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News | Notes | Insights from the Asia-Pacific Region

SPECIAL ISSUE ON PUBLIC SPACE

Private Appropriation of Public Space
'Informal' Settlements in Jakarta

Privatising Open Space in Hong Kong
The Case of a Residential Housing Compound

Between Mobility and Immobility
Traffic and Public Space in Phnom Penh

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GUEST EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

This special issue is concerned with the development, contestation and privatisation of public space in the Asia-Pacific. Public space is a scarce and highly contested resource. Diverse actors in the city struggle for the physical dominance over and symbolic meaning of public space. The recent uprisings in cities all over the Middle East from Tahrir Square in Kairo to Pearl Square in Bahrain have once again confirmed public space's function as an arena of acting and speaking men that Hannah Arendt already pointed to.

Besides their political relevance public spaces play an increasing role for the livability of the city. Public spaces in the form of green parks and river banks offer spaces for recreation and leisure. However, universal access to the places is endangered through privatisation measures. In the densely settled cities of the Asian Pacific Region the private appropriation of public space has become a strategy to acquire urban land. Thus, privatisation occurs in a twofold way: On the one hand, private investors transform former public spaces into privately owned amusement parks. In his research note Darren Cheung shows how private developers create public spaces in privately managed housing estates based on municipal planning policies and how theses spaces are privatised through the claim of local residents. On the other hand, privatization occurs through citizens' appropriation of public space for everyday life activities. The photo pages by Mario Wilhelm illustrates the informal aspects of public space and its usage by the urban poor in the city of Jakarta.

Public spaces are a sphere of continuous negotiation. The case study on mobility and immobility in Phnom Penh by Thomas Kolnberger demonstrates how the planning regime of the municipality of Phnom Penh in fact reflects social inequalities. The urban poor often engaging in street vending and pedling are eradicated from the urban landscape for the good of an upcoming middle class that demands space for its consumption patterns e.g. parking spaces for four-wheel drives. Like other municipalities in the Asia-Pacific Phnom Penh's authorities embrace a vision of urban modernity in which street peddlers do not fit.

Sandra Kurfürst, University of Hamburg

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In order to uphold scientific standards, the PN is implementing a peer-review process. Articles marked as „scientific papers" have been peer-reviewed by two external reviewers. Articles marked as „research notes" have been peer-reviewed by one external reviewer and a member of the editorial board. All other articles have been reviewed by the editorial board.

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COVER PICTURE
Street Vendor in Binh Duong Province, Vietnam
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This picture is showing a middle-aged lady selling ducks on open street. It has been taken in close proximity to an industrial zone in Binh Duong Province, which is located within the metropolitan region of Ho Chi Minh City. In this area, many migrant workers from rural regions of Vietnam are living in so-called boarding houses.

Between Mobility and Immobility:
Traffic and Public Space in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

Thomas Kolnberger

Abstract: The city of Phnom Penh, Cambodia, is a particularly interesting case study metropolis for an urban structure reformation process. The Pol Pot-regime forcefully evicted Cambodia's urban population in 1975, leaving the capital a 'ghost-city' for years. Phnom Penh had then to reboot its urban life after the Vietnamese expulsed the Khmer Rouge from the city in 1979. For nearly three decades, urban space has been reorganised mainly as a self-organised process by the neo-city dwellers. The widely open use of public space as a multiple-purpose surface for transportation, economic activities or as a place for leisure has recently become contested by the state authorities. Buildings and road systems are the material basis of a city. Constructional arrangements constitute spaces and regulate or limit their use. Accordingly, public space is a hybrid of built and mobile environments with fluid social delineation and fluctuating official allocation. On the basis of historical evidence, states around the world have eagerly assigned themselves the role of arbiter regarding these contested areas in-between the private and the public sphere since the 'age of modernisation'. The (re)rise of state power in Cambodia gives an example of reshuffling urban space and demarcating it in separate spheres by traffic regulations which are implicitly performative and demonstrative acts.
This paper is based on participatory observation, interviews with policy makers of the Municipality of Phnom Penh (MPP) and various inhabitants of the capital.

Key Words: Phnom Penh; traffic; transportation; public space

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Mobility is the state of being in motion and transport is the movement of people, animals and goods, which requires infrastructure: it forms – together with buildings – the material basis of a city. Such constructional arrangements constitute spaces and regulate or limit their use. Accordingly, public space is always a hybrid of built and mobile environments with fluid social delineation and fluctuating official allocation. On the basis of historical evidence, states around the world have eagerly assigned themselves the role of arbiter regarding these contested areas in-between the private and the public sphere. They follow a paradigm of governance by interfering in full or semi self-organised 'grey' fields – like Phnom Penh's traffic.

Source: Helmut Schneider 2008

Traffic in Phnom Penh as grey areas of public space

The city traffic of Phnom Penh is a constant astonishment for first-time visitors. Googling the key words "Phnom Penh" and "traffic" produces over 8.7 million results (compared to 9.6 for Bangkok or 24.0 for Ho Chi Minh-City). Most of them – in words or with images – refer to the seemingly chaotic traffic or the anarchic character of driving; a mixture of social conformity and chaotic individualism. Everything one needs to know about Phnom Penh's city society can be found in the traffic: Tongue-in-cheek, some observers even attribute the smooth rhythm of mutual accommodating movements of pedestrians and vehicles of all kind to meditation:

> "One of the main ways Khmers in Phnom Penh practice their Buddhism is by subjecting themselves to traffic. The constant near-misses, last minute swerves, precarious balancing acts, and obstacle-course road conditions would put the average person into a stress seizure. Yet the locals remain unperturbed, which is why the no-system traffic system works."
>
> (Asma, 2006, 15)

There is even a special internet forum in English which deals with traffic related issues in Cambodia and its practical intricacies and legal inconsistencies for foreigners and locals (see: http://crossingcambodia.blogspot.com).

A second common visitor perception is the widespread use of the streets, its sidewalks, and a 'grey area' beyond the road curb for non-traffic use. Those activities can be summed up as "pavement economy" (Forbes, 1996, 62): hawking of street vendors, business transactions of street stalls, the open air construction and assembling work, storing items, drying agriculture products, and – most prominently – the display of goods and services for sale to passers-by.

Traditionally, the urban street united three physical functions, "that of circulation, that of public space, and that of built frontage" (Marshall, 2005, 6-7), creating an unenclosed realm which provides essential common goods: visibility and (temporary) proximity as a movement space for social interaction. In Cambodia *dae leeng* (to walk around, "to promenade", Derks, 2008, 143 or Saphan 2007, 251f.), to be in the public eye in order to see and be seen or slowly cruising on a motorbike along the built frontage to spot friends, entertainment or other opportunities are favourite ways of prospecting interface and contact.

Crowded streets in Phnom Penh

Source (also of picture on page 2 above): Jan Peter Mund 2008

The ongoing process of deconstruction and separation of this spatial complex in legally constitutive elements of its own marks is – in the words of Stephen Marshall – a general "schism of modernism":

> "The result was that street design became subsumed within the rather specialised discipline of road design – based on the scientific consideration of traffic flow and the kinetics of vehicular motion, practised by engineers trained in hydraulics and mechanics, rather than architects trained in spatial form and aesthetics, or planners versed in the arts of the public realm."
>
> (Marshall, 2005, 7)

In an uneven global process whereby space has become more and more regulated and commodified, such spatial schisms of modernisation became indicators for more state control as traffic engineering is closely associated with urban planning and social control.

Today Phnom Penh is like a historical window to observe original multiple-use streets in action. However, this window of opportunity is being progressively shut following a modernist paradigm, defined by technical, social and political strategies.

Implementing a modernist traffic paradigm

1) Technically the dominant roads-and-traffic-driven approach ranks – in a discriminating order of preference – motorised private transport of 4-wheels over 2-wheels, far above non-motorised transport systems and pedestrians. A narrative of progress justifies the implementation of a disentangled spatialisation of traffic zones.

In the West, this shift has led to the reorganisation of streetscapes in two steps. Keeping the streets open for circulation and ensuring fire security emerged as central steering issues for urban development. In times of accelerating urbanisation, roughly since the second half of the 19th century, laws regulating building lines (alignment) and the hygienic debate became a catalyst for enforcing law and order on the streets. In the case of Phnom Penh these urban concepts were transferred from France to colonial Indochina (Rabinow, 1989). The French overseas' archives in Aix-en-Provence (Archives nationales d'Outre-mer) and the National Archives of Cambodia store hold a plethora of files providing information about the constant struggle of the colonial authorities for to enforce a civilised and modern rule in the public space (read: streets). Some cases seem like déjà-vus of the current situation (i.e. rural roads and strategic corridors, see: Del Testa, 1999; Edwards, 2006). This seemingly exaggerated care for proper street use had a hidden agenda. It can be viewed as a performative act that the colonial administration would show force and display a higher profile at comparable

Source: Thomas Kolnberger 2011

Marriage tent on the street

low cost to enhance its authority. At the same time automobiles became the 'motor barouches' of the colonial (white) upper class displaying the social order en passant.[1]

In a second step, the increase in motorisation after World War II has reinforced the development of streetscapes. Functional zoning, intervention in the city fabric and more road traffic regulations were implemented to ban congestion, the *bête noire* of any city administration.

Ironically, the car itself became the major self-congesting factor. In 2011, Phnom Penh has no public transportation system. The public mobility is served by a myriads of motorbikes (motodub, motorcycle taxi) and tuk-tuks (tri-wheel motor rickshaws) and motorcycles with trailers (remorque), and occasionally *cyclo-pousse* (bike rickshaws, pedicabs); cab services have recently been established. However, this highly effective decentralised service is progressively tailbacked and tailgated by automobiles. Since the late 1990s bike rickshaws-owners have been threatened to be legally banned from city traffic for being too slow and forming a moving hindrance to other participants (Etherington & Simon, 1996), which would further diminish the chance for making a living for some hundred transport providers.

In Phnom Penh car driving is still the exception to the predominant motorbike traffic and to own a car a privilege. Thus, car drivers parade superiority via their vehicles, usually expensive SUVs or 4-wheel-drive pickups. Their manoeuvring is a conspicuous consumption of space and any parking in front of expensive restaurants or offices becomes an eye-catching ritual accompanied by dramatic gestures of the parking attendant/security personnel, who get a small tip with a likewise generous gesture of the holder. In Cambodia's culture of impunity – if one has *mien knong* ("to have back", to have connections) – the illegal parking on the second lane is often secured by displaying deterring IDs of high rank in the military, government or administration in the front screen. Demonstrating one's position or wealth is an easy way to put pressure on other people. The pecking order on the street is reflecting the social power relations, and *nek thom* ("big" influential men) are behind the steering wheel. Successively the need for parking space is also displacing the pavement economy of the urban poor while any safe walking corridors for pedestrians get more and more blocked by cars (Saphan, 2007, 238ff.).

