

STAKEHOLDERS AND PARTNERSHIP IN URBAN REGENERATION:

THE CASE OF SHANGHAI WEST BUND

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ABSTRACT

Urban regeneration is an approach to revive the vitality of the communities all over the world. In China, previous regeneration efforts usually implement through a top-down method to raze the buildings and cities' historical memories. Recently, with the search for a more sustainable urban development strategy and the rise of bottom-up voices, an increasing number of stakeholders are engaged in the regeneration process. Nevertheless, the research questions of what are the roles and strategies of different stakeholders and what are the positions of the main players during the partnerships deserve in-depth examination. Embracing the strategy of culture-led waterfront regeneration, the case of Shanghai West Bund exemplifies the attempt to search for a sustainable future. Guided by the development strategy of “government-led regeneration with market-oriented management and collaborative governance”, West Bund is also an appropriate laboratory to examine the power relations among various stakeholders. Accordingly, this study includes interviews with eight key stakeholders. The current strategy indeed has merits of high-efficiency first-level development process, a favourable environment for tenants related to the culture industry, and increasing stakeholders' involvement during the collaborative governance. However, the inefficiency of secondary developers, the lacking of social impacts of cultural facilities, and the indefinite responsibilities among the administrative departments may place the small business owners and residents at a disadvantaged position. The policy recommendations provided will also target for an economically feasible, socially equitable, and culturally heritable regeneration process.

Keywords: Sustainable Regeneration, Stakeholders and Partnership, Collaborative Governance, Shanghai

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background, Aim, and Significance

In order to boost urban growth, urban regeneration is an important method to revive the blighted industrial and residential area for more housing, businesses, and public space.

In China, one the one land, the previous property-led regeneration approach that involved merely government agencies and private developers usually razed the buildings and cities' historical memories without the participation of communities and non-government organizations (NGOs). On the other hand, in Shanghai, the culture-led regeneration initiated by the artists are usually priced out by the increasing rent or excluded by developers. Accordingly, to achieve a sustainable urban regeneration, which is economically feasible, socially equitable, and culturally heritable, the involvement of collaborative multi-stakeholders' partnerships during the whole development and management process is essential.

Embracing the vision of becoming a global city, Shanghai has initiated a new round of urban regeneration with the emphasis on "Ecology, Technology, and Culture." Accordingly, West Bund, a culture-led waterfront regeneration project becomes a remarkable case to illustrate this wave. Start from industrial heritage protection and reuse program, the rebirth of West Bund engages multi-stakeholders' partnerships in phases of the built environment, land transaction, industrial cultivation, and collaborative governance.

At first glance, the multi-stakeholders' participation of West Bund may contribute to a sustainable development pattern, nevertheless, the gaming (Chinese: 博弈) among the

stakeholders' partnerships like "who is in a stronger/weaker position?" would exert a significant impact on the outcome of the partnership and thereby deserve an in-depth examination.

With this background and impetus, this research will address the following question: What are the West Bund's stakeholders' goals, interests, responsibilities, approaches, and strategies in the decision-making process, and in what ways do they involve in the collaboration process. It has two sub-questions: Firstly, what were the stakeholders' powers and positions in the decision-making process? Who participates in the West Bund's planning and development process and what are their goals, interests, and strategies. Secondly, In what ways have the different stakeholders been involved in the collaborative development process of Shanghai West Bund?

Granted that there are plenty of studies concerning urban regeneration, few pieces of research have been done for the stakeholders' partnership towards a sustainable urban regeneration in the recent Chinese context. Therefore, the comprehensive research of the roles of different stakeholders and how they collaborate in the in phases of the built environment, land transaction, industrial cultivation, and collaborative governance could provide the theoretical framework of analyzing stakeholder's partnerships. And it fills the void of analyzing the stakeholders' partnerships in culture-led regeneration in the Chinese context. Furthermore, the first-hand information collected from critical stakeholders including government officials and director of the pivotal department of the developer, primary architect, as well as the small business owners, residents, and the worker could offer a precious experience for the next round urban revitalization, especially in a Chinese context.

1.2 Research Design

The research method is primarily qualitative case study based on archival research, and in-depth interviews during the field work.

For the sake of reaching the key characters in decision-making such as government officials, developers, and professionals, this study chooses snowball sampling as the method of interviewees selection. After experiencing an extremely hard time in searching, requesting for assistance, waiting, being refused, and another round of searching, fortunately, I ended up with nine formal interviews (special visit for at least one hour) and over eight informal interviews (on-site conversations for 2-10 minutes). (Table 1)

Classification	Interviewees Involved	Method-No.
1. Governments	Mr. Kong, Vice-director of WB Management Office	Formal-1
2. Developers	Mr.Chen, Director of WB's Industrial Cultivation Department	Formal-2
	Mrs. Yang, Director of WB's Planning Department	Formal-3
	Security guard of WBG	Informal-1
3. Tenants	Business owner of restaurant in Eastern Group Mall	Formal-4
	Cleaner from Long Museum	Informal-2
	Receptionists of Long Museum	Informal-3
	Security guard of Long Museum	Informal-4
	Mr.Zhuang, tenants in WB CAMP 3999	Formal-5
	Staff from Qiao Space, a art gallery in WB CAMP 2555	Informal-5
4. Professionals	Liu, Yichun, main architect of WB cultural facilities	Formal-6
	Pan, Tao, urban planner locates in WB CAMP 3999	Formal-7
5. Communities	Resident lives in WB high-end residential building	Informal-6
	Resident in WB public open space	Informal-7
	Visitor in WB's art galleries	Informal-8
6. Communicators	Mr.Xue, event planner from Xinxin Xiangrong	Formal-8
	Ms.Zhu, journalist from ThePaper	Formal-9

Table 1: Classification of Interviewees

Moreover, the interviews were conducted with six groups of main stakeholders related to Shanghai West Bund, including Governments, Developers, Tenants, Professionals,

Communities, and Communicators. During the interviews, the conversation unfolded by focusing on their goals, responsibilities, and strategies in the decision-making process, and in which ways do they involve in the collaboration process.

1.3 Structure and the Scope of the Thesis

Regarding the structure of the thesis, after the introduction in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 summarize the current literature of the urban regeneration, public-private partnership, and stakeholders' analysis with the statement of current research gaps that paves the way for the focus of my dissertation. From Chapter 3 to Chapter 5 are the empirical study based on the key stakeholders' interviews. With the description of WB's background and impetus, Chapter 3 examine the motivations behind the WB's current culture-led regeneration tactic. Further, in the Chapter 4, apart from the overall introduction of stakeholders involved, managerial structure, equity structure, and partnership structure, it analyzes the detailed situation and stakeholders' powers in partnerships from main four development and governance phases: the joint-development of built environment, land transaction and leasing, joint cultivation of industry, and collaborative governance. In addition, Chapter 5 provides the strength and weakness analysis for the WB' development and governance strategies. Moreover, in the conclusion part, Chapter 6 introduces this dissertation's contributions to the current literature, restate the findings, offer the preliminary suggestions for policymakers, and the limitations and directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Urban Regeneration

Although the definition of urban regeneration remains ambiguous, generally, it refers to the interventions to reduce the adverse effects of deindustrialization and “enable urban areas to attract investment and restore economic and social functions in the global economy” (Leary, 2014, p127).

2.1.2 Property-led and Culture-led

In the current literature, urban regeneration can be initiated by different themes such as property development, culture, design, and mega-events. In the UK, approaches of urban regeneration could be roughly divided into two aspects, property-led and culture-led; in general, they refer to use land or cultural assets to stimulate the urban economic growth.

Property-led regeneration means the assembly of finance, land, building materials act as the driver for urban economic growth (Turok, 1992). The subclass includes retail-led regeneration. Property-led regeneration emphasizes on the attraction for capital investment from huge physical improvement such as infrastructure. Using the case of Dockland, Lawless summaries the process of property-led regeneration: London Docklands Development Corporation, formed by the London central government, was responsible for the land assembly, land acquisition, infrastructure construction, and land leasing. (Lawless, 1989)

Usually, the property-led regeneration with large-scale urban development requires adequate funding sources and support from public policies. However, Hall argues that

property-led regeneration is highly sensitive to the real estate market which may lead to the unsustainability of urban growth (Hall, 2002). The bankruptcy of Olympia & York Co. who involved in the urban regeneration of Canary Wharf during the downturn is an example. Apart from the sensitivities of economic cycles, the property-led regeneration has also been criticized for failing to meet the communities' need (Yan, 2012).

Another approach is culture-led regeneration. Although it lacks a precise definition, in general, culture-led regeneration refers to using the cultural assets to stimulate urban economic growth and improve quality of life; and it has a subclass of design-led, art-led, and creativity-led. There are two conditions of culture-led regeneration. In the historical cities, the renovation of historical heritages or districts could improve the city image. In other industrial cities, the culture-led regeneration could be dominated by a famous museum (such as Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao) or art galleries to form the agglomeration effect of cultural and creative industry, which promote the cultural production and consumption to boost the vitality of the local economy and to improve the level of community engagement.

Regarding the Chinese cases, some researchers (Niu et al., 2018) compared the development trajectories of the pioneer culture-led regeneration projects. By comparing the Beijing 798 Art Zone, the Shanghai M50, and the Guangzhou Xinyi International Club, the researchers reveal the model for the regeneration of industrial heritage by creative clusters in the local context of the cities. The analysis of this model indicates that the reuse of industrial heritage is an effective approach in response to the cultural demands of the post-industrial era; however, from a sustainability perspective, the measure of culture-led regeneration's performance is more economic-oriented and cultural and social aspects are hardly discussed

in culture-led urban regeneration.

In fact, property-led and culture-led are not mutually exclusive. Recent researchers (Desfor et al, 2011; Hein, 2011; McCann and Ward, 2011) view the urban waterfront regeneration as “Flows of ideas, desires, policies, strategies, ideologies, capital and culture”: the dialectical relations between the “fixity of places (property) and the “flows” of ideas and economic and other relations between such places (Desfor et al., 2011) In this thesis, the case of Shanghai West Bund is also a mixture of both property-led and culture-led. However, the respective study of property-led and culture-led regeneration help the author to understand the essence and strategies of urban regeneration projects in accordance with different situations.

2.2 Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) in Urban Regeneration

Since urban regeneration projects usually require massive investment and have a profound impact, the mechanism of collaboration emerged in the late 20 century. The primary collaboration conducted in urban regeneration projects is public-private partnerships (PPP). Within the vast literature, some researchers focus on the transition of the roles “ arrangements where private sector supplies infrastructure assets and services that traditionally have been provided by the government” (IMF, 2004). Other emphasizes the cooperation of PPP: “the cooperative ventures that involve at least one public and one private sector institution as partners” (Carroll & Steane, 2000). It is worth mentioning that the community improvement is also added into the definition by the United Nations Organization PPP Urban Environment: “informal dialogues between government officials and local community-based

organizations”.

Ideally, the goal of PPP is to provide a “long-term, sustainable approach to improving social infrastructure, enhancing the value of public assets and making better use of taxpayer’s money” (Li & Akintoye, 2003). To reveal the whole picture of PPP, Urio builds an integrated model of PPP’s goal based on the four fundamental values: “efficiency, equity, sustainability, and security.”

The literature above enable us to imagine the ideal vision of the public-private partnership; yet, in the empirical experience, the actual power of different players varied dramatically. The three principal players in the public-private partnership are Governments, developers, and communities.

2.2.1 Top-down Approach with the “Growth Coalition”

The public-private partnership between governments and private developers usually forms a “growth coalition”. It provides an exciting perspective to examine the local power structure. In general, the government has control powers (responsible for planning control, policy formulation, provision of land and infrastructure, supervision) with the political resources; Private sector has systematic problem-solving power (responsible for the whole process of investment, design, construction, management, and programming) with capital resources. The community sector without much resources usually excluded in this “public-private growth coalition” and thus in a weak position.

The literature indicates that ten years ago in Shanghai, due to the lack of community

involvement, PPP structure tend to implement in a closed-door manner. Attitudes towards the Xintiandi case, a well-known property-led regeneration project in Shanghai, vary from groups to group. From the growth-coalition perspective, it was a successful case for creating a landmark for Shanghai and having a profitable return. While Wu Fulong argues that project can be regarded as “an effort to grasp the opportunities for rediscovering historical and cultural values and turning them into economic outcomes through the strategies of image changing and property development.” (Wu, 2005) Moreover, the main concern was that the communities were in a passive position which could only accept the Shanghai Municipal Government’s arrangement of house demolition (Yan, 2012).

Another famous ‘culture’-led regeneration project is the Shanghai Sculpture Space(SSS). It boosts the long-term economy without substantive improvement to cultural programs nor the public open space. Zhong argues that the PPP governance model does not always benefit local community interests since the Shanghai Municipal Government included no public voices in the decision-making process in the SSS project (Zhong, 2014).

2.2.2 Bottom-down Approach by the Artist Group

Other studies also investigated the bottom-up regeneration approach (Fig 1), which exemplified by the M50 Creative Park, the first batch of cultural creative industrial clusters in Shanghai. Since 2000, a river cleaning project along the Suzhou River and the spontaneous arrival of artists changed its original situation of manufacturing decline (Han 2003). With an increased number of artists, it subsequently became a vital art zone for the Shanghai artists.

Although it was successful gaining the official endorsement and media support, other

researchers were skeptical about some deficiencies of the physical environment design and place-making influenced its external and internal vitality (Niu et al., 2018). From the external space, it hardly integrated with the neighborhood.

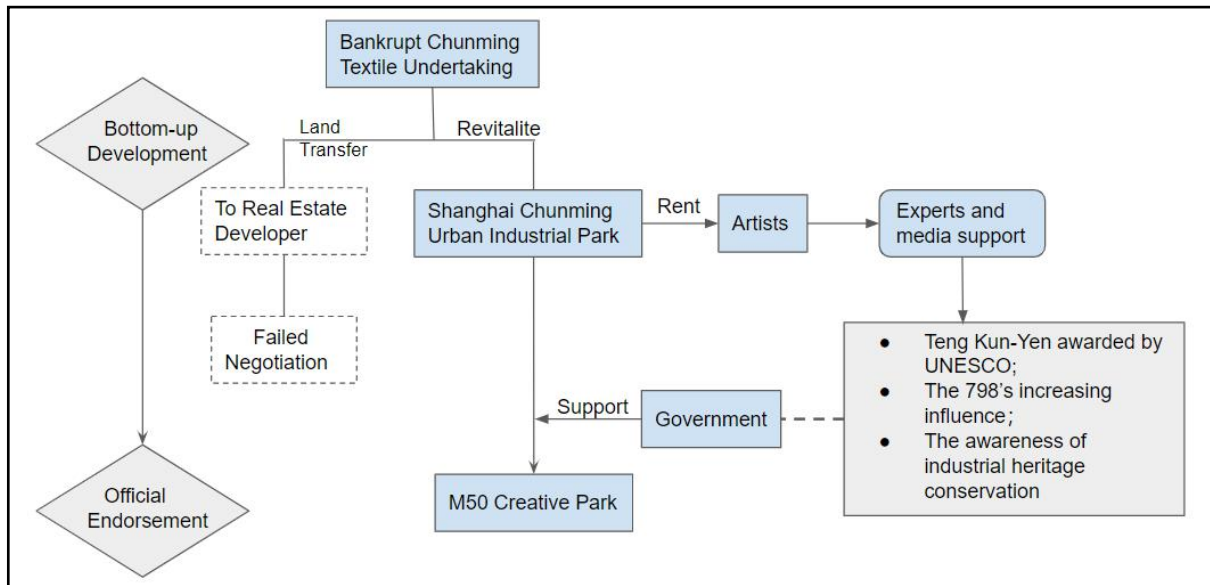


Fig 1: The Shanghai M50 Development Scenario
Source: Recreate based on Niu et al., 2018

2.2.3 Research Gap in PPP Structure

The literature of public-private partnership analysis reveals the complexity of different participants' powers; however, this research finds three shortcomings of the existing research.

Firstly, regarding the definition of public-private partnership. Current literature focused more on the partnership of public projects such as infrastructures or whether they have a form of joint-venture to collaborate. However, my thesis will emphasize on the “partnership” in a broad sense, which is the collaboration in the decision-making process (for better built & social environment and talent exchange)

Secondly, in the empirical study, “public & private” is a loose classification to

demonstrate the structure of partnership which may lead to the confusion of understanding each sectors' roles. For instance, the Chinese state-owned enterprise (SOE) is a quasi-public enterprise, which may have both public and private responsibilities. Accordingly, a more accurate method of analyzing the players' partnership in the urban regeneration process is needed.

Secondly, although the easily overlooked players (such as the community groups) was added as a self-amending for the structure of Public-Private Partnership, those players still like the subsidiary part in the analysis framework and lack of in-depth investigation. For instance, admitted that the communities might have a weak power than the growth-Coalition, it is reckless to conclude that the communities were excluded in the whole process (as Wu Fulong said). On the one hand, there are many community groups that emerged during the last decade in Shanghai which may improve the voice power of the residents. On the other hand, the "communities" itself need a better definition. Since the interest of different people in the communities may differ substantially, such as a property owner and a tenant.

Consequently, the strategies and power of the different players in the decision-making process require a proper analytic framework.

2.3 Stakeholders' Roles and Partnerships

2.3.1 Collaborative Planning

In the planning field, collaborative planning has gained increasing popularity since the 1980s. It is a process which invites stakeholders participating in the planning procedure that offers the process of mutual experiencing, learning and public-sharing (Healey, 1997). At the

same time, a new form of governance has emerged in western countries--Collaborative governance. It brings public and private stakeholders together in collective forums with public agencies to engage in consensus-oriented decision making (Ansell, 2008). Based on 137 cases of collaborative governance, Ansell found that some crucial variables will influence whether or not this mode will produce successful collaboration, such as prior history of conflict or cooperation, the incentives for stakeholders to participate, power and resources imbalances, leadership, and institutional design. Ansell also identifies a series of factors that are crucial within the collaborative process itself, including face-to-face dialogue, trust building, and the development of commitment and shared understanding.

