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Urban regeneration for social sustainability under state entrepreneurialism: A case study of Baitasi regeneration project in Beijing

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Being a dissertation submitted to the faculty of The Built Environment as part of the requirements for the award of **MSc Urban Regeneration** at University College London:

I declare that this dissertation is entirely my own work and that ideas, data, and images, as well as direct quotations, drawn from elsewhere are identified and referenced.

Acknowledgement

Contents

List of Figures and Tables

Abstract

With the process of urbanisation, the world faces a conflict between growing urban populations and limited land. A large number of literatures describe many social problems caused by traditional property-led and large-scale demolition regeneration. As a result, urban regeneration is shifting towards sustainable development, where social sustainability is an emerging area of urban planning policy and practice. In this context, the trend of urban regeneration in China is micro regeneratio (weigaizao), which emphasises small-scale in-situ redevelopment and community vibrancy rather than creating land profits. This dissertation examines this micro regeneration approach and governance model behind it by taking the Beijing Baitasi Historical District (BHD) as an example, and analyses how the governance model can achieve social sustainability.

The study used a qualitative approach to interview 10 stakeholders involved in the regeneration and a quantitative approach to conduct a questionnaire survey among 138 residents. The results show that the BHD regeneration has developed a coordinated government-market-resident governance structure which is based on a government-dominated property rights structure, which reflects the role of the state. The state uses land development models, national strategic objectives and project-oriented governance to implement strategies aimed at social sustainability. Not only that, but micro regeneration also has an initial character of social sustainability. By government dominance as the guarantee, commercialisation as the path, and people's rights and power as the basis can the governance structure fulfil the objectives of social sustainability. The challenges are the dominance of the government being the obstacles to commercialisation, residents' lacking direct and diverse channels for feedback and needs, and the complex property right structure. These findings provide lessons for the future urban regeneration in China.

1. Introduction

1.1 Context

Urban regeneration is an important socio-economic strategy for urban development (Yang et al., 2022; Xiong et al., 2020). The West has adopted a property-led redevelopment approach and the global South has adopted a large-scale redevelopment approach. Although they boost economic development, they have often led to displacement and gentrification, and the experience of the global South has also revealed the dominance of the state (Wang et al., 2022; Jiang et al., 2018; Lees et al., 2016; Janoschka et al., 2016). Cities today face an even more daunting challenge, with the world's population set to double roughly by 2050 (UN, 2017). Over the past 43 years, China's urbanisation rate has increased from 17.9% to 64.72%, with a total construction land of 690,000 ha (NBS, 2022). While approximately 5% of Shanghai's urban land is now available for development (Yi, 2018). Cities must reconcile their expanding urban population with their limited land supply.

Urban regeneration is gradually shifting from 'economic-oriented, large-scale demolition to sustainability and has become a key driver of sustainable urban development (Yang et al., 2022). Improving urban areas' social, environmental, and economic circumstances is the goal of sustainable urban regeneration (Purvis et al., 2018). Among these, social sustainability is a new area of policy and practice in urban planning. Social sustainability is a complex concept that often includes social equity, community participation, individual needs, etc. (Gu & Zhang, 2021; Chahardowli et al., 2020; Zhuang et al., 2019; Mehan, 2016). In this context, urban regeneration in China is shifting towards greater consideration of public participation (Yang et al., 2022; Hui et al., 2021; Li et al., 2020), social management (Gu & Zhang, 2021; Huang et al., 2020), heritage conservation (Lee, 2016) and other social factors. Recent urban regeneration in China has been characterised by the promotion of 'micro' or 'incremental' regeneration (weigaizao). This is a form of in-situ redevelopment that does not need large-scale demolition, but the gradual restoration, nurturing and retention of the vitality of older areas (Wu et al., 2022; Xian & Gu, 2020).

Rational stakeholder participation is key to urban regeneration for social sustainability (Xuili & Maliene, 2021; López Chao et al., 2020). In China, governance reflects the state

entrepreneurialism. The state is not only the state official, with decision-making powers but also a businessman, profiting from the land. The state acts through the market and regulates cities systematically, rather than just pursuing economic growth (Wu et al., 2021). Thus, institutions, governance and government action are important determinants when developing strategies for social sustainability in China.

1.2 Research Gap

Although scholars around the world pay great attention to sustainable urban regeneration, existing research focuses on economic and environmental sustainability (Fan & Fang, 2020; Xie et al., 2019) and lacks a focus on social sustainability. Furthermore, research mostly focuses on urban design (Ferrante et al., 2020), indicators, and evaluation (Awad & Jung, 2022; López Chao et al., 2020; Almeida, 2018), and little is known about the governance (Purvis et al., 2018). Finally, experience of successful macro sustainable urban regeneration strategies comes from the global North and lacks experience from the global South (Yi et al., 2017). These indicate a potential focus for further research. This research therefore hopes to analyse social sustainability in China and how governance has achieved social sustainability through studying the regeneration of the Baitasi Historical District (BHD). The BHD is in the central area of Beijing. Its regeneration has been ongoing for over 20 years. In 2013, the Xicheng District government of Beijing joined forces with social forces to implement the project through government-led initiatives, corporate demonstrations, social participation, and joint construction by residents (Yin & Li, 2021).

1.3 Research Aim and Questions

The aim of the research is to identify the development trends and the governance model behind it. A research question was established to provide a more comprehensive context.

'What is the governance model of the current micro regeneration and how can it achieve social sustainability?'

There are three main objectives. The first is to identify the social sustainable essence of China's current trends. The second is to analyse the governance model of weigaizao from the

perspective of different stakeholders. The third is to analyse the relationship between the governance model and social sustainability.

Corresponding to this, four sub-questions are raised.

'What is the development process of BHD regeneration project and what is the driving forces behind it?'

'Who are the stakeholders involved and what is the role of them?'

'What is the relationship between different stakeholders in the process and whether it reflects state entrepreneurialism?'

'What are the strengths and weakness of this governance model?'

1.4 Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter 2 begins with a review of theories related to urban regeneration, state entrepreneurialism and social sustainability, to give a general concept of the topic. Chapter 3 outlines the theoretical framework and the qualitative and quantitative method with an aim to know about the development process, the role of stakeholders and the relationship between them. Chapter 4 and 5 present the main research findings. Chapter 6 concludes the governance structure and its relationship with social sustainability. Chapter 7 draws the overall conclusion.

2. Literature Review

2.1 urban regeneration

Urban regeneration is a policy and strategy responding to urban decline and transformation. It addresses urban issues and improves the economic, physical, social, and environmental conditions of an area lastingly through a comprehensive and integrated vision and actions (Zheng et al., 2014). Local governments have relied on the market to revive the city and profit from land development by property-led urban regeneration as neoliberalism being dominant in the global North since the 1970s (Wong et al., 2021). So, regeneration measures focus primarily on physical restructuring and economic growth at the expense of social issues (Li et al., 2020). As a result, they fail to affect the welfare of residents and small businesses, and lead to poor community cohesion (Ginsburg, 1999), mass displacement and gentrification (Lauermann, 2018). The King's Cross regeneration in the UK has been controversial for pursuing economic growth at the expense of residents' cost of living and the right to live in situ (Edwards, 2009).

The neoliberal pursuit of economic growth and a philosophy of 'trickle down' are the origin of the local government's values of putting economic growth above social services. Harvey (1989) introduced neoliberalism into urban planning, abstracting it as 'from managerialism to entrepreneurialism' (Harvey, 1989, p.4). Managerial cities focus on economic redistribution, providing services, facilities, and benefits to the urban population, entrepreneurial cities emphasise market allocation, prioritising economic growth and a 'good business environment', as well as inter-city competition, with responsibility for social service support being shifted to the community (Geva & Rosen, 2022; Wong et al., 2021). Urban entrepreneurialism's emphasis on market allocation and competition has manifested itself in practice as a combination of urban policy and financialisation to increase land values through the intensification of land use, creating the growth machine (Wu et al., 2021; Vives Miró, 2011).

In this context, the growth alliance formed by private actors and the state is the reason for a loss of voice of social stakeholders and a neglect of social interests (Wang et al., 2022). The power of private actors such as real estate market players and financial investors in planning increases and the state retreats from social and market dominance. They form growth coalitions through public-private partnerships to improve the built and natural environment (Wu et al.,

2021; Baeten,2017; Harvey, 2005), where the private sector plays an evident role in the decision-making process (Vives Miró, 2011). Local business owners play a significant role in the US (Cox, 2016). The growth alliance implies the primacy of government and the market over society. However, some research indicates that entrepreneurial cities now reflect municipal governance rather than a growth machine based purely on real estate development profits (Lauermann, 2018). The state has regained the leadership with a higher interventionist role to ensure free markets and address the ongoing crisis caused by free market expansion (Wu & Zhang, 2022; Vives Miró, 2011), for example, in the UK and Europe, where local politics affect urban redevelopment initiatives (Cochrane, 2020; Pinson, 2020).

Successful regeneration therefore must be driven by social movements and economic forces (Ginsburg, 1999). And cooperation between different stakeholders is the key factor for successful urban regeneration (Zhuang et al., 2017). An essential first step is to know the participants in the decision-making process (Gu & Zhang, 2021; Chahardowli et al. 2020; Zhuang et al., 2019). Stakeholders are people or organisations that have the potential to affect or be affected by urban regeneration and can be divided into government departments, developers, the public, and affected residents. They have unequal power and respective interests (Zhuang et al., 2017). Unequal power refers to the extent to which stakeholders can influence decisions, and interests imply their concerns and expectations. Whose interests can be realised depends on their position in the power system. Wang (2017) advises that to successfully complete urban reconstruction while preserving social harmony and stability, more attention should be paid to the interests of people (Wang et al., 2017).

2.2 State Entrepreneurialism: Urban Governance in China

Neoliberalism is the beginning and key to understanding urban governance in China and the basis for understanding the complex relations between stakeholders in urban regeneration. The spread of neoliberalism in the global South has combined with national political features, creating diverse forms of urban entrepreneurialism. For example, the Turkish state manipulates urban governance, using the urban real estate market as the growth machine and as the basis for projects of socio-political change (Eraydin & Taşan-Kok, 2014).