2) Socially, the modernist paradigm is putting an end to the legal limbo on the streets, which has accrued organically from the pragmatic use of the public space after the fall of the Pol Pot-regime in 1979/80. It is a process of dissembling the multi-use space that was often used as a temporary public zone. Tim Edensor (1998) has been observing this shift to logocentric spatialisation in India since the 1990s. The example of Ho Chi Minh City metropolitan region is like a preview for a Cambodia to come:

> "Put simply, a significant segment of Vietnam's rising propertied class benefits from the government's efforts to strictly demarcate public and private space, and the language of civilization operates as a substitute language of property relations that enforces an increasingly strict differentiation of public space from private. […] As property became increasingly privatized and commoditized during this period, blurred boundaries between private and public space became less tenable for propertied interests seeking to demarcate their private spaces"
> (Harms, 2009, 186; for Hanoi: Kürten, 2008).

Whereas a kind of modified multipurpose street and simplified streetscapes have mounted a comeback in postmodern traffic engineering (Quimby & Castle, 2006), the MPP disentangles the street to get under control a second bête noire under control: unregulated fluctuation and mobility, which for other users is a mobile asset of temporality. In his case study of Padang, Indonesia, Freek Colombijn (1994, 303f.) points to the importance of the temporary use of public space. He distinguishes four different modalities: political manifestations, traffic, recreation and the informal sector. However, temporary sites and activities, which are essential fundaments of the pavement economy, smear preconceived notions of ownership and property. They continually dissolve the distinction between private and public by fluctuation, which the modernist paradigm aims at stopping by demanding and supporting an indoorisation (Harms, 2009) and legal regulation of activities. A middle-term objective of the MPP is to assign everything to its proper fixed place and to end 'anarchy' – the favourite explanatory statement of Cambodian officials for unpopular measures.

3) Depoliticising the street is the third pillar of the paradigm. To seize – or in the words of Simon Springer "the assault on public space" (2010, 132) – via traffic regulations is a sublime way of appropriation. "Roads become an ideological space" – as Terry McGee puts it, depicting a general trend in Southeast Asian cities – "in which ideas are contested". They are part of the "disciplining of space that is associated with modernity" (McGee, 2002, 649). The eviction of 'illegal' and 'chaotic' informal settlements is only one part of the spatial reconstruction in Phnom Penh (see also: Schneider, 2011), while

the beautification programme of the city, launched by Kep Chuktema, the capital's appointed governor since 2003, deepens the ongoing spatial division by separating space for meeting and recreation from the street (Springer, 2010, 108ff.). Traffic and amusement are to be separated as any officially approved protest is restricted to certain areas only. Since the inauguration of the 'Freedom Park/Democratic Corner' in 2010, protest in public is limited to a 12,000 square meter wide area close to the massive US Embassy. The MPP will not give in to the pressure of the crowds on the street anymore, and sites where the 'voice from below' can materialise in space are rolled back. Especially the waterfront and riverside of Phnom Penh became clear-swept and are now an expanding show-case green zone with public parks. This initiative is highly acclaimed but also represents a further step towards taming the city population by making the city space as transparent as possible. These spatial politics are in sharp contrast to the intransparent opacity of the traffic regulations and the lacking enforcement of traffic safety recommendations (see the CLTL, 2006).

A graphical synopsis

Public space is not a 'container space' with spatially designated areas alone, separating the public from the private. It might be a certain physical area; however a public area is spatially more relational than an entity with binary character might suggest: it is a question of access to a certain catchment area, representing personal zones of interest in common with others. It emerges as an overlapping area of possible (physical) contact points. Therefore, public spaces, past and present, attest a certain common mode of production. An open visability, walkability, and talkability represents the aggregated sum of individual radiuses of spatial convergence. A 'public radius', which can be supported or prevented by the built environment or which can be supported or impeded by law – especially in a process of reformation.

After the Khmer Rouge cataclysm, people themselves were the important infrastructure in Phnom Penh:

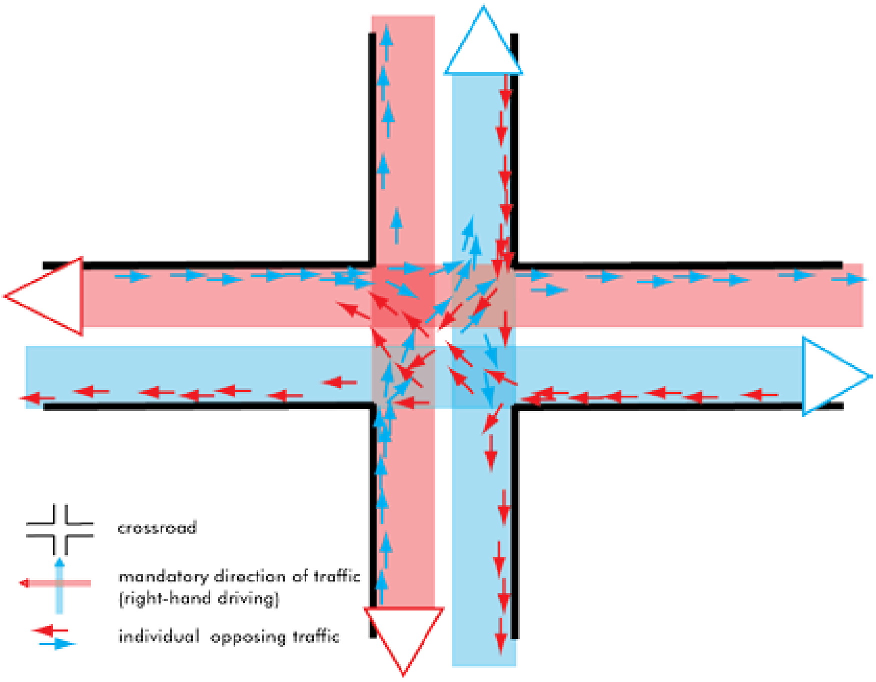
> "In other words, their selves, situations, and bodies bear the responsibility for articulating different locations, resources, and stories into viable opportunities for everyday survival" (Simone, 2010, 124).

Source: Thomas Kolnberger 2011

Pavement economy

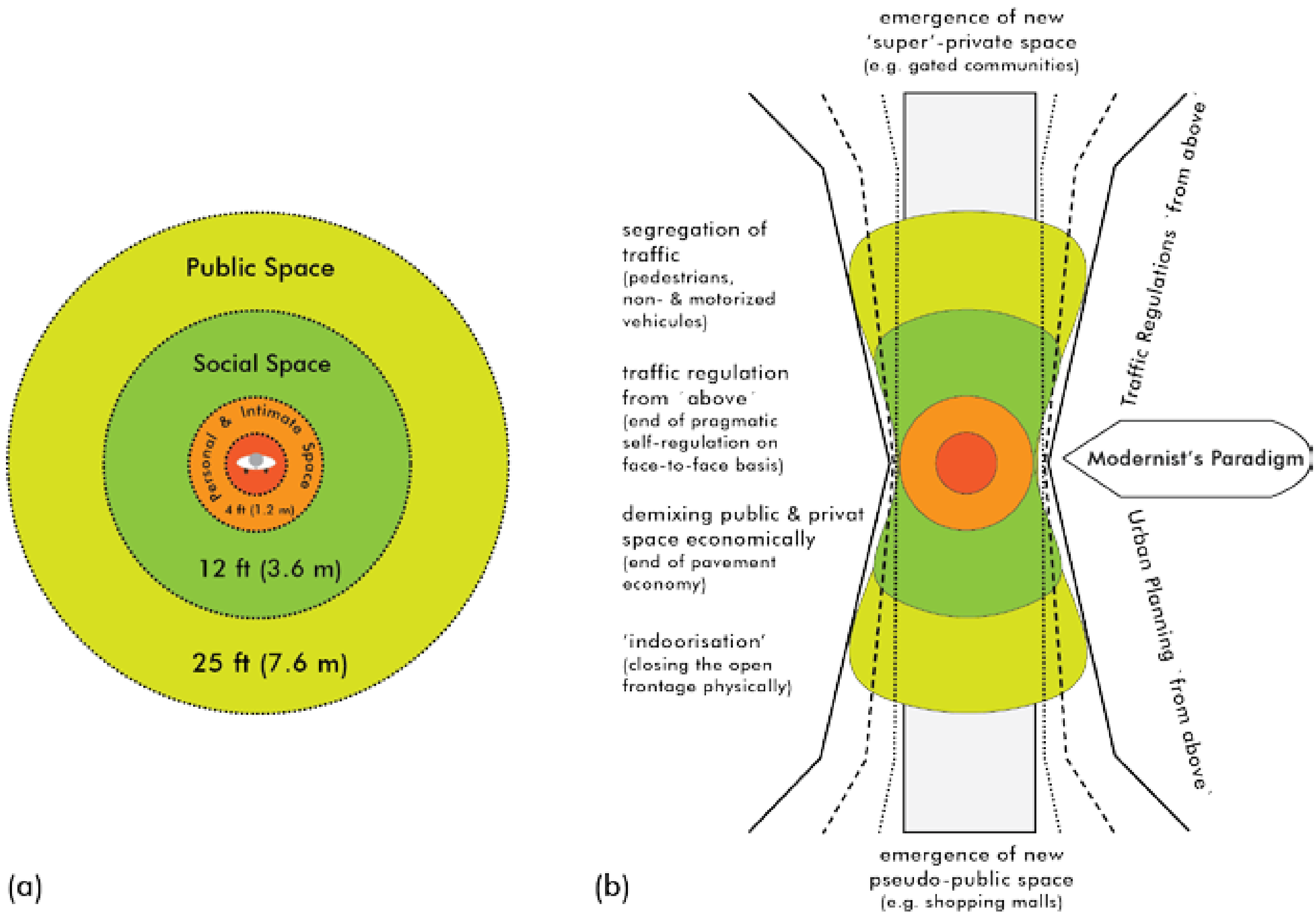
Due to the forced self-organisation for survival, the moveable public space of the new Phnom Penhois turned out to be their most valuable asset. The walkability, talkability, and visability of the city was high, nearly unimpeded, and collectively used as a common-pool resource. Phnom Penh's streets bears witness of this self-organised mobile public space ever since. The first figure (Fig. 1) demonstrates the flexible, yet sufficient traffic arrangement as a spontaneous order.

According to Edward T. Hall (1963), social distance between people sets measurable distances between them. These correlations with physical distance from intimate and personal



Source: Thomas Kolnberger 2011

Fig. 1: First interface: warp and weft; Phnom Penh's city traffic flow is changing from uncongested stable flows, where vehicles can drive chaotically at a speed compliant to a city's environment, and where individuals (even pedestrians) are able to move in and out of the lanes smoothly, to an unstable regime of stop-and-go traffic. The infrastructure (traffic lights, traffic signs etc.) of the moving public space becomes tailor-made for more cars transporting less people and claiming more space per transport unit. This development has repercussions on the second interface: the sidewalks. Stationary traffic is displacing the pavement economy.