2.3.2 Stakeholder Analysis

Indeed, successful collaborative planning should include a coordinated relationship among multi-stakeholders. It requires different stakeholders embody argumentation, analysis, and assessment (AAA), which achieve planning goals and implementation. (Yuan, 2016). Accordingly, the approach of stakeholder analysis could help my study to conduct more precise research on the players involved in the urban regeneration projects, and this approach will be the central thesis' tactic.

Stakeholder theory stems from the theory of the firm to study complex stakeholder¹ relationships, partnerships, and collaborations which can include public and private organizations (Savage et al., 2010). Since urban regeneration is a long-term, complex process, it requires the collaboration of a wide ranges of stakeholders with a shared vision and

¹ (governments, investors, political groups, suppliers, customers, trade associations, employees and communities)

common goals (Roberts & Sykes, 2000). The purpose of stakeholders' collaboration is to obtain various benefits, avoid the cost of resolving adversarial intra-stakeholder conflicts in the long term (Yuksel, Bramwell & Yuksel, A, 1999).

In the current literature, many researchers also demonstrate the issues of long-term stakeholders' collaboration. Firstly, the key stakeholders should be involved during the early stage, or they will generate larger disagreements in the later stage; secondly, the issues of maintenance of collaboration caused by the different capacity of participation and different level of information sharing ought to be pay attention to.(Aas et al., 2005) Furthermore, researchers also argued that long-term direction, management, monitoring, regulation and implementation in a complex environment might call for a more formalized structure of a collaborative referent organization. (Trist, 1983)

2.3.3 Identify Stakeholders

The first stage of the analysis is to identify the stakeholders in the partnership. Stakeholders are generally those who have the interest or will be affected by a decision. The NOAA Coastal Services Center (CSC)² categorizes the stakeholders into four groups: (1) People who live, work, play at or near a resource such as residents, users, NGOs, government, community organization; (2) People interested in the resource, its users, it uses, or its non-use, such as Businesses, interest groups and NGOs, government; (3) People interested in decision-making process such as NGO, NPO, government, the media, and residents; (4)

² The Coastal Services Center, an office within the federal government's National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) provide the *Introduction to Stakeholder Participation*

People who pay the bills and manage the resources such as residents, resource users, businesses, and government; (5) People who legally responsible for public resources such as government. These provide a wide range of different stakeholders.

As we can see above, compared with the loosely defined “Public & Private sectors”, this classification identify the various scenarios in the decision-making process, and it may have broader coverage of stakeholders. Nevertheless, the issue is the frequent overlap among the different groups of stakeholders. For the sake of both clear identification and convenience of the investigation, my category will base on the suggestion from the case study’s interviewees: (1) Government; (2) Developers; (3) Tenants; (4) Professionals; (5) Communities; (6) Communicators. The detailed description will be provided in the fourth part of the thesis.

2.3.4 Content of Stakeholder Analysis

According to CSC, the content of stakeholder analysis comprises of (1) basic characteristics of stakeholders (name, contact information, position, scope of influence, likely degree of involvement, affiliation); (2) Basic characteristics of the organized groups (mission, membership, history, scope of influence, likely degree of involvement) (3) Stakeholder’s Position; (4) Stakeholder’s Interests in the issue.

Based on this, I revised the categories to form the content of respective stakeholder analysis (Table 2): (1) Basic Characteristic (2) Goals and interests; (2) Responsibilities; (4) Partnerships’ Strategies; (5) Position / Power.

Stakeholders Analysis	
1. Basic Characteristics	name
	affiliation
	history
2. Goals and interests	
3. Responsibilities	
4. Partnerships Strategies	
5. Position / Power	

Table 2: Identity Stakeholders
Source: Author, based on CSC, 2015

Regarding the structure of analyzing the stakeholders' partnership, two pieces can be referenced. In the Xintiandi case, Wu first introduces the background and impetus of the property-led redevelopment and then elaborate the roles, resources, and the contribution of

Players	Roles	Resources	Contribution/Response
Private enterprises	Primary Participation	1. Ample capital resources and impelling accumulating capability 2. Lack of influence on local governance	1. Act as principal investors and developers
Directly involved local state	Active and potent collaborator	1. Limited land and financial resources 2. Limited governing resources on certain urban areas	1. Bring new urban landscape and economic growth Provides direct supports (Housing demolition and relocation)
Upper governing agent	Authoritative mediator and supervisor	1. Land resources and financial leverage 2. Superior governing authority	1. Encourages or modulates market operation 2. Delivers the policy of central states and oversees the redevelopment process
Urban neighborhoods	Excluded player	1. Deficiency of economic/ political/ governing resources	1. Vacate from original places and relocate to suburb 2. Individual resistances

Table 3: Different Roles in Pro-Growth Coalition
Source: He & Wu, 2005

the private enterprises, directly involved local state, upper governing agent, and the neighborhoods respectively (Table 3). In another relevant literature, Jung et al. also explain the culture-led project at the first stage from the themes of “perception, the role of culture, purpose, and long-term outcomes” and followed by the analysis of stakeholder collaboration in two parts: “Perceptions and Potential problems”.

Besides, other literature cover the factors for achieving a successful stakeholder collaboration in urban regeneration projects: It should base on active participant involvement, complete information sharing (Jamal & Stronza, 2009), and long-term monitoring, regulation, and implementation (Timothy et al., 2014; Andriof et al., 2003).

CHAPTER 3 BACKGROUND AND PARTNERSHIP OVERVIEW

3.1 Brief Background

To have an in-depth examination of stakeholders' partnership in urban regeneration, the case of Shanghai West Bund, a new large-scale of culture-led regeneration stands out. It refers to the area (Fig 2) along the Huangpu River in the east of Xuhui District which covers

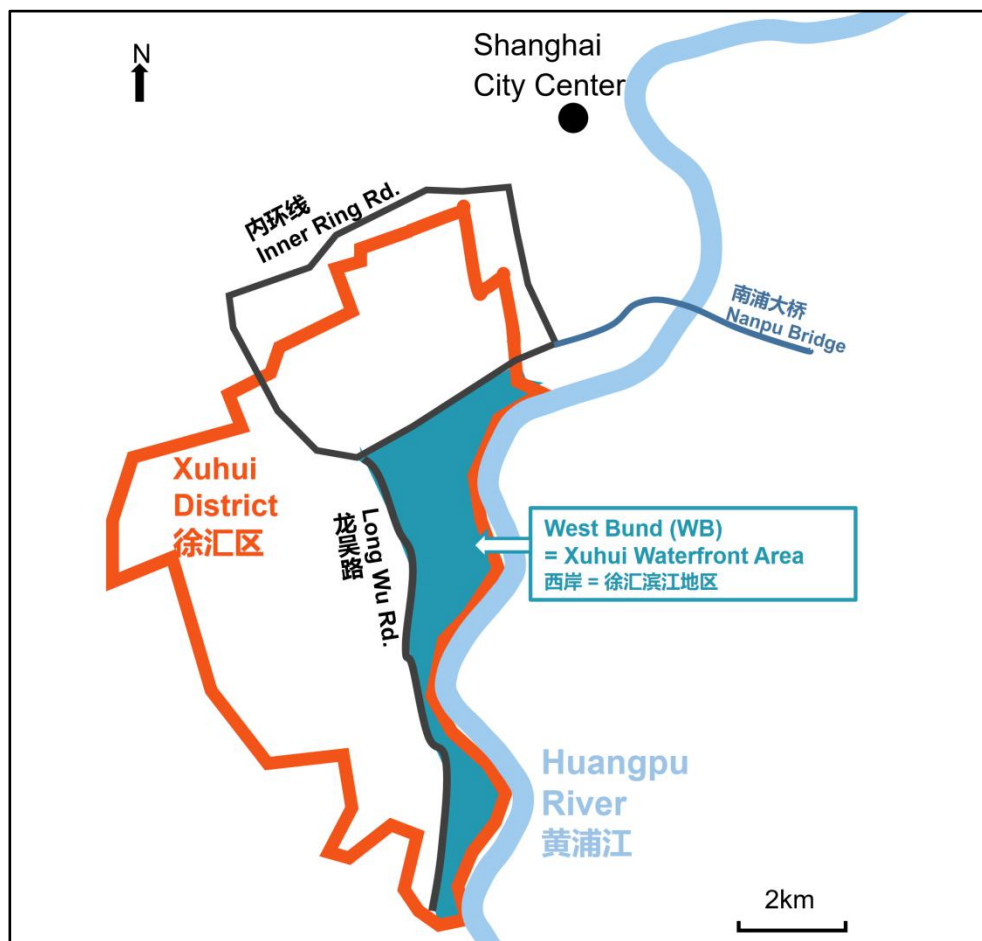


Fig 2: The Location of Shanghai West Bund
Source: Author, based on the WB location map

9.4 square kilometers. The study period is ten years from 2008. Under the background of re-development of brownfield environments before the Shanghai 2010 Expo, since 2008, this once-forgone industrial area (Fig 3) has been planned to transformed into public open space to support city living.



Fig 3: West Bund Waterfront Area in 2000
Source: West Bund Website, 2000

Guided by the “culture-oriented, eco-based & technological-innovation-drive”³ (文化先导、生态优先、科创主导) development policies, the initial goal was to build West Bund into an iconic zone which would be comparable to the Rive Gauche (Left Bank) in Paris and the South Bank in London as part of Shanghai's efforts to become a global city. The plan has four parts: the riverfront public open space; the museum avenues rebuilt from the old factories; the media port as creative industries clusters (西岸传媒港创意产业集群) and the financial center led by Culture Investment Fund (文化投资基金为主导的西岸金融中心).

³ “西岸 | BEST BUND.” *District Overview* | 西岸 | WEST BUND, www.westbund.com/en/index/ABOUT-WEST-BUND/Area-Overview/District-Overview.html.

3.2 How and Why? Timeline for Development Path and Impetus

2006	2008	2012	2018	2019
Initial Plan: International high-end residential area	To be prepared for 2010 Shanghai World Expo, the Xuhui District government began the land acquisition of West Bund	The previous secretary of Xuhui District, first proposed culture-led strategy; Landing of Long Museum, Yuz Museum	Strategic partnership with Center Pompidou of France and West Kowloon of Hong Kong	Construction of WB Media Port program; Other supporting facilities such as shopping mall and supermarkets

Table 4: Timeline of WB Development Process

Source: Author, based on the interview with Chen, director of WB’s industrial cultivation department, 2019

3.2.1 Property-led approach at first (2006)

The two paragraphs above (3.1) are the brief introduction of the Shanghai West Bund from its official website. However, concerning its development path and impetus, the actual interview experiences tell us a different story (Timeline summarizes as Table 4).

The story of Shanghai West Bund began in 2006 when its name was still Xuhui District Waterfront Area at that time. Before the 2010 Shanghai World Expo, the West Bund was a dilapidated factory area, locates on the opposite side of the Huangpu River of the Expo’s main venue. In order to have a better city image for the Expo, the Xuhui District government got the opportunity to complete the 3.3km land acquisition along the West Bund. Regarding the planning of next step development, many international design firms and consulting firms were invited to give advice. The first strategies for West Bund were the international high-end residential area, a property-led redevelopment plan.

It was not surprised to embrace the property-led approach under the background of the land and housing reform. The adoption of land leasing system which transferred the land use rights to the secondary land market, laid the foundation for private enterprises to acquire land from local government by paying specific land leasing charges. (He & Wu, 2005) With the land leasing system, transferring the deteriorated area into high-profile properties, such as luxury apartments and office buildings became highly profitable and attracted a significant number of investors (Zhu, 2002).

Housing reform can also be deemed to be the catalyst for the property-led redevelopment. During the 1980s and 1990s, significant changes in the housing provision system emerged (Wang & Murie, 2000). In the 1990s, housing provision is no longer the obligation of government and work units, but shifted to a market-based distribution system. A parallel reform effort that would enable market-based housing development was the establishment of housing insurance, finance, and loan systems(Wu & Gaubatz, 2013).

The land and housing reform together with the tremendous demands of the property market jointly contributed to the rapid property-led development after the 1990s. Lujiazui in the Pudong New Area, established in 1990, is an epitome for the property-led development strategies. Further, the waterfront area of the Lujiazui is occupied by all sort of office and residential buildings. In consequence, it is reasonable to have a plan for residential development in the early 2000s.

3.2.2 Adjustment Phase from 2010 to 2012

Due to the downturn of the economic condition, however, Shanghai West Bund has

undergone its adjustment phase from 2010 to 2012. The trigger for the economic downturn was the 2008 global financial crisis but exaggerated by the short-term 4 trillion monetary easing policy. Some researchers such as Wu Jinglian criticized that although the 4 trillion economic stimulus plan aimed to boost domestic demand to minimize the impact of financial crisis, it indeed had many sequelae, including the accumulation of real estate bubbles, the bad debt risk of local government, and overcapacity in some industries. (Wu, 2014)

Under these circumstances, the leaders of the Xuhui District government have a hard time in figuring out future strategies. “We do not know what to do next step,” said the director of the Xuhui Waterfront Area Construction Management Committee, “but we need to cross the river by feeling the stones.”⁴

Accordingly, in 2012, the West Bund Development (Group) Co., Ltd. (West Bund Group, WBG) was formed by Xuhui District State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission (SASAC, 徐汇区国资委), which integrated the original Shanghai Xuhui Land Development Co., Ltd. and Shanghai Guangqi Culture Industry Investment Development Co., Ltd.

The foundation of this state-owned enterprise (SOE) was under the background of administration decentralization which “decreased the direct control of central government on local development” (Leaf, 1995) Moreover, the local state is responsible for providing various services to facilitate marketized operation and regulate the market through legislative authority (He & Wu, 2003). At the first stage, the responsibilities of the West Bund Group are

⁴ To cross the river by feeling the stones (Chinese: 摸着石头过河) Famous saying from Deng Xiaoping, originally used to describe the exploration of Chinese reform and opening up.

the planning, land acquisition & storage and the infrastructure construction. In conclusion, in the adjustment phase, the West Bund did the preparation job for the next step's attraction for domestic and foreign private investment, which could foster the industrial restructuring.

3.2.3 Culture-led approach (2012-present)

“In West Bund, Culture-led regeneration is not a blind top-down approach,” said Mr.Chen, the director of West Bund’s industrial cultivation department. “Culture-led” never become a strategy until the landing of three iconic projects: (1) Long Art Museum, the largest Chinese private museum; (2)Yu Deyao Art Museum, and (3) Shanghai Dream Center (the biggest project of Sino-US in the Cultural Exchange field after the Xi Jinping's Visit to the United States).

After the contract signing of these three projects, Sun Jiwei, the previous secretary of Xuhui District, first proposed “culture-led strategy” for the West Bund’s redevelopment. “Sun has a Doctoral degree in Architecture from Tongji University, so he understands the logic of foreign culture-led regeneration in boosting the urban economy, which may also be suitable for West Bund.” Mr.Chen introduced. In 2012, the historical preservation group from Tongji University was hired to research the industrial heritages in West Bund. Then in 2013, Kchange Cultural Tourism Planning Consulting Co., Ltd. was invited to conduct the comprehensive analysis for culture and tourism-led plan.

Since 2014, with the opening of the Long Museum, Yu Deyao Museum, and West Bund Culture and Art Pilot Zone, and Museum Mile (part of the Culture Corridor Plan) have gradually taken shaped. Moreover, this was the time when it got a real sense of culture-led

regeneration.

More importantly, it was in the period that the growth rate of cultural consumption is increased steadily (Pascal, 2015), both in urban and rural areas. Therefore, the construction of cultural infrastructures in West Bund could meet and satisfy the cultural need of residents and visitors. After that, the biannual West Bund Art Season, Art & Design Fair, Music Festival and other cultural events have attracted a large gathering of art and music lovers. Famous for its art and culture, West Bund also hosts the World Artificial Intelligence Conference which also attracted China's leading companies like Tencent, Alibaba, Xiaomi to establish cooperation with West Bund. (Fang shizhong, 2018) Consequently, the media and technology industry is also promoted by the Museum Mile effect.

In summary, the strategies of urban regeneration are contributed by the comprehensive impacts of the economic condition, institutional changes, and social and cultural demands. At first, the land and housing reform, together with the administrative decentralization, facilitate the wave of property-led redevelopment in Shanghai. Later on, the concern of the real estate bubble derived from the financial crisis and short-term economic stimulus plan urged local managers in West Bund to explore a more sustainable strategy. Finally, the landing of three culture-related projects and the increasing domestic demand for cultural consumption laid the foundation for the culture-led strategy for West Bund. Nevertheless, urban regeneration is a complicated process which involved the game and cooperation of various stakeholders. Thus, the partnership mechanism and precise roles still need in-depth and meticulous research.

3.3 Partnership Overview

3.3.1 Stakeholders Overview

This chapter examines the overall partnership mechanisms and strategies among different stakeholders. For a better understanding of the stakeholders involved, based on the interview experience, the study first divided the players to six groups: (1) Governments; (2) Developers; (3) Tenants; (4) Professionals; (5) Communities; (6) Communicators. (Table 5)

Classification	Stakeholders Involved
1. Governments	1) Shanghai Municipal Government (SMG) 2) Shanghai Planning and Natural Resources Bureau 3) Xuhui District Government (XDG) 4) WB Management Committee (subordinate: WB Management Office) 5) Four Sub-district Office
2. Developers	1) Primary developers: West Bund Group 2) Secondary developers: China Eastern Airlines Group
3. Tenants/Investors	1) Culture: Museums Gallerias West Camp 3399 2) AI: MIUI
4. Professionals	1) Planners Experts Committee 2) Art Experts Committee 3) Architects 4) Industrial preservation Group 5) Local NGOs
5. Communities	1) Residents 2) Visitors
6. Communicators	1) The media

Table 5: Stakeholders' Classification

Further, the analysis of stakeholders' partnership will unfold within four types of partnership (Table 6): (1) Joint-Development of Built Environment; (2) Land & Space transaction; (3)

Joint-Development of Industry; (4) Mutual Communication; and (5) collaborative Governance.