Chinese cities have adopted the idea of the entrepreneurial city, such as Shanghai and small,

remote cities struggling to attract overseas investment (Wu et al., 2021). Not only this, but urban governance has gone beyond urban entrepreneurialism and emphasised the leading role of the state (Wu & Zhang., 2022; Wu, 2020;2018) With the introduction of the real estate market in the 1980s and early 1990s, local governments, as de facto landowners, used greater autonomy in local decision-making to generate revenue and offer long-term economic development funding by the market development of the land (Wu, 2018). The government plays the dual role of state official and businessman. This mechanism of using monopoly control of land supply to capture the value of land is the growth machine of China's cities. Wu (2018) defines this government involvement in the market and its entrepreneurial role as 'State Entrepreneurialism' (Wu, 2018, p.1384). Compared to urban entrepreneurialism, state entrepreneurialism places a greater focus on the political motivations for their acts. The goal of governance is to employ market tools to address the urbanisation challenge and strengthen state authority, not to serve the market (Wu, 2018), which means that the state is interested more in the development agenda, beyond the local government's focus on the profitability of the land itself. (Wu & Zhang, 2022)

Urban regeneration under state entrepreneurialism is no longer a profitable property project but becomes a more comprehensive strategy for regulating the city systematically (Wu et al., 2021). Governments use three key mechanisms to achieve strategic objectives: the land development model; national strategic objectives with a focus on economic and political development; and project-oriented governance. The land development model refers to the Chinese government's reliance on its monopoly on land, which it uses as collateral to obtain capital from the bank to finance long-term economic development. The national strategic objectives with a focus on economic and political development means that urban regeneration priorities the objectives of capital accumulation and consolidation of political power and that the goal of providing public services to the population for welfare projects is not important or can even be ignored. Project-oriented governance means a new state organisation, the State-Owned Enterprise (SOE), which ensures the outcomes of projects being in line with the strategic objectives of the state, and that the government decentralises social responsibility level by level. SOE acts as the intermediary for the state to enter the market (Wang & Wu, 2019). Thus, the authoritative position of the Chinese government, coupled with the state's pursuit of land finance often leads to radical economic-centred regeneration models that ignore social

11

interests and generate many social problems such as gentrification, displacement of the urban poor, over-commercialisation, and social inequity (Wei 2022; Wang et al. 2022). Not only are the state and the market has more power than the society, but the alliance between them has resulted in the dissonance of social stakeholders.

In summary, there are many variants of neoliberalism in urban regeneration, and a common phenomenon in the global North and global South is the emphasis on state interventions and no longer solely oriented toward economic interests. The global North has both urban growth politics and municipal strategies. Urban governance in China goes beyond urban entrepreneurialism to state entrepreneurialism, where market instruments and planning centrality are applied simultaneously. The state acts through the market and regulates the city systematically, rather than just pursuing economic growth (Wu, 2020). As a result, the state dominates stakeholder relations, emphasising economic growth and solving urban problems, but the state-market alliance remains strong and social power is weak.

2.3 Social Sustainability

Successful sustainable urban regeneration combines economic stimulation, environmental improvements, and social vitality (Zhuang et al., 2019). Environmental sustainability is linked to the social fabric, such as social justice, employment opportunities and political participation. Not only that, excessive focus on the environment and the economy may exacerbate conflicts between them and social equity, resulting in social exclusion and segregation. Thus, social sustainability can limit, support, or facilitate the other two (Gu & Zhang, 2021). Social sustainability has nonuniform definitions but has three common features: Future Focus (thriving conditions are guaranteed for a long time), Satisfaction of Needs (basic needs and equal access to resources in life and work), and Socially Cohesive and Geographically Integrated Urban Units (community formation and broad engagement of stakeholders especially those who are usually neglected in the decision-making process) (Zhuang et al., 2019; Mehan, 2016; Ginsburg, 1999). Social sustainability has gained increasing recognition. Governments, public institutions, policymakers, NGOs, and businesses use the concept to make decisions about urban regeneration (Woodcraft, 2012).

Extensive participation of stakeholders and political negotiation are critical to achieving

12

social sustainability in urban regeneration (Gu & Zhang 2021; Chahardowli et al. 2020; Zhuang et al. 2019). Stakeholder involvement is a complicated matter in China because of state entrepreneurialism (Zhuang et al. 2017). So, it is important to set up a good public participation system based on a thorough comprehension of the various stakeholders. Stakeholders' interests can be classified as 'administrative and political', 'marketing performance', 'community benefits', or a combination of the above two or three. 'Administrative & political' refers to the government's goal of promoting urban development and social stability through regulation, policy, and enforcement. 'Marketing performance' refers to the economic benefits that the private sector wishes to maximise. 'Community benefits' refers to the various concerns of civil society for the affected community, such as community environment, amenity, equity, and justice, etc. (Zhuang et al., 2019, p.48).

Public participation systems supporting socially sustainable regeneration have emerged in practice in China. Shenjing Village in Guangzhou promotes community participation through collaborative workshops, resulting in a combination of top-down and bottom-up governance models that ensure stakeholders' interests and equal distribution of resources (Li et al., 2020). Liede village in Guangzhou witnessed the state devolve power to rural collectives and combine it with market forces for progressive urban regeneration, quickly realising economic benefits (Zhao et al., 2021; Li et al., 2014). Cultural elites in the regeneration of the historic district of Nanjing's Laochengnan have widely disseminated the idea of progressive regeneration and strict protection of historic buildings and landscapes through collaboration with public media. Their voices and concerns have received positive feedback from the government (Chen et al., 2020). Strengthening grassroots power and achieving a collaborative governance model with different actors is the dominant trend in China's participatory system. A common feature of new urban regeneration models is a small-scale and modest approach to regeneration (Wei, 2022). Micro or incremental regeneration (weigaizao) is a new trend in urban regeneration since 2015. Its practice includes rural revitalisation, heritage conservation and community participation. Although the forms of practice vary widely, in essence, national politics and broad political policies should integrate residential development and social reform. Its features include in-situ redevelopment, not aiming for land profitability, a state

investment-market building partnership, the impact of changing national politics on project viability, and the flexibility of transformation (Wu et al., 2022).

3. Methodology

3.1 Analytic Structure

This paper analyses urban regeneration for social sustainability from the perspective of governance structure. Based on the literature review, stakeholders in urban regeneration in China are state, market, and society. The state refers to government departments at different levels; the market refers to private and state-owned enterprises, and society refers to third-party participants (experts, academics, media, third-party public interest organisations, etc.) and residents. The state is the most important actor in urban regeneration projects and influences the planning strategy. The 'administrative and political' are its interests. The market is the main implementer of urban regeneration projects, responsible for investment and construction. They influence the space and so the lives of the inhabitants. The 'marketing performance' are its interests. The inhabitants of a society are the end-users of urban regeneration projects. The results of urban regeneration affect their daily lives, while their behaviour and preferences have a significant impact on the state and the market. The 'community interest' are its interests (Zhuang et al., 2019) (Fig.1). The relationships between different stakeholders bring about different patterns of cooperation that have a significant impact on project implementation.

administrative and political interests

Local, State
Governments

Private
Sectors(Developers,
Investors, SOE)

Residents, The Third
Party(Scholars, Media
Staff, public interest
organisations)

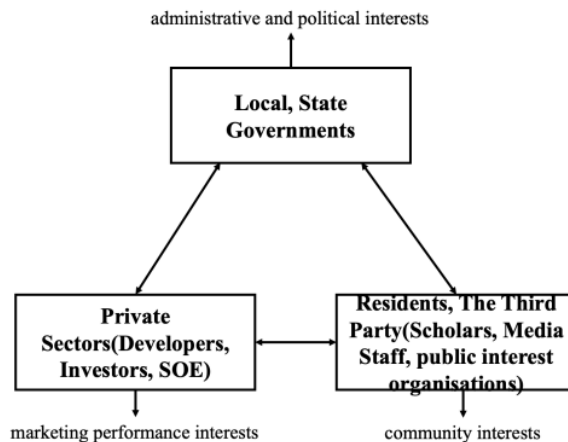marketing performance interests   community interests

Fig. 1 Analytic structure（Modified from Zhuang et al., 2017）

3.2 Research Approach

This study uses both qualitative and quantitative analysis as the major research method.

Qualitative analysis collects non-numerical data and is characterised by 'subjectivists' or 'interpretivists', helping to offer an in-depth understanding of the urban regeneration and the roles of the key players. Quantitative analysis collects numerical data and is characterised by 'realists' or 'positivists'. Quantitative research allows investigating larger sample sizes in a shorter period and facilitates statistical tools for statistical purposes, helping to give a quick and more comprehensive picture (Antwi & Hamza, 2015). As a result, two distinct data models are used to support the research, making it more thorough and professional.

This research will be conducted as a single-case study. Data collection will be done using triangulation, so data or methods from multiple sources will be joint to increase the credibility of the study (Salkind, 2010) This study uses a documentary research method, semi-structured interviews, and questionnaire methods, where the data collected by the literature research method is secondary data and the data collected by the latter two methods is primary data collected by the author.

3.3 Single-case Study

A single-case study can offer a richer overall description and is suitable for complex phenomena that need in-depth understanding (Gustafsson, 2017). Given the lack of systematic research on the sustainable urban regeneration and the complexity of governance approaches in China, a single-case study approach can complement practical and research experience with systematic research on urban regeneration in BHD. In particular, the summary of Chinese governance methods and development trends completes the systematic theory of Chinese governance. Also, a single-case study is more time- and content-efficient (Gustafsson, 2017) and is suitable for the dissertation.

There are three reasons for choosing BHD as the object of study. First, BHD is one of the most important historic districts in central Beijing, with few policy peculiarities, and the results of the study can shed light on a wider range of cases. Second, BHD regeneration is aimed at social benefits and adopts micro regeneration approach, hoping to keep the hutong fabric and original residential function. Finally, the regeneration project started in 2013 and has now achieved its milestones. The stakeholders have a long experience and can give a comprehensive account of their work experiences in the regeneration, as well as reflect on and look forward to

the subsequent regeneration work.

3.3.1 Documentary Research Method

The literature includes published academic literature and reports, documents, statistics etc. published by governments and the stakeholders. The academic literature focuses on urban governance, social sustainability, the cooperation of different stakeholders, and the regeneration process of BHD. Others are about details of the project. The literature study serves as a background to the preliminary study, helping to understand the characteristics of Chinese governance, the trends in Chinese urban regeneration practice, and the context and content of the urban regeneration of BHD. The results of the literature research not only answer the first and sub-research question, but also form the basis for the design of semi-structured interviews and questionnaires.

3.3.2 Qualitative Approach—Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews provide a more in-depth and flexible debate, which may result in a range of responses from varied perspectives. (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). This helps to offer an in-depth understanding of the regeneration process and the roles of the key players (Verloo, 2017). At the same time, semi-structured interviews are more time-consuming and suitable for subjects with smaller sample sizes and a better understanding of the project. So, the interviewees are categorised according to the theoretical framework: 3 government officials, 2 corporate employees, and 2 residents (Table 1). The interviews will be conducted through a combination of field and online surveys. On the one hand it can overcome the impact of China's covid-19 policy and enhance implement ability. On the other hand, it can collect a large amount of data from the participants in a short period and enhance efficiency. The interview format will be personal and limited to 10 minutes.

sector	organisations	Number	Time
Public sectors	The District Government	A	4th August 2022

	Xinjiekou Sub-district Office	B	29th July 2022
	The Neighborhood Committee	C	28th July 2022
SOE	Beijing Huarong Jinying Investment and Development Company (Jinying)	D	18th July 2022
		E	10th August
Resident		G	28th July 2022
		H	10th August

Table. 1   List of interviewees

3.3.3 Quantitative Approach—Questionnaire Survey

As a quantitative method, questionnaires can collect a large amount of data from participants and describe the attitudes and opinions of a group through numbers in a short period (Regmi et al., 2017; Creswell & Creswell, 2017). It is, therefore, suitable for residents with larger sample sizes and more diverse backgrounds and can present as much as possible the feelings of the general and the results of policy implementation. The questionnaires were randomly distributed to 138 residents and 122 valid questionnaires were collected through social media (WeChat group and Weibo) and on-site research. A simple random sample was used for the electronic questionnaire for the online surveys. For the field surveys, the area was divided into four sections and an equal number of questionnaires were distributed to each section.