Source: (a) Thomas Kolnberger based on E.T. Hall (1966); (b) own draft

Fig. 2 a&b: Changing proxemics: the re-formation of the moveable public space by traffic and urban planning regulations from above. The capitalistic modernist's paradigm restricts "commons" and opens up forms of (controlled) interactive space at the same time, but not for all at the same level of accessibility.

to public distance (between 12 to 25 feet and beyond) are concentric. Various impacts to reduce this moveable radius (reaction bubbles) are restricting potential interactions and possible alternative solutions for, e.g. traffic congestions or the efficient use of rare open (fixed and unbuilt) public space in a city. The conventional modernist's paradigm focuses on enhancing (a) fixed-feature space (immobiles, such as walls or territorial boundaries); (b) unbalancing semi-fixed-feature space (this comprises movable objects, such as vehicles) in favour of emblematic winners of modernisation like car drivers by (c) discriminating and channelling informal space (the personal space around the body, that travels with a person).[2]

Conclusion

Historically, the modernist traffic paradigm has followed the rational planning model from above with a set of policy blueprints for auto-centric transportation designs. One of its legacies is the separation of pedestrians and traffic in segregated zones, where planners had not (fully) considered the social or economic factors that could lead to urban decay of pavement activities. The spatial organisation of society and its planning processes are thus directly related to its class structuring. In Phnom Penh this spatial New Deal creates a development, but at the expense of the environment and the poor. The spatial organisation of society and its planning processes are thus directly related to its class structuring. It is about the access to resources and the city's most valuable common one – urban space – is in short supply. In economics, common goods (or common-pool resources) are defined as a type of good which is rivalrous (the consumption by one person precludes other persons) and non-excludable (a person cannot be excluded from consumption of the goods). In the last decade, a clear shift from a common character of space to a privatised one is discernable. The temporary use of space in Phnom Penh will be more and more limited; precluding urban poor, micro-entrepreneurs, etc. from the consumption. The "street" as a common good is being primarily rededicated to motorised (private car) traffic.

To be fair: the MPP as any other town administration has to cope with the rising demand of a motor-minded society, with the increasing urban population, technical as well as financial

Small truck (pick-up)	Heavy trucks (HGV)	Minibus	Motor-coach	Car	Motorbike	Tuk-Tuk	Bike
2,779	1,284	1,259	513	36,870	176,869	941	65,725

Source: MPP census 2008

Tab. 1: Current Modes of Transportation in Phnom Penh
(total numbers of officially registered/counted vehicles).
According to data of the Department of Land Transport, the total accumulated number of registered motorised vehicles in Cambodia over a 13 years period from 1990 to 2003 was 64,805 cars and 336,502 motorcycles only. The comparison with the number of cars registered in 2008 in the MPP alone illustrates the sharp rise of motorisation (ADB-ASEAN, 2003).

challenges, and it has to please investors (see Tab. 1: Current Modes of Transportation in Phnom Penh). However, fair governance implies that rules and mechanisms function in a way that allows the executives to respect the rights and interests of all stakeholders. The top-down methods of the state bureaucracy in Phnom Penh favour the rich, the 'emblem of progress', which reflects the changing political terms of trade. During the civil war and its aftermath, governance especially in the capital had to reconcile all interests, but on the low economic level of a poor state, struggling for the alliance and allegiance of the common people. By necessity, subsistence was makeshift and the use of the city space provisional and used collectively. After the consolidation of the ruling regime in the late 1990s a new political economy has been replacing the old silent consensus (Roberts, 2001; Gottesman, 2002; Hughes, 2003). The changing appearance of Phnom Penh's streets is like a tracer for this recent development in political culture.

Endnote

[1] As a footnote to history, the general ban of right-hand drive vehicles in Vietnam can be seen as a reaction to the "arrogant" behaviour of tourists from Thailand, putting a stop to the excursions organised in the early 1990s by the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) to the former French colonies, using 4WD vehicles as "Friendship Caravan to Indochina". Cambodia's similar ban of 2001 was, however, primarily targeting smuggled stolen cars from Thailand. It entailed costly changes of the steering columns of 80% of the cars officially registered in Cambodia at that time, according to General Director of Transport. Retrieved August 2011 from http://ipsnews.net/mekong/stories/overload.html.

[2] See: Edwart T. Hall (1963) and Bryan Lawson (2001); the technical terms are all taken from here.

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From Privately Managed Public Open Space to Private Open Space: A Case Study of a Private Residential Complex in Hong Kong

Darren Man-wai Cheung

Abstract: Privately owned and managed public open space is a key research topic. Hong Kong is not an exception. This article aims to identify the problems of public open space in private management in Hong Kong. Drawing upon a case study of a private residential development, the Metro Harbour View, the article finds that the existing mechanism is inadequate in enforcing public open space in private management and coordinating public open space provision. The article also suggests that the privatization process is a confluence of the effort from the government, the private developers and the expectation of the residents.

Keywords: Open space, privatization, Hong Kong, Metro Harbour View

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Source of all pictures: Man-wai Cheung

Privatization of public open space is getting more popular among cities with a high population density. In the recent years, developers are urged to share social responsibilities to provide more facilities for public access in private owned land to ease the shortage of open space provision in congested urban areas. The developers, in return, may gain increased floor area ratio for development in their sites. This case study investigates the issue of public open space in a private owned and managed development, the Metro Harbour View, in Hong Kong. Through examining newspapers accounts, commentaries and interviews conducted by the media, this article attempts to find out how the podium garden of Metro Harbour View, a privately managed public open space, undergoes the privatization process. As it unfolds, the case illustrates the loophole of the existing enforcing mechanism and the threat of the residents, the developers' intention not to comply with the lease condition, and the perception of the open space as a privately shared area amongst residents. The complaint of the residents then leads to the negotiation between the residents and the government in turning the public open space into a truly private one. This article aims to reveal that privatization of open space is not a sole consequence of either the effort of the government or the private developers, but the mingled influence of the two together with the expectation of the residents. In doing so, the article will open with a brief introduction of research examining the privatization of open space. The second section highlights the policy governing public open space in private developments in Hong Kong and the policy concerns. The following section discusses the issue of the podium garden of Metro Harbour View. The article closes with a discussion and suggestions for further study.

Privatization of Open Space Revisited

Conventional research on open space suggests that open space cannot be thoroughly evaluated by means of economic analysis. Berry (1976) proposes open space to be evaluated in six dimensions, namely utility, functional, contemplative, aesthetic, recreational, and ecological value, whether the open space is public or private, urban or rural, or large or small. In the 1980s, public utilities gradually became targets of privatization and eventually public space was considered as a possible ground for such process. Loukaitou-Sideris (1993) conducted one of the early studies, which shed light on the characteristics of privatized public open space. She attributed the privatization process of public open space to three factors: The desire to utilize private resources to ease burdens on government budgets; the willingness of private developers to provide public open space in private developments in return for additional floor area ratio; and the increasing demand of privately managed open space in view of the threat of crimes and the presence of undesired groups in conventional public open space. Development pressure to achieve sustainable urban growth and the prevailing trend of public space under support and management by corporations are some other factors suggested, resulting in the accentuated control over use in privatized open space and spatial fragmentation of urban areas (Defilippis, 1997; Schmidt, 2004). In the context of Hong Kong, the norm of privately managed public open space with overt surveillance is particularly pervasive, owing to the absence of a democratic politics and the wealth creation mentality of traditional Chinese. Open space planning, under this circumstance, is empowered into a means of social control (Cuthbert, 1995; Cuthbert & McKinnell, 1997). The increasing surveillance and control over usage, behaviours, and access by the private management also leads to the limited function of public open space in political, social and democratic contexts, diminishing the sense of publicness (Mitchell, 1995; Németh, 2009; Németh & Schmidt, 2011).

Public Open Space in Private Developments: An Overview

The incorporation of public facilities in private developments has been put into practice since the 1980s. The policy intends to integrate design and optimize land use for better planning of development, to utilize public facilities for the need of the wider public, and to envisage residents brought by a private development (Panel on Development, Legislative Council, 2010). Public facilities in private developments can be categorized fourfold: government, institution and community facilities, public open space, public transport terminus, and public access facilities. Where provision of public facilities in

View of the Podium Garden

View of the Podium Garden

private development is applicable, the corresponding Government Bureaux/ Departments may propose to include planning conditions for a specific site in the statutory town plan, or to include land sale conditions in the land lease (Ibid). A recent study finds that social facilities, including open space, and public access facilities have the highest percentage to be incorporated into leases (Yung, 2011). The effectiveness of planning and lease condition, in particular the provision of privately managed public open space, has been widely discussed in academic researches. One aspect of research focuses on the issue of non-compliance of conditions and the planning enforcement. Most researches seem to stress on the uncertainty of planning enforceability of the Town Planning Ordinance and the ambiguity of liability in case of non-compliance (Lai, Ho, & Leung, 2005; Tang & Leung, 1998). It is also believed that in the absence of direct enforcement measures, developers will comply with the planning conditions as far as compliance can enhance the values of the development, while mere negligence may also be a possible reason for non-compliance (Lai, Yung, Li, & Ho, 2007). Apart from the compliance issue, the quality of privately managed public open space is another focus of research. Evaluation on the existing policy suggests that developers tend to provide corridors and passageways without adequate pedestrian facilities and greening. In most cases, the open space within private developments is designed to fulfil merely the minimum requirements of the conditions and maximize gains in development potential (Luk, 2009). Despite these early academic concerns, the issue of public open space in private developments did not draw much public attention in Hong Kong. This rapidly changed when two incidents were reported in 2008. Specifically, Times Square, a shopping mall providing public open space for public access in an old district in Hong Kong, has abused the user rights by renting out part of the public open space for profit, whereas Metro Harbour View has not opened the public open space since the completion of the development (e.g. Kwan, 2011; Tse, 2008).

Metro Harbour View: Public Space or Private Amenity?

In 2003, a private housing estate was developed in Tai Kok Tsui, West Kowloon, a densely populated urban area in Hong Kong. As a popular residential complex design in Hong Kong, the estate is situated on a shopping composite with a podium garden on the roof. With no less than 9,800 square metres in size, the podium garden is regarded as well designed with maintenance, comprising a garden plaza, fountains, two playgrounds and two clubhouses in which various leisure and recreational facilities are provided. Covered walkways are built to connect each residential block to the podium garden. There is also a stairway connecting the garden (located on the 4th floor) to the neighbouring street, and a gate installed to bar entry from the street. The podium garden was for long conceived as a private area dedicated only to the enjoyment of local residents. While many studies have pointed out that proximity to permanent open space will significantly increase property values (e.g. Geoghegan, 2002), empirical study shows that Hong Kong property buyers are willing to pay higher prices for private space and publicly accessible space is considered undesirable and to exert downward pressure to property values (Chan, So, Tang, & Wong, 2008). As such, it is probable that the podium garden is designed purposely by the developers as a private area to maximize revenues from the residential development.

Nonetheless, it was not until early 2008 that the developers were found by a local newspaper for not complying with the lease condition. The news discovered that the developers achieved an agreement with the government to provide public open space in exchange for the land exchange application to be approved for the development of Metro Harbour View. Under the lease condition, the developers of Metro Harbour View are required to construct and maintain no less than 9,800 square metres of public open

Podium Garden at a Glance

space for public access (i.e. the podium garden is thus reserved for the purpose of public open space) (The Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, 2007), but the podium garden was closed for private access only since the development had been completed. Upon the report of the misconduct, the Lands Department immediately requested the property management of Metro Harbour View to open the podium garden.