Type of Partnership	Description	Stakeholders Involved
4.2 Joint-Development of Built Environment 共同营造环境	Funding	Shanghai Municipal and District Governments
	Land Acquisition and Storage	WBG; Two-levels of governments
	Master Plan	Shanghai Planning and Natural Resources Bureau; WBG; Consulting Firm
	Architecture	WBG; Architecture Firm
	Construction	WBG; Construction Firm
4.3 Land Transaction & Leasing 土地空间交易	Land Use Conveyance	WBG; Secondary developers; Long Museum
	Leasing	WBG; Tenants
4.4 Joint-Development of Industry 共育产业	Strategic Partnership	WBG; West Kowloon of Hong Kong Cnter Pompidou of France
	Events Programming	WBG; Cultural Communication companies; Sponor; Supervision Departments
	Communication	WBG; Scholars; New York Times; ThePaper
4.5 Collaborative Governance 社会共治	Daily Management through the method of Project Management	WBG; WB Office; Other Sub-district Office Visitors; Media; NGOs

Table 6: Stakeholders and Partnership Analysis Structure

3.3.2 Managerial Structure

Before delving into the detailed stakeholders' analysis, the study will first introduce the overall managerial and partnership structure in the West Bund development process. Under the background of administrative decentralization, the government has gradually transferred from “being an omnipotent agent to a managerial institution” (He & Wu, 2003). In this transition, the municipal and district-level government could still have the main decision-making power through a top-down institutional setup. (Fig 4)

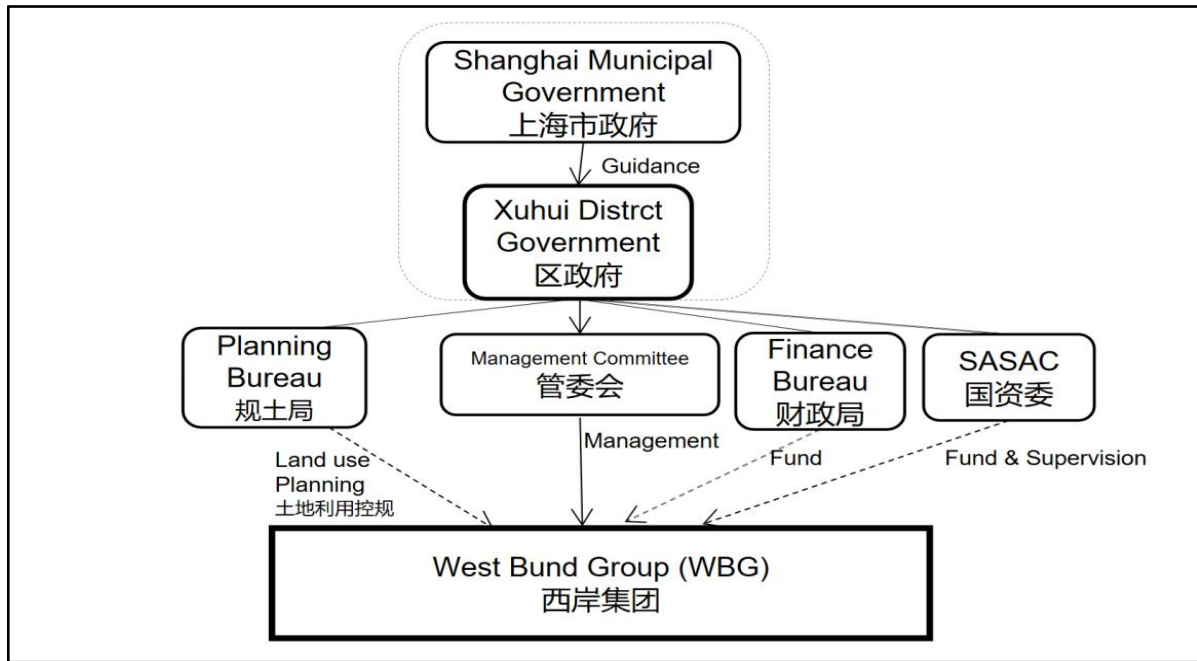


Fig 4: Institutional Setup for WBG

As briefly mentioned in section 3.2.2, for the sake of promoting comprehensive development and management of Xuhui district waterfront area, in 2012, the Xuhui State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission (SASAC, 徐汇区国资委) integrated three state-owned enterprises⁵ To form the West Bund Development Group Co., Ltd. (West Bund Group, 西岸集团, WBG) with a registered capital of 660 million RMB (around 100 million dollars). WBG currently owns 9 first-tier subsidiary (一级子公司, subsidiary of WBG)⁶, 17 second-tier subsidiaries (二级子公司, subsidiaries of first-tier subsidiary), and about 300 employees responsible for the comprehensive development: land acquisition and storage, real estate development, cultural industry cultivation, and

⁵ Shanghai Xuhui Land Development Co., Ltd.(土发公司), Longjian Construction Co., Ltd.(龙建公司), and Shanghai Waterfront Co., Ltd.(滨江公司) Shanghai Guangqi Culture Industry Investment Development Co., Ltd..

⁶ Shanghai Xuhui Land Development Co., Ltd., Shanghai Guangqi Culture Industry Investment Development Co., Ltd., Shanghai Xuhui Binjiang Development and Construction Investment Co., Ltd., Shanghai West Bank Media Port Development and Construction Co., Ltd., Shanghai Huiyu Construction Investment Development Co., Ltd., Shanghai Longhua Construction Development Co., Ltd., Shanghai West Coast Art Bonds Development Co., Ltd., Shanghai Longhua International Aviation Investment Co., Ltd., Shanghai Gold World Commercial Building Co., Ltd.

management.

In order to promote the collaboration between the public and private sectors, the Xuhui district government established the Xuhui Waterfront Area Construction Management Committee (管委会, WB Committee). The executive level of a committee is the same with the Xuhui district government: It is called “Two institutions with one team” (两套班子, 一套人马)⁷. Therefore, the WBG searches for assistance from the governments through the Committee, while the governments also use the Committee to conduct management and supervision on WBG; and the governments use WBG to communicate with the private sectors.

The WBG has 11 departments including planning department, industry development department, land storage department, investment department, etc. It is worth mentioning that the WB management office, which belongs to the Management Committee, is also set as one of the departments of WBG and work together with other departments.

3.3.3 Equity Structure

In China, the land development process usually contains two procedures: first-level development and secondary development. The first-level development refers to land acquisition, demolition, resettlement and compensation of urban state-owned land or rural collective land by the government or its authorized enterprises, and the construction of supporting infrastructures and facilities to reach a certain standard (then it become mature

⁷ The chief of Committee is the chief of Xuhui district government, the office director of the committee is the deputy district chief.

land).⁸ The secondary development of land, that is, the landowner transfer, lease, or mortgage the land use right of the mature land in the market. In the West Bund, the people from WBG defined themselves as the “first-level developer” and called other real estate developers the “secondary developer”.

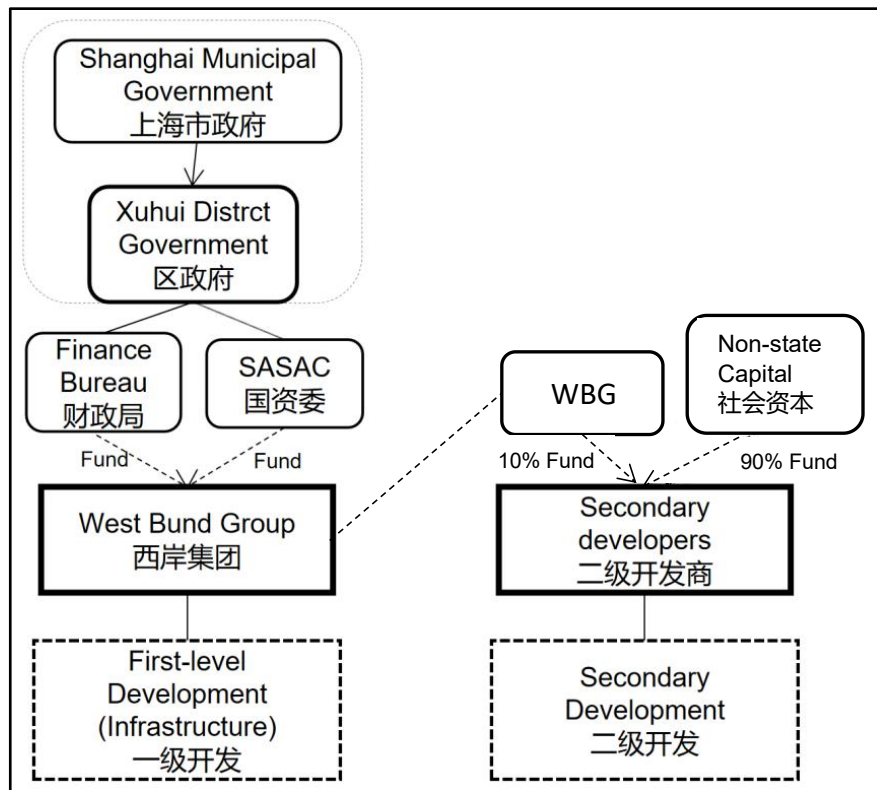


Fig 5: WB’s Equity Structure for First-level and Secondary Development

Accordingly, there are two equity structures in West Bund’s development process. It is wholly state-funded (WBG) in the process of the primary development, while involved many private capitals and other stakeholders in the secondary development (Fig 5, WBG may fund 10%-20% in the secondary development stage for some key programs such as UrbanCore Shopping Mall to ensure the consistence of the WB comprehensive plan). “This strategy is called Government-led, Private enterprises involved, (政府主导，企业参与)” highlighted the

⁸ The land within the area reaches the construction conditions of “three links, one leveling”, “five connections and one leveling” or “seven connections and one leveling” (recipient land)

director of the planning department of WBG. She also mentioned that even in the first-level development, many governments in other jurisdictions adopt the mechanism of joint-venture partnership which involved the private capital in the equity structure.

Further, she explained the three reasons for choosing the equity structure of wholly state-funded in the first-level development process:

(1) The infrastructure programs in West Bund do not generate cash flow:

In other cases, private companies may benefit from joint ventures. For instance, joint-construction of highways could have revenue of tolls, joint-construction of subway could capture the value of land price uplift. Thus, private enterprises willing to share the risks benefits with the public sector. However, the infrastructures of the West Bund (roads, bridges, greening, runway for citizens, and public open space, Fig 13) are open to the public for free; accordingly, seldom will the private enterprises willing to form the joint-venture with the government in the first-level development.

(2) The government wants to have more control:

The West Bund is one of the six key development areas during the 12th Five-Year Plan period in Shanghai; it is the most significant city-image making project for the Xuhui district government. In consequence, the governments need the voice of power during the decision-making process in the first-level development. If private enterprises primarily fund the WBG, then the government will become a weak position in planning and development strategies, which increases the political risks.

(3) Xuhui district government has ample funding for the infrastructure.

Usually, other governments use joint-venture for infrastructure to solve the problem of

lack of fiscal funding. However, according to the director of WBG’s planning department, Xuhui district government has ample capital for the construction of infrastructure (Fig 6). The Xuhui District Finance Bureau set a “waterfront development special fund” to support the development of west bund. In 2018, 90% of fiscal expenditure came into this “waterfront development special fund”⁹.

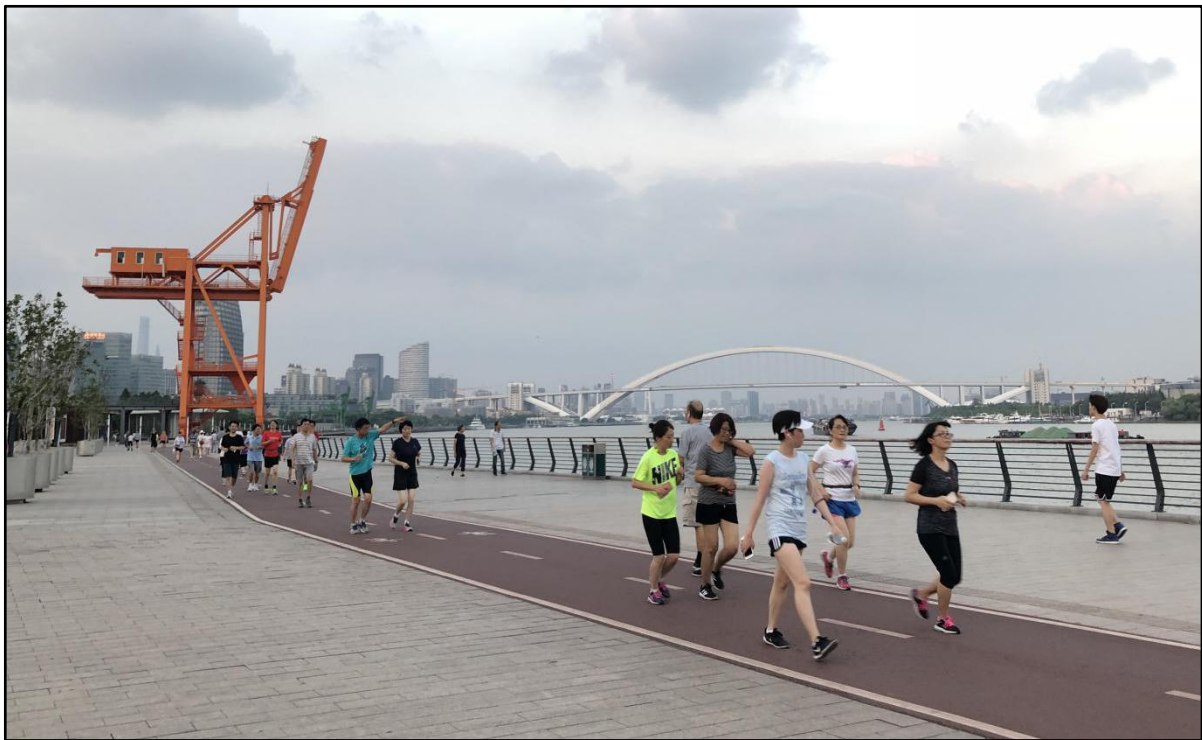


Fig 6: WB Infrastructure: Jogging Path and Public Open Space for Residents

3.3.4 Partnership Structure

Corresponding to the two equity structures, the pattern of stakeholders’ partnership also differentiates (Fig 7 & 8). Although in the first-level development, the governments do not allow much room of collaboration in the management board, there are a bunch of partnerships in the subsequent secondary development process, industry cultivation process, and collaborative governance process. What is the impetus for those collaborations?

⁹ According to the 2018 Annual Departmental Budget of Xuhui District Finance Bureau of Shanghai (summary) http://www.xuhui.gov.cn/h/xhxxgk/xxgk_czj_qtlxx_bmysjs/Info/Detail_22565.htm



Fig 7: Partnership Structure of First-level Development

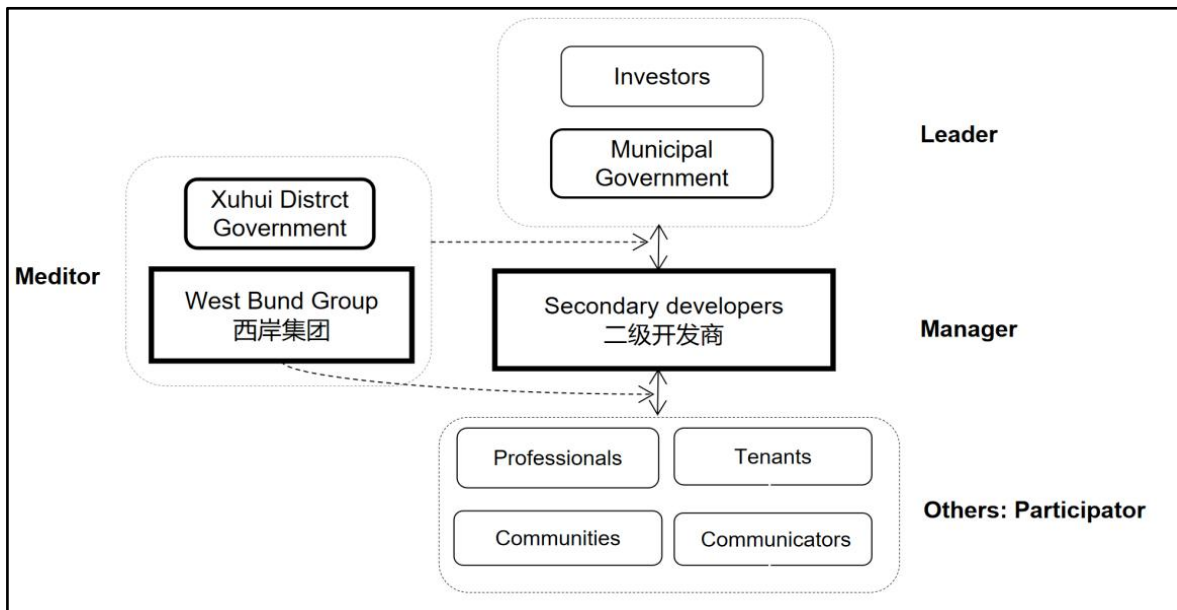


Fig 8: Partnership Structure of Secondary Development

(1) Large development area

The total development area is about 9.4 square kilometers with many types of land (commercial, residential, green, etc.). Even though the Xuhui district government could afford the construction fee of basic infrastructure (the responsibility of the WBG as a

first-level developer), the secondary development still requires the support of different developers with social capital.