3.4 Research Design

The design of the interviews and questionnaires was based on the theoretical framework. The aim is to answer sub-research question 2, 3 and 4, and summarise the governance structure of urban regeneration under state entrepreneurialism and discuss whether BHD regeneration project is social sustainable. Thus, the interview questions and questionnaire content were unified by 3 main themes: 'their work and responsibilities', 'the relationship between three

stakeholders in urban regeneration practice', and 'discussion of project highlights, social sustainability, and future development directions', corresponding to questions 2,3 and 4.

The interview questions (Appendix 1) include questions on the basic knowledge of each stakeholder and a breakdown of the 3 main themes. The questions were open-ended, and the stakeholders' answers determined the follow-up questions, which followed the list of questions already asked. The questionnaire (Appendix2) comprised demographic questions and questions concerning the community and their relationship with the other two stakeholders, such as their feelings about the community activities, their rights and power in the regeneration and public participation. The demographic questions were designed to be objective, to avoid gender and age discrimination, etc., and to ensure that the number of different types of respondents was more evenly distributed, thus producing a more comprehensive analysis. The questionnaire was designed as a "closed-ended" question to make the questions easier to understand, the responses more accurate and the data easier to analyse and compare (Bryman & Cramer, 2012).

3.5 Ethical Issues

The ethical risk to prospective participants in this project is low. The unacceptable language will not be used in questionnaires and interview questions. The respondents' right to information, voluntary participation, and privacy will be ensured. First, the interviews and questionnaires will not begin until the participant has signed an informed consent form containing the objectives and the prescribed terms. Second, activities will take place in a public space to ensure fair and voluntary participation. Participants have the right to withdraw from the study or withhold information provided at any stage. Third, responses are anonymous and do not involve any personal information other than the public social identity of the respondent (Act, 1998).

The highest level of objectivity has been maintained in the discussion and analysis throughout the research process. The work of other authors used in any part of the thesis is acknowledged in Harvard referencing.

4. Background

4.1 Location and Feature

BHD is in the heart of Beijing, on the western side of the city's central axis, and covers an area of approximately 37 hectares. It is bordered by Gongjiang Hutong and Dachaye Hutong to the north, Funei avenue to the south, Fuchengmen North Street to the west and Zhaodengyu Road to the east (Fig.2). It is one of the 25 historical and cultural conservation areas and one of the 13 cultural essence districts in Beijing, preserving numerous cultural historical buildings (PGBM, 2017; BMCPNR, 2002). BHD is a 'traditional residential neighbourhood in the old city of Beijing', which is predominantly residential with courtyards as the main building form (Dang, 2019). There are about 5,600 households in the area, with a registered population of about 16,000 and a permanent resident population of about 13,000. Among these, the elderly population accounts for 19%, and the migrant and mobile population is nearly 50%. The average living space of a household is 23.37 square metres (Cao, 2020). The real living density is higher since many residents, including migrant workers who live nearby, have their household registration elsewhere. The numerous multifunctional heritage zones in China share the BHD's high population density, poor construction conditions, dearth of facilities, and subpar living circumstances. (Wei, 2022).
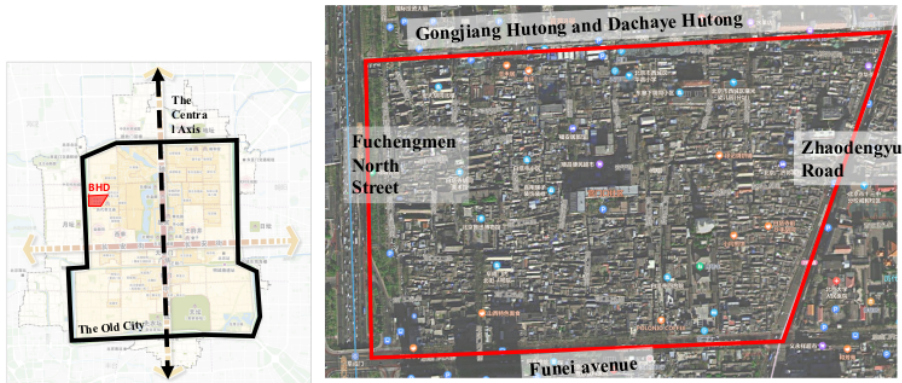

Fig. 2 Location

4.2 Development Process

The urban regeneration of BHD has been ongoing for over 20 years and is still ongoing.

From the 1990s to 2004, the BHD was listed as one of the first historical and cultural districts in Beijing and conservation planning was carried out (BMCPNR, 2002). 2004 saw a shift in protecting the old city from 'large-scale demolition and construction' to 'overall protection', and from 'renovation and construction' of courtyards and hutongs to 'protection and repair' (PGBM, 2004). This small-scale, gradual, organic regeneration of the old city is the beginning of micro regeneration.

BHD's micro regeneration has undergone a shift from government-led to self-organised. From 2004 to 2012, the micro regeneration of the BHD took form in a government-led municipal construction, including the demolition of illegal buildings, renovation of old houses and redecoration of building facades. However, because of the government's pursuit of efficiency, the neat repair of house facades destroyed the style, and the inadequate coverage of municipal facilities caused residents to resist further regeneration. The year 2013 was a key point, representing a shift to a public participation system. The district government established a wholly owned SOE, Beijing Huarong Jinying Investment and Development Company (Jinying), as the main implementer of BHD regeneration, and cooperated with Xinjiekou Sub-district Office (a subordinate government department of the district government, referred to as SDO) to systematically and comprehensively promote the conservation and regeneration of the BHD. Jinying has made its most notable contribution ever with a revitalisation project called 'Baitasi Remade', which showed up at Beijing International Design Week in 2015. It seeks to develop a sustainable population and urban upgrading with the help of the general public, enterprises and government leadership, thus fostering a cultural revitalization of the region as a whole, while preserving the distinctive character of Hutongs and the residential functions of traditional courtyards. The primary measures are divided into four parts: vacating the courtyard, improvement of infrastructure and public environment, renovation of the courtyard, and community creation. The first is the prerequisite. The second is tidying up the whole neighbourhood as a base and background. The third and the fourth are a gradual overhaul to bring the revitalisation of the whole neighbourhood (Btsremade.com, 2022; Yin & Li, 2021; Dang, 2019).

a) the resident relocation from 2013 to 2018 was carried out under the principles of vacating and returning buildings as a whole, governmental leadership, voluntary residents, and justice

and fairness, involving three distinct strategies: settlements based on house, monkey and equivalents. Ultimately vacating 99 (15%) of the compounds and moving 20% of the residents. For a lack of government funding and housing, the project has been replaced by residents voluntarily applying to move with much less compensation.

b) The improvement of infrastructure and public environment, including the 2018 Shoubi Street project which improved traffic and parking through a new underground car park, the North Fuchengmen Street project which produced a high-quality street space with historic culture, and the 2019 Qingta Hutong project and Dongxicha project which improved the landscape and optimised the business.

c) Courtyard renovation is an annual competition held during Design Week, which invites architecture firms, universities, and architects. Some of the renovated courtyards have been rented out for private use as shops and lodgings, some have been opened from time to time as exhibition venues, and some have become venues for community events. Representative examples include the 2015 quadrangle parted courtyard (a shared flat); and the 50th Courtyard (patterned renovation of buildings that can be popularised).

d) Two main approaches to community creation. First, third-party non-profit organisations invited through Design Week plan community events, exhibitions, etc. Second, direct guidance from the government and Jinying. The aim is to build and promote the BHD brand, on the one hand, to enhance residents' community awareness and capacity, and foster long-term self-organised governance on the other. For example, the Baita Reception Room, opened in 2017, is a long-term community venue for a variety of activities such as lectures, exhibitions, daily activities, and meetings, and Courtyard 429 has partnered with the French Embassy to offer a platform for sharing and exchanging Chinese and foreign cultures (Btsremade.com, 2022; Zhao & Quan, 2020).

This shift means that the Chinese micro regeneration is more mature. It is no longer just about upgrading physical space, but more about considering the interests of residents, focusing on fostering community vitality, driving public participation and ultimately creating autonomous and long-term development. The driving force behind this shift is the government, which uses policy and SOE to dictate the direction and pattern of regeneration.

4.3 Property Rights Structure

Understanding the property rights structure of BHD's houses is the basis for identifying the relationships between stakeholders (Table 2). Three types of property rights in BHD: State Owned Property (SOP), Group Owned Property (GOP), and People Owned Property (POP). The first two are referred to as public housing and the latter as private housing, at a ratio of 6:4 (interviewee C, interview, 28th July 2022). The complexity of the property rights within BHD directly affects the conservation status of the houses and the fragmentation of the space (Fig.3, Fig.4). First, for public housing, possession and the right to use are separated. Thus, residents lack responsibility and build without authority, which not only destroys the architectural style and appearance but also encroaches and destroys the public space. Residents in private houses have an outrageous sense of responsibility for maintaining their houses as property owners, and the houses are in better condition. Second, due to historical evolution, courtyards originally intended for one person have multiple occupants, resulting in multiple ownership relationships within a single courtyard (Li et al., 2021). According to statistics, over 4,000 buildings in the BHD, of which the ratio of unregistered self-built houses to titled houses is approximately 18:100 (Dang, 2019).

In summary, the SOP-led property rights structure is firm, and the complex ownership relationship hinders regeneration efforts. So, Jinying's first task was to 'vacate the entire building. Residents in one entire building applied to move, and the government issued a vacating policy, making the district government and Jinying the main property owners. The district government handed over the management rights to Jinying, which means Jinying is responsible for the renewal and leasing of the building. After all, the work did not go smoothly, and the property rights structure of the BHD is still complicated.