The opening subsequently aroused discontent of residents. From the residents' view, they thought they were deceived by the developers without clear notice that the podium garden is a public open space during the time they purchased the flats. Others were concerned about the rising maintenance costs of the podium garden, and wondered if safety and hygiene of the environment would deteriorate. Some even worried that the prices of their property would drop drastically. The representative of the residents also claimed that it was unreasonable to transfer the rise of maintenance costs to the residents, while government subsidies were not guaranteed (Ho, 2008a). Despite these views, the developers denied responsibilities for the opening. They claimed that all the flats were sold by that time and it was completely the residents' decision whether to open the podium garden for public access; the management simply acted in accordance with the requirements of the lease to open the podium. The issue of privately managed public open space was eventually laid down for discussion in the Legislative Council in December 2008. In the meeting, the government proposed to exempt Metro Harbour View from the lease condition, saying that the design of the podium is difficult for public access, and security problems may arise as the podium cannot be separated from the residential blocks (Ho, 2008b). In order for the podium to be exempted and turned completely private, the residents have to first gain support from the District Council and then the approval of the Town Planning Board. Upon the agreement of the two bodies, the residents are required to pay an administrative fee and waiver fee for the privatization of the podium.

Since the opening, the owners of Metro Harbour View claimed that annually an additional one million Hong Kong dollars were spent for maintenance and insurance of the podium with the introduction of more surveillance advices and security patrol, despite there have only been about 150 outsiders, mostly food couriers, entering the podium (Lee, 2011). The lack of outsiders visiting the podium garden may also be attributed to the fact that there are a large public park and two smaller public parks surrounding the residential complex. In June 2011, the residents finally submitted the application to the Town Planning Board under the assistance of the developers (Owners' corporation of Metro Harbour View applied for podium privatization, 2011). While the result of the application is still pending, the podium has always appeared to be a privatized one regardless of the privatization process.

Discussion

From the planning perspective, the case study illustrates the weakness of open space planning in Hong Kong. Given that the provision of public open space within the site of Metro Harbour View was proposed voluntarily by the developers, this public open space was considered planning gain (Metro Harbour View Quietly Opened Podium, 2008) and regarded necessary due to the open space shortage in the old district. The case thus reflects the government's mentality in encouraging open space provision within private development in order to satisfy merely the quantity requirements stipulated under the Hong Kong Planning Standards and Guidelines (HKPSG) of Hong Kong (Tang & Wong, 2008). While three public parks, each of which is zoned under different town plans, have been constructed around the residential complex to serve public needs of the individual districts, it also implies that there is not an adequate coordination of public open space provision, leading to the clustered and fragmented open space pattern in the urban fabrics.

In addition, the closure of the podium garden once again challenged the enforceability of privately managed public open space. This case study per se shows that the closure of the garden is not due to the negligence of the developers. It appears to be an intentional closure in order to maximize the property values. There is also little evidence suggesting that the government intends to monitor and enforce the open space provision before the news released in 2008. As land sale serves as the most important revenue for the Hong Kong Government, there is economic reason for the government indeed to neglect the enforcement of open space provision within lands owned by private developers. The approval of the enclosed layout of the podium garden further implies the lack of evaluating mechanism for privately managed open space and the government's negligence to conduct comprehensive evaluation.

Furthermore, the case of Metro Harbour View reveals that the result of privatization of public open space is not a sole process led by the developers, but also led by the self-interests of the local residents. Regardless the residents may be deceived by the developers and the sales brochures and view the podium garden as a private amenity when they purchased the flats, the residents appear to be neglectful of any potential defects in their properties during the transaction, arguing for the protection of their property rights without careful inspection of the responsibilities as required by the lease condition. The rationale employed to urge on the closure of podium garden also seems unjustifiable in which rare outside visitors were matched with an extreme increase in maintenance costs and groundless worry of crime. In any case, it is clearly shown that the podium garden is perceived, in addition to the developers' intention and design, as a private amenity by the local residents throughout the exposure of the issue.

The privatization process as illustrated is led by the confluence of the lack of will in enforcement by the government, the intention of the developers and the perception of the residents. To further address the dynamics of open space privatization, further research on the perception of private amenity versus public amenity of residents, the supply and planning of both public and privately managed open space, as well as the location and the management of public open space is suggested.

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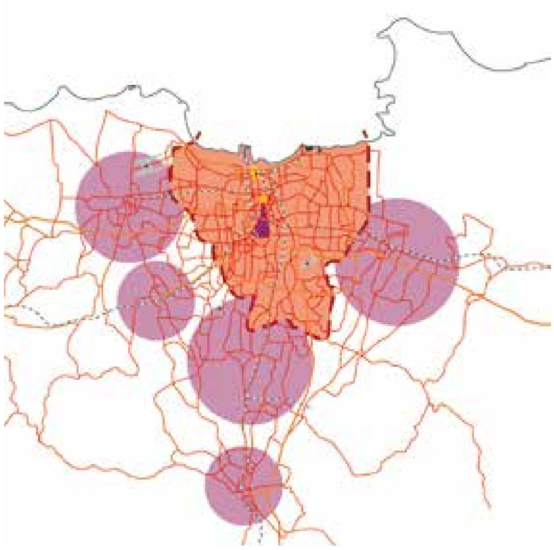
Private Appropriation of Public Space: 'Informal' Settlements in Jakarta

Mario Wilhelm

In today's mega-cities space is a scarce resource and its use is heavily contested. The visible expression of these negotiation processes is evident in the constant transformation of space. It can be observed that public space has to give way to high rise office and apartment towers, government buildings, monuments, five star hotels, shopping malls and transport infrastructure. Another interesting phenomenon that can be observed in most mega-cities is what is often referred to as slums. The high prices on the property markets push a large part of city dwellers into vulnerable urban pockets. These settlements are often described as informal because the communities, which settle in these locations, do not hold legal land titles. But the label informal is not only used to describe the living space of low-income people, it is attached to other aspects of everyday life, as well. For instance, people are engaged in informal sector activities and social life is organized in informal groups.



Space is increasingly getting contested within the poly-nuclear mega urban region of Greater Jakarta

Source of all pictures: Mario Wilhelm; Map Design: Martin Kaiser 2011

That way, the label 'informal' separates the everyday life situation of low-income households from everything that is formal and thus receives a negative connotation. As a consequence, slums are in many cases targeted by a hostile policy environment. Yet, it is often neglected that low-income households fulfill an important function in the urban economy. The competitive advantage of many developing countries as well as low cost services provided to the urban economy is only made possible because of the cheap reproduction of labor. Low-income employees, maids, office boys, guards, drivers, small scale traders, gardeners, day laborers in the construction sector and so forth are very much needed.

Moreover, in the informal sphere low cost services and goods are offered to low-income households. This is an essential aspect in insuring their livelihoods. In order to be able to establish everyday life in a mega-urban environment, low-income households have to make use of all the resources that are accessible. One of the most important resources – space – is often only available in public places. As a result, it can be observed that public spaces are used for everyday life. Therefore, it can be argued that the private appropriation of public space has two sides. On the one hand, it is illegal as it conflicts with existing laws and regulations; on the other hand, it is an important strategy for a large number of megacity dwellers to make a living in the city for the benefit of all. Keeping this contradiction in mind, the pictures provided here have to be carefully interpreted.

The pictures show different ways of private appropriation of public space in the Indonesian capital city Jakarta. Jakarta has a population of around 9.5 million. However, urbanization spilled over to neighboring cities with the effect that Greater Jakarta currently comprises about 24 mill. people. Over time, the city transformed from a small harbor town to a mega city. In the past, a major part of the city dwellers lived in a village-type of settlement; the so-called 'kampung'. With urban development these kampungs and their initial meaning altered. The term now refers to informal settlements. The most visible once are the dwellings that are developed along riverbanks and railway tracks or on public land, e.g. under overhead power lines. In addition to housing, public space is also used for gardening activities and aquaculture. Another commercial activity for which public space is appropriated is small scale trade either in the form of mobile vendors or small shops that are established on the sidewalk. Less visible is the use of rivers for washing, waste disposal and so on.

It is important to point out here that not only low-income people are appropriating public space. In many cities, public space is or was constantly redeveloped and transformed into privately owned space, such as offices or apartments. Yet, this thought will not be further discussed here. What becomes evident is that public space increasingly disappears. Today, there are few public places where people can meet and interact, such as soccer fields, parks or playgrounds. These spheres are again privatized so that recreational activities which people living in most European and North American cities take for granted have a price tag attached to it.

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International Influences and Local Adaptation in Urban Development

A Research Note from Vinh City, Central Vietnam

Tim Kaiser

Abstract: As the built environment of urban areas is the result of interactions between different actors and power relations, researching urban dynamics in Vinh City in Central Vietnam's Nghe An province reveals a rich field of international influences and local adaptations. Since the late 19th century, with the establishment of French Colonialism in Indochina, international influences have been a driving force behind the city's development and have at the same time been adapted to local conditions. Three different economically thriving settlements were merged into the multi-centred city Vinh by the French colonial administration. After its destruction during the French and American Wars, Vinh had been reconstructed with help from the German Democratic Republic. From the 1990s on, international cooperation promoting new priorities of community participation and sustainability in urban development became influential in Vinh City. Using (expert) interviews and participatory observation as well as document analysis and archival research, the author's ongoing research analyses the power relations and interactions between actors shaping the history and development of Vinh City. This research note introduces some of his preliminary findings, aiming at providing an overview of how different actors contributed to the particular development of Vinh City since the late 19th century.

Key words: Vietnam; urban development; international cooperation; local adaptation

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View from TECCO Tower to Quang Trung Zone C and the temporary Quang Trung market

Urban areas are the result of interactions between a large number of actors who try to put into concrete their visions of urbanity, thus expressing ideologies, political, social and personal agendas. The outcome of these interactions reflects the power relations shaping the urban environment. Applying this approach to an analysis of the history and development of Vinh City in Central Vietnam reveals the importance of international actors. Interactions between international influences and local adaptations have been part of urban development in Vinh City since the establishment of French colonialism in the region in 1885. Since then, different visions of urbanity were promoted by changing international actors and against the backdrop of shifting international power relations and politics. These were absorbed into local settings and adapted to social, institutional and political specifics, as well as geographic or climatic conditions.

Historical background

Before the establishment of French Colonialism in Nghệ An Province, Vinh had been a small but important centre of regional trade and administration. Its importance grew when it became the site of the mandarinate examinations in 1770 and with the construction of a citadel on the orders of Emperor Gia Long in 1802-1803 (Chu Trọng Huyến, 1998). In pre-colonial times Vinh had a small population of around 3000 inhabitants, who served the imperial garrison and mandarins as well as transportation, rice export and handicraft enterprises (Del Testa, 2007). Despite their importance, the citadel and the settlement did not gain the status of an urban centre before the French established their colonial rule in Indochina.

In July 1885 French troops landed in the nearby river harbour Bến Thủy. They were quickly able to seize Vinh, from where they set out to suppress resistance in the countryside (Chu Trọng Huyến, 1998). A résidence was established in the same month and Vinh soon became the centre of the colonial economy of Nghệ An and neighbouring Hà Tĩnh province (Del Testa, 2007).

