From a hyper dynamic changing to an organic stable growing process

**SHANTOU STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN, CHINA**

The Plan has undergone intensive public participation in March, April and June of 2012, and is widely accepted and welcomed by both the local authorities and citizens.
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Content

1. Summary

2. Description of the project
   2.1 Status quo and local identity of Shantou: complexities and contradictions
   2.2 Development context: macro socio-economy, regional context and Shantou's key competitive strengths and opportunities
   2.3 Scenario-building and evaluation
   2.4 Plan

3. Referring to the criteria of the ISOCARP awards for excellence, especially the 2012 theme “Fast Forward – Planning in a (hyper) dynamic urban context” (content, process and innovation)
1. Summary

Shantou, an eastern coastal harbor city in the richest province, is one of the five Special Economic Zones (the most privileged policy for reform and opening since the beginning of China’s reform and opening era) in China. Respectively about 300-400 km away from the three other SEZ cities Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Xiamen, Shantou was far the largest and richest among the four at the dawn of China’s new era (within its province it’s only after the provincial capital). But now it is the least-developed one of the four in many senses, with GDP per capita only half of the provincial average, even a little shy of the national average. Given its advantaged location and resources, policy status and starting basis, Shantou becomes iconic for unsatisfactory development. What caused Shantou missing the “golden three decades” of reform and opening? Where should the city go and how, particularly in a hyper dynamic context when everything is changing so fast?

Upon these questions, Shantou represents in an outstanding way a number of “loser-cities” in China’s reform era. The boom of cities like Shanghai and especially Shenzhen (originally a fishing village but now a ten-million megalopolis) is spectacular; but in both the inland and the coastal China, there are cities which dramatically drop their position in urban hierarchy. No matter whether the argument stands that the prosperity of Shenzhen is in the cost of the evenness among cities and regions, the important question is: what is the proper strategy for the “losers” to catch up with their fellows? Shantou had long become nervous and ashamed, and eager to alter its situation as fast as possible. Being a “loser” for years, the city had gradually lost confidence in itself - its economy, people and after all, culture. It wished to imitate the developing mode of those glorious models like Shenzhen, attracting large projects and investments in manufacture and hoping such projects rapidly change the existing space. Such a “fast” therapy, fundamentally also of exogenous development, indeed has been a central logic for growth for years in China. But could such a “catching-up from the original path” strategy work, especially in our hyper dynamic context when fast change occurs not just with factors within a city, but also with the external context?

The Shantou Strategic Development Plan transcended the volatile inertia we are all facing. This innovative new strategy has a solid root in the self-organizational logic of the city, of its people and culture, which obviously has lasted long. On the other hand it coordinates with the external context, the transformed macro economy and politics. Last but not least, the Plan integrates the various yet often conflicting desires for growth, ecology and justice, quantity and quality, short term and long run, and after all, good and fast. Such a comprehensive harmony will implant an organic growing-up process into the city. It will assure Shantou gradual but steadfast step-by-step progress, a stability transcending the permeation of volatility and anxiety while at the same time comfortably accommodating positive dynamics.
2. Description of the project

2.1 Analysis of status quo and local identity of Shantou: complexities and contradictions

2.1.1 The glorious past vs. the challenging current: general economic situation and regional context

- Currently with 5.5 million inhabitants throughout the 2064 km$^2$ city region, in 1980 Shantou’s GDP occupied nearly 50% of the totality of the four SEZ cities. However, since 2006 Shantou has become the smallest economy.

- Its immediate region, comprising three cities Shantou, Chaozhou and Jieyang (SCJ region), was under Shantou’s administration until 1991. But now Shantou’s GDP is almost the same as Jieyang.

Evaluation of agglomeration effect in SCJ region: primacy of Shantou not outstanding

- Respectively 300 km from the central Pearl River Delta and Xia-Zhang-Quan region, both being among the most advanced developed regions in China, Shantou and SCJ region have been impacted by a “valley-bottom effect”.

Regional context of Shantou in China
2.1.2 The invaluable unique yet contradictory local culture

- The local culture, Chao-Shan culture (named after Shantou and Chaozhou), is one of the most unique cultures in China, with “delicacy” as one of its key features.

Local food, Chao-Shan cuisine, is the most delicate food with the highest reputation in China. In social relations, local people are the most renowned for their propriety. Due to their delicacy taste, local people live a relatively “slow” life careful for details. This can be observed in many aspects including architecture and use of space.