(2) Experienced professionals are needed

According to the interviews from the director of WBG's planning department and industry development department, the governments believed that the human capital (professionals in different fields) is the most valuable asset to promote the development for the west bund. Thus, besides the partnership with the secondary developers, the WBG hires many professional institutions to program the art and cultural festivals and establishes the strategic partnership with the Centre Georges-Pompidou of France and the West Kowloon Cultural District of Hong Kong to promote the development of the cultural industry.

CHAPTER 4 STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS AND PARTNERSHIP

4.1 Joint-Development of Built Environment

4.1.1 Partnership Overview

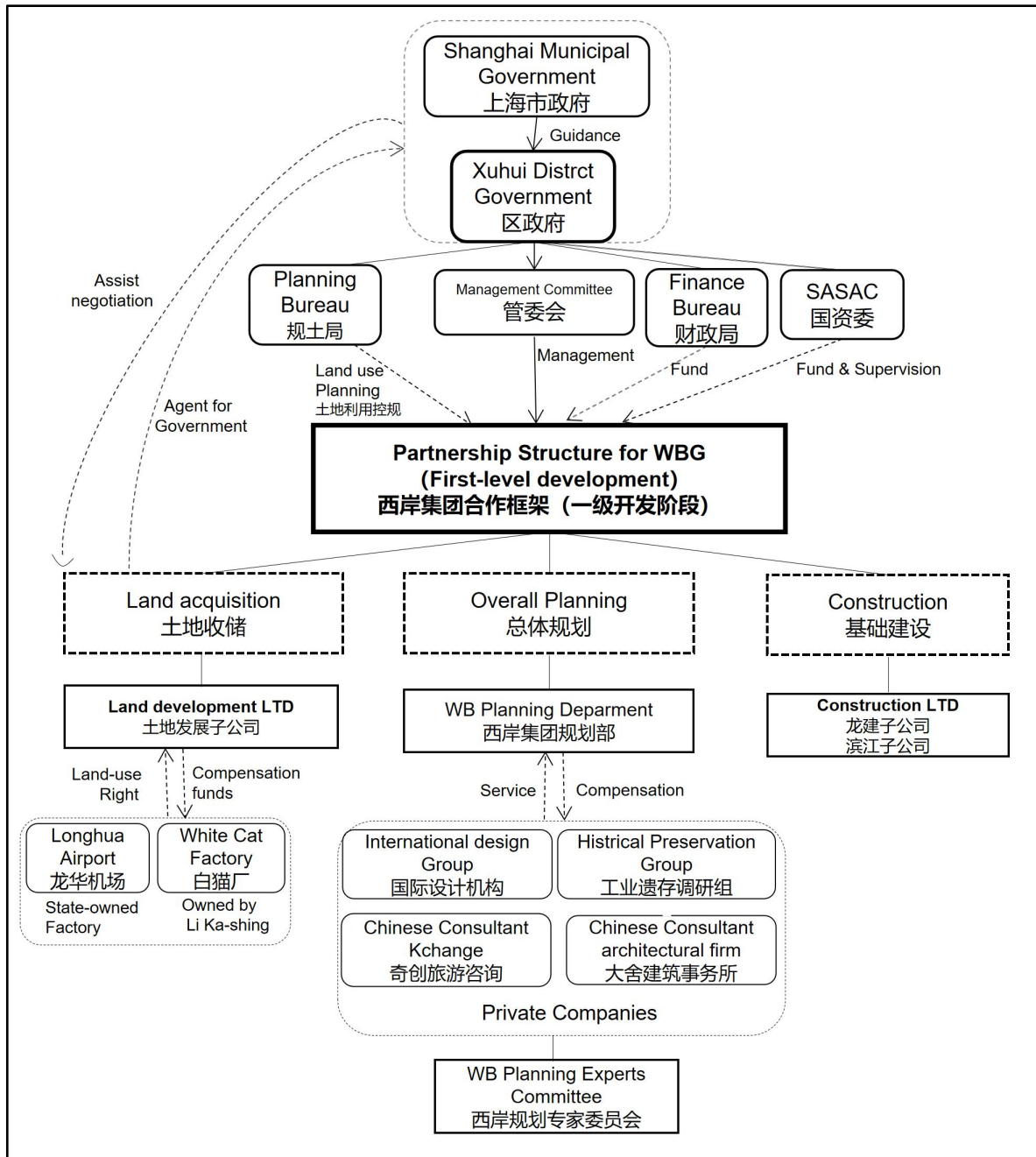


Fig 9: Stakeholders' Partnership for Joint-Development of Built Environment

Under the partnership structure described above, the first stage is the Joint-Development of Built Environment (cover the most period of first-level development),

which contain three main responsibilities: (1) land acquisition, (2) overall planning, and (3) construction. As we can see from Fig 9, various stakeholders participated in this stage. Thus, how did they been involved in the development process? Under what circumstance will the players sacrifice?

4.1.2 Land acquisition

Among the procedures of first-level development, land acquisition is where the story and the game (Chinese: 博弈) begins. Before the regeneration plan, the land-use right mainly belonged to two state-owned factories: Longhua Airport and White Cat Factory. Authorized by the Shanghai Municipal Government, the Shanghai Land Development LTD (subsidiary corporation of WBG), is the agent to conduct the land acquisition for the government.

According to the director of WBG's planning department, although the objectives are the state-owned factories and the land acquisition is a legal process with compensation, the negotiation process was still arduous. The Shanghai White Cat Factory, particularly, were extremely reluctant to the acquisition due to the objections from the state-owned enterprise workers and major shareholder Li Ka-Shing (李嘉诚). The issue of workers was that, if the land was acquired to the government, a large number of employees need to be laid off. In order to avoid the Mass Incident (群体性事件), the Land Development Group dealt with them carefully: paid the employees a certain amount of laid-off resettlement fees and tried to appease the employee's emotions.

Regarding the objection from the significant shareholder Li Ka-Shing¹⁰ (李嘉诚), who

¹⁰ Li Ka-Shing, a Hong Kong billionaire property tycoon, is one of the most influential entrepreneurs in Asia. He once made a large amount of real estate investment in mainland China. From 2015-2017, it is said that Li

own part of the land-use right of the White Cat Factory, there were protracted negotiations between the WBG and Li Ka-Shing team. The appeal of WBG is to acquire land to build the main avenue (Long Teng Avenue) for the accessibility of West Bund waterfront area, which was just blocked by the Li Ka-Shing's land. In the beginning, Li Ka-Shing refused to sell the land-use right of White Cat Factory due to the awareness of property rights protection. Later, the WBG sought assistance from the Xuhui District Government and Shanghai Municipal Government. Finally, it was the United Front Work Department of CPC Central Committee (UFWD, 中共中央统战部)¹¹ who persuaded Li Ka-Shing to make a deal with the WBG. In this deal, Li finally agreed to push back his project 200 meters away from the riverside to make way for the LongTeng Road in West Bund.

After the land acquisition, apart from a small proportion of land is still under the name of Longhua Airport Group, other lands were successfully acquired back to the government, waiting for the rezoning by the Shanghai Municipal and District's planning bureaus.

In conclusion, during this game between the agent of government (WBG) and the owner of land-usage right, we learned that the non-government entities tend to have a weak power in the battle of property rights, even though you are the influential entrepreneurs in Asia, let alone the workers who face the risk of being laid-off. Especially, if you are "lucky" to own the land which becomes the most significant city-image making project for the government, you will end up with are too lucky to own the land because the government

withdrew a massive proportion of capital from the mainland but was denied by Li.

¹¹ UFWD, is an agency of the Communist Party of China that manages relations with various essential and influential elite individuals and organizations inside and outside China.

entities could become the role of both leader or mediator to force you to make a deal. However, frankly speaking, the acquisition cases in West Bund not worth blaming when taking the industrial upgrading and the construction of large-scale public open space into considerations, if the original landowners received the fair compensations.

4.1.3 Comprehensive planning

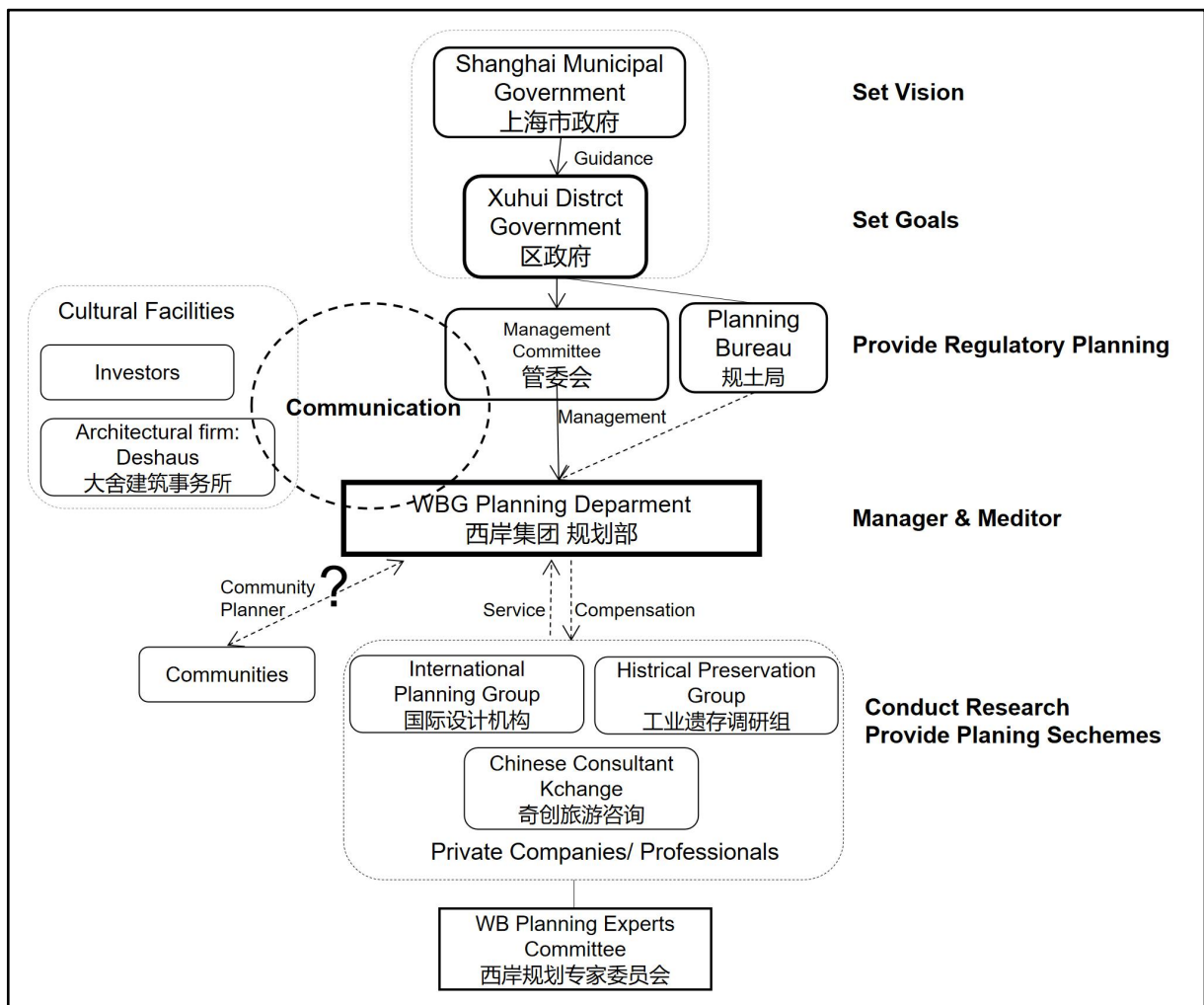


Fig 10: Partnership Structure of Comprehensive Planning

(1) WBG & Government Entities

Concerning the comprehensive planning process (Fig 10), the government entities in Shanghai are the crucial players who set the visions, goals, and policies, based on the market

needs and feedback from the WBG.

- **Shanghai Municipal Government: Set Vision.** In 2017, the mayor of Shanghai, Han Zheng, gave instruction directly to West Bund: “The West Bund is the last piece of overcoating and most precious land in Shanghai. What is needed for Shanghai's next step development? The West Bund should answer. ” Before his instruction, according to the “Shanghai 2040 Master Plan”, Shanghai will become an excellent global city in the economy, innovation, and culture by 2040 to promote the industrial upgrading. In the Chinese context, culture (Chinese: 人文) usually has two layers of implication: first is the Human-oriented space (以人为本的空间); second is the cultural facilities and industry (文化设施与文化产业). Accordingly, as part of the effort of creating human-oriented space, the “Three-Year Action Plan for Public Space Construction on Both Sides of the Huangpu River (2015-2017)”¹² From Municipal government gave a guideline for the WB waterfront redevelopment. After 2016, With the rise of the artificial intelligence industry in China, the Shanghai Municipal government also emphasize the importance of technology and artificial intelligence industry for the West Bund development.
- **Xuhui District Government: Set Goals.** In 2012, after the contract signing of three culture-related projects with the increasing demand of cultural consumption, the then secretary of Xuhui District first proposed “culture-led strategy” for the West Bund’s redevelopment to make an overall improvement in culture and art. Consequently, the

¹² the municipal government officially assigned the functions of the Pujiang Office of the city to the Municipal Housing and Urban Construction Management Committee. 2018 年黄浦江两岸 45 公里贯通工程, 从杨浦大桥到徐浦大桥, 全部沿江开放, 三道贯通 (跑步道、漫步道、骑行道)

Xuhui District Government set the goals (1) to promote the culture, media, and technology industry for economic growth; and (2) to enhance the happiness index of the citizens through enhancing the living environment and enriching the cultural activities in the West Bund waterfront area. In 2017, Xuhui District Government also supported the planning of “West Bund Smart Valley”, which includes the 510,000 West Bund international AI Center.

- **The Planning Bureau of Xuhui District: Provide Regulatory Planning:** The Planning Bureau of Xuhui District is responsible for the formulation of a detailed regulatory plan which is legally valid. The criteria are the reasonable urban form, reasonable land value, and future development strategies. After the approval from the municipal planning bureau, the WBG will have a detailed regulatory plan for implementation. The plan set the spatial land use layout (Appx 1: WB Land Use Type Map) and the proportion of land types as 2:3:2:3 (Commercial: residential: green space: road water system) within the total land area of 9.4 square kilometers. Also, the proportion of public open space along the 11.4 kilometers coastline should not less than 65%.

To sum up, although the government entities are the crucial players who set the guideline, they are based on the industrial restructuring, citizens’ cultural needs, and the actual progress of projects in the market (see Chapter 3.2 and Chapter 3.3), rather than the administrative order. According to the director of WB planning department, the setting of goals (government side) and the landing of projects (market side) is an iterative process.

(1) WBG & Professionals/Consultancy

The partnership between the private consultant firms and WBG is developed through the consultancy services. Besides, during this process, WBG forms a WB planning Experts Committee to invite several planning experts in Shanghai to assess the advice provided by the consultancy firms. The experts involve Zilai Tang, Shiling Zheng, and other famous planners.

- **International Design Group:** With reference to the successful experience of the brownfield revival in Hamburg Port of Germany and Canary Wharf in the United Kingdom, Xuhui District Government launched a competition among the international design groups for public open space along the West Bund waterfront area in 2010. In this levy, Mr. Peter, the planning master from the British PDR firm, won the competition with the design concept of “Shanghai CORNICHE”¹³. Mr. Peter compiled a planning guide: The 8.4-kilometer riverside coastline is divided into three sections (casual cultural zone, art, and cultural zone, natural experience zone), four Lines (leisure trails, waterfront trails, bicycle trails, and trams trails), and a number of horizontal urban roads and open spaces to form an organic public green space system with good accessibility. Then, the EDSA group conduct the landscape design within this guideline.
- **Historical Preservation Group:** In 2012, with the increasing awareness of rediscovering the local cultural identities in the urban regeneration process, the historical preservation group from Tongji University was hired to research the industrial heritages in West Bund. As a result, their efforts facilitated the preservation of 40,000 square meter quay; 33 historical buildings; 2.5 km railroad; and four hoisting machines for a unique memory of the industrialization of China.

¹³ CORNICHE is originally a French word, referring to a winding road.