	SOP	GOP	POP
Ownership	State/ Housing and Land Administration	Organisations/ enterprises/institutions	Resident

Right to use	Tenant resident	The original employees rented it	Private owner resident

Table. 2 The property rights structure (Li et al., 2021)

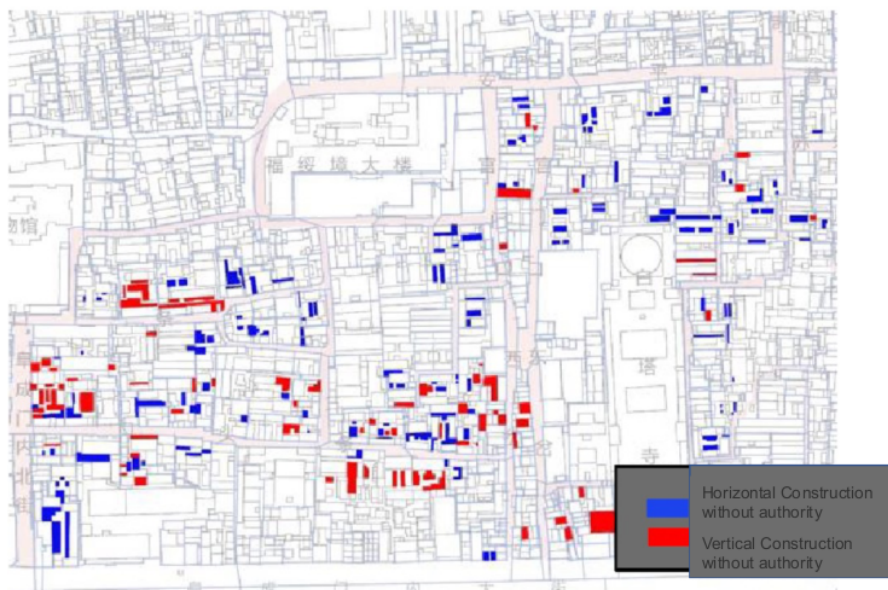*Fig. 3 The property rights structure in physical environment (Li et al., 2021)*

Fig. 4 Informal constructions (Li et al., 2021)

5. Stakeholders in micro regeneration

5.1 The Government

The government departments involved in BHD regeneration are the municipal government, the district government, the SDO, and the neighbourhood committee, forming a working model led by the district government. They have a vertical power relationship, with the higher level supervising the lower level and issuing tasks, and the lower level responsible for the higher level and reporting projects (Fig.5) (interviewee C, interview, 28th July 2022).

'The municipal and the district government often send teams to inspect the progress of the allocated task, check the environment, collect information for future work… Our job is to provide information and residents' opinions… Also we will collate residents' requirements and declare some projects to the district government.'

The municipal government takes overall control, including defining the principles and bottom line of regeneration by laws and regulations (BMCHUD, 2013), setting out the overall development objectives, and refining tasks through the master plan (PGBM, 2021), and providing funds and social resources (interviewee A, interview, 4th August 2022).

'The municipal government has special funds for the renewal of the old city. We submit plans and designs to the municipal government for approval and financial support.'

The district government is to carry out the projects and making rules and plans at the community and street level. Similar to the work of the municipal government, more specific development objectives and tasks are set out for BHD regeneration through regional-scale plans and specific working guidelines. But, due to the complex property rights and funding issues of the BHD, the district government set up Jinying to be responsible for the government tasks and commercialisation of urban regeneration (interviewee A, interview, 4th August 2022). The SDO manages the community, carries out the district government's tasks and organises communication between residents and the government (interviewee B, interview, 29th July 2022). The neighbourhood committee handles the work related to residents, representing their interests and acting as a bridge between them and the outside world. Responsibilities include organising events to listen to residents' views and supporting regeneration work, such as collaborative research and coordination between residents and the implementation body

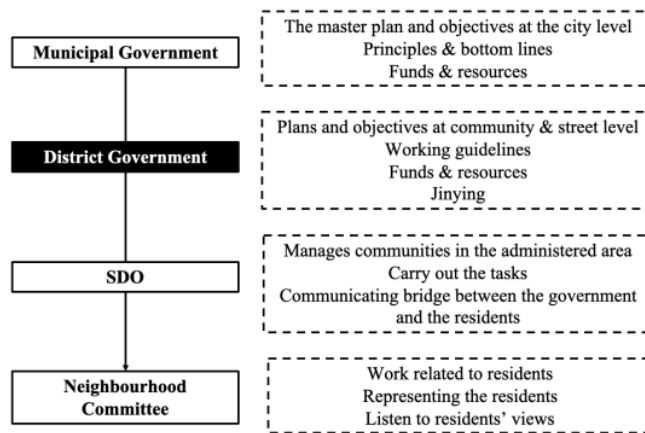(interviewee C, interview, 28th July 2022).

Municipal Government — The master plan and objectives at the city level / Principles & bottom lines / Funds & resources

District Government — Plans and objectives at community & street level / Working guidelines / Funds & resources / Jinying

SDO — Manages communities in the administered area / Carry out the tasks / Communicating bridge between the government and the residents

Neighbourhood Committee — Work related to residents / Representing the residents / Listen to residents' views

Fig. 5 The relationship between government departments

5.2 Jinying

Jinying, as the SOE wholly owned by the district government, is under its direct leadership. Its mission is to carry out the plan, including government tasks and market-based operations. Government tasks include integrated development and project construction on behalf of the district government. The market-based tasks include asset operation, which is mainly rental (interviewee A, interview, 4th August 2022; interviewee D, interview, 18th July 2022). Interviewee A explained why the government established Jinying:

'The most urgent problem in the BHD is the high density of housing. Nowadays, the demolition and regeneration of such a large area requires a large and stable capital investment, which will add to the financial pressure of the government. Moreover, our work is of public interest, so how to run and recover the costs after the regeneration is a problem. Therefore, Jinying is more flexible in implementation than our direct intervention, and it can operate in a market-oriented way to relieve the government's financial pressure. And in the future, the BHD will need to be gradually commercialised, Jinying can work with social forces in more diverse ways and commercialise faster and more flexibly.' (interviewee A, interview, 4th August 2022)

Vacating the courtyard and improving the neighbourhood environment depend on a joint effort with the SDO. If a municipal engineering is involved, the municipal government takes

the lead and Jinying implements (interviewee B, interview, 29th July 2022; interviewee D, interview, 18th July 2022). The district government sets up a special fund, and the company provides compensation and houses for the residents who agree to move (interviewee A, interview, 4th August 2022). The SDO provides relevant information and organises meetings for residents to publicise the policy, ask for opinions and resolve conflicts (interviewee B, interview, 28th July 2022). According to interviewee D and E, coordination with the residents and the breaking of regulations are the difficulties in both tasks (interviewee D, interview, 18th July 2022; interviewee E, interview, 10th August 2022).

'During the land acquisition phase of the underground parking project, several companies and residents disagreed with the relocation compensation and the project stalled for some time… When the project was underway, we received frequent complaints from residents that the project was affecting their lives and construction had to be suspended at times.'

'The government has now banned the use of underground space in the old city and did not allow the letting of public housing. These policies are against the needs of the regenerationtion for solving the parking difficulties and residents' needs for income. We spent a lot of time breaking these norms.'

'Before the project is implemented and after the scheme is approved by the government, we have to focus on collecting public opinion in the early stages and widely collect people's opinions to make them as satisfied as possible.'

The courtyard transformation is led by Jinying and comprises two parts: the reconstruction of the physical space in the early stages and commercialisation in the later stages, both with the aim to build the BHD brand to expand popularity and attract more sectors of society to take part. SDO consults with the neighbourhood. Commercialisation is the difficulty of this project, and many renovated buildings were left empty or not put into daily use (interviewee E, interview, 10th August 2022).

'BHD has its own ip, but how to make good use of it?... We encourage well-known convenience facilities and commercial occupancy... But the current commercialisation model is not mature enough, either relying entirely on government funding or working with third parties ...... High costs for renovation and social activities, unclear revenue model, and insufficient applicability as a product to the general population.'

'(As a residential site), the conversion of residential land to commercial land is restricted by laws and regulations, (which creates difficulties for commercialisation of the project).'

Community creation is Jinying's focus and highlight, led by Jinying in partnership with the community, non-profit organisations and Design Week. The community and non-profit organisations are responsible for day-to-day operations and project planning, while Design Week and Jinying offer external resources, funding, and renovation solutions (interviewee D, interview, 18th July 2022). Interviewee E explained why Jinying focuses on incubating community organisations (interviewee E, interview, 10th August 2022).

'The regeneration of the old city requires stable community governance. It helps to promote understanding between residents and Jinying and the government, enhancing communication and easing conflicts. Also, it helps to mobilise residents through community organisations to take an active role in the renovation and to carry out proactive renovations to reduce the pressure of the renovation work.'

The Baita reception room is the most representative project. Jinying, as the owner of the building, worked with Panda Slow Delivery, a non-profit organisation, to set up a long-term community organisation based on the residents' interests and needs after the renovation (interviewee B, interview, 29th July 2022). Jinying provides the space and financial support, and the non-profit organisation is responsible for its operation (interviewee D, interview, 10th August 2022).

The role of the Baita Reception Room is to build three bridges, between residents and residents (to incubate community organisations), between residents and the government (to communicate needs and opinions) and between BHD and the outside world (to showcase the window and build the brand). The process of incubating community organisations is first communicating with or observing residents to learn about their interests and needs, such as interest in the play and the elderly having trouble feeding themselves, then the staff will work with the SDO to run regular activities, which will gradually become regular depending on the results. Taking the holding of the micro-temple fair as an example. staff learned BHD had been the site of a lively temple fair in history, which was nostalgic for the residents when chatting with them. Then they judged the possibility of linking the temple fair with government work. After the preliminary planning, Jinying was contacted to help find the resources to facilitate the

festival and report it to the district government (interviewee D, interview, 18th July 2022; interviewee G, interview, 28th July 2022; Btsremade.com, 2022). Government administrators decided the event met the requirements of 'community building', 'restoring a shared memory of the historic district' and 'promoting development and cultural building' and approved the project (interviewee B, interview, 29th July 2022). After one month's project planning, the staff and residents held the project, which was well received. The bridge between residents and the government comprises two aspects. First, when planning and designing, residents are invited to participate and consulted through community groups. Several rounds of public consultation are conducted to break the barriers of communication between government, enterprises, and residents. Second, staff organised regular meetings to let residents express their needs and guide them on how to express their needs more effectively and professionally, so that they can recognise the relationship between their needs and the government's work and put forward achievable and reasonable demands in the future. A showcase between the BHD and the outside world means that the Baita reception room is open, and everyone can visit and take part in activities that help show BHD's local customs and cultural heritage (interviewee C, interview, 28th July 2022; interview E, interview, 10th August 2022).

5.3 Residents

Residents have the right to know and participate but have limited decision-making power. Regarding their rights and powers in the urban regeneration process, the majority are those who agree that they have these rights, and those who remain neutral and uncertain (Fig.6). It shows most residents' perception of these rights and whether they have these rights are rather vague. However, residents can clearly tell whether they have the right to know, participate and make decisions. Residents believe that their right to be informed about the regeneration plan is well protected, and that they have the right to fully express their opinions. They agree with that their opinions will impact the plan but are negative about their ability to actually decide or change the plan. Residents also do not feel they can participate in the whole process of regeneration. According to interviewee C and G, residents' biggest wish is to move away and they are dissatisfied with the relocation policy (interviewee C, interview, 28th July 2022; interviewee G, interview, 28th July 2022).