- The second exceptional feature of Chao-Shan culture is the cosmopolitan and business (trade) tradition of local people. By informal statistics, among Chinese, Chao-Shanese migrate in the greatest number and accumulate the largest volume of wealth. There is about the same large number of population outside of SCJ region.

- The third outstanding cultural feature is Chao-Shan people’s tradition of rewarding society especially hometown by charity. A great deal of Shantou’s local infrastructures especially educational and medical is from charity donation.

However, such unique local culture mainly lends contradictory effect in practical development: strong local identity and self-organization (bottom-up) ⇔ not easy with “up-down” or external intervention; a unique “dual economy” – weak government finance and general economic statistics, but certainly not the complete picture of local economy and wealth; good at trade ⇔ less good at manufacture; good at spontaneous/endogenous gradual small-big development ⇔ less as good at exogenous leap-forward development.

2.1.3 Beautiful yet fragile landscape vs. high density: deteriorating sprawl of built-up area and the Chinese Desakota area

- Beautiful landscape and ecology: a beautifully gifted land interwoven by mountains and hills, rivers, wetlands, bays, island and sea in a mild climate.

- With the literally highest regional demographic density in China: 2064 km² and 5.5 million inhabitants, Shantou city region has a density comparable to...
a city. Built-up area has been sprawling disorderly and in poor quality, particularly along the only one or two trunk roads, making many parts out of the central city, especially the southern part, a typical “Desakota” (half urban half rural) landscape, and part of the rivers have already seriously polluted.

2.1.4 Embarrassment when the typical development strategy meets Shantou’s specific local situation

- For many years since the adoption of reform and opening policy in China, the typical strategy contributing to incredibly high-speed growth comprises such elements: large land expansion, large projects/investments, manufacture-dominated industrialization (often in the cost of ecology), top-down, great leap-forward and exogenous development.
- However, Shantou’s conditions seem to be quite on the contrary: short of vacant land, small government economic power, stronger tradition of service rather than manufacture, strong self-organization, and inclination to endogenous development.

2.2 Development context: macro socio-economy (modernization 1.0 → modernization 2.0), regional context and Shantou’s key competitive strengths and opportunities

2.2.1 Transformed macro socio-economy: modernization 1.0 → modernization 2.0

China has undergone more than thirty years of rapid growth. Now much evidence suggests that both the global (which China participates to shape) and the national political- and socio-economy have been under fundamental transformation. In China, the Plan would like to summarize this as a transformation from modernization 1.0 to 2.0:

- Economy of shortage → Economy of redundancy (of normal products and elements), location and policy becoming flat, seeking for new industries
- Production economy → Consumption economy
- Manufacture economy → Service economy
- Quantity economy → Quality economy
- Exogenous economy → Endogenous economy
- Large volume standard products → Individuality products
- One-for-all competition → Comprehensive competition (demanding economic, social, ecological and cultural advantages)

Modernization 1.0 → Modernization 2.0 (normal supply redundant, demands upgraded)

2.2.2 Mismatch between strategies in the past and the macro socio-economic context and Shantou local character: the vital reason for the unsatisfactory development of Shantou

The past thirty year’s macro context being “modernization 1.0” sheds light on the causes for Shantou’s frustrated past: there was general conflict not only between the local conditions and the adopted strategy (as revealed in the “Status Quo” section), but also among these two and the macro context.

2.2.3 Potential of harmony between modernization 2.0 and the Shantou local
character: key opportunities for Shantou development

When the local identity is exactly conflicting to the macro context in general, to find a proper strategy coherent to both would be very difficult because at least one party has to be partly sacrificed. Fortunately, there is obviously potential of harmony between the new macro context and the Shantou local character, for instance Shantou people are good at delicacy things and services and Shantou place is rich in natural and cultural assets.

2.2.4 Re-checking the regional context to re-affirm the core competitive advantages of Shantou. This opens the bright yet necessary prospect for Shantou in both development and political senses – there should be a transformation for SEZ accordingly: SEZ 1.0 → SEZ 2.0

Comparing to scrunch in the modernization 1.0 sphere and the medium-macro region, going for modernization 2.0 and the Chao-Shan global world will open a brighter future for Shantou. This means on the one hand, to respect the local identity as the center of Chao-Shan world home the beautiful unique ecology, special culture, social self-organization of all Chao-Shanese, and on the other, to pursue opportunities in new economies such as service industries. In particular, these two aspects are mutually reinforcing.