- **Cultural Tourism Planning Consulting Firm:** Then in 2013, Kchange Cultural Tourism Planning Consulting Co., Ltd. was invited by WBG to conduct the comprehensive analysis for culture and tourism-led plan. It proposed to have a diversified competition with other waterfront areas in Shanghai by focusing on the cultural tourism industry (Fig 11). Moreover, in Kchange’s report, it used over one-third

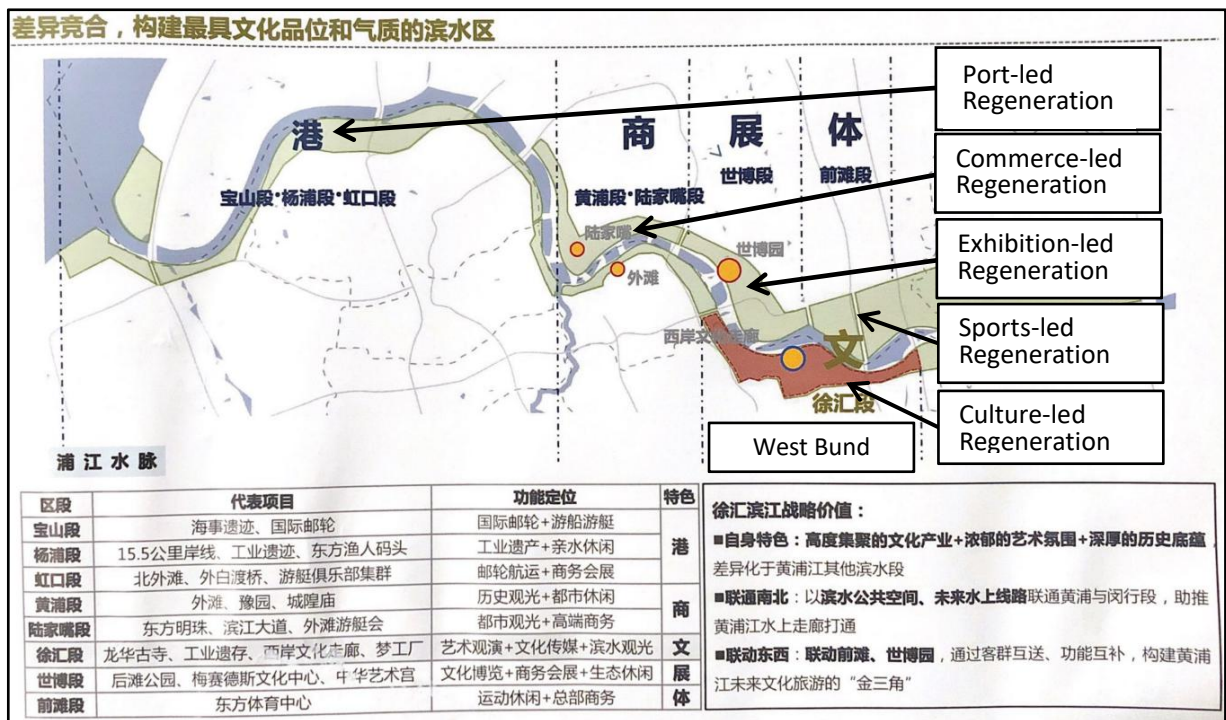


Fig 11: WB’s Plan: Focus on Culture-led Regeneration
Source: Kchange, 2013

space to analyze the global successful culture-led cases, such as the south bank of London which led by museums and tourism, the west side of London which promoted by the theater and art industry, Paris Left Bank which concentrates various cultural and educational facilities, Singapore rive one which led by the entertainment industry, etc. “It is beneficial for the next step WB’s development strategies, especially the case of London South Bank.” said the director of WB’s industrial cultivation department.

In conclusion, through the selection of consultant firms and the suggestion adopted by

WBG, it reveals the tension and integration of global and local voice of power. At first, the sense of international embodied in the concept of Shanghai CORNICHE was eye-catching for the government entities who targets for making a global city-image. Later, the local and historical character of west bund were explored and emphasized by the Historical Preservation Group. Finally, the WBG realized the importance of integrating both west bund's strength and global cases.

(2) WBG & Basic Cultural Facilities

Owing to the characteristic of culture-led regeneration in West Bund, the built environment also contains the basic cultural facilities such as the flagship museum and art center, which funded by financial subsidies. The planning details and creation process were unfolded among the officer from the Management Committee, WBG, art investor, and the architecture firm.

The engagement of investor in the planning phase of the built environment is an exception for the wholly state-funded equity structure of the first-level development. In general, the artists choose to become a tenant rather than a developer due to the lack of social resources and capital. Nevertheless, a couple of Wei Wang and Yiqian Liu¹⁴, the Billionaire and art investors, decided to bought the land from WBG to build the Long Museum, the biggest private museum in China.

Additionally, Yichun Liu, the founder of Deshaus architectural firm, was responsible for almost all of the basic cultural facilities (Long Museum and two art festival centers) because

¹⁴ According to the introduction from New York Times "Chinese collectors Wang Wei and her husband, Liu Yiqian, a taxi-driver-turned-multimillionaire-financier, who have also made names for themselves with eye-catching art purchases in recent years. Last year, they shattered two international auction records in Hong Kong: In April, Mr. Liu paid \$36 million for a Ming dynasty porcelain cup, nicknamed the chicken cup, which at the time was the most ever spent on Chinese porcelain at auction."

of his excellent expertise in historic preservation projects. Based on the interview with Yichun Liu, he said that during the design process of the Long Museum, the couple of Wei Wang and Yiqian Liu and himself have the voice of power. He got the spatial requirements of displaying artistic works with different size from Yiqian Liu. The manifestation of architecture was affected by his own emotional experience during the design period, and the architecture of the Long Museum turns out to be a masterpiece. It acclaimed as one of the most anticipated art museums in Asia in 2014 by The Economist. Undoubtedly, the Long Museum is the focus of publicity for WB's cultural project until now.

Apart from the Long Museum, Another contribution from the couple of Wei Wang and Yiqian Liu is the idea of Art Free Trade Zone which has been implemented. It means oversea artwork could show up in Shanghai West Bund with tariff exemption, which will promote the development of cultural and art industry. This idea was proposed during the conversation between this couple and Zhonghui Li, the chairman of WBG, and has been translated into practice.

(3) WBG & Communities

According to the special report for West Bund from Xinmin Weekly, the district chief of Xuhui District Government Shizhong Fang said that there is a tendency increasingly including the voice of communities in the construction and planning stage. For instance, the running station on the riverside runway was built based on the needs of the runner in the communities. The information from the WB's planning director is that the idea was adopted from the successful global experience in the landscape design. However, no matter who proposed the idea, the public open space, the riverside runway, and the related facilities place

the public as the primary beneficiary. The only questionable part is the lack of the formal procedures of communities engaged in the planning period of joint-development of the built environment.

4.2 Land Transaction and Leasing

4.2.1 Partnership Overview

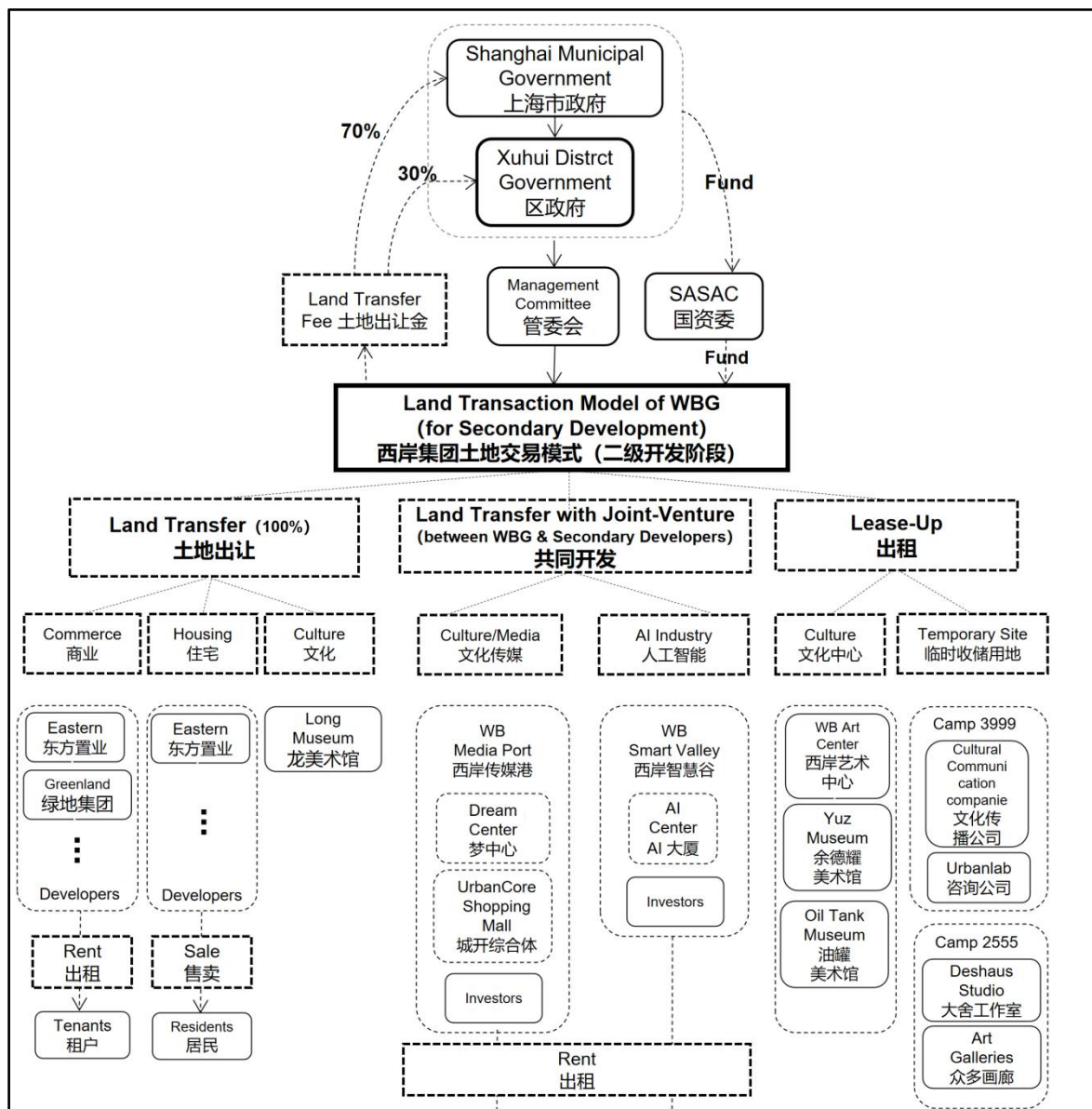


Fig 12: Land Transaction Model for WBG
(SASAC: State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission)

The structure of land transaction & Leasing (Fig 12) is the model for how could the

investors, developers, and tenants involve during the secondary development process. (Due to the vast development volume of WB, the land transaction and leasing also happen simultaneously with the first-level development.) In general, the land & Space transaction has three approaches: (1) Land Transfer, the transfer of land-use right from WBG to the secondary developers, (2) Land Transfer through Joint-venture (between WBG and secondary developers), and (3) Lease up (short-term).

In this process, WBG act as an agent for the government to implement the land transfer. According to an officer from the WBG, 30% of the land transfer fee goes to the Xuhui District Government, while 70% goes to Shanghai Municipal Government. Meanwhile, both two-level governments will fund the WBG to make the full cycle.

4.2.2 Land Transfer (100%)

Concerning the 100% Land transfer projects in the secondary development process, it is under the circumstance that developers have ample funding to acquire the land and WBG also finds it unnecessary to control the projects. They are dominated by the traditional high-end residential and commercial development projects but except for the Long Museum. According to WBG's planning director, the current average price of land transfer for commercial use is \$300 per sq.ft. (20,000 RMB/m²). However, it is only a reference price for negotiations; if the developers have more bargaining power (such as closer relationship with governmental entities or the ability of bringing the agglomeration effect), the price will be lower than \$300, vice versa. Additionally, the legal procedure of land transaction is the land auction. However, if the secondary developers have more bargaining power during the

negotiation, the land auction is mere a procedure.

- **Land for Culture**

At the early stage of attracting investment (Chinese: 招商引资) where several old factories still occupied the WB, the WBG had a very humble attitude. According to the staff from WBG, In 2012, for the sake of inviting the Liu Yiqian, the famous entrepreneur and art collector to establish their private museum in WB, the WBG agree to sell the land-use right based on the land use type us greenbelt for \$16,000,000 with 400,000 sq.ft. floor area (\$40 per sq.ft, much lower than current \$300 per sq.ft.). Meanwhile, Liu could buy the land-use right on installment (\$750,000 per year for 20 years). Besides, the WBG also covered the \$500,000 architectural design fee. "It is a heartfelt offer from the WBG's perspective, and we have to be a low profile at that time," said the director of WBG's planning department.

"Granted that the land for Long Museum does not have a high value at the early stage, it is still a good position for collector Liu Yiqian." Quoted informed sources, "Because Liu could use the land-use right of Long Museum as a mortgage to make other investment." At the same time, the West Bund gain satisfied fame and the agglomeration effect of the cultural industry from the landing of the Long Museum. As a consequence, it is a win-win strategy for Liu and WBG.

- **Land for Residence**

The residential projects including the famous Chinese developers such as Poly Real Estate and Eastern Real Estate with 70 land-use right. The project developed by Eastern Real Estate called Eastern Yunjing has a building area of 607, 970 sq.ft. with the unit area ranging from 2450 to 4740 sq.ft. Compared to the average housing price for sale at around \$971 per

sq.ft. in 2013, by the time of March 2019, the average housing price is \$1,640 per sq.ft. in 2013. (For reference, by the time of March 2019, the average housing price in Shanghai is \$8,00 per sq.ft.; and it is \$1,300 per sq.ft. in the Xuhui district.

- **Land for Commerce**

The existing commercial programs include the office building and the supporting shopping malls developed by Greenland, Poly, and Eastern Real Estate. After the construction of the buildings, there was another round of space transaction between the secondary developers and the tenants.

Additionally, there is a huge difference regarding the occupied rate among different developers. A crude estimate from the tenant is that the occupied rate of shopping mall operated by Greenland Group is 80%, compared to 30% operated by Eastern Group. The differentiation could be attributed to the location of projects and the operating level. According to the on-site interview with Mr.Hong, a restaurant owner in Eastern shopping mall, the occupied rate was only 10% when he launched the business in July 2018. Even if the vacancy rate keeps dropping from then on, the restaurant has been suffering from the financial loss of \$3,000 every month. (The rent is 11RMB/m² /day) Mr.Chen claims that before he signed the leasing contract, the staff from Eastern Group deceived him that they had a 50% occupied rate while it was 10%. Hong also argues that the low occupied rate stems from the lack of proper overall planning and sufficient advertising to attract more tenants. The tenants like Hong even formed a group to seek the explanation from the Eastern Group; however, they never get an answer. “They are people from Eastern Group, a state-owned enterprise which has a high stance. Some of the tenants disinvest from here, but I stay

because I have faith for WB's future. The only thing I can do is to wait." said Mr. Hong.

To sum up, under the 100% land transfer model, the developers who have fame in the art field or sufficient funding resources will be better off. The residents who bought the houses will also enjoy the land uplift. Nevertheless, the tenants who rely on management capability of the secondary developers have a weak position and have to wish a promising future of West Bund. Moreover, the WBG hardly involved in such disputes between tenants and secondary developers since the WBG already get the land transfer fee and do not have much energy to handle that.

4.2.3 Land Transfer with Joint-Venture (Cooperation between WBG and secondary developers)

Land transfer with Joint-Venture means that after the land transfer to the secondary developers, WBG may form the Joint-ventures with these secondary developers by sponsoring 10-20% fund. The standard of forming Joint-venture is that whether the projects are the core industries(culture and media, and technology industries) which WBG wants to control. Regarding the equity structure of joint-venture, generally, WBG invest 10% to 20% capital at the secondary construction stage, and share the revenue with the secondary developers at the later stage. "By using this strategy, the WBG want to ensure a high-quality of secondary construction and the main tenants belong to the core industries, according to the planning." Quoted from WBG's planning director.

● Land for Culture/Media

The "WB Media Port" is a core business zone of Culture and Media, which plans to have a 10,000,000 sq.ft. building area. It is a gathering of media giants such as Tencent,

Hunan TV, CMC, and Yoozoo. WBG's planning director emphasized that the landing of these giants should also credit to the support from the Shanghai Municipal Government and Xuhui District Government. Li Qiang, the current Party Secretary of Shanghai Municipal Government, also met with the Tencent Group to invite them to settle in the WB.

Additionally, Dream Center, the biggest project of Sino-US in the Cultural Exchange field after the Xi Jinping's Visit to the United States in 2012, was the previous main program for the WB media port. In terms of the shareholders' structure, Chinese Cultural Industry Investment Fund (China Media Capital, CMC), DreamWorks Animation¹⁵ And Lan Kwai Fong Group jointly established a joint venture. The Chinese side holds 54.55%¹⁶ and the US holds 45.45%. Recently, however, it is said that the American investors withdrew all the 45.45% share. Therefore, the land for the Dream Center was transferred back to the WBG.

Apart from the Media industry, the Media Part also include the UrbanCore, the WB's main shopping mall in the future. It is also a joint-venture between WBG and Shanghai Urban Development Group.

● Land for AI

Another core industry was added to the WB's planning strategy: Artificial Intelligence, the hottest emerging industry in China. The initiative is called WB Smart Valley (developed by WBG) which targets to become a globally influential headquarters for the AI industry with a 10,120,000 sqft. building area (Including a 5,100,000 sqft. building area of Shanghai West Bund International AI Center). According to WBG's website, the construction of the AI

¹⁵ An American animation studio that is a subsidiary of Universal Pictures. It produced the famous movie "Kung Fu Panda 3" ("功夫熊猫 3"). However, the performance of the earnings was not satisfactory. In 2015, a series of problems caused DreamWorks to lay off 50% of employees. In 2016, it was purchased by NBC Universal.

¹⁶ Primarily funded by China Development Bank Capital Corporation (CDB Capital, 国开金融).

center is the spillover effect of the 2018 World AI Conference held in WB. Technology company such as MIUI, Sensetime, etc. decided to join the Smart Valley as tenants. At present, the construction of the main buildings is about to finish. (Current condition picture see Appx 4)

4.2.4 Leasing from WBG

Compared to the land transfer approach which applied primarily to the new construction projects, the direct leasing approach applies to all the reconstruction projects in WB. It is a strategy both adhere to the historic preservation and the dynamic mixed-use of land. Three old factories were rehabbed to the main cultural ventures for WB, including WB Art Center, Yuz Museum, and Oil Tank Museum. Other temporary sites which were original vacant land were transferred to the CAMP for artists' studios with five-year leasing contract.