'From time to time, some old people come to inquire about the relocation policy, hoping to get a subsidized apartment. But there is no such policy now, so they have no choice but to comply.'
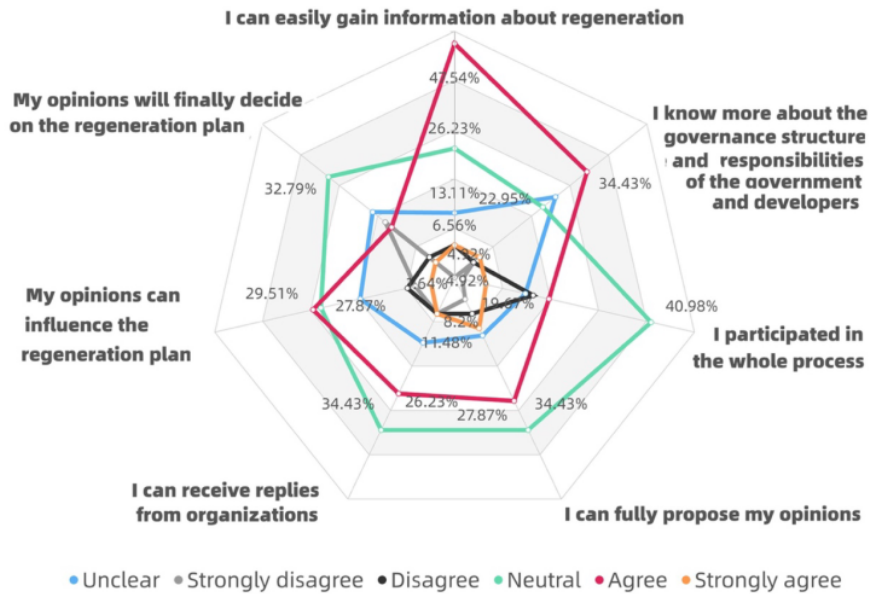

Fig. 6 Residents' feelings about their rights and power in the project

The government platform is the greatest guarantee for residents' right to know and to express their views (Fig.7 & Fig.8). As mentioned earlier, many rounds of residents' consultation sessions and public announcements of the plans will be planned before the regeneration. The official channels set up by the government and the inter-community communication (between residents and at events) are the main channels through which residents receive information express needs.
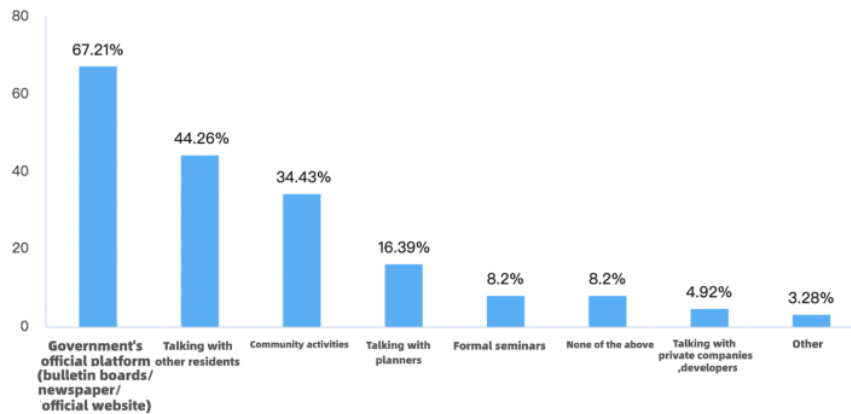
Fig. 7 Channels for residents to learn about the urban regeneration scheme and development
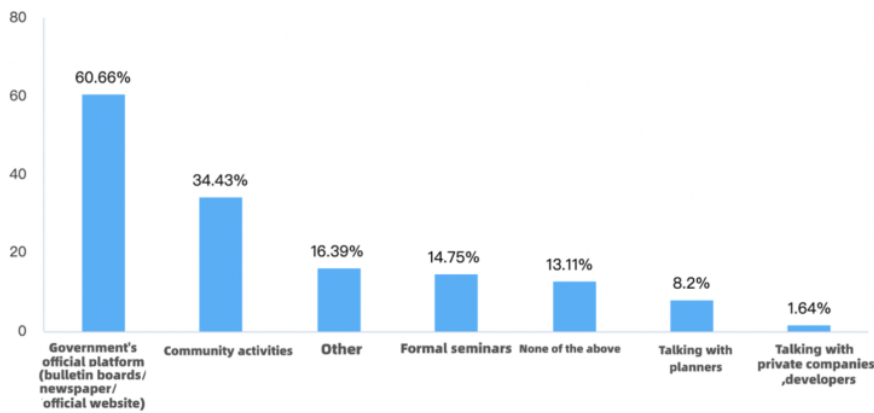

Fig. 8 Channels for residents to express the needs etc.

Community creation has achieved initial results, with residents having varying degrees of knowledge of or participation in various community activities (Fig.9). Among which, the Baita Reception Room and the community welfare activities are the most popular. The Baita Reception Room was the climax of community creation, and its closure hurt the residents (interviewee G, interview, 28th July 2022; interviewee H, interview, 10th August).

'The activities of the Baita Reception Room are enjoyable… This bottom-up approach can arouse the enthusiasm of residents to a great extent, and they are more satisfied about the renovation. I am not in favour of a purely commercial model.'

'We were actually disgusted with the micro-temple fair held by the Baita Reception Room, as it didn't bring out the cultural essence of the fair in history. To hold it in time for Design Week, the event ended up being a mere formality.'

'Maybe the company didn't consider it profitable and stopped the investment. The director and we couldn't hold on to it, so we let the government take it back. When it was repossessed, it was demolished on the pretext that the first floor was an illegal structure. Now it has been turned into a coffee shop, and the first floor has become an attraction. People who live in the hutongs don't drink coffee. What a pity.'

'The BHD has changed due to property investment, and although we still take part in cultural events organised by the government, as well as Design Week, we don't feel the same enthusiasm as before.'

However, residents are not motivated to take the initiative, and prefer to take part in hobby-based activities rather than community affairs (Fig.10). Residents' enthusiasm for self-help transformation is also insufficient (interviewee H, interview, 10th August).

In general, residents think that community activities have improved many aspects, especially the partnership with the state (trust, understanding, support) and the community spirit (understanding, community identity, motivation, ideas about community affairs). However, residents are still not very proactive in community activities, not satisfied with the state's attitude towards their opinions and the partnership with the SOE is not deeper (Fig.11).
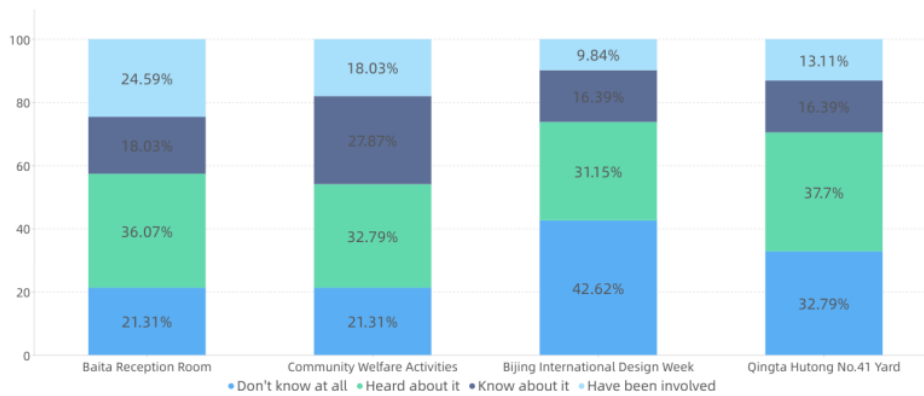

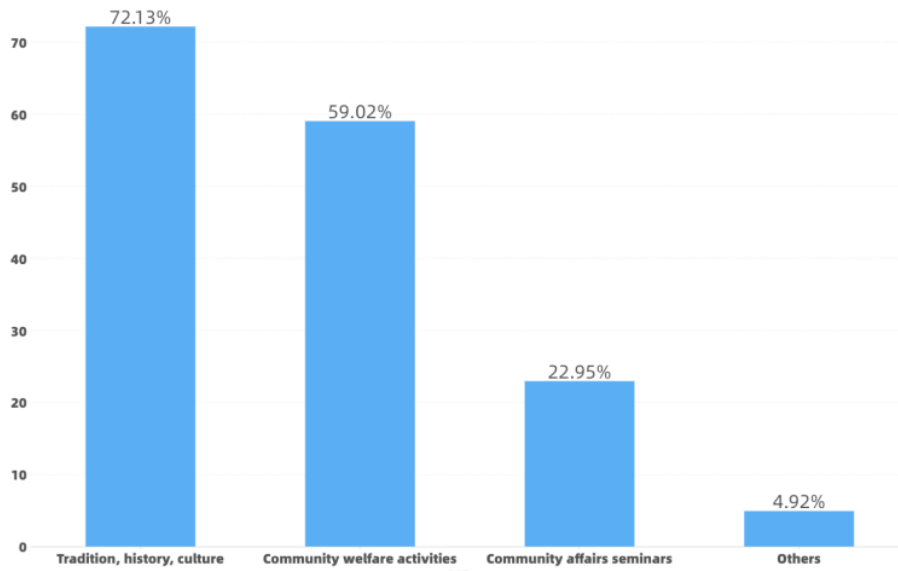Fig. 9 Residents varying degrees of knowledge of community activities

Fig. 10 Activities residents want to take part in
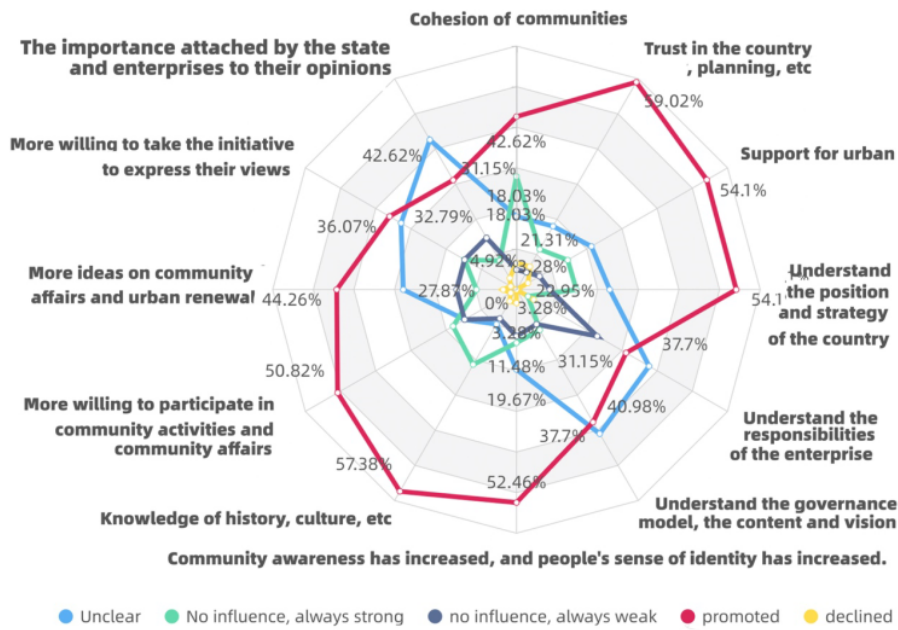
Fig. 11 The impact of the activities that residents feel about

Residents enjoy the dividends brought by the transformation: the improvement of living environment and the enrichment of community activities brought by the transformation.

