish illegal and unreasonable buildings owned by the Aboriginal people. The project was suspended due to opposition. Although it was restarted soon, this issue has attracted great attention from all walks of life due to constant media coverage. After that, in order to cope with the huge social pressure brought by historical protection, the renewal policy was adjusted many times. Nonetheless, Aboriginal people are still in a disadvantaged position in the project, and the government is the main driving force for the project to move forward. In the end, the government adopted a micro-regeneration approach as a compromise strategy, allowing real estate companies to fully step in and take over the project. The BOT approach and micro regeneration design strategy have yielded more desirable results than ever before. However, due to imperfect system, imperfect supervision, lack of experience and other reasons, there are still many problems in the progress of the project.

Reaching a compromise is not easy. In the process of power struggle, multiple stakeholders are involved. The government, companies and residents are the direct stakeholders, and the direction of progress of the regeneration project directly affects their own interests. The media and planners are indirect stakeholders who have a profound influence on the project, but their actions are determined by the nature of their roles. Scholars are also important academic authorities in support of the media and contribute to the voice of the media.

In the Enning project, the media made a huge contribution to bringing the event to the public. At first, the media just reported residents' complaints so their voices could be heard, but then it played a bigger role. As communicators, the media assist residents in petitioning the government and establish connections with deputies to the National

People's Congress. As supervisors, the media pay attention to planning adjustments, policy changes and construction.

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