As for the cultural facilities, the WB Art Center acts as the WB official exhibition center, which also rehabbed by the Liu Yichun. It hosts numerous conferences and festivals such as the 2018 World AI Conference, 2016 Waterfront Global Talk and all sort of WB Art & Design Fair. Besides, it could also host the commercial show to generate revenue. For instance, the rent price for the Dior commercial show was \$300,000 per day. The WBG constructed the Yuz Museum and then leased to the Chinese-Indonesian entrepreneur and collector Mr. Budi Tek with the rent of \$750,000 per year. Also, the Oil Tank Museum became an exploratory lab for the artists in WB to display their projects with their funding resources.

The "temporary sites" refer to the land reserved by the government during the land acquisition but have not to figure out how to use them. During the interview with Liu Yichun,

he said that he suggested that to bring his friends, a group of professionals with creative ideas, to establish their temporary studios for five years. This initiative could also resort to the background that their original home, Red Town (Chinese: 红坊), Shanghai's premier cultural and creative hub was demolished for the real estate development project. Even before the demolition, the rent in Red Town nearly prices out the artist group: "In 2015, the rent in Red Town was \$75,000 for a 2,000 sq.ft. Studio per year (\$40/sq.ft/year); while in WB, it's \$30,000 (\$17/sq.ft/year)." Since the arrival of the artists would strength the agglomeration effect of culture industry as well as increase the land use efficiency, the CEO of WBG delightedly adopted Liu Yichun's suggestion to form the CAMP 2555 for the architectural studios and art galleries.

Another CAMP 3999 is also the "temporary sites" for 5-year lease. It is noteworthy that it includes a Culture Communication Company called XinXin XiangRong (Chinese: 欣向荣文化传播公司), owned by Shanghai United Media Group (SMUG, Chinese: 上海报业集团) and supervised by the publicity department of Shanghai Municipal Committee. (Chinese: 上海市委宣传部). According to the interview with staff from XinXin, in 2015, Mayor of Xuhui District Government strongly desired Xinxin to land in the WB. "Since we are the asset-light state-owned enterprise and could conduct cultural advertisement for WB, Mayor Fang visited the leader of SMUG to request the landing of Xinxin from Changning District to Xuhui District." It turns out that the rent price is \$11/sq.ft/year, even lower than the artist's group.

To summarize for Chapter 4 (Table 7), the study indicates that either the land transfer or space-leasing approach in the land transaction and leasing, the stakeholders' bargaining

powers strongly rely on the resources they have, and will be directly reflected on the land transfer/rent price (The more bargaining power you have, lower price you get). The bargaining power may be affected by several factors, including the relationship with the government officers, whether you are a famous international/domestic company that could bring the agglomeration effect, how much capital you could invest, how many innovations you can provide, etc. But for the joint venture, even if the State-owned enterprise (WBG) involved only 1% equity, it probably bears the most speaking right.

	Project condition	Building Condition	Manager	Voice of Power	Price
Land Transfer (100%)	Non-core projects	New Construction	Secondary developers	Secondary developers	Depends \$300 per sq.ft.
Land Transfer Joint-Venture	Core projects	New Construction	Secondary developers & WBG	WBG>Secondary developers	Depends \$300 per sq.ft.
Space Leasing	Core projects	Reconstruction	Tenants	WBG & Tenants	Depends \$11-28/ sq.ft./year

Table 7: Summary of Land Transaction and Leasing Model

4.3 Joint-Cultivation of Industry

4.3.1 Partnership Overview

If WB is a human being, after the phase of joint-development of Built Environment, she has the skeleton and muscle; after the Land & Space Transaction, she has the blood; but the real spirit is the Joint-Development of Industry (Fig 13), it is what define who she is, who WB what to become.

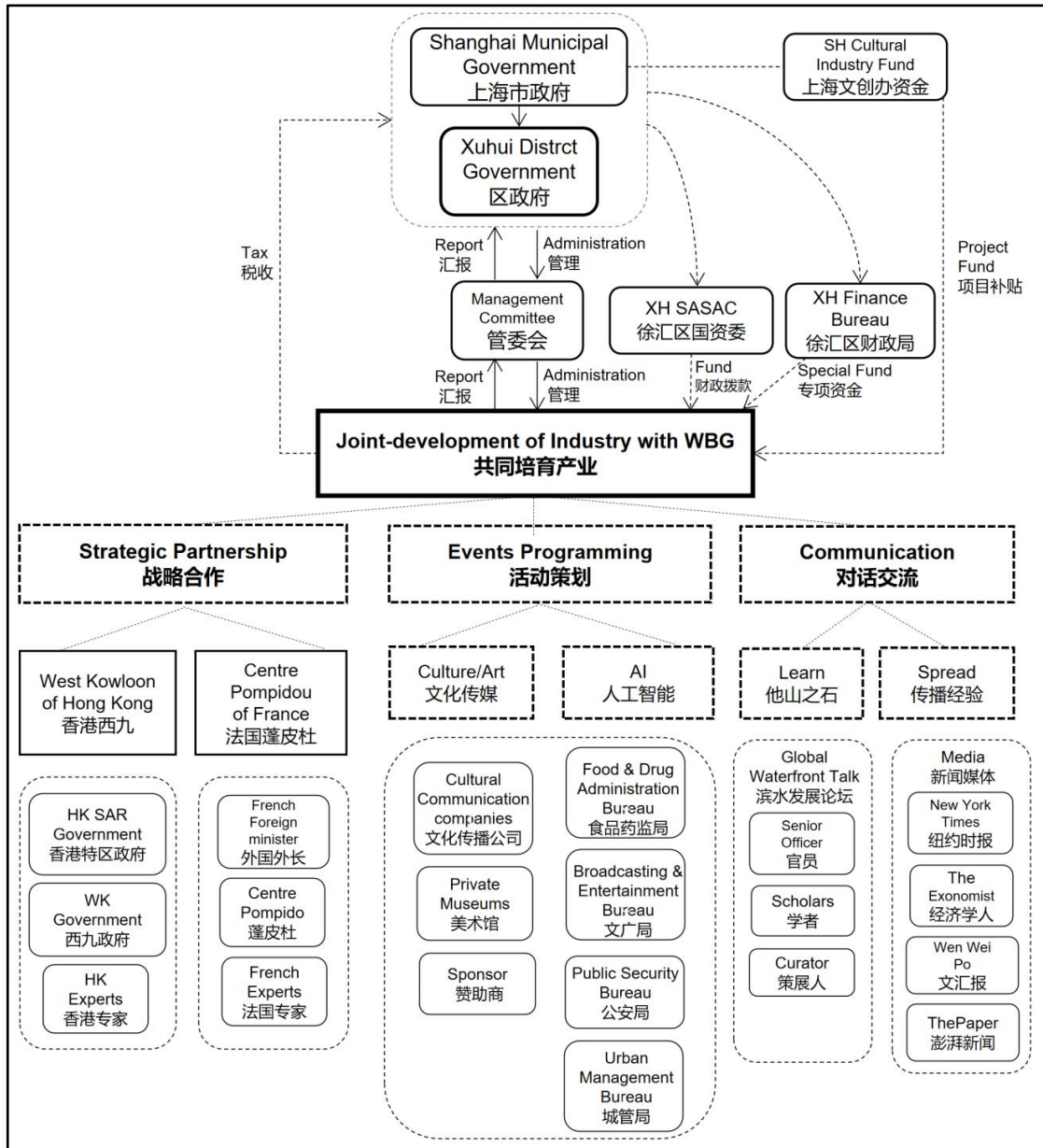


Fig 13: Joint-Cultivation of Industry Model

4.3.2 Industrial collaboration in WB

Before delving into the methods for industry cultivation, the study will first examine the selection of industry and industrial collaboration of WBG. For the WBG, the strategy of selecting industry is to “Go with the tailwind” (Chinese: 顺势而为). According to the summary from Mr.Chen, director of WB’s industrial cultivation department, the city center of Shanghai has changed within the change of function and trend (Table 8): “Under the

background of industrial upgrade, the future city center must be a place that can carry global innovation: Technology, culture, and finance are the engine of innovations. Above all, now the demand for cultural and technological consumption has emerged. For example, ten years ago, the popular cultural consumption is to watch the movie; yet today, visiting the museum is a daily activity."

Functions	Locations (City Center)
Fair trade	Shanghai City God Temple
Maritime Commerce	Shiliupu pier of North Bund
Manufacturer	Waterfront Industrial Area
Finance	Lujiazui Financial Center
Ecology, Technology, Culture	West Bund

Table 8: Change of City Center and Functions of Shanghai
Source: Author, Based on interview with Mr.Chen, director of WB’s industrial cultivation department

Based on the emphasis on the “Ecology, Technology, Culture” from Shanghai Planning 2035, the demand from the market, and the landing of core projects, the WBG develops the “culture-oriented, eco-based & technological-innovation-drive” (文化先导、生态优先、科创主导) development policies. Later, WBG proposed to set up the three core industry: Culture&Media, Technology, and Finance. However, what is the relationship between these three industries and how could they effectively coordinate with each other?

Mr. Chen answers this question with first define the characteristics of the culture industry, the core of WB’s three industries. The concept of the cultural industry was first proposed in the UK, called the creative industry: an industry formed with human creativity. In China, due to the differences in understanding and differences in statistical preferences, the earliest categories of cultural and creative industries are defined by the Bureau of Statistics.

Until now, The Chinese culture industry is divided into core circle and extension circle. The core is the production from the job of creative thinking such as design, film and television production (close to the UK's definition of creative industries). The extension involves the creative industry facilities and equipment production, such as the production of game consoles. Furthermore, three characteristics of culture industry make it differentiates from the cultural undertakings: First, it is profitable; Second, it needs to have a clear profit model; rather than an accidental profit; The third is that it must be reproducible and have a scale effect, rather than a small workshop-style model.

● **Integration of Culture and Technology**

Up to date, the integration of culture and technology has started. According to Mr. Chen, the synergy between the culture and technology industry has internal logic and external conditions. The internal logic of the integration between culture and technology is that: “Culture is forward-looking: the form of art influences the study of applied science, and applied science could provide a carrier for artistic expressions. Currently, for example, many artists in WB have begun to use 3D printing technology in their works; and numerous works are trying to express the thinking towards artificial intelligence.

The external conditions are the capacity of WB's development volume. The WB Media Port has 2 million square meters of commercial&official office which could not be supported merely by the cultural industry. More importantly, the demand for the official space for a start-up cultural company is not high. Therefore, due to the highest multiplier benefits for economic development and employment promotion, technology enterprises could be a

powerful section to compensate for the long-term pace of return from cultural companies.

- **Integration of Culture and Finance**

Although the WBG has already established a Cultural and Financial Cooperation Pilot Zone (Chinese: 文化金融合作实验区), Mr. Chen is frank about his critical thinking toward the Pilot Zone, “For now, it is only an empty shell. In China, the combination of finance and culture industry is still at an exploration stage.” It can be attributed to the lack of intellectual property protection in China: “The fundamental premise of the combination of culture and finance industry is the intellectual property protection. If a cultural enterprise intends to borrow money from the bank to produce 5,000 products, it will probably use the real estate property as a mortgage; however, this is not a combination of culture and finance but just a real estate mortgage loan.”

- **Integration of Technology and Finance**

The financial sector was added to support technological companies. Both technology and finance are fast-growing and require substantial financial support to develop rapidly. Therefore, by working together in WB, the technology companies will have better access to the investors; meanwhile, the financial institutions will enjoy more transparent information towards companies operating conditions for decision-making.

4.3.3 Strategic Cooperation of Projects

For the sake of forming the in-depth partnership with other institutions and government entities, WBG has strategic cooperation with West Kowloon of Hong Kong and

Centre Georges-Pompidou of France. This sector will examine the motivations and patterns of their strategic partnership.

(1) With the West Kowloon Cultural District of Hong Kong

West Kowloon (WK) is the West part of the Kowloon waterfront area with 334 hectares (WB 940 hectare), It has a similar urban form and development approach with WB: At first, the government of WK intends to promote the property-led development; however, it was strongly opposed by the local communities since it's the last piece of virgin land next to the city center. Accordingly, the government of WK changed the mindset to think about what does Hong Kong need for the next step development, and the answer is the culture industry. Therefore, the initiative called West Kowloon cultural district was formed five years ago. Under this background, the government of WK and WBG intend to promote broad strategic cooperation from three perspectives: (1) The experience for urban development; (2) The exchange of museum exhibitions and cultural programs; (3) The experience of cultural facilities' management. However, since the relationship between WB and West Kowloon just formed last year, no substantive program has been implemented yet.

Based on the interview of Mr. Chen, the premise of the partnership is that both WB and WK have their own strengths. WBG has more experience of culture-led urban development, while WK has more resources on cultural programs. Recently, a China's largest collector in the field of modern and contemporary art donated all the collections to the M plus Museum which located in the West Kowloon cultural district; thus this museum will have the most modern and contemporary art collections in the future.

(2) With Centre Pompidou of France

The Cooperation between WB and Centre Pompidou of France is currently the highest-level and longest-term cultural exchange and cooperation project in the field of contemporary art between China and France. Centre Pompidou of France is the National Museum of France and is the first collection of modern and contemporary art in Europe with a visitor flow rate of 400,000 per year. From 2015, center Pompidou initiated the “pop-up Pompidou venues” program to set up its branch. The first one located in Málaga, Spain with a visitor flow rate of 200,000 per year. (news99, 2015) After the investigation of Beijing, Shenzhen, Chengdu, and Shanghai (Pudong New Area and Xuhui WB), the team of center Pompidou decided to land in WB due to its culture-led development strategy. It will be implemented in the West Bank Art Museum from 2019-2024.

Under this partnership, the Centre Pompidou will provide consulting and assistance in exhibition planning, art protection, and public art education with professional and rich experience in museum operation to help enhance and expand the global vision of Sino-French contemporary art. Meanwhile, it is required by Centre Pompidou that WBG is responsible for all the funding resources and an additional naming fee ranging from \$1,700,000 to \$2,000,000 per year.

In summary, compared to the general partnership, the strategic cooperation call for a higher integrating degree: Similar background, congruous value system, shared future strategies, and resources for exchange that would offer long-term mutual benefit and achieve common visions.

4.3.4 Events Programming

As a significant section of industry cultivation, running the events could not only provide a platform for the trading of artistic and technological products but also gain more popularity of WB and the on-site companies. In this process, more stakeholders will be invited, with inevitable conflicts.

Apart from the WB Art & Design and World AI Conference, which directly managed by WBG, numerous activities are running by the third party cultural communications companies (Chinese: 文化传播公司) such as Xinxin Xiong Rong Group. Qing, the director of Public Relationship in Xinxin, introduced the difficulties of persuading all sort of stakeholders to pass the plan of cultural festivals. “SimpleLife Festival is very popular among the young people because of the rich activities, a gathering of musician performance, creative market, and food hall.” Nevertheless, the abundance of festival increases the number of supervision departments that would challenge the project. “All the supervision departments are the stakeholders: Shanghai Public Security Bureau, Transportation Bureau, Urban Management Bureau, Food and Drug Administration Bureau, Broadcasting and Entertainment Bureau, etc. ”

During the approval process, Qing noticed the huge difference of different players’ philosophy: “We want to make a profit and gain the reputation, the government targets to raise the publicity, and the only thing the supervision departments care about is security which affects their political performance.” The position of WBG for these third parties’ activities is also subtle and complicated: for one thing, WBG provide the special funding for some cultural activities raise their reputation; for another, WBG strongly refused to be

included as the title sponsor, which may incur blame and necessary responsibilities once an incident occurs.

Consequently, due to the absence of WBG, Xinxin also bears some responsibilities of social service such as dealing with the feedback and complaints from the participators during the festival. There were around 20-30 complaints per day for the 7-day festival, and we also had public announcements for each complaint. Fortunately, owing to the popularity of SimpleLife Festival, xinxin made money for this event: The cost was \$2,200,000 for 7-day including \$120,000 site-use fee paid to WBG, and the revenue came from the tickets fee of \$5-\$7 per person from 100,000 visitors and advertising fee from sponsors.

4.3.5 Communication

The communication refers to sharing ideas about how to use cultural innovation as a catalyst to waterfront regeneration. It comprises of two sections: learn from other stories and spread the story of WB to others.

(1) Learn: Waterfront Global Talk

In 2016, the WBG initiated the Global Waterfront Forum to learn from the international experience in waterfront regeneration. Experts who participated in the development of other international waterfront areas such as New York Waterfront, London's South Bank and Paris' Left Bank came to Shanghai WB to share their successful experiences and explore the possibilities of urban regeneration and cultural innovation. These experts (see Appx 4) are senior leaders, administrators, operators as well as scholars and experts in the fields of planning, design, culture, and art. During this Global Talk, they also expressed their

opinions and recommendations for WB's next step development: Peter Murray, Chairman and Senior planner of London Society, said that the WB surprised me with its public open space and historical reconstruction program, this is the place where the artists' group is searching for. Kairos Shen, previous director of Boston Redevelopment Authority, proposed that WB's planning should keep exploring its cultural gene to facilitate the transformation from "Made in Shanghai" to "Create in WB." Additionally, Thaddeus Pawlowski, a senior urban designer from NYC Mayor's Office, suggested that in order to become a welcoming community for culture and art, WBG needs to launch more programs to involve the public participation, as well as put more emphasis on the people's experience and feelings.

(2) Spread: Communication through Media

With no doubt, the media group is the indispensable stakeholder in the course of spreading the story of WB. Both foreign and domestic media have enormous reports concerning the raising of WB. Among them, the study examines the opinions of two representative media groups: The New York Times and the Thepaper.

Apart from the story of well-known investors who enjoys much attention and subsidies from the WBG, the New York Times also explored the impetus and standpoints of other cultural institutions' founders: "In May, the Hong Kong-born, Pulitzer Prize-winning photojournalist Liu Heung Shing opened the Shanghai Center of Photography (SCoP)¹⁷. Mr. Liu said opening a gallery was never in his plans. However, he was drawn to West Bund's beautiful landscape by the prospect of bringing contemporary photography to a Chinese

¹⁷ The first museum in the city focusing solely on photography

audience that has not had much exposure to it." Another example comes from Simon Kirby, the East Asia affiliate for the Victoria Miro gallery in London, which exhibited at the West Bund fair in September, its first time at a mainland art fair. "I have spent the last number of years searching around for an appropriate kind of setting that we could properly show. Also, this is by far and away; the only one that fits the bill."