However, limited by funds, property rights and policies, residents have no right to decide on the development of the community, which not only leads to the contradiction between residents' needs and plans, but also leads to the obstruction of residents' opinions. Only opinions that conform to the government's planning will be adopted. Not only that, the residents' enthusiasm for active participation has improved, but their own initiative for rights is still poor.

6. Governance Structure and Social Sustainability

6.1 Governance Structure

The BHD regeneration has developed a cooperative government-market-resident governance structure based on the SOP-led property rights structure (Fig.12). The government, as the main property owner, has the absolute decision-making power who is also the main financial supporter and supervisor as well as the subject directly cooperating and communicating with the residents. Jinying is the leading implementer with the actual management and operation power granted by the district government, and the subject directly cooperating with the market operators and indirectly cooperating with the residents (through the SDO, and the neighbourhood committee). The residents are the property owners and lessees with the right to know and participate, and limited decision-making power.

The governance structure of the BHD reflects state entrepreneurialism in terms of strategic objectives and mechanisms for achieving them. First, BHD's regeneration is no longer simply a profitable project, but a more comprehensive strategy, which is to form a sustainable and self-maintained neighbourhood by establishing a sustainable population, promoting the physical environment while keeping the distinctive character of Hutong neighbourhoods and the domestic functions, and emphasising the stakeholders' participation. Second, the government uses three key mechanisms to achieve objectives:

(a) The land development model: Relying on a SOP-led property rights structure to profit from the land redevelopment is still an important way for the government to fund the project. However, the micro regeneration is no longer subject to this single profit-making method. Establishment the BHD brand, cooperation with various social forces and so on gradually enriched the government's development model, thus allowing multiple methods of land redevelopment.

(b) National strategic objectives: The BHD regeneration's objective is to develop while ensuring the social justice to achieve economic and social sustainability. It is based on the political needs and the government leadership in funding and political power. While, in practice, the economic objectives are much more important than the social objectives. According to interviews with residents, they believe that the real clientele are future residents and outsiders.

For example, most of the small restaurants and shops were closed, and even the Baita Reception Room because Jinying wanted to benefit from the rent. The neighbourhood is increasingly populated by cafés, and places for tourists. The needs of the future residents override residents' needs (interviewee G, interview, 28th July 2022; interviewee H, interview, 10th August 2022).

(c) Project-oriented governance: Jinying, as the SOE, has the power of management and operation devoluted by the district government and acts as an intermediary for the government to enter the market, recovering the cost of the renovation and making benefits through commercialisation. This indicates an alliance between the SOE and the government which has discretionary under the state control. It reflects that the power of the state is strengthened and the power of residents is weakened, which leads to residents' needs often giving way to development and commercialisation schemes. For example, the government attaches great importance to community creation and has incubated some community organisations and motivated residents to renovate. The purpose of community creation and environmental improvement is to keep the stability of the governance structure and to build a brand. Moreover, this model makes experimental ways to achieve social sustainability possible and will become the lasting drive for future sustainable regeneration.
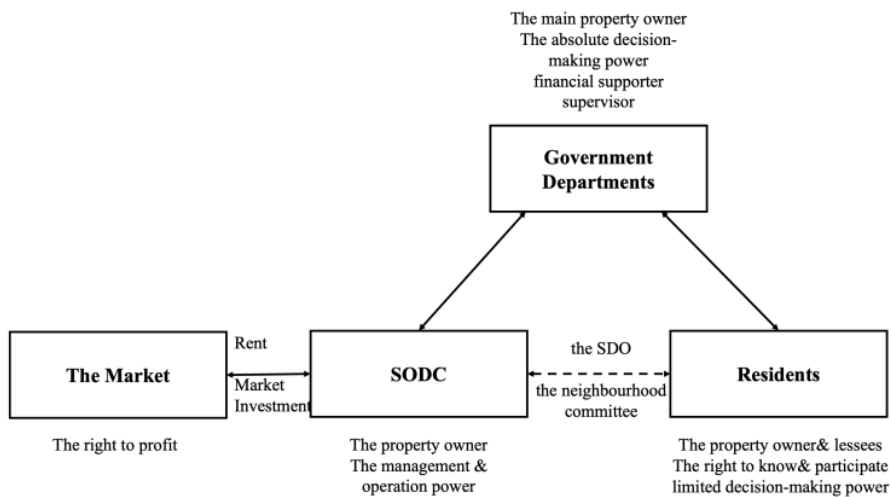

Fig. 12 The governance structure

6.2 How the Governance Structure Can Achieve Social Sustainability

The BHD regeneration has been initially characterised by features of social sustainability: social sustainability being incorporated into the objectives, diverse and long-term strategies that do not solely focus on engineering efficiency and short-term goals, projects that meet the needs of the residents, diverse community organisations, and the governance structure allowing stakeholders to cooperate and negotiate, which is central to achieving social sustainability.

'Social sustainability is one of the most important objectives of the BHD regeneration, and we have already made some progresses and achievements. For example, we retained the residential function, addressed parking issues, improved residential comfort and so on little by little. These should improve living conditions of the residents, instead of demolishing and transforming it into a commercial or tourist area. Based on that, we turned BHD into a brand, creating a good interaction with external resources and involving all sectors of society. Therefore, you can see a very experimental side to the project, creating a good cultural, economic and social cycle… BHD has a wide range of community organisations, not only traditional organisations managed by the SDO, but we have worked with non-profit organizations and academics on short- and long-term social activities, and the participants are not limited to residents. These make for a more vibrant community.' (Interviewee D, interview, 18th July 2022)

Based on the above analysis, combined with field research, I believe that the governance structure of the BHD achieves social sustainability in three ways.

a) Government dominance is the guarantee.

First, the dominant position of the government and the division of labour among government departments ensure that the government's policies aiming at social sustainability can be implemented from start to finish. The distinct divisions of labour between departments refine the macro-goal for social sustainability, which makes the plan possible. Not only that, the SOE's government tasks and market-oriented business are under the control of the government. Restrictions on the use of underground space and the conversion of residential land to commercial land, for example, need consultation with the government when the SOE is carrying out the plan, which avoids rapid commercialisation and ensures that commercialisation has minimal impact on the interests of society.

Second, the flexible level of government control achieves a dynamic balance between planning control and market freedom. The government's approach to control is to control the bottom line and to recommend implementation schemes. There is no excessive discretion in what is within the bottom line, and innovation is allowed outside the bottom line. What's more the separation of the supervision and the management power between the government and the SOE ensures the social interests while pursuing economic benefits. For example, the construction of an underground parking lots broke through the regulations but solved the parking problem in the old city. Besides, the residents' right to know is enshrined in law and cannot be changed. Therefore, the official government channels are the main source of information and a channel for residents to express their opinions.

b) Commercialisation is the important path.

First, commercialisation is the economic basis for social sustainability. The cost of regenerating an old city is high, with the government bearing the lion's share of the cost, and introducing social capital relieves the government of financial pressure in terms of both input and revenue. For example, the Baita Reception Room was closed because the covid-19 left the house vacant for a long time and put the government and Jinying under financial pressure. The house has now been re-let to a café in partnership with the French Embassy, attracting many customers and generating economic revenue. Adequate economic returns are therefore an important condition for social sustainability.

Second, it forms a diverse profit-making model, thus allowing the multiple land redevelopment methods. And it creates more opportunities and possibilities for social sustainability. Market-based operations link the BHD to the outside world, creating a flow of resources. The use and maintance of vacated courtyards have always been an important issue for Jinying, which promotes the BHD brand through Beijing International Design Week to attract all sectors of society to revitalise the architectural heritage in a creative way, while making the inner life of the neighbourhood part of the city and growing in tandem with it.

c) The rights and power of the residents are the basis.

Social interests are the main demands of the residents and therefore protecting their rights and cultivating their capacities are important foundations for social sustainability, as the growing of resident's power can protect their interests against the alliance between the

government and the SOE. The BHD regeneration has been recognised in terms of achieving social sustainability because of the results of the incubation of community organisations and the courtyard renovation projects.

First, the incubation of community organisations has already yielded some results. The relationship between residents, their sense of community and their sense of responsibility have increased. Not only that, but the community organisations have fostered ways for residents to express their needs and to use their rights. And community organisations themselves have become one of the key channels of communication between residents and the government, and the outside world. All these have ensured the residents' indispensable place in the governance structure.

Second, the courtyard renovation project provides a model for residents' self-help renovation and increase their initiative to participate in community affairs and self-help transformation. For example, the no. 50 courtyard renovation project of Zhang Yue provides low-income residents with integrated bathroom, kitchen, staircase, and storage modules, and offers six combinations of different sizes of space and spatial transformation models. At the same time the cost of renovation is within acceptable limits.

6.3 Challenges

First, the dominant position of the government is one of the obstacles to commercialisation. Jinying's market-oriented operation needs to be carried out within the framework set by the government, which from time to time creates a conflict between policy and market, resulting in a lack of diversity in its marketing strategies. For example, documents prohibit the transfer of the right to use of public housing, do not grant subsidies, and do not adjust the function of the site. The BHD is overwhelmingly residential, which makes the conversion of the courtyard and the commercial occupation of Jinying difficult. The rents will increase significantly after the conversion, making it hard for residents to move back in or in attracting foreign residents. In addition, the courtyard will stay residential after conversion, and no businesses will be allowed to rent them, leaving a large number of buildings vacant and unable to generate social and economic benefits.

Second, residents lack direct and diverse channels for feedback and needs. Residents often give direct feedback through the government's public platform and indirectly communicate with the SOE, the government and others through neighbourhood committees and community events. Not only that, but residents have limited decision-making power. The sense of powerlessness of the residents was clearly felt in the field survey. The perception that their opinion cannot change the plan and therefore they do not dedicated to community affairs etc. and their initiative is reduced, which makes it difficult to form a long-term, dynamic and self-sustaining community organisation.