Urban development under French colonialism

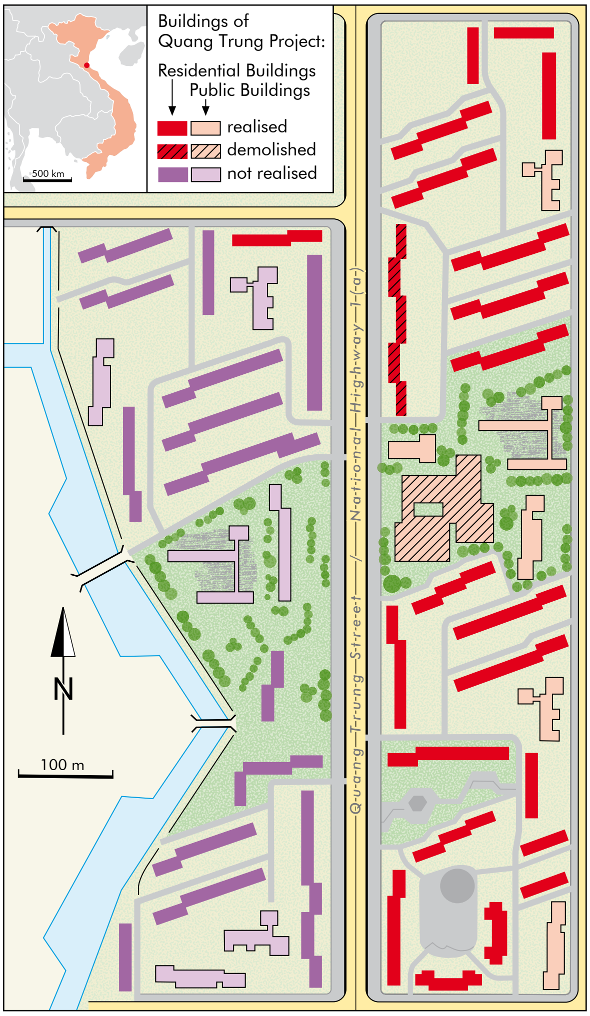
In the following years, Vinh and the two nearby settlements of Bến Thủy and Trường Thi each developed as administratively separate centres. Vinh gained the status of an urban centre in 1898 / 1899, continuing its pre-colonial role as the administrative and commercial centre of northern Central Vietnam. Bến Thủy developed as a port that served the colonial economy as a transport hub and an industrial zone. From 1908 onwards, Trường Thi became the site of Indochina's second largest railroads repair workshop. These three separate settlements each thrived on their respective specialisation and had gained the status of separate towns until they were merged to form Vinh – Bến Thủy City in 1927 (Chu Trọng Huyến, 1998).

While urbanisation produced social phenomena found in urban (colonial) centres in general, Vinh's size and position in the colonial urban system resulted in particular urban structures and social phenomena. Firstly, the specifics of colonial cities, such as ethnically-distinct districts or display of the grandeur of the mother country, were not prevalent. This is partly due to the fact that, as a secondary centre, Vinh did not receive as much attention and funds for urban planning and development as Hà Nội (Del Testa, 2007; Logan, 2000). Secondly, as a result of the absence of physical barriers between different ethnic groups in combination with the relatively smaller foreign population the modern state and economy were effectively run by the Vietnamese by the late 1930s (Del Testa, 2007). Thirdly, while Vinh's development relied on a large number of industrial workers, these maintained close ties with surrounding villages. The resulting flows of people and information between countryside and city were critical to the strong communist movement in Nghệ An, culminating in the Nghệ-Tĩnh Soviet Movement of 1930-1931, and playing an important role in the liberation of the city on 21.8.1945 (Del Testa, 2007; Chu Trọng Huyến, 1998).

Vinh during the French and American Wars

After 1945, Vinh experienced nearly 30 years of war. In the French war, Vinh's destruction was mainly due to a "destroy to resist" policy Hồ Chí Minh had called for. In the first five months of resistance, 1335 buildings, including 301 multi-storey buildings, were destroyed. After the Geneva Peace Conference in 1954, Vinh was supposed to regain its role as an economic, administrative and educational centre. However, the efforts to rebuild the city were destroyed during bombing campaigns in the American War. Vinh as an industrial centre, with the nearby harbour of Cửa Lò and its location on the Trường Sơn supply route to the war in the south was the target of bombing raids from 1964 on. In response, the city was evacuated in 1965. What could be reconstructed during the war was destroyed in the bombing campaign of 1972. When the Paris Peace Accord was signed in January 1973, Vinh had been nearly totally destroyed (Hoàng Ngọc Anh et al., 2003).

Quang Trung Zone C with the new TECCO Towers, for which residential building C1 was demolished in 2004



Pacific News Cartography: © Claus Cartens 2011, Source: Khu Quang Trung, Mat bang quy hoach chung.

Fig. 1: Plan for the construction of Quang Trung residential area, realised and not-realised buildings. The location of the old citadel is visible in the West.

Reconstruction as a socialist city

For help in reconstructing cities and infrastructure after the war, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) turned to its allies, the USSR and other socialist countries. As a country with a lot of experience in rebuilding heavily destroyed cities, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) took on the task to rebuild Vinh under the slogan of "international solidarity" (Vietnam-Ausschuss, n.d.).

In 1973 a bilateral process started that included fact-finding missions and the establishment of working committees, culminating in an agreement to rebuild Vinh City signed in October 1973. It included the drafting of a "General plan for building the city", the construction of several industrial plants, training of cadres in the construction sector, as well as the provision of building materials and machinery. The agreement envisioned a period of four years to complete these tasks (Liên hiệp, 2011). The official vision of the future city was clear: "Vinh of tomorrow will be a socialist city" (Vietnam-Ausschuss, n.d., 33).

The plan for reconstruction reflected historical structures and characteristics of Vinh. When Vinh's former inhabitants had returned to the city after the bombing had stopped, old streets, remaining burned-out buildings and the citadel's remains served as points of reference for spontaneous construction and were incorporated into the plan (Mönnig, 1987). Vinh's history as a city that was formed from three different settlements was also taken up. While the citadel area and Bến Thủy regained their role as commercial centre and port, Trường Thi was to become the location of administrative buildings.

A major part of the cooperation was the construction of the Quang Trung residential area.

The area was planned to consist of 36 five-storey residential buildings as well as educational, entertainment, communal and cultural facilities. Apartments of different sizes were designed according to the prevalent family structure with households of up to eight persons; each person was to be allocated 4m² of living space. Quang Trung was supposed to house about 15.000 persons in 2.480 apartments (Liên hiệp, 2011).

GDR-DRV cooperation in the construction of Quang Trung produced particular results compared to housing estates erected with help of socialist countries in other Vietnamese cities (Schwenkel, forthcoming; Marr, 2006; Đặng Thái Hoàng, 1999). First of all, learning from previous projects the Vietnamese request for delivery of pre-fabricated building parts was rejected and the construction of Quang Trung was embedded in the plan for a regional building material industry (Schaefer, 2011). Secondly, plans and designs for Quang Trung (and the General plan for building the city) took climatic conditions into account, such as the "Lao wind". Vietnamese planners and architects also incorporated elements of Feng Shui into the works (Interview Ngô Văn Yêm, 10 November 2010; Mönnig, 1989). Thirdly, the ideas of modern socialist living were mainly applied to the incorporation of residential buildings with cultural, sports and public facilities into integrated urban space. Most apartments were designed to be inhabited by only one family, and had private facilities for cooking, washing etc. "Most notably, it was strongly influenced by East German principles of the built environment that in the 1960s embraced a new 'culture of privacy,' as well as independent living" (Schwenkel, forthcoming).

While some adaptations to local conditions were intentionally designed, the new residents also modified the buildings and area to their needs. Nearly all open space between the buildings was turned into vegetable gardens and additional housing and storage space was created through make-shift loggias. However, this phenomenon could be limited in comparison to other cities by designing a base storey for these functions (Mönnig, 1989).

Despite its housing function, the Quang Trung project also served political purposes. It was a showcase of what solidarity between socialist countries could achieve, as well as of the bright future a modern socialist state promised its people. Its location on Highway No. 1 was chosen as a symbol of hope for the successful liberation of the whole country (Mönnig, 1987).

Although the project of Quang Trung was successful in its goal to provide housing for many people in only a short time, the project faced a number of problems. Because of economic difficulties, cooperation had to be extended for two years until 1980. In the end, only 22 of the planned apartment buildings could be built, housing close to ten thousand residents (Schwenkel, 2010). Although the apartments were equipped with a plumbing system, this did not become fully operational until the 1990s, partly due to a lack of water and electricity. Until then, people used to carry water from outside wells to the upper floors (Mönnig, 1987; Interview Ngô Văn Yêm, 12 August 2011).

The General Plan for the construction of Vinh accomplished its goal of projecting the general development of the city, and has since been serving as the basis for development plans of the city. The Quang Trung residential area, however, did fare worse. With economic difficulties persisting throughout the 1980s, the buildings state deteriorated quickly. Additional reasons were the partly poor quality of construction material, hurried building in order to satisfy demand, insufficient and uncoordinated maintenance work. Unsuitable habits of inhabitants, such as raising animals and cutting wood in the apartments, as well as the harsh climate also contributed to the deteriorating quality (Interview Ngô Văn Yêm, 12 August 2011). Despite these difficulties, GDR-DRV/SRV (Socialist Republic of Vietnam, successor of the DRV since 1976) cooperation was praised as exemplary for the creation of urban space in both countries until the late 1980s (Mönnig, 1989, 1987; Trương Huy Chinh, 1985).

Apart from the Quang Trung area, in the 1970s and 80s housing in Vinh was usually provided by state companies or agencies for their workers and employees. Those who could afford it were able to build their own houses with permission from the authorities. Urban development policies concentrated on transportation infrastructure and administrative buildings. The number of people building privately rose as the economy recovered in the late 1980s. From 1990 on, state agencies and companies started to sell houses and apartments that had previously been rented out to employees and workers. After the end of GDR help in urban development in 1981, no international cooperation was carried out in this field until the mid-1990s.

International cooperation after the Renovation reforms

International cooperation in the field of urban development picked up again in the mid-1990s, in a very different political situation. The Vietnamese đổi mới (renovation) reforms of 1986 had created a situation in which new international agencies with new approaches to urban development entered the country. In 1997, Vinh was selected for the Localising Agenda 21 (LA21) project of UN Habitat (Verschure & Tuts, 2004). The project introduced to Vinh priorities and processes in urban planning and management that had by then gained prominence in international cooperation. The World Summit in 1992 had promoted sustainable development and the participation of communities in planning and management under the name Agenda 21. Article 4 of the Habitat Agenda, adopted at the Habitat II Conference states: "Democracy, respect for human rights, transparent, representative and accountable government and administration in all sectors of society, as well as effective participation by civil society, are indispensable foundations for the realization of sustainable development" (UNCHS, 1996). In practise, this change of ideas signifies a shift away from a focus on technology in development cooperation towards urban planning and management on the basis of participatory processes.

Implementing this approach, the LA21 project faced difficulties. Vinh's authorities were not used to the new ways of planning: "Seminars took the role of brainstorming sessions and the new ideas brought forth by foreign experts were politely listened to and welcomed while simultaneously kept at arm's length from the existing planning complexities" (Shannon & Loeckx, 2004, 133). However, the project succeeded in opening up discussions about the city's future to more stakeholders than the top-down planning process that is usually followed in Vietnam. All of these stakeholders were part of the existing structures of the state or its mass organisations (Shannon & Loeckx, 2004). One visible result of these discussions was the revision of Vinh's "General Plan for Urban Development 2000–2020". However, the project's publication states that such plans represent "Unrealisable dreams [that] are projected upon the territory in a fashion that often has little to do with the existing typo/morphology and landscape" (Shannon & Loeckx, 2004, 123).