2.3 Scenario-building and evaluation

2.3.1 Methodology: synchronical logic, “exhausting scenario-building” and comprehensive evaluation matrix

Holistic scenario evaluation matrix: all spaces, all factors and all ecologies

2.3.2 Six scenarios and evaluation

Scenario 1: Fast manufacture-centered industrialization, fast expansion of manufacture parks and leap-forward improvement of central city?

A scenario nearly an assembly of existing plans. Would conflict to Shantou’s economic, land and self-organization features. Neither does it fit the macro context.

Scenario 2: Building a polycentric city region, with the selection of centers and developing emphases following the existing fabric?

Nearly a straightforward extension and improvement of the status quo. The point to seek an emphasis-oriented strategy is promising. The question is how to properly design the emphases. Keeping emphasis on existing centers and industrial parks would be difficult to anticipate fast achievement, as the current satiation of
linear construction along road and strong self-organization would require high economic as well as social cost for renovation, whilst the local public finance is not powerful.

Scenario 3: Enhancing the mono-centric structure, highly concentrating the new development within the central city districts hoping for a dramatic break-through?

Very much of modernization 1.0 nature – a typically traditional urbanization trajectory not fitting current internal and external conditions.

Scenario 4: Polycentric, multi-emphasis and multi-front?

Too many “emphases” would mean “no emphasis”. Demanding a systematic coherence and integration.

Scenario 5: Cross-border cooperation with Chaozhou and Jieyang?

An enlightening idea for integrating the Shan-Chao-Jie region. Need to balance the urban and the regional development.

Scenario 6: An Econurbation strategy - integrating and developing a belt-metropolitan region, with compact built-up districts along trunk transportation corridor embedded in a beautiful ecological network which prevents the urban districts to physically link together. Divide functions among urban districts. Identify and preserve the appropriate spaces for service industries and public life (including seashore recreational activity) whilst allow necessary manufacture parks. Seek medium-sized cost-efficient sites along the belt as the major development nodes.

Inventing a new concept – Econurbation which comprehensively integrates the various unique features of Shantou and the macro context. A very attractive framework awaiting for concretization in many aspects.

Conclusion of planning analysis

The specificity of Shantou and the external context and their transformation suggest the urgency of a comprehensively coherent new strategy and the outdated nature of the traditionally modernization 1.0 strategy of industrialization and urbanization. It is the Plan’s strategic task to create a strategy not only of modernization 2.0 nature, but also capable of integrating the valuable Shantou identities such as the great natural assets, the delicacy culture, specialization in service, global network of Chao-Shan people and their respectable morality, and at the same time accommodating the local constraints such as the weak government finance and the low quality but high
density Desakota space. The six scenarios displayed how different solutions will bear these demands, and the Econurbation scenario provides the best framework for further elaboration.

2.4 Plan

2.4.1 Development goals

- **Overall development goal:** The Capital of Chao-Shan world; A city of delicacy; An international coastal Econurbation city.
- **Economic goals:** Delicate service industry; Reorganized high-profit and production-chain oriented manufactures; Integration of dual economy.
- **National and regional functions:** National SEZ pioneering transformational development; Eastern provincial central city.

These goals mean that Shantou will give up the manufacture and traditional urbanization oriented old developing goals. It aims at an eco-networked metropolitan city – a goal integrating ecology, growth and local identity; the unique hometown for the global 30 million Chao-Shanese – a real “local” in a global nowhere world, that will also guarantee the prosperity of the city because the powerful Chao-Shan economy outside of Shantou will reward its home.

2.4.2 Overall spatial structure of the city region: “1+6” organic Econurbation spatial structure

An eco-metropolitan belt, with a few transportation trunks efficiently connecting 1+6 districts each bearing specific functions. Apart from the belt the city region will mainly preserve the wild nature.
2.4.3 SCJ region spatial structure: A dual “1+2” megalopolis

The "1+6" eco-metropolitan belt of the Shantou city will naturally extend to include the neighboring Chaozhou and Jieyang and their counties. This makes a “one central city, two sub-central cities” + “one main axes (metropolitan belt), two sub-axes” structure, naturally and comprehensively integrating the cities, counties and geographical settings of the region. It also naturally promotes Shantou’s location as the regional center.