Finally, the property right structure leads to a lack of initiative by residents. Tenants are reluctant to renovate public housing because they are not their own house, while residents have the will to renovate private housing but lack capital, ability, or resources. However, there is no way for government's capital to enter private houses (Dang, 2019) and the courtyard renovation work comes to a standstill. What's more, the complexity in property rights is the reason for enterprises lacking capacity for renovation. As the ownership and the management rights are seperated and owned by different stakeholders in the governance structure, Jinying's power will be reduced when encountering the problems caused by property rights in the renovation. At the same time, its market-oriented policy is relatively simple with leasing as the main way to make profits.

7. Conclusion

7.1 Summarisation of research and findings

This study investigates China's latest urban regeneration approaches for social sustainability, micro regeneration, from the perspective of urban governance. Research on urban regeneration for sustainability, especially social sustainability, is relatively limited as cities prefer economic- oriented and large-scale demolition redevelopment, such as property-led redevelopment approaches and large-scale redevelopment approaches. What's more, research on sustainability is mainly based on the experiences of the global North and focuses on the design and evaluation methods. This proves the rationality of this research.

The study comprises three themes. The first theme explores the social sustainability essence of China's current trends. By looking at the development process of BHD, I find it has undergone a shift from the large-scale demolition redevelopment to the micro regeneration. In addition, the micro regeneration of BHD shows some characteristics of social sustainability: a focus on sustainable population and residential area in a long term, projects for improving living conditions, and diverse community organisations and the governance structure involving different stakeholders. The shift represents even more the role of the government as it is part of a comprehensive government strategy.

The second theme examines the governance structure of the BHD regeneration and finds that it embodies state entrepreneurialism. It is a collaborative government-market-resident governance structure based on the SOP-led property rights system, so it has the characteristics of government dominance and complexity. The state is the major property owner with absolute decision-making power, providing funds and guides for the project by policies and laws. As the SOE, Jingying is the implementer of the project, responsible for carrying out the project under the state control and commercialising the project flexibly. The residents are the owners and tenants with the right to know and participate, and limited decision-making power. In that case, the government and Jinying form an alliance which shows state entrepreneurialism. Multiple methods of land development, national strategic objectives based on the government leadership, project-oriented governance with discretion under the state control are the three mechanisms.

The third theme analyses the relationship between social sustainability and governance

structures. The governance structure achieves socially sustainable regeneration in three ways: first, the dominant position of the government guarantees consistency in implementing strategies, objectives, and tactics for social sustainability. Second, the establishment of the SOE makes it possible for the government to adapt market-based instruments that give circular economy and resources foundation for social sustainability. Also, the separation of the supervision and the management right between the government and the SOE ensures the social interests while pursuing economic benefits. Finally, by guaranteeing and fostering the voice, decision-making power and initiative of residents in this system, a self-managed and self-developing community can be formed, providing the basis for long-term social sustainability.

However, this new trend has many challenges, too much emphasis on government dominance and not enough commercialisation, few channels of communication between residents and stakeholders, and the complex and restrictive property rights system.

7.2 Limitation and further progression

The methodology of this study has its limitations. First, this study uses the single-case study method, and lacks comparison with different cases, leading to a thin analysis of the innovation, shortcomings and universality of the case. Therefore, future studies could focus on comparing BHD with other cases around the world, to explore a more general governance structure which can be adapted worldwide. Second, the number of semi-structured interviews is insufficient, particularly interviews with government officials and employees, and the questionnaire sampling is not random enough. As a result, the collected opinions may not be objective or diverse enough. Finally, this paper focuses on the relationship between the government, the market and the society, thus the research questions are relatively broad. Future research could focus on one specific stakeholder and raise more in-depth questions.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

1. **Interview: government and private enterprise employees**

   - Basic information:

   · The urban regeneration process of BHD, its present stage and development vision

   · Did you encounter any obstacles in the process of regeneration, from who, and how did you finally solve them?

   - Corresponding to sub-question 2 and 3:

   · Who are the main partners (private enterprises, residents, third-party organisations)

   · What are the modes of cooperation with private enterprises (who are the providers of funds, planning makers and decision makers, the advantages and difficulties of cooperation)?

   · What is the cooperative relationship with residents (what are the main needs of residents, how to collect and solve their needs, the rights that residents have in the process of urban regeneration, what activities have been held, the advantages and difficulties of cooperation)

   · What requirements does the government have for the urban regeneration of BHD?

   - Corresponding to sub-question 4:

   · What achievements have been made in the project at present, and evaluate the project (whether it is socially sustainable, whether there is pressure on the economy, who will be the leader here in the future, the highlight or special place of the project)

2. **Interview: Residents**

   - Corresponding to sub-question 3:

   · How do you feel about the community creation/the renovation/ the relocation?

Appendix 2:

<p style="color:blue; text-align:center;">Investigation on residents' needs and participation in

BHD</p>

*1. What is your age?

○ 0–18   ○ 19–35   ○ 36–59   ○ 大于60

*2. What is your gender?

○ A Male   ○ B Female

*3. How long have you lived here?

○ 0–1year   ○ 1–5year   ○ 5–10year   ○ 10–20year   ○ More than 20 years

*4. Through what channels can you learn about the urban regeneration scheme and development? 【多选题】

☐ Government's official platform(bulletin boards/newspaper/official website)   ☐ Community activities

☐ Formal seminars   ☐ Talking with planners

☐ Talking with private companies,developers   ☐ Talking with other residents

☐ Other   ☐ None of the above

*5. Through what channels can you express the needs? 【多选题】

☐ Government's official platform   ☐ Community activities

☐ Formal seminars   ☐ Talking with planners

☐ Talking with private companies, developers   ☐ Others

☐ None of the above

*6. Based on your experience, do you agree with the following descriptions?

	Unclear	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I can easily gain information about regeneration	○	○	○	○	○	○
I know more about the urban regeneration governance structure and the responsibilities of the government and developers.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I participated in the whole process	○	○	○	○	○	○
I can fully propose my opinions	○	○	○	○	○	○
I can receive replies from organisations	○	○	○	○	○	○
My opinions can influence the regeneration plan	○	○	○	○	○	○
My opinions will finally decide on the regeneration plan	○	○	○	○	○	○

*7. Have you participated in or heard of the following activities?

	Don't know at all	Heard about it	Know about it	Have been involved
Baita Reception Room	○	○	○	○
Community welfare activities	○	○	○	○
Beijing International Design Week	○	○	○	○
Qingta Hutong No.41 Yard	○	○	○	○

*8. What kind of activities do you want to take part in? 【多选题】

☐ Traditional, historical and cultural activities ☐ Community welfare activities ☐ Community affairs seminars ☐ Others

*9. **The impact of the activities you feel**

	Unclear	No influence, always strong	No influence, always weak	Increase	Decline
Community Cohesion	○	○	○	○	○
Trust in the country, planning, etc	○	○	○	○	○
Support for the regeneration	○	○	○	○	○
Understand the position and strategy of the country	○	○	○	○	○
Understand the responsibilities of the enterprises	○	○	○	○	○
Understand the governance model, the content and vision	○	○	○	○	○
Community awareness increased, and people's sense of identity has increased	○	○	○	○	○
Knowledge of history, culture,etc	○	○	○	○	○
More willing to participate in community activities and community affairs	○	○	○	○	○
More ideas on community affairs and regeneration	○	○	○	○	○
More willing to take the initiative to express the views and needs	○	○	○	○	○
The importance attached by the state and enterprises to my opinions	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix 3:

Respondent: **Tianyu Jian** Submitted on: Monday, 16 May 2022, 2:47 AM

Ethical Clearance Pro Forma

It is important for you to include all relevant information about your research in this form, so that your supervisor can give you the best advice on how to proceed with your research.

You are advised to read though the relevant sections of UCL's Research Integrity guidance to learn more about your ethical obligations.

Please ensure to save a copy of your completed questionnaire BEFORE hitting 'submit' (you will not be able to access it later).

Submission Details

1 * Please select your programme of study.

| Urban Regeneration | : Urban Regeneration |

2 * Please indicate the type of research work you are doing.

☐ Dissertation in Planning (MSc)
☐ Dissertation in City Planning (MPlan)
☐ Major Research Project

3 * Please provide the current working title of your research.

Socially sustainable development under national entrepreneurship: A case study of Baitasi social interests-led regeneration project

4 * Please select your supervisor from the drop-down list.

| Zhang, Fangzhu | : Zhang, Fangzhu |

Research Details

5 * Please indicate here which data collection methods you expect to use. Tick all that apply.

☑ Interviews
☐ Focus Groups
☑ Questionnaires (including oral questions)
☐ Action research
☑ Observation / participant observation
☑ Documentary analysis (including use of personal records)
☑ Audio-visual recordings (including photographs)
☐ Collection/use of sensor or locational data
☐ Controlled trial
☐ Intervention study (including changing environments)
☐ Systematic review
☑ Secondary data analysis
☐ Advisory/consultation groups

6 * Please indicate where your research will take place.

| Overseas only | : Overseas only |

7 * Does your project involve the recruitment of participants?

'Participants' means human participants and their data (including sensor/locational data and observational notes/images.)

◉ Yes ○ No

Appropriate Safeguard, Data Storage and Security

8 * Will your research involve the collection and/or use of personal data?

Personal data is data which relates to a living individual who can be identified from that data or from the data and other information that is either currently held, or will be held by the data controller (you, as the researcher).

This includes:

56

- Any expression of opinion about the individual and any intentions of the data controller or any other person toward the individual.
- Sensor, location or visual data which may reveal information that enables the identification of a face, address etc. (some postcodes cover only one property).
- Combinations of data which may reveal identifiable data, such as names, email/postal addresses, date of birth, ethnicity, descriptions of health diagnosis or conditions, computer IP address (of relating to a device with a single user).

○ Yes ◉ No

9 * Is your research using or collecting:

- special category data as defined by the General Data Protection Regulation*, and/or
- data which might be considered sensitive in some countries, cultures or contexts?

*Examples of special category data are data:

- which reveals racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs, trade union membership;
- concerning health (the physical or mental health of a person, including the provision of health care services);
- concerning sex life or sexual orientation;
- genetic or biometric data processed to uniquely identify a natural person.

○ Yes ◉ No

10 * Do you confirm that all personal data will be stored and processed in compliance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR 2018)?

○ Yes
○ No
◉ I will not be working with any personal data

11 * I confirm that:

☑ The information in this form is accurate to the best of my knowledge.
☑ I will continue to reflect on, and update these ethical considerations in consultation with my supervisor.

You **MUST** download a copy of your responses to submit with your proposal, and for your own reference.

To do this, use the print screen function of your web browser, and print to PDF in order to save.

57

Appendix 4:

RISK ASSESSMENT FORM

FIELD / LOCATION WORK

▲UCL

DEPARTMENT/SECTION: BARTLETT SCHOOL OF PLANNING
LOCATION(S): BEIJING CHINA
PERSONS COVERED BY THE RISK ASSESSMENT: TIANYU JIAN

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF FIELDWORK (including geographic location): It covers an area of about 37 hectares, with a resident population of about 13,000 and a total of 5,600 households, and is one of the historical and cultural districts in Beijing.