While the new ideas of the LA 21 project were hard to realize in the 1990s, the contemporary possibilities for participatory urban development are better. Especially the Grassroots Democracy decree (decree no. 29/1998/ND-CP issued in 1998, replaced by Ordinance no. 34/2007/PL-UBTVQH11 in 2007) improved the environment for international cooperation with a focus on decision-making processes and community participation.

Currently Vinh is involved in numerous projects promoting the application of best practice models, people's participation or horizontal exchange with Vietnamese and foreign cities.

Most notably, one urban upgrading project carried out in Vinh is currently promoted as an example of how cooperation between the people and authorities can result in outcomes that are advantageous for all stakeholders (T.L, 1 December 2010). This project was carried out by the residents of Cửa Nam ward's Hữu Nghị communal living area (khu tập thể (KTT) in Vietnamese), under the framework of the Asian Coalition for Community Action program (ACCA). ACCA brings together existing community development fund (CDF) groups or helps to establish new ones. On each administrative level, a CDF board decides on loan applications from member groups. Currently, nine cities in Vietnam are part of the program that is carried out in 15 countries. It was initiated by

Informally erected birdcages to extend living space area

One of the „Culture Houses" in Quang Trung

Source: All photos by Tim Kaiser 2010/2011 the Bangkok-based Asian Coalition of Housing Rights (ACHR). In Vietnam the program is coordinated by the Association of Cities of Vietnam (ACVN).

KTT Hữu Nghị was built in the 1970s for the employees of the Cửa Tiền Company, which later became the Hữu Nghị Company. Like in most of the communal living areas in Vinh, the buildings' quality deteriorated over time. These areas are to be demolished or rebuilt under a provincial plan (UBND Tỉnh Nghệ An, 2007). With the help of ACHR and ACVN, the residents were able to convince the authorities to allow them to build smaller houses than provincial regulations allowed for. A number of residents would have to relocate if these regulations would have been applied. As far as possible, all works were carried out by residents themselves, material of the old buildings was reused and new material bought jointly to reduce costs. Thus, compared to conventional ways of rebuilding KTT, costs were much lower. The CDF group of KTT Hữu Nghị used the residents' own funds and a loan of 50.000 USD provided by the city's CDF to finance the project (Interview Lê Viết Hùng, 28 June 2011, Interview Tăng Thị Đương, 30 June 2011).

While new concepts of urban development are introduced to Vinh through international cooperation, these concepts are also adapted to local conditions. As mentioned above, all of the new actors the LA 21 project introduced to discussions on the development of Vinh were part of the extended structures of the state. This phenomenon is often found in cooperation projects with a focus on public participation. Participation is usually channelled through mass organisations, notably the Women's Union (Parenteau & Nguyen Quoc Thong, 2005; Interview Frank Pogade, 11 February 2011). Many of ACCA's CDF groups are saving groups managed by the Women's Union. Despite the program's intention to break up hierarchical structures, these continue to dominate decision making processes. While CDF boards in other countries also consist of community representatives, the boards on the various administrative levels in Vinh consist of members of the respective people's committee and the Women's Union (ACHR, 2002; ACCA, 2009; Interview Tăng Thị Đương, 30 June 2011). While close cooperation with authorities is necessary for a project's success, it also enables these to ensure that the borders of participation defined by the state are not crossed.

Conclusion

This research note is only a first step in analysing the driving forces of urban development in Vinh City. However, it shows that international actors influential to the city's development changed over time due to international politics. It also shows that changing international discourses on urban management and planning are reflected in the city's landscape. Whether these discourses promoted the construction of a socialist city or people's participation in public urban life, they have always been adapted to the existing realities of the city.

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Rugby in Fiji:
Unifying and Dividing a Multi-Cultural Society

Dominik Schieder

Abstract: This article discusses the socio-political meanings of rugby union football in the Pacific Island state of Fiji. It argues that Fijian rugby is best understood as a cultural construction and a vehicle of symbolic communication which has the capacity to simultaneously divide and unite the country's multi-ethnic society. Since its introduction to Fiji during the British colonial period, rugby has been almost exclusively played by indigenous Fijians and has become an integral part of the vaka i taukei ("the Fijian way of life"). Rugby enables Fijians to articulate and maintain regional and local social boundaries but, in the same time, it also promotes nation-building, by uniting members of different ethnic groups as fans and contributing to the establishment of a common "Fiji Islander" identity. Therefore, the socio-political aspects of Fijian rugby are manifold and mirror both the challenges and the potential of Fiji's multi-cultural society.

Keywords: Fiji; sport; rugby; identity; conflict

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The 2007 Rugby World Cup in France has been considered a milestone in the history of Fiji's rugby union football[1] not only from the perspective of sport achievements. In their final pool game, the Fijian national side ('The Flying Fijians') managed for the first time to defeat the Welsh rugby team and entered the quarter finals where they lost in front of the South African team. Back in Fiji, where I conducted fieldwork for my doctoral dissertation (Schieder, 2010), a nation of rugby enthusiasts, consisting of indigenous Fijians, Indo-Fijians and several other population groups[2], cheered for its team. In remote island areas people placed radio and television antennas on rooftops or peaks to catch a glimpse of the performance of their team, while in Fiji's capital Suva rugby became the focus of public life for citizens of various ethnic backgrounds.

Given the fact that rugby in Fiji is almost exclusively played by indigenous Fijians and that Fiji is often perceived as a deeply divided plural society, with Fijians and Indo-Fijians living next to, not with each other, this ability of rugby to foster multi-ethnic relations came as somewhat of a surprise. In this article I will reflect on Fijian rugby and its capacity to articulate and negotiate ethnic, regional and national identities. My findings are based on newspaper reports and information, which I collected through non-standardized interviews with rugby players, rugby officials, and rugby fans in Suva and on the Fijian island of Ovalau during two research field trips between 2007 and 2009. Furthermore, this article is a contribution to current anthropological research on the social meanings of modern sport. It aims to highlight the fact that modern sport has to be understood as an integral part of social life and, as a cultural expression, holds several symbolic meanings which help to understand the complexity of social relations.

Modern sport & anthropology

Modern sport evolved in nineteenth-century Britain during a period of rapid social changes and gradually spread across the world within the framework of capitalism and colonialism. Until recently, modern sport has been perceived as a Western category and a topic traditional anthropology would hardly investigate, even though it must be emphasized that there is a broad variety of categories and definitions of sport depending on the cultural and historical context in which sport, games and competitions are socially constructed (Blanchard, 2002).

However, not only the societies anthropologists study, but also the discipline itself has undergone massive changes during the last two to three decades. In the wake of the postmodernist and postcolonial turn, anthropology has become more accommodating of research on topics such as modern sport. While encounters of and with sport are still under-represented, the recent years have seen an increasing number of anthropological investigations. For example, today anthropologists reflect on modern sport as a marker of social divisions, an instrument of colonial and postcolonial subjugation, as well as an element of cultural maintenance or cultural change (Dyck, 2000). Moreover, anthropologists have become aware of the fact that sport is not only shaped by existing social patterns and relations, but also re-shapes social life due to its ability to establish or strengthen new

Source: Victor Bautista

A Fiji rugby fan at the Hong Kong Sevens social identities and social boundaries. In short, sport is a physical expression of numerous social values and acts as a means of reflecting on these values (MacClancy, 1996). Additionally, the overall meaning and importance of sport cannot be fully understood with a focus on sport alone. On the contrary, it has to be understood as part of "culture as an integrated whole" (Blanchard, 1995, 33) and is closely linked to other socio-cultural aspects such as politics, religion or economy.

In conclusion, nowadays anthropologists investigate sport in numerous ways. This article intends to examine sport in its capacity as vehicle for the formation and maintenance of socio-political identities.

Politics, Coups and rugby

Fiji is one of the few countries in the world which claim rugby as an official national sport. While this alone reveals the importance of rugby in Fiji, the performance of the Flying Fijians in France has been significant for the country also in a socio-political context.

Only a couple of months prior to the 2007 World Cup, the Republic of Fiji, a former British Crown colony which gained its independence in 1970, witnessed its fourth coup d'état in less than two decades[3]. On 5 December 2006, Commodore Frank Bainimarama ousted the government of Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase, in a self-proclaimed act of good governance against racism, corruption and nepotism. Fiji has had a military government ever since and, five years after the military takeover, Fiji's latest coup which was initially staged as a clean-up campaign has become a cause of instability itself. The takeover was initially planned for Friday, December 1, 2006. It was nevertheless postponed due to the Ratu Sukuna Bowl rugby clash between the police and army teams which is one of the biggest national sport events in Fiji and took place on the same day. This coincidence led Fred Wesley of the Fiji Times to write three days later that it is "only in Fiji that a coup could be put on hold for a rugby match." (4 December 2006).

Half a year later, rugby and politics were again linked in a prominent way because the good performance of the Flying Fijians in France had a positive symbolic meaning for a country torn apart by the effects of repeated coups. Being in Suva during that time I felt that, at least for a moment, the rugby excitement united and reconciled Fiji's multi-ethnic and multi-cultural community as well as the many political opponents and rivals. Similarly, the success of the Fiji Sevens rugby team occasionally serves as a vehicle for nation-building in Fiji. For example, the victory of the Fijian team at the Rugby Sevens World Cup in 1997 was symbolically linked to the introduction of a new constitution in the same year which was supposed to bridge the ethnic divide between indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians.

Observing the potential of rugby to be a vehicle of nation-building was all the more interesting since in Fiji rugby is commonly perceived as an exclusive Fijian domain, with Indo-Fijians not


The Flying Fijians performing the local Fijian war dance cibi at the 2011 IRB Rugby World Cup

being actively involved in the game itself. Rugby has, therefore, a significant potential to be a centrifugal element in Fiji's fragile multi-ethnic society. Moreover, these events made me aware of the fact that rugby not only perpetuates and fosters ethnic identities and stereotypes in Fiji, but it also serves as a tool for articulating Fijian conflicts and rivalries on a local level.

A short historical background of rugby in Fiji

Rugby originates from ball-focused folk games, which were played in parts of the United Kingdom and Ireland. The first official rugby football union was founded in 1871 in London and the game was first codified in the public school of the English city of Rugby. During the nineteenth century, rugby came to play a prominent part in the educational ideology, which strongly relied on the character-forming properties of religion, athleticism and team sports (muscular Christianity) to form young men. From the United Kingdom, where rugby gradually developed from a school boys' and gentlemen's game to a favourable team sport of the society at large, it spread all over the world to the various colonies of the British Empire and beyond (Dunning & Sheard, 2005). Today the national teams of Britain's former settler colonies, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa, dominate the international rugby scene. They are closely followed by France, England, Ireland, Wales, Scotland and Italy, Argentina, and three small South Pacific Island countries, Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji. In Fiji, rugby was introduced by British settlers and colonial administrators in the late nineteenth century. It was first played by Europeans and Fijian policemen and soldiers of the Armed Native Constabulary in the province of Ba in 1884. The game initially developed along racially-segregated lines. In 1913, a Suva-based Fiji Rugby Football Union was founded by expatriates from New Zealand. One year later a native rugby competition was established, even though rugby was already known across the islands through Fijian chiefs who had attended school in New Zealand and learnt about rugby football there. It was only in 1945 that the two unions merged and in 1963 the organisation became the Fiji Rugby Union (RFU) as it is known today (Robinson, 1973). By then the majority of rugby players in Fiji were already male Fijians and rugby started to be understood as an indigenous Fijian game. Nevertheless, coaches, board members and representatives were still Europeans. This gradually changed from 1970 onwards when the former colony became independent.