Ms. Zhu, the journalist from Thepaper (Chinese: 澎湃, former Oriental Morning Post), wrote a special issue called "The rise of Shang Waterfront Art Museum" last year which interviewed the principal stakeholders of the main museums along the Shanghai Huangpu River. Zhu also reached Mr.Chen regarding the WB's strategy for the cultural industry. "Compared to the museum director from Lujiazui New Area who did not reply my interview request, I found that staff from WBG have a positive attitude towards the media and are willing to share their experiences," said Ms.Zhu. Furthermore, regarding the power content of the report, Ms.Zhu said that Mr.Chen and his assistant did not try to examine or extort it: "I have the initiative on what I want to say."

4.4 Collaborative Governance

Although the development of the built environment, Land transaction, and development of industry could to an iterative process, the collaborative governance phase have to be based on a certain population base. This section will examine the urban governance of Xuhui District and the WB's partnership structure of collaborative governance.

4.4.1 Urban Governance Structure

Under the background of decentralization of urban management, in 1996, Shanghai

implemented the governance system of “two levels of government, three levels of management (Government: Municipal Government and District-level Government; Management: Municipal Government, District-level Government, and Sub-district office; Chinese: 两级政府, 三级管理)”¹⁸. Since then, the role of Sub-district office has been emphasized. Sub-district office is the most crucial administrative organization between the government and the community and thus becomes the intersection of the top-down administrative system reform and the bottom-up community autonomy reform (Chen, 2012). It has the functions of administrative enforcement, social affairs management, and public service within the jurisdiction.

Concerning the urban governance structure of WB (Fig 15), the sub-district office has dual identities: First, is governed by the Shanghai Municipal and District Party Committee, which indicates the significance of the Chinese Communist Party; Second, is governed by the Shanghai Municipal and District Government, which responsible for the daily management.

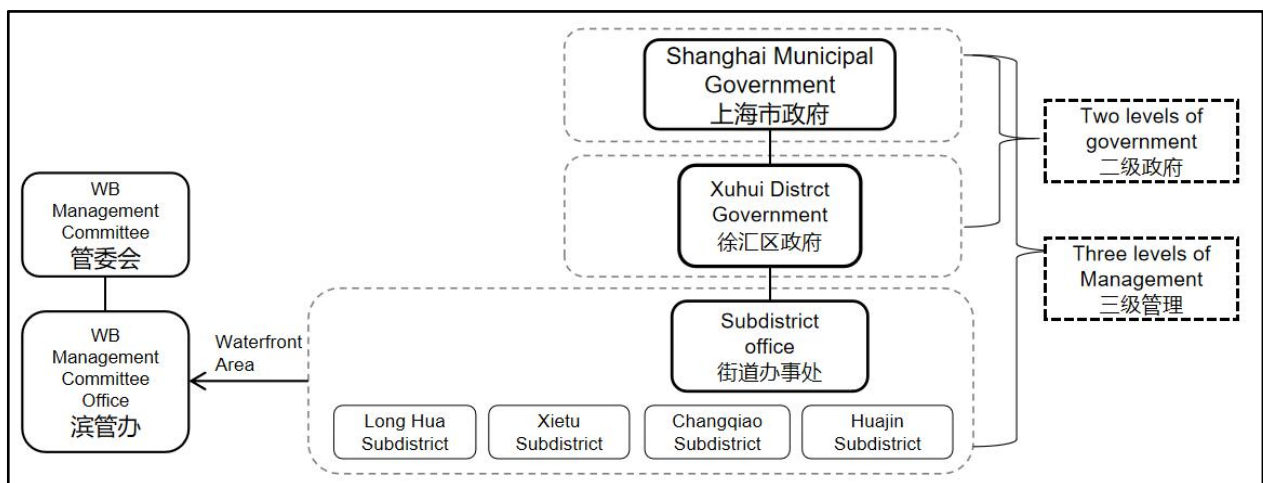


Fig 15: Urban Governance Structure of WB

Source: Author, based on an interview with Vice Director from WB Management Committee Office

¹⁸ It was proposed in Shanghai first urban work conference (March 1996).

In the WB area, it covers parts of four sub-districts (Fig 16): Longhua, Xietu, Changqiao, and Huajin. In order to exert comprehensive management for part of this four sub-district that locates in the boundary of WB, the WB Management Committee (WB Committee, Chinese: 徐汇滨江管委会) established the WB Management Committee Office (Chinese: 徐汇滨江管委会办公室, 滨管办) as its subordinate department.

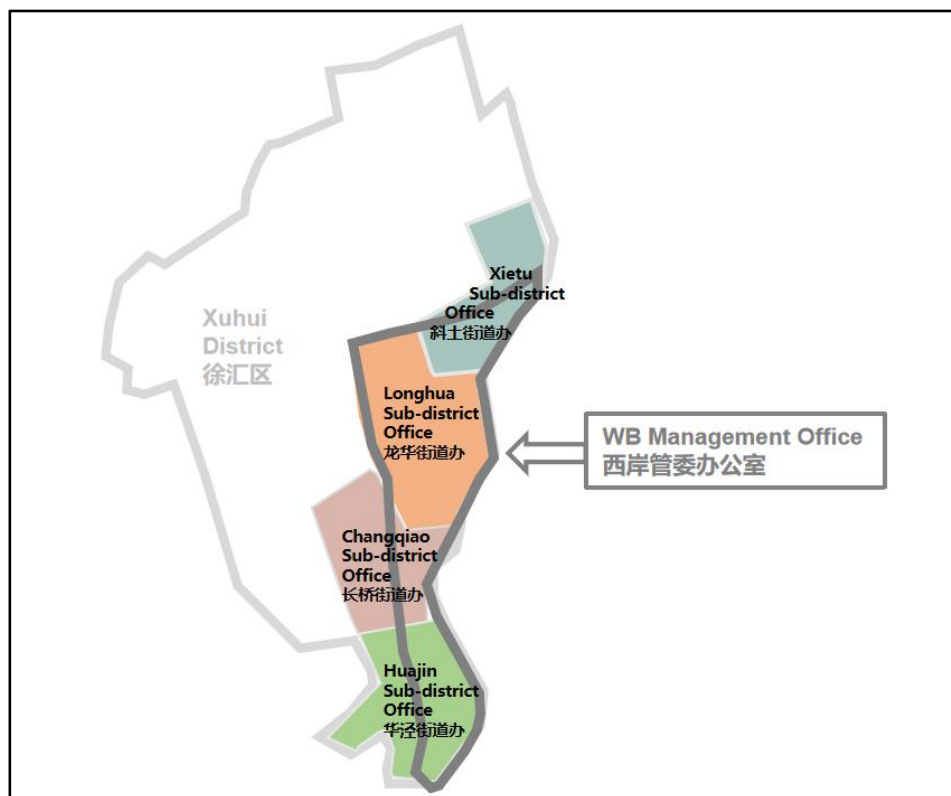


Fig 16: Map of the Relationship between Original Sub-district Offices and WB Office
 Source: Author, based on the WB Location Map

4.4.2 Collaborative Governance Structure

From 2016, the Organization Department of Xuhui District Party Committee put forward the concept of "Innovative Collaborative Governance" (Chinese: 创新社会治理), which turned the concept of “law enforcement” (Chinese: 执法) into the concept of “collaborative governance” (Chinese: 共治), and gradually explored the model of

collaborative governance (Fig 17).

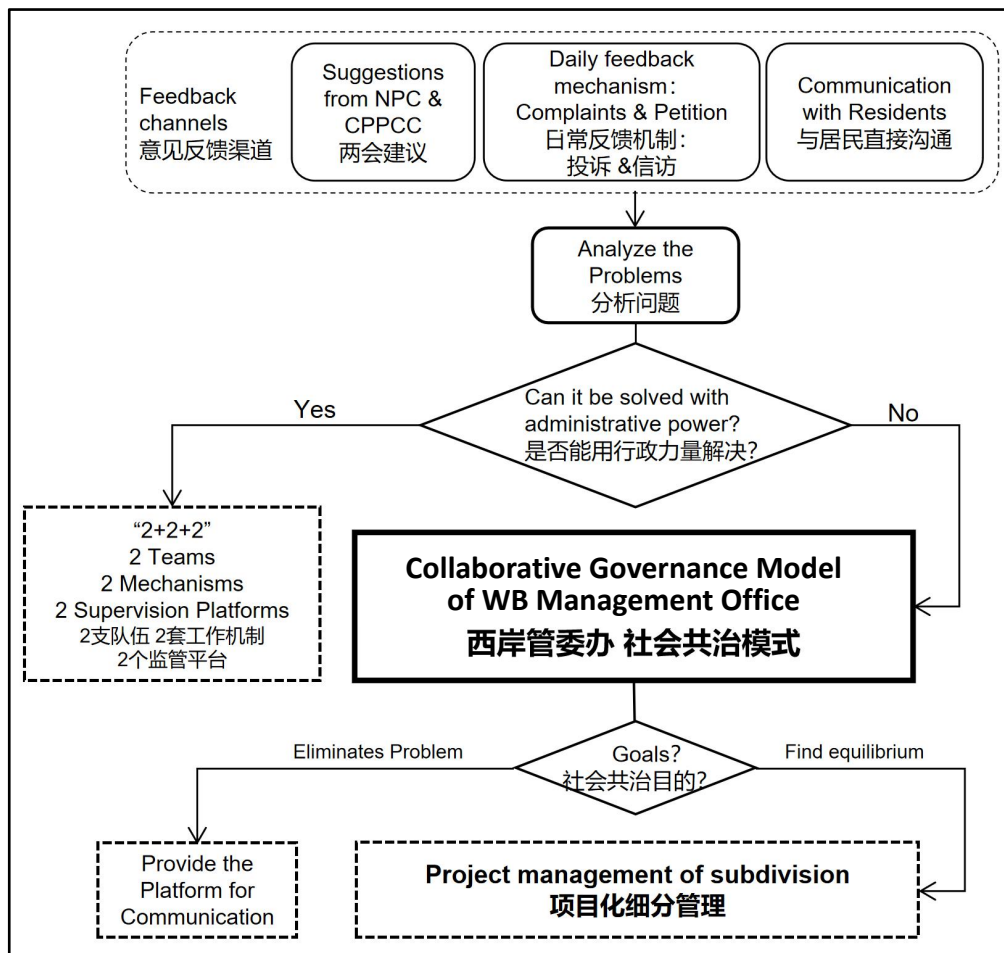


Fig 17: Collaborative Governance Model of WB Management Office

Source: Author, based on an interview with Vice Director from WB Management Office

Based on the interview with Mr. Kong, the Vice Director of WB Management Committee Office, the model of collaborative governance starts from the three feedback channels: (1) Suggestions from indirect democracy approach: NPC & CPPCC (Chinese: 两会)¹⁹; (2) Complains and Petition system; (3) Direct Democracy between WB Management Committee Office and residents such as the “Smart Governance Open Class” which involved the director of WB Management Office, Media, residents, and visitor. After receiving the

¹⁹ The National People's Congress and the Chinese Political Consultative Conference (NPC & CPPCC), a political legislative advisory body in China. It is an approach of indirect democracy by the people's representatives.

problems, the next step is to analyze the problem: Whether it could be solved with administrative power (means whether it has law basis). If it could, the working model is called “2+2+2”: (1) Two Teams: Waterfront Urban Management Law Enforcement Team and Waterfront Market Supervision Team ; (2) Two mechanisms: Mechanisms of Public security²⁰And mechanism of Joint logistics (Chinese: 联勤联动)²¹; (3) Two Supervision Platforms: Comprehensive maintenance platform and Security controlling platform. However, there are increasing issues that cannot be solved with the administrative institutions mentioned above; that’s the stage of collaborative governance among different stakeholders.

At the stage of collaborative governance, according to Mr.Kong, they will first identify the goal and condition of the issues. “If the goal is to eliminate the problem, for instance, the dispute that a construction project damages the residents' property, the WB Management office is obliged to build a communication platform for their negotiation. For one land, we will inform the residents of the channels of the petition and judicial litigation; and suggest them to request a reasonable compensation fee. For another land, we will urge the construction team to pay for the fee. Therefore, their negotiation would be more rational and efficient.

²⁰ The police station, traffic police, urban management law enforcement team, security guards, and Sub-district Office will discuss public affairs together.

²¹ Police and security guards patrolling together.

4.4.3 Partnership of Collaborative Governance

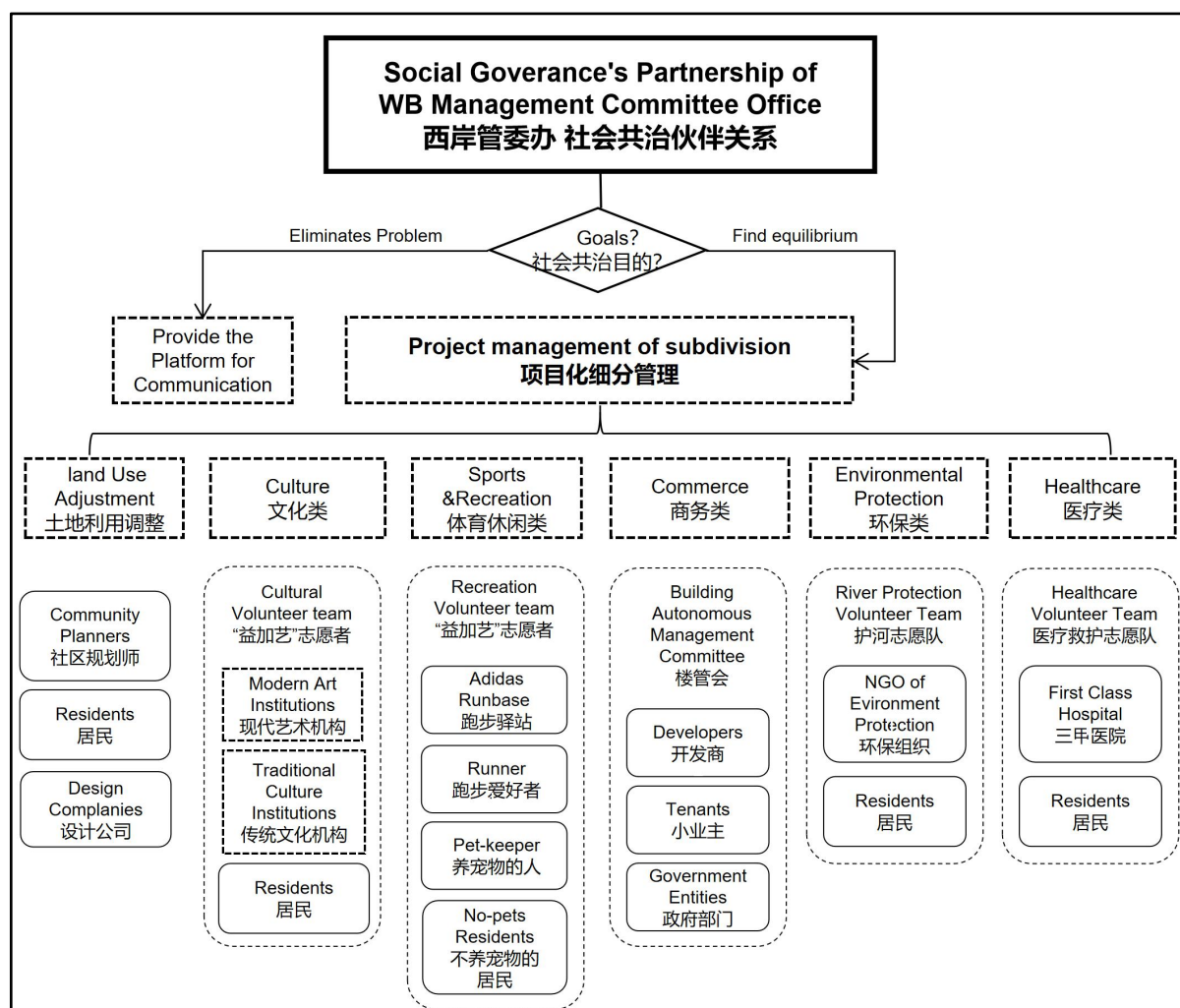


Fig 18: Collaborative Governance’s Partnership of WB Management Office

Source: Author, based on an interview with Vice Director from WB Management Office

Under the collaborative governance structure (Fig 18), WB Management Committee Office creatively uses the project management approach to achieve the equilibrium among various stakeholders. Currently, the issues for collaborative governance have six subdivision: Land use adjustment, Culture, Sports & Recreation, Commerce, Environmental Protection, and health-care.

- **Land use adjustment:** During the process of adjustment for land use type, the stakeholders' partnership is among the WB Management Office, community planner,

residents, and design companies. The community planner refers to a senior planner who once worked in Boston for more than a decade and is hired by the Xuhui District Government to communicate with the residents and to ensure the quality of the third-party design companies' work.