COVID-19 RELATED GENERIC RISK ASSESSMENT STATEMENT:

Coronavirus disease (COVID-19) is an infectious disease caused by coronavirus SARS-CoV-2. The virus spreads primarily through droplets of saliva or discharge from the nose when an infected person coughs or sneezes. Droplets fall on people in the vicinity and can be directly inhaled or picked up on the hands and transferred when someone touches their face.   This risk assessment documents key risks associated fieldwork during a pandemic, but it is not exhaustive and will not be able to cover all known risks, globally. This assessment outlines principles adopted by UCL at an institutional level and it is necessarily general. Please use the open text box 'Other' to indicate any contingent risk factors and control measures you might encounter during the course of your dissertation research and writing.

Please refer to the Dissertation in Planning Guidance Document (available on Moodle) to help you complete this form.

Hazard 1: Risk of Covid -19 infection during research related travel and research related interactions with others (when face-to-face is possible and/or unavoidable)
Risk Level -   Medium /Moderate

Existing Advisable Control Measures: Do not travel if you are unwell, particularly if you have COVID-19 symptoms. Self-isolate in line with NHS (or country-specific) guidance.

Avoid travelling and face-to-face interactions; if you need to travel and meet with others:

- If possible, avoid using public transport and cycle or walk instead.

- If you need to use public transport travel in off-peak times and follow transport provider's and governmental guidelines.

- Maintain (2 metre) social distancing where possible and where 2 metre social distancing is not achievable, wear face covering.

- Wear face covering at all times in enclosed or indoor spaces.

- Use hand sanitiser prior to and after journey.

- Avoid consuming food or drinks, if possible, during journey.

- Avoid, if possible, interchanges when travelling - choose direct route.

- Face away from other persons. If you have to face a person ensure
that the duration is as short as possible.

- Do not share any items i.e. stationary, tablets, laptops etc. If items need to be shared use disinfectant wipes to disinfect items prior to and after sharing.

- If meeting in a group for research purposes ensure you are following current country specific guidance on face-to-face meetings (i.e rule of 6 etc.)

- If and when possible meet outside and when not possible meet in venues with good ventilation (e.g. open a window)

- If you feel unwell during or after a meeting with others, inform others you have interacted with, self-isolate and get tested for Covid-19

- Avoid high noise areas as this mean the need to shout which increases risk of aerosol transmission
of the virus.

- Follow one way circulation systems, if in place. Make sure to check before you visit a building.

- Always read and follow the visitors policy for the organisation you will be visiting.

- Flush toilets with toilet lid closed.

-'Other' Control Measures you will take (specify):

NOTE: The hazards and existing control measures above pertain to Covid-19 infection risks only. More generalised health and safety risk may exist due to remote field work activities and these are outlined in your Dissertation in Planning Guidance document. Please consider these as possible 'risk' factors in completing the remainder of this standard form. For more information also see: Guidance Framework for Fieldwork in Taught and MRes Programmes, 2021-22

Consider, in turn, each hazard (white on black).   If **NO** hazard exists select **NO** and move to next hazard section.

If a hazard does exist select **YES** and assess the risks that could arise from that hazard in the risk assessment box.

Where risks are identified that are not adequately controlled they must be brought to the attention of your Departmental Management who should put temporary control measures in place or stop the work.   Detail such risks in the final section.

ENVIRONMENT	The environment always represents a safety hazard. Use space below to identify and assess any risks associated with this hazard
e.g. location, climate, terrain, neighbourhood, in outside organizations, pollution, animals.	Examples of risk: adverse weather, illness, hypothermia, assault, getting lost. Is the risk high / medium / low ? Low

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

√	work abroad incorporates Foreign Office advice
√	only accredited centres are used for rural field work
√	participants will wear appropriate clothing and footwear for the specified environment
√	refuge is available
√	work in outside organisations is subject to their having satisfactory H&S procedures in place
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

EMERGENCIES	Where emergencies may arise use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. fire, accidents Low	Examples of risk: loss of property, loss of life

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

√	participants have registered with LOCATE at http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/
√	contact numbers for emergency services are known to all participants
√	participants have means of contacting emergency services
√	a plan for rescue has been formulated, all parties understand the procedure
√	the plan for rescue /emergency has a reciprocal element
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

EQUIPMENT	Is equipment used?	NO	If 'No' move to next hazard If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. clothing, outboard motors.	Examples of risk: inappropriate, failure, insufficient training to use or repair, injury. Is the risk high / medium / low ?		

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

	the departmental written Arrangement for equipment is followed
	participants have been provided with any necessary equipment appropriate for the work
	all equipment has been inspected, before issue, by a competent person
	all users have been advised of correct use
	special equipment is only issued to persons trained in its use by a competent person
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

LONE WORKING	Is lone working a possibility?	YES	If 'No' move to next hazard If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. alone or in isolation lone interviews.	Examples of risk: difficult to summon help. Is the risk high / medium / low? Low		

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk

√	the departmental written Arrangement for lone/out of hours working for field work is followed
	lone or isolated working is not allowed
√	location, route and expected time of return of lone workers is logged daily before work commences
√	all workers have the means of raising an alarm in the event of an emergency, e.g. phone, flare, whistle
√	all workers are fully familiar with emergency procedures
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

FIELDWORK   2   May 2010

ILL HEALTH	The possibility of ill health always represents a safety hazard. Use space below to identify and assess any risks associated with this Hazard.
e.g. accident, illness, personal attack, special personal considerations or vulnerabilities.	Examples of risk: injury, asthma, allergies. Is the risk high / medium / low? Low
CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**

√	all participants have had the necessary inoculations/ carry appropriate prophylactics
√	participants have been advised of the physical demands of the research and are deemed to be physically suited
√	participants have been adequate advice on harmful plants, animals and substances they may encounter
√	participants who require medication should carry sufficient medication for their needs
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

TRANSPORT	Will transport be required	NO	√	Move to next hazard
		YES		Use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. hired vehicles	Examples of risk: accidents arising from lack of maintenance, suitability or training			
	Is the risk high / medium / low?			
CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**			

	only public transport will be used
	the vehicle will be hired from a reputable supplier
	transport must be properly maintained in compliance with relevant national regulations
	drivers comply with UCL Policy on Drivers http://www.ucl.ac.uk/hr/docs/college_drivers.php
	drivers have been trained and hold the appropriate licence

	there will be more than one driver to prevent driver/operator fatigue, and there will be adequate rest periods
	sufficient spare parts carried to meet foreseeable emergencies
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

DEALING WITH THE	**Will people be**	**YES**	**If 'No' move to next hazard**
PUBLIC	**dealing with public**		**If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any**
			risks
e.g. interviews, observing	Examples of risk: personal attack, causing offence, being misinterpreted. Is the risk high / medium / low?		
	low		

CONTROL MEASURES	**Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk**
	all participants are trained in interviewing techniques
√	advice and support from local groups has been sought
√	participants do not wear clothes that might cause offence or attract unwanted attention
√	interviews are conducted at neutral locations or where neither party could be at risk
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

FIELDWORK   3   May 2010

WORKING ON OR	**Will people work on**	**NO**	**If 'No' move to next hazard**
NEAR WATER	**or near water?**		**If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any**
			risks
e.g. rivers, marshland, sea.	Examples of risk: drowning, malaria, hepatitis A, parasites. Is the risk high / medium / low?		

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk
	lone working on or near water will not be allowed
	coastguard information is understood; all work takes place outside those times when tides could prove a threat
	all participants are competent swimmers
	participants always wear adequate protective equipment, e.g. buoyancy aids, wellingtons
	boat is operated by a competent person
	all boats are equipped with an alternative means of propulsion e.g. oars
	participants have received any appropriate inoculations
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

MANUAL HANDLING (MH)	Do MH activities take place?	NO	If 'No' move to next hazard If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any risks
e.g. lifting, carrying, moving large or heavy equipment, physical unsuitability for the task.	Examples of risk: strain, cuts, broken bones. Is the risk high / medium / low?		

CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk
	the departmental written Arrangement for MH is followed
	the supervisor has attended a MH risk assessment course
	all tasks are within reasonable limits, persons physically unsuited to the MH task are prohibited from such activities
	all persons performing MH tasks are adequately trained
	equipment components will be assembled on site
	any MH task outside the competence of staff will be done by contractors

OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

FIELDWORK   4   May 2010

SUBSTANCES	Will participants work with	NO	If 'No' move to next hazard
			If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any
	substances		risks
e.g. plants, chemical, biohazard, waste	Examples of risk: ill health - poisoning, infection, illness, burns, cuts. Is the risk high / medium / low?		
CONTROL MEASURES	Indicate which procedures are in place to control the identified risk		

	the departmental written Arrangements for dealing with hazardous substances and waste are followed
	all participants are given information, training and protective equipment for hazardous substances they may encounter
	participants who have allergies have advised the leader of this and carry sufficient medication for their needs
	waste is disposed of in a responsible manner
	suitable containers are provided for hazardous waste
	OTHER CONTROL MEASURES: please specify any other control measures you have implemented:

OTHER HAZARDS	Have you identified any other hazards?	NO	If 'No' move to next section
			If 'Yes' use space below to identify and assess any
			risks
i.e. any other hazards must be noted and assessed here.	Hazard:		
	Risk: is the risk		
CONTROL MEASURES	Give details of control measures in place to control the identified risks		

Have you identified any risks that are not	NO	√	Move to Declaration
adequately controlled?	YE S		Use space below to identify the risk and what
			action was taken

DECLARATION	The work will be reassessed whenever there is a significant change and at least annually. Those participating in the work have read the assessment.

Select the appropriate statement:

√	I the undersigned have assessed the activity and associated risks and declare that there is no significant residual

risk

√	I the undersigned have assessed the activity and associated risks and declare that the risk will be controlled by

the method(s) listed above

NAME OF SUPERVISOR

FIELDWORK   5   May 2010

BPLN0039_VHLC8

FINAL GRADE

/100

GENERAL COMMENTS

Instructor

PAGE 21

PAGE 22

PAGE 23

PAGE 24

PAGE 25

PAGE 26

PAGE 27

PAGE 28

PAGE 29

PAGE 30

PAGE 31

PAGE 32

PAGE 33

PAGE 34

PAGE 35

PAGE 36

PAGE 37

PAGE 38

PAGE 39

PAGE 40

PAGE 41

PAGE 42

PAGE 43

PAGE 44

PAGE 45

PAGE 46

PAGE 47

PAGE 48

PAGE 49

PAGE 50

PAGE 51

PAGE 52

PAGE 53

PAGE 54

PAGE 55

PAGE 56

PAGE 57

PAGE 58

PAGE 59

PAGE 60

PAGE 61

PAGE 62

PAGE 63

PAGE 64

PAGE 65

PAGE 66

PAGE 67

PAGE 68