Today, the Fiji Rugby Union (FRU) serves as a governing board for 36 affiliated unions and about 500 local rugby clubs. It coordinates and organizes several local, as well as international rugby competitions and tournaments. Nowhere else on the globe is the ratio of inhabitants of a country to registered and active rugby players higher than in Fiji. Currently, there are 36,030 registered rugby players in Fiji (4.3 per cent of the total population of 837,271),


Source: www.lintottphoto.co.nz

Source: Enoch Law, www.flickr.com/photos/eytl

Vuda Blues vs. Vuda Rugby Club

although unofficial numbers state that there are approximately 80,000 players. The absolute majority of the registered players are male Fijians. According to the International Rugby Board (IRB), there are 35,700 male Fijian and 330 female Fijian registered players. 22,500 of the male players are at a pre-teen stage (International Rugby Board, 2011). This emphasizes the strong bond of rugby and secondary school education in Fiji. Starting in 1924, all-native Fijian teams occasionally played other Pacific Island sides (especially Samoa and Tonga) or teams from New Zealand, Australia and Europe at home and abroad. Four years later rugby became part of the school curriculum for male students and in 1939 the Fiji Schools Union was established. In the same year Fiji toured New Zealand under the captainship of the country's first Fijian Governor General, the paramount chief Ratu Sir George Cakobau. Also in the team was Fiji's later president Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau. Throughout the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s the Fijians played in Australia, New Zealand and Europe. In the line-up of the 1970 Britain tour was a young Fijian named Sitiveni Rabuka, who later spearheaded the military coups of 1987 and became Fiji's prime minister in 1992. It was during Fiji's overseas tours that the international awareness of the unorthodox, but nevertheless successful Fijian way of playing rugby was established. Until today the Fijians thrill spectators and the media with their fast and furious rugby and their unpredictable running game, elements which are considered to be the cornerstones of rugby played vaka viti, the Fijian style.

In the next section I will describe how, through Fijian agency, rugby evolved from an imperial game to a local Fijian game. Rugby is not only played in a vaka viti style and uses a local Fijian war dance (cibi) as pre-match ritual (Dewey, 2010), but it is also incorporated in the Fijian way of life, the vaka i taukei.

Rugby and Fijian articulations of self and society

Today, rugby has become an essential part of the vaka i taukei because, as Robinson points out, it is "in line with their [Fijian] own beliefs of what constitutes proper physical activity for a ‚cauravou' (young man)" (Robinson, 1973, 12). Rugby as "proper activity" includes body contact, speed, personal contest, teamwork and strength of character.

In 1986, the Fijian sociologist Simione Durutalo argued that indigenous Fijian culture can be summarized in four R's: ratuism, royalism, religion and rugby. Today the ratuism ideology which is based on the belief that Fiji's chiefs are legitimate divine rulers is constantly threatened by the forces of modernity (Schieder, 2010, 296) and the strong bond with the British crown has significantly weakened after Fiji became a republic in the wake of the 1987 coups. The importance of rugby and Christianity on the other hand has been unaltered. For example, it is a common feature of the game that Fijian rugby players pray before or after games. In addition, teams or individual players occasionally make use of bible verses such as Philippians 4:14, "I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me" on their gear.[4]

Even though a detailed account about the way in which the reciprocal relationship between rugby and the Fijian society evolved over time is beyond the purpose of this article, a brief summary is in place here. Presterudstuen's (2010) and my own findings (Schieder, 2010, 232) suggest that the acceptance of rugby by Fijians as a traditional cultural element was initially supported through the Fijian cultural logic of vaka vanua (the way of the land) which allows them to simultaneously understand elements of cultural change and stasis (stability) as traditional. That is to say that, when Fijians talk and reflect about the past and the present, they emphasize the continuity of cultural elements and practices rather than the discontinuities (Jolly, 1992).

Based on these assumptions it can be argued that playing rugby became a Fijian tradition because in its early days the game was almost exclusively linked to the British, the divine leaders of the Fijians (chiefs) and Christianity, which Fijians embraced before the colonial takeover. Rugby without doubt is part of Fiji's colonial heritage. In many ways, the import of the game to Fiji followed similar patterns as in other parts of the Empire where modern sport was introduced through British school teachers and principals. In the beginning of the twentieth century rugby became an essential element of the curriculum taught at Fiji's elite schools, such as the famous Queen Victoria School which heavily relied on the concept of muscular Christianity. It has been so ever since. In colonial Fiji, this particular school curriculum, according to Presterudstuen (2010), was understood as a tool to develop leadership skills and proper values among the Fijian elites and to foster future political as well as military leaders. Moreover, teaching about rugby and Christianity aimed at securing "the ideological continuity of the Fijian administration under the concept of indirect rule." (Presterudstuen, 2010, 245). It was already during the early years of British colonial rule that the explicit link between Fijianess, militarism, Christianity and rugby was cemented. Rugby, in conclusion, became part of the vaka i taukei because Christian Fijian chiefs who attended British schools at home or abroad played and organised the game. Within Fiji's strictly hierarchical society this meant that it was a rightful and valuable activity to pursue. Because of this ideological framework it is no coincidence that until today important Fijian politicians, statesmen and community leaders such as former coup perpetrator Sitiveni Rabuka, Fiji's current President Ratu Epeli Nailatikau or Fiji's interim prime minister Commodore Frank Bainimarama have close links to the Fijian military and the Fiji Rugby Union.

Furthermore, playing the game gives expression to physical and moral values which Fijians identify with warfare and martial traditions, both important elements of pre-colonial Fijian societies in which the warriors (bati) played a crucial role within a system of local socio-political entities (chiefdoms) which were caught in a permanent interplay of political fission and fusion, very often created through feuds, raids and warfare (Schieder, 2010, 58-77). The bati (literally meaning teeth) were the protectors of the chiefs and the vanua (which in this context can mean chiefdom, region, village or kin group). Rugby resembles and consolidates indigenous notions of manhood, masculinity, loyalty, warrior ethos (known as bati ideology), courage and selflessness. It therefore fits in well in a society which, according to Ratuva, places a lot of emphasis on physical competition and prowess and likes to romanticize its warlike pre-colonial past (Ratuva, 2000).

Finally, the importance of rugby in the Fijian perception of self and belonging can also be understood within the context of the increasing militarisation of the modern Fijian society which started in the 1970s and promotes similar physical and moral qualities as rugby football. Today, Fiji is the most militarized country in the Pacific and it is certainly no coincidence that the army and police teams dominate the local rugby scene and that many of the most promising Fijian rugby players are active or former members of the Fiji Military Forces (Teaiwa, 2005).

Local Fijian (rugby) rivalries

Given the fact that political conflicts between indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians are often perceived as religious conflicts (Christians vs. Hindus and Muslims) in Fiji and because Fijians occasionally stereotype Indo-Fijians as lacking the physical strength as well as the moral quality to play rugby, it could well be argued that rugby is an exclusive Fijian domain and a centrifugal socio-political element in Fiji's fragile multi-ethnic society. For example, Sitiveni Rabuka's 1987 coups have been generally perceived as an act to protect the indigenous Fijian society with Rabuka himself, a member of a bati clan, being the prototypical manifestation of the link between vanua, religion, militarism and rugby. Nevertheless, this picture would be too simplistic because rugby not only serves as a tool of maintaining ethnic boundaries, it also serves as a vehicle to express regional intra-ethnic Fijian identities. Similarly, rugby is an eminent element of the political rhetoric and action of influential Fijian elites who compete with each other for political influence and economic resources and use rugby to achieve their very own political agendas (Schieder, 2010, 232).

Indigenous Fijians are a rather heterogeneous ethnic group. Before the British annexed the Fiji Islands in October 1874, the archipelago was home to geographically and regionally limited socio-political entities. It was because of the attempts of colonial administrators to unify the indigenous inhabitants of the archipelago for political and administrative purposes that a common ethnic Fijian identity was established (Schieder, 2010, 246-279). Until today intra-ethnic Fijian power struggles and regional affiliation play a prominent role in Fijian politics as well as social acting and thinking. This is also visible in rugby, where local social boundaries are articulated and strongly protected in inter-Fijian competitions such as the Digicel Cup and the Sullivan-Farebrother Trophy, or when teams from different villages compete against each other. I became aware of this during a research trip to the Fijian island of Ovalau in August 2007, where I witnessed several games between the local rugby franchise and guest teams from Viti Levu (Fiji's main island). The players would occasionally fight on and off the field and it later became clear to me during conversations with some of the players that they considered the game and the brawls as a sort of acts in honour and protection of their own vanua.

Fiji rugby fans at the Hong Kong Sevens 2009

Source: Cathay Pacific Airways & David G. McIntyre

Conclusion

In this article I discussed the plurality of social and political meanings of rugby in Fiji. I particularly reflected on the links of rugby with social identities and boundaries. I suggested that rugby values and ideals influence as well as reflect social, political and cultural divisions in Fiji. In other words, rugby in Fiji is not only shaped by existing social patterns and relations, but also re-shapes social life in certain ways. As a cultural construction which allows symbolic communication, rugby has a potential to divide and unite social groups simultaneously within a single social framework. It is as much an element of the indigenous Fijian way of life as it is a vehicle for nation-building, if we take into consideration the context in which it is enriched with particular meaning by particular social actors.

In extension, this brings us to the conclusion that sport in general serves as a vehicle for social identities. It simultaneously provides humans with a sense of difference and belonging and shows, as MacClancy has argued, that sport-based identities are not necessarily exclusive and that humans may have multiple identities "either simultaneously, seasonally or consecutively" (1996, 3). Because of this, the socio-political aspects of rugby in Fiji are manifold and reflect the challenges, but also the potentials of Fiji's multi-cultural society. Rugby serves as a powerful tool of Fijian ethno-nationalism, but it also has the potential to promote a common "Fiji Islander" identity, regardless of ethnic background.

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Endnotes

[1] Unless otherwise specified, this article refers to the version of the rugby union football which is played by 15 players. A second rugby union version is played by seven players.

[2] According to the official population census of 2007, Fiji's total population of 837,271 comprises 475,739 Fijians and 313,798 Indo-Fijians, with the remaining 47,734 coming from other ethnic groups (Pacific Islanders, Europeans or Asians).

[3] Once described as a role model for a peaceful multi-ethnic community, today Fiji features prominently in discourses on ethno-nationalisms in the South Pacific region. The country's socio-political instability is commonly believed to be a result of ethno-political conflicts between Fijians and Indo-Fijians even though the political reality is more complex (Schieder, 2010).

[4] However, members of certain Pentecostal churches are not allowed to play "violent" games. I was told by a member of a small Pentecostal community in Suva that they only play touch rugby because it lacks body contact (anonymous, personal communication, 9 September 2007).