2.4.4 Spatial allocation of industries

2.4.5 Ecological spatial structure

- Protect natural mountains & rivers.
- Preserve public bay spaces.
- Designate 4 wetlands to prevent inter-district urban sprawl.
- Build 4 intra-district
eco-networks to prevent intra-district urban sprawl.

2.4.6 Transportation structure: Guiding a positive organic growing process

2.4.7 Urban design guidance
- Introduce a “delicate space” system to support the “city of delicacy” image.
- This will be a comprehensive coding system to identify and classify quality spaces integrating the natural assets, cultural legacies, and modern development.

2.4.8 Implementation plan
Identify strategic networks, lines and nodes as priorities for recent five year development.
Referring to the criteria of the ISOCARP awards for excellence, especially the 2012 theme “Fast Forward – Planning in a (hyper) dynamic urban context” (content, process and innovation)

Like everywhere else, the project description has shown that Shantou and the planning team had been facing a hyper dynamic (transformed and transforming) context and the pressure for a quick response. But, is fast the solution for fast? Planners quickly invent a “solution”, then the plan quickly gets outdated and planners return to do another round of instant-food business - this is certainly not what we want. This Plan exhibits a different approach or philosophy towards this issue, and its application led to the Plan which has witnessed convincing popularity among local authority and people in several rounds of public participation.

3.1 The nature of our hyper dynamic context

The fast speed and the comprehensiveness we are facing together make a sophisticated, intangible yet still overwhelming challenge for planners. But the fundamental challenge of such a superficial phenomenon is not velocity. It is true that from new transportation and communication to new productivity and demands, human beings now possess unprecedented power and interactions and hence higher speed. But we can still enjoy calm and ease, and enjoy the high speed with calm and ease. The reason is we can have stability. So the fundamental challenge of our hyper dynamic context is hyper volatility, a term widely applied in post-modernity thesis, or hyper instability. And the dialectics is that the stability provides the framework to accommodate dynamics. If there are only dynamics escaping stable frameworks, we will be in permeated volatility or complete chaos.

So the paramount issue of speed is not really speed, but chaotic changing or instability (orderly changing is essentially a kind of stability). The key issue of our hyper dynamic urban context is the instable strategy, swiftly changing plan and decision and unpredictable future. But this is not to say that a city should have no instability or uncertainty. There should be a certain degree of stability, which then provides the framework to positively accommodate the instable and unexpected. In particular, a system should have some fundamental stability which determines the identity and viability of itself.

3.2 The source of fundamental stability: comprehensive harmony

Reason for instability is the conflicts within a system (again this is not to say that a system can be free of conflict). A city in a hyper-dynamic situation usually means it has not found some stable framework of development, like Shantou in the past many years. And the reason is that its strategy always contains fundamental conflicts or tension, such as contradiction against the local culture or the external context. So to survive a hyper dynamic world is rather to grasp some fundamental stability, namely to seek for or build the harmonious framework able to integrate many aspects of a system.
3.3 Comprehensive harmony is the goal to seek for. But self-organization provides the best existing framework and the concrete archetype for future.

Self-organization means the collective stability integrating individuals, local culture, ecology and economy and the local responses to external context. It is a state reached after a long-time of mutual adaptation. So a practical method leading to comprehensive harmony is to seek for an improvement of existing self-organization towards a better new self-organization. Completely abandoning the local characters and embedding a new developing mode will almost certainly lead to hyper volatility in a city.

3.4 Methodology leading to the fundamental stability – the comprehensive harmony integrating the local and global, stable and dynamics, and now, short-term and long-term

• Extensive local public participation
  This gives the teams opportunities to really understand the local culture, economy and ecology. The Shantou plan took enormous efforts organizing all kinds of public participation with local officials, intelligent elites, entrepreneurs and common citizens.

• Seeking to establish an organic growing process for the planning place
  In Shantou Plan, a modified TOD mode - TOT (transportation-oriented transformation) is an example of organic growing process.

TOT: plan of new roads will bring up different mode of growth.
The Plan designed an organic growth scheme (the right two)

• Solution-oriented synchronic logic and exhausting scenario-building
  Solution-oriented synchronic logic requires a change of the traditional "survey-analysis-scheme" logic to a "conjuncture-deduction-verification" logic. Then exhausting scenario-building will prepare creative and deep thinking and evaluation of alternative solutions and analysis of the comprehensive conditions. This led to some innovative solutions in the Plan, for example the systematic treatment for the Desakota area. This may be illuminative to the many similar places in developing countries.