- **Culture:** Due to the lack of a guide for the cultural institutions, the WB Management Office forms a cultural volunteer team to provide a better cultural service for the visitors. Apart from the local apartments, the volunteers are also selected from some Chinese traditional cultural institutions such as Xuhui Opera Garden, which leads to more professional guidance.
- **Sports & Recreation:** Credit to the professional runway with a length of 9.4 km and the beautiful landscape along the riverside area in WB, the waterfront of WB is awarded as "runner's mecca." Nevertheless, uncivilized behaviors also increase with the popularity of WB. Uncivilized behaviors (Chinese: 不文明的行为) refer to behaviors that will jeopardize others' interests, such as litter on the ground and square dance with a loud voice in the public open space. WB Management Office found it's costly and inefficient to use the administrative power to curb such behaviors. Accordingly, they develop the "Recreation Volunteer Team" from the runners and dancers to promote their self-management.
- **Commerce:** Currently, there are 20 million sq.ft. Commercial & official space under construction and this number will be 60 million sq.ft. in the future. Taking the lack of effective communication and management between tenants and developer into consideration, the WB Management Office will initiate an exploratory organization

called “Building Autonomous Management Committee (Chinese: 楼管会)” in 2019. “This is also a program with multi-stakeholder participation, which includes Developer of Longhua Airport Building, tenants, Longhua sub-district office, and WB Management Committee Office,” said Mr.Kong. It provides the autonomous platform to discuss the daily issues; furthermore, it will be more convenient for developers and small business owners to understand the policy (tax policy, employment policy, etc.) of Xuhui District. But we need time to examine the actual effect of this Committee.

To sum up, under the background of “Innovative Collaborative Governance” in Shanghai, we could witness the significant role of the sub-district office and the rise of professional organizations (such as Environmental protection NGO and Health-care Team from the hospital) for autonomous management in WB collaborative governance process. From 2019, the WB Management Office will have the next ten years plan. According to Mr.Kong, thanks to the communication with residents during the “Smart Governance Open Class,” he was ashamed that many previous constructions did not take the users feeling into account. “I was surprised and learned a lot from this communication. If we could know their thoughts ahead of time, it will reduce the cost of remedy and improve the residents’ experience.”

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATION

5.1 Findings

(1) Findings on Stakeholders' Roles and Powers

Regarding the stakeholders' roles and powers, there are two conclusions: First of all, the stakeholders' bargaining powers strongly rely on the resources they have. It may be affected by several factors, including how much administrative power they have; how many capitals they could invest; how many innovations they can provide; whether they are a famous international/domestic company that could bring the agglomeration effect; the relationship with the government officers, etc.

Under this circumstance, (1) the government has a dominant position in the land acquisition stage and first-level development stage due to their administrative power. (2) The secondary developers are also in a strong position since they bring substantial investment; (3) Professionals with innovation idea or close relationship with the government officers have the power to influence the decision-making process. (4) The media who can shape public opinion are respected stakeholders. (5) The communities are emerging players in the collaborative governance process, but they are currently organized by independent voluntary groups which lack of legal effect; (6) the famous tenants enjoy the strong bargaining powers in rent price because of the agglomeration effect they bring; however, the small business owners without much resources are in a weak position due to the lacking of subsidy and fraud from the secondary developers.

Secondly, the roles the powers of stakeholders will be different in terms of different

time and situations. Regarding the time, at the early stage of development where several old factories still occupied the WB, the first-level developer and government entities had a very humble attitude in attracting investments by providing a considerable subsidy and discount on the land transfer fee. After winning the publicity and market recognition, it is hard to bargain on subsidy. Moreover, the local communities do not have much speaking right until the increasing of visitors and residents. Regarding the situations, when trying to attract famous companies such as Tencent, the first-level developer and even Municipal government will act as a server to satisfy their needs; other small companies may also feel welcoming before they sign the lease, however, when the potential companies become actual tenants, they shift to a weak position (See the summary table of different stakeholders' roles and powers in Appx 5).

(2) Findings on WB Partnership Structure

After examining the partnership structure of West Bund, we could conclude that it has some beneficial innovations but also experiences several shortcomings.

First of all, under the government-led development tactic, the ample subsidies, large acquisition, and development process, and the support from the two levels of governments jointly contribute to the WBG's high efficiency during the first-level development. Nevertheless, owing to the unprofessional and inefficient nature of state-owned secondary developers, the interest of small business owners (tenants) might not be guaranteed.

Secondly, during the phase of joint-cultivation of the culture industry, the WBG adopts a market-oriented partnership strategy which goes with the economic cycle, domestic demand, and location condition; Most importantly, WBG forms a relatively harmonious relationship with the cultural tenants to incentivize the sustainable growth of the cultural

industry. Considering the current short period of industrial cultivation, however, the lack of connections among different cultural ventures can reasonably account for the satisfactory culture industry's agglomeration effect; the deficiency of public education system results in the implicit exclusion of the groups of teenagers, seniors, and low-income residents further, since the technology industry is still under the incubation phase. Accordingly, the social impact of WB' current industries is merely limited to the class of cultural elites.

Last but not least, regarding the partnership with collaborative participation, WBG is a pioneer in encouraging the community' s engagement through a relatively mature system of suggestion feedback and the project management system of autonomous organizations. During the phase of collaborative governance, the drawbacks of the indefinite division of responsibilities among various stakeholders also reveal. The indefinite responsibilities between WBG & WB Committee' s partnership increase WBG's burden; the ambiguity of responsibilities between WB Office & other sub-district offices' lead to the mutual buck-passing and thereby decrease the efficiency of social governance. Furthermore, the voluntary nature of the autonomous groups lead to the lacking of independent decision-making process and professional service with legal power, accordingly, the speaking right of residents and small business groups would be weakened.

5.2 Contribution to Literature

This study first summarizes the current literature concerning the background and approaches of urban regeneration, the public-private partnership, and stakeholder analysis. Moreover, then points out that the previous study of the public and private sector is a loose classification of stakeholders which may lead to the confusion of understanding each sectors'

roles and powers within the partnership. Accordingly, first of all, this thesis contributed to a precise study of stakeholders' partnerships in terms of four main phases in an urban regeneration project. Besides, this study fills the void of analyzing the stakeholders' partnerships in culture-led regeneration in the Chinese context. Last but not least, the first-hand information collected from critical stakeholders including government officials and director of the pivotal department of the developer, primary architect, as well as the small business owners, residents, and the worker could offer a precious experience for the next round urban revitalization, especially in a Chinese context.

5.4 Policy Implication

With the careful examination of the current so-called "Government-led, Market-oriented operation, and Collaborative Governance" partisanship structure and suggestions from interviewees, this study summarizes the preliminary recommendations of overcoming the drawbacks in stakeholders' partnership during the four phases of a regeneration project. Hopefully, the following recommendations would inspire the policy-makers and practitioners in the field of urban regeneration.

To begin with, for the Joint-Development of Built Environment, the first-level developer should accelerate the construction of public transportation system and supporting facilities to provide a better experience for the visitors and amplify the industrial agglomeration effect. Besides, the first-level developer should establish a team to supervise the quality of building conditions and efficiency of property management for the secondary development to protect the interest of small business tenants.

Secondly, during the land transaction and leasing process, the first-level developer is

supposed to overcome the inflexibility caused by the district-level government's rigid regulations. For the first-level developer, according to Chen, director of WB's industrial cultivation department, the potential strategy is to take the initiative in the decision-making process regarding which companies are suitable to locate in the and what kind of subsidies would be provided (on a case-by-case basis). Besides, the secondary developers could make rent concession for them to relieve the financial of small business owners, especially under the low-occupied rate period.

Thirdly, in the joint-cultivation of industry phase, the policymaker from the district-level government ought to establish the relevant system to support the industrial development. Taking the culture industry, for instance, the foremost is the public education system to increase the social impact of museums. Methods such as offering the free or discounted tickets for low-income groups will broaden the scope of audiences; Cooperating with middle & primary schools and establishing the museum commentators system could provide a more satisfactory public aesthetic education for visitors and residents. Additionally, based on Chen's opinions, other supporting systems are also essential for the cultivation of for culture industry: The establishment of culture industry social impact evaluation system would increase the use-efficiency of governmental funding; Besides, the formulation of protection law of intellectual property is also vital for the production side of cultural companies.

Last part is the collaborative governance. Regarding the indefinite roles, the administrative departments like WB Committee, WB Office, and other sub-distinct offices are supposed to clarify both their respective responsibilities and roles in the partnerships.

Take the partnership between WB Committee and WBG for example. WB Committee ought to be responsible for formulating initiatives and regulations, while WBG could focus more on implementing the initiatives. Concerning the lacking of independence and professional service of autonomous organizations, the governments could incentivize the formation of social enterprise, which using the market-based, civil society approaches to address social issues (Kerlin, 2019). As an enterprise with legal rights, the form of social enterprise would increase the speaking right of its clients such as residents and small business owners.

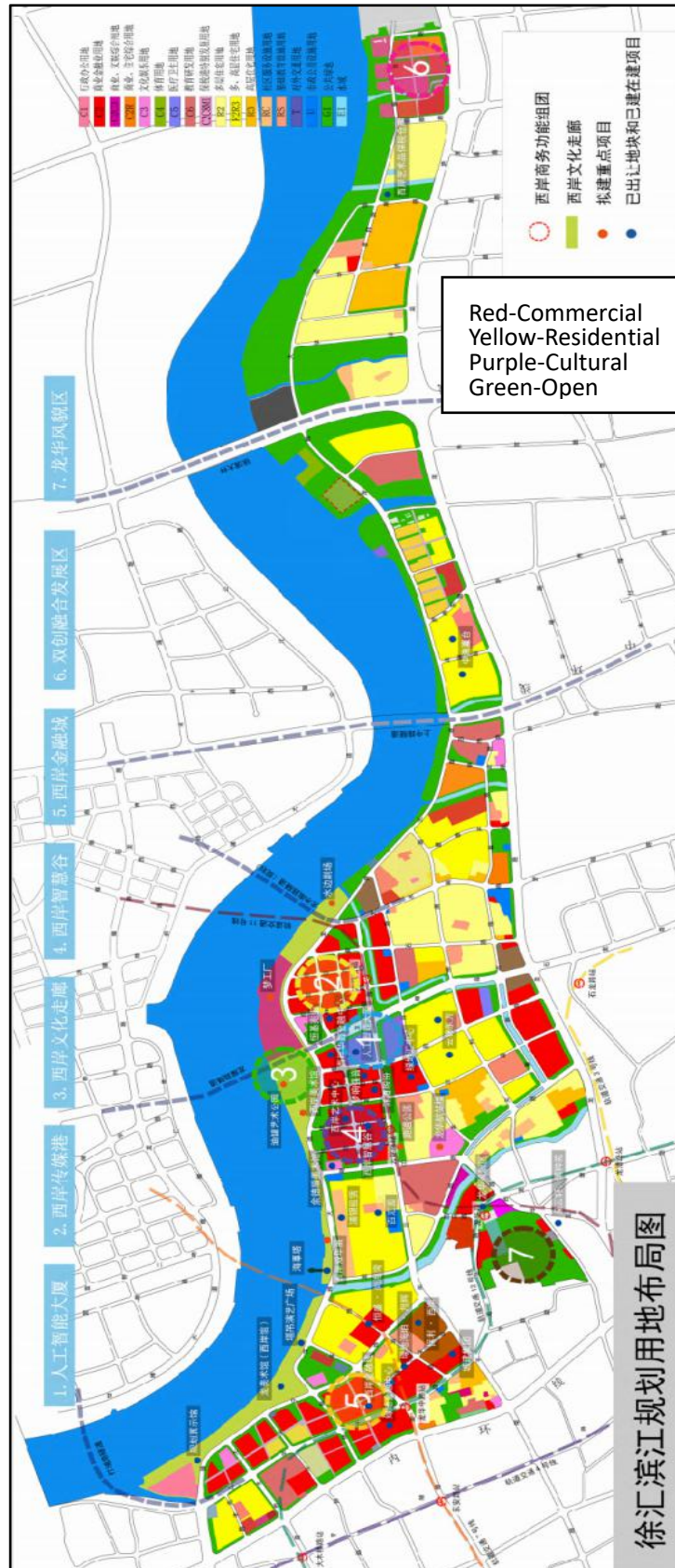
In conclusion, all the suggestions as mentioned above could jointly exert a beneficiary impact on promoting a harmonious stakeholders' partnership and sustainable urban regeneration.

5.5 Limitation and Directions for future research

Taking the limitations of time, lack of sample size, and potential sensitivity of the topic, this dissertation seems to be a little coarse. Due to the limitations of time, granted that I have tried my best to conduct seven formal interviews and ten on-site conversations, the lack of sample size of each stakeholders' group still prevent me from seeing the whole picture. Besides, the potential political and commercial sensitivity of my questions regarding the subsidies' resources, funding numbers, and land acquisition let me get several times of "Cannot tell." This situation would undermine the precise of analyzing the stakeholders' power. Regarding the directions for future research, I'm looking forward to seeing more precise and specific studies concerning the innovations of funding structure, managerial structure, and collaborative governance structure in the stakeholders' partnerships, which will joint foster the reform of city-making towards an economically feasible, socially equitable, and culturally heritable future.

APPENDIX

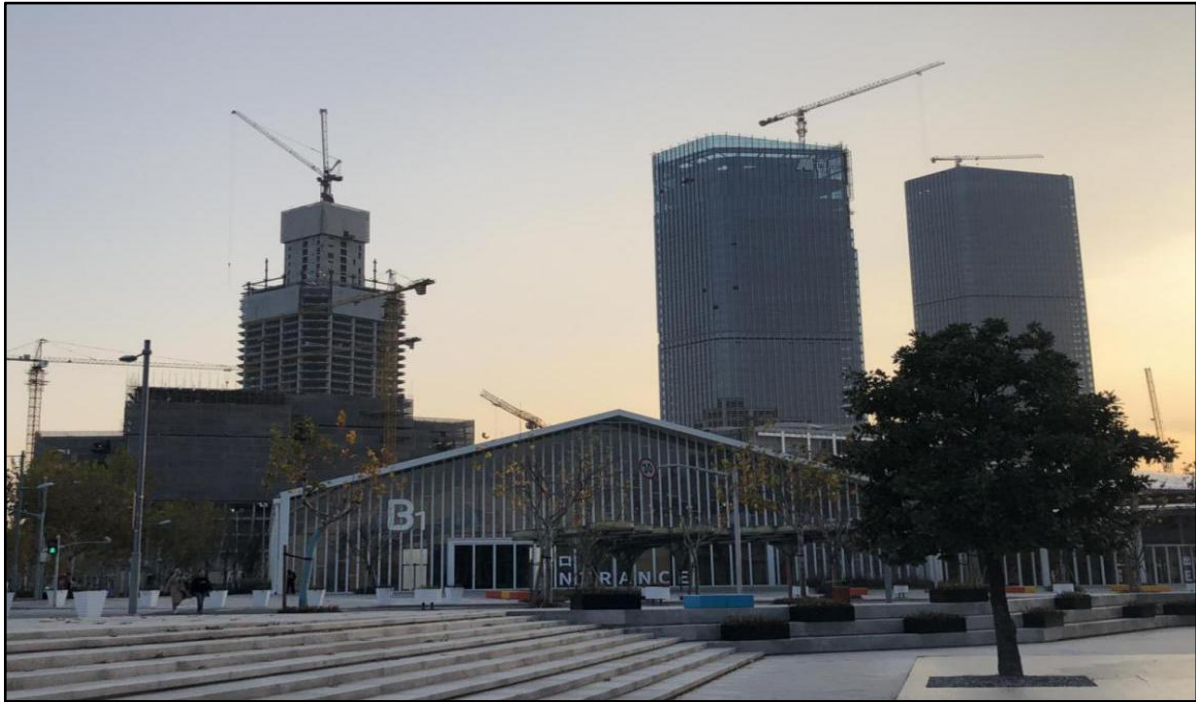
Appx 1: WB Land Use Type Map (Source: From WBG Planning Department, 2018)



Appx 2: WB Facilitates Map (Source: From WBG Planning Department, 2018)



Appx 3: The Current Condition of WB Smart Valley



Appx 4: Experts in Global Waterfront Talk 2016 (Source: WB Annual 2017)



Appx 5: Summary of Different Stakeholders' Roles and Powers

Classification	Stakeholders	Goals/Interests	Roles	Positions/Powers
Governments	Shanghai Municipal Government	To be an extraordinary global city	Authoritative mediator and supervisor	Coercive power in Land acquisition Strong in supervision; humble in attracting famous tenants
	Xuhui District Government	To be an extraordinary waterfront	Potent collaborator and supervisor	Strong in supervision; humble in attracting famous tenants
	Xuhui Finance Bureau	Support the development of Xuhui District	Major provider for financial recourse	Strong power in distributing the funding
	WB Office	Efficient governance process; user-friendly social environment	Mediator between upper governments and Sub-district offices	Weak power compared to upper governments; Relatively strong than four Sub-district Offices
	Four Sub-district Offices	Better Community service	Social Workers for communities	Weak compared to upper governments
Developers	First-level: WBG	To have a sustainable waterfront	Principal investor, developer, and manager	humble in attracting famous tenants; strong in project management and bear too much burden
	Secondary developers	Higher return on investment	Principal investor	Weak compared to upper governments; strong compared to small tenants
Tenants	Famous Tenants	Higher revenue, lower cost	Primary actors in shaping WB's industry	Strong bargain power
	Small Tenants		Provider for supporting service	Weak bargain power
Professionals	Planners/Consulting firms	Sustainable regeneration	Primary actors in forming the planning strategies	Expert power; Employment relationship with WBG
	Industrial preservation Group	Cultural heritage environment	Primary actors in historical preservation	
	Architects	Adaptive reuse of the historical	Primary actors in shaping Built environment	Expert power; strong in the decision-making process
Communities	Residents	Safe and pleasing environment; efficient and collaborative governance	Primary resource users; participators in collaborative governance	Growing power in collaborative governance but without legal effects
	Voluntary Groups	efficient and collaborative governance	participators in collaborative governance	
	Visitors	Safe and pleasing environment	Primary resource users	Seniors and children are excluded from the museums
Communicators	The media	Propaganda and report	Primary actor in shaping the public opinion	Respected by WBG; Strong power in shaping public opinion

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