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Source: Robin Graves

A Fijian boy playing with a miniature rugby ball

The Development of Creative Spaces in China: The Case of the Pearl River Delta

Philipp Zielke, Michael Waibel & Uwe Altrock

Abstract: During the past decade, China experienced a fundamental shift in terms of its economic policy from a pure focus on export-led growth to new development approaches towards a more knowledge- and innovation-based economy. In this context of the "Second Transition", the urban planning authorities of Chinese metropoles have increasingly turned their attention towards the development of so-called creative spaces. This research note argues that creative spaces have become important urban symbols for the shift from "Made in China" to "Created in China". It shows that the expansion of creative spaces has started comparatively late in the Pearl River Delta and analyses and compares the development of four distinct spatial clusters of creativity in Shenzhen and Guangzhou. These spaces are currently being developed on derelict manufacturing or warehouse sites and boosted by the local government. At these sites – in some cases along waterfront areas – media and design companies, fashionable restaurants and bars for the emerging urban middle class can be found. The paper demonstrates the powerful relationships between local administration and real estate developers and shows at the same time that the overall development of creative spaces in the Pearl River Delta Region is just beginning.

Keywords: Creative Spaces; China; Pearl River Delta; Cultural Economy

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Creative spaces are still a rather new phenomenon, particularly in China. The Soho Area in London or Greenwich Village in New York may be considered as its first representatives. In their current form, both areas emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, reflecting trends of tertiarisation and deindustrialisation. Here, a blend of refurbished industrial and residential architecture within high density neighbourhoods developed into favourite spots first for the local arts and alternative scene and later on in the course of various waves of gentrification for companies from the cultural economy and the urban bourgeoisie. Until today, however, the definition of 'creative cluster' remains in dispute (Gibson & Kong, 2005). Evans (2009, 1003) argues that most of these agglomerations originate in "once-declining urban and former industrial districts". People living and working there are often described and analysed as 'creative class' (Florida, 2002). The 'creative economy' comprises of advertising, architecture, design, fashion, film, publishing and video production (Howkins, 2001). For local urban planning authorities, the support and promotion of creative spaces is not only favourable because of their pure economic benefit. Creative spaces have turned out to enhance the public image of a tolerant and liveable city and hence have become a decisive advantage in the global competition of urban agglomerations.

Creative Spaces in China

China started its *first* transition, the gradual and experimental introduction of market-led reforms, in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The overall success of the reform process remains undisputed. However, many state-owned enterprises could not keep pace with the highly dynamic private sector and finally had to be shut down because of their inefficient operations. This also happened to a state-owned military factory close to the Beijing Central Academy of Fine Arts. In 2001, various artists informally started to make use of the abandoned workshops there. This was the trigger for a now world famous creative cluster, the Beijing 798 district. At the same time, Shanghai also saw the commercially successful development of creative clusters such as M50 and Xintiandi. Meanwhile, some 'creative spaces' can be found in all major Chinese cities. According to Webster et al. (2011, 363) "Bottom-up, inner-city culture-led regeneration and gentrification" apparently form a desirable troika for urban restructuring in China.

Beijing 798 and Xintiandi are now the most prominent creative spaces in China. Since 2005, many provincial and local administrations in China have tried to climb this bandwagon and promoted spaces for the creative class. In the Southern Chinese province of Guangdong enclosing the Pearl River Delta (PRD) this development started comparatively late. For a long time, the PRD has been a pioneer region of the opening process and a hub of foreign investment into labour-intensive production attracting millions of migrants from all over China. But in recent years, rising land prices and wage levels have caused a relocation of many factories to remote parts of China or to other developing countries in Southeast Asia. This was accelerated by the global financial crisis. Therefore, the provincial government has started

Sculptures at the OCT Loft in Shenzhen

a series of new development programs to transform the region into a centre of the international knowledge-based economy. For example, the implementation of the "three olds policy" (三旧改造) has facilitated the conversion of industrial land towards new commercial uses. Another program with the slogan "suppress the secondary industry and develop the tertiary industry" (退二进三) specifically promoted the development of modern service industries (Wei, 2010).

OCT Loft in Shenzhen

Probably best known among Guangdong's creative clusters is the OCT Loft area located in Shenzhen's Overseas Chinese Town (华侨城). OCT Loft is developed by the OCT Holding, one big real estate developer. OCT Holding is operating 13 so-called Overseas Chinese Towns across big Chinese cities. The latter consist of highly priced real estate projects that should combine art and living. Besides the OCT Loft and gated apartment complexes in Shenzhen, this corporation also runs Konka, a television producer as well as several hotels. Further, they operate touristic spots like the theme park 'Window of the World' in Shenzhen with a 100 meter tall model of the Eiffel Tower.

The history of OCT dates back to 2004 when OCT Holding started redesigning the former sites for processing industries – since 2006 under the slogan "Shenzhen Huaqiocheng Creativity and Cultural Park". The Loft established a close cooperation with the He Xiangning Art Museum, famous for the first exhibition of Picasso's works in China.

The derelict factories were converted into a creative cluster in two phases: up to 2007, 55,456 square meters of the southern area were redeveloped and afterwards from 2007 to 2011, the northern area with additional 95,571 square meters was added. The construction efforts aimed at creating a working and meeting area for creative artists and the residents of the near-by apartments, including fashion, product and graphic designers, as well as architects and video and animation companies. Regular exhibitions, seminars and public lectures are held in the OCT Contemporary Art Centre to boost exchange among the artists. For example, in December 2005, it hosted the 1st Shenzhen Biennale of Urbanism and Architecture.

For Shenzhen city administration developing the OCT is a key strategy to position itself in the local and global awareness as a creative city. A consequent step following this has been to join the UNESCO Creative Cities Network in 2010. This strategy is embedded within the governmental program "Study and Plan on Shenzhen's industrial distribution" from 2007 (SZGH). It includes the shift "from processed in Shenzhen to manufactured in Shenzhen and finally to created in Shenzhen" (SZGH, 2007, 24). OCT is a central vehicle to master the last step.

Guangzhou's creative cluster

The provincial capital Guangzhou has also taken measures to boost creative spaces. Nowadays, local newspapers identify almost 30 different sites all over the municipality, although the criteria for defining such a creative space remain sometimes unclear. Prominent creative spaces are the 1850 Creativity Zone, the Xinyi International Club or the Taigu Warehouse Dock. The first creative park of Guangzhou, the Xinyi International Club, was officially opened in 2007 on the former grounds of the 'Guangdong Water-Conservancy and Hydropower Station Machinery Production'. Planning had already started at the beginning of the new millennium. In 2004, the private developer Guangdong Minghuiyuan invested 40 Million RMB to renew the area (Ni, 2010) and to convert the 1960s soviet-style factories into loft units, similar to the OCT case in Shenzhen. About 18,000 square meters of industrial land could be transformed into commercial land. The whole area now consists of a big open-air plaza, art studios, commercial apartments, carefully designed green spaces with old banyan trees, wine shops as well as western and Chinese restaurants close to the waterfront. The Xinyi International Club has evolved into a showcase for the urban restructuring process of Guangzhou. Senior civil- and party-officers regularly stress the strategic importance of this creative cluster. Accompanying a delegation from Chongqing Municipality, Provincial Party Secretary Wang Yang expressed his hope to utilize Xinyi's unique beauty and geographical advantages in order to promote tourism and cultural landscapes in Guangzhou (Xinyifair, 2008). Even Hong Kong's Chief Executive Donald Tsang considered Xinyi International Garden should serve as an example for the modernisation of Hong Kong's industrial sites (Xinyifair, 2008a).

In ultimate proximity to the Xinyi International Club, the erection of an even larger creative cluster is now almost completed: On 30,000 square meters of the

Source of all photos: Michael Waibel

The Taigu Warehouse Dock along the waterfront of the Pearl River grounds of a former chemical plant, the 1850 Creativity Zone is currently being developed by a joint venture of a municipal company and a private developer. Here, altogether 76 workshops are provided for lease. The ambitious aim of this project is to become the "primary hub of cultural industry in Guangdong and in China" (GZ1850, 2010, 4).

Not far away from these two clusters the Taigu Warehouse Dock is situated along a branch of the Pearl River. This complex impressively reflects Guangzhou's eventful history in the last century: built by British Swire Group between 1904 and 1908, the three T-shaped bridge piers and eight brick-walled warehouses served as a hub for routes to northern harbours across the Chinese Sea. After the 'liberation' in 1949 the area was nationalized and Guangzhou Port Authority was put into charge. After a new port in Nansha was built in the 1990s, Taigu subsequently lost its importance. The land along the waterfront was converted into several high-end real estates projects, finally threatening the whole existence of the pier. However, after Guangzhou's mayor Zhang Guangning visited the area in 2003, he announced his decision to preserve the Taigu Warehouse complex. It was not until 2008 that the physical redevelopment of the total development area of 54,890 square meters started. Since then, Guangzhou Port Group has invested 80 Million RMB and private companies added to this by investing 100 Million RMB. A special developer was founded, the Pacific Business Group Development Corporation, for further development and operation of the area (Zhang, 2010). The restructuring took inspiration from San Francisco's Fisherman's Wharf and aims at being an "urban living room" (Zhang, 2010). A set of trade shows, a cinema, wine warehouses and events like a food festival shall attract local residents as well as tourists, while a hotel complex is still under construction (Li, 2011). From recent observations by the authors however, the frequency of visitors to the area still has a lot of potential.

Conclusion

The PRD is a latecomer in terms of developing creative clusters. In contrast to creative spaces such as Beijing 798, Shanghai's M50 or other international examples, the above-mentioned areas apparently completely lack an initial period of informal occupancy by local pioneers. Instead, top-down approaches have been implemented from the very beginning, incorporating public and private developers and investors. The urban regimes led by a number of state agents show how state-led market capitalism in China is able to adapt to changing contexts and at the same time remaining in firm control of strategic land development issues. It remains to be seen if they will also be able to tackle the more delicate redevelopment challenges in older industrial areas where huge manufacturing complexes are still waiting for a future after the loss of importance of heavy industries. Only a few kilometres down the Pearl River from the sites in Guangzhou described in this paper, an enormous steel plant now enclosed by the city shows that cities face those challenges even in China's dynamic south.

In this context, the implementation of the "three olds policy" has now become the corner stone of a conversion of industrial land into new commercial uses. It offers a comprehensive framework for the regeneration of old town residential and commercial areas, brownfield sites and urbanized villages in the context of a transition towards the service and knowledge-based economy. Besides governmental institutions, real estate developers take a decisive role in the development process of creative spaces. However, it can be safely assumed that often speculative interests drive their investments and that they use 'creativity' as a mere marketing label in many cases.

So far, the OCT Loft area seems to be the most successful creative space in the PRD though this area too has to cope with considerable vacancies. All in all, the development of creative spaces in PRD is still at the beginning and they are by far not as successful as their northern competitors. Although the economic hopes in relation to the development of creative spaces have not been fulfilled, yet in many cases, these areas are important urban symbols for the implementation of the *second* transition and the overall shift towards a knowledge-based economy and a high-quality living and working environment.

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Street Hawker within Demolition Area of Thu Thiem Peninsula, the Future CBD of Ho Chi Minh City

A motorized street hawker is passing through the demolition site of the Thu Thiem new urban area of Ho Chi Minh City. More than 100,000 people got evicted here to make space for a new Central Business District.