

MIXED RENEWAL IN LOW-INCOME COMMUNITIES: A CASE STUDY OF JIANGJIABANG IN SHANGHAI

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Keywords: Community Renewal, Gradual Renewal, Low-income Community

ABSTRACT: *Many low-income communities have been lagged behind in the tide of development in Shanghai. With its huge scales and the complex inhabitants, low-income communities have a flood of impediments in its regeneration. Jiangjiabang is part of them.*

This article presented a comparative analysis of the advantages and drawbacks between government-led big scope radical renewal and community-led small scope gradual renewal. After the field investigation, the author took comprehensive consideration of the features of the two methods, the physical situation and social demands of residents in Jiangjiabang.

The research demonstrated that because of the problems like the oversize scale, the complicated property right and social network, government-led big scope radical renewal was not suitable in Jiangjiabang. Simultaneously, the troubles like the low income of the residents and the weak forces of community organizations made the community-led small scope gradual renewal cannot be adopted either. Hence the gradual renewal which is run by government and operated by community organizations is much fit for Jiangjiabang.

The role of the government in the renewal process is the guide, the encourager and master planner, promoting separate renewal of the dweller and keeping the consistency of the regeneration. The role of the community organizations is the operator, participator and adviser, being involved in the renewal process and influencing the decision of government, guaranteeing the diversity of the development.

Consequently, creative renewal model should be invited to deal with the particular case when face low-income community renewal problems. In this way the complex problems can be resolved.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Urbanization is an inevitable process of human progress. Along with the urbanization process, the modernization goals would be realized. At present, the urbanization process in China has been

accelerated, reached the take-off line of the high-speed urbanization. The outline of 12th Five-year Plan has proposed to improve the layout and form of the city, and strengthen the management of urbanization. However, the faster the developing speed is, the more problems will be exposed. In the current urban development, low-income communities like "city village", "shantytowns" have been in the spotlight. These low-income communities mainly appear in megacities (such as Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, etc.) with high-speed development.

1.2. Definition of low-income communities

Low-income community refers to the community where most of its inhabitant have income much lower than the average income level of the city. In other words, most of them are living at the bottom of society. Because of the low income, these citizens cannot afford some basic living environment, they can only chose these low-income communities to live which have terrible environment with some social problems (Mingfeng Wang, Xiaoling Lin and Yuemin Ning, 2012). The typical examples of this kind of low-income communities are ‘city village’ and ‘shantytowns’.

‘City village’: During the process of urbanization, because of all or most of the cultivated land being requisitioned, the residents transformed from peasants still live in the original villages which then turn into residential areas. Therefore, from the narrow sense, "city village" refers to the rural villages, also known as “village within urban area”. From a broad sense, during the high-speed process of urban development, "city village" refers to the residential areas behind the pace of development, free from the modern urban management and with low living standard.

‘Shantytowns’: it refers to the area in the scope of urban built-up area with high density bungalow, long service and poor housing condition, small per capita building area, insufficient supporting infrastructure, big problems in security and fire hazard, inconvenient traffic and poor environmental hygiene. In Shanghai, when we say "shantytowns", it means the region which belongs to the city area originally but now develops slowly with nature of the shantytown areas.

This article will mainly discuss the renewal of the second type of low-income community.

1.3. The basic renewal model of low-income communities

The renewal of ‘shantytowns’ is one situation of old city renewal. In China there are two kinds of renewal model for old city: one is government-led big scope radical renewal and another is community-led small scope gradual renewal. Government-led big scope radical renewal refers to the renewal which have large scale, high speed and integrity. Community-led small scope gradual renewal refers to the renewal which mainly done by the user with their own purpose for use. Both of them have their own superiority and deficiency and both of them are adopted in different places. Which model is suitable for the renewal of low-income community is the core content of this article.

1.4. Situation in shanghai

As one of Chinese extremely crowded cities, Shanghai has a large concentration of external population and there are a considerable number of migrant workers come into the city to make a living. Low-income communities with low rent and low living expenses have become the main settlements of these new immigrants. However Shanghai, as the leading of economic developed city of China, has a variety of high-end industries gathered ((Mingfeng Wang, Xiaoling Lin and Yuemin Ning, 2012). While it also has a huge problem in its low-income communities. These problems is the stumbling block hindering the further urbanization of Shanghai. Therefore, solve the problems in low-income communities can help shanghai to promote its urbanization. In other hand, although the renewal of low-income community have been discussed for more than 10 years, and both the government and citizens wished to start renewal as soon as possible, the renewal didn't start even now. The reason for this situation is complex. This article will study Jiangjiabang, a low-income community in shanghai, as a case study to discuss how to solve its renewal problems.

2. Methodology

This article mainly adopted two approaches to do the research: comparative study and field research. The article will firstly do a comparative study with government-led big scope radical renewal and community-led small scope gradual renewal to find the superiority and deficiency of them. Through this comparison, the article will find the special apply condition for each model. Secondly, the article will present the result of field research of Jiangjiabang and sum up the feature of this low-income community. Finally, according contrast between the apply condition of renewal models and the feature of Jiangjiabang, the author will discuss the suitable model for its renewal.

3. Two basic model of urban renewal.

There are two basic model of urban renewal in China which are government-led big scope radical renewal and community-led small scope gradual renewal.

3.1. Government-led big scope radical renewal

3.1.1. Definition

Government-led big scope radical renewal is a kind of renewal launched by government. Government will firstly decide which land need to be renewed. Some experts will participate in this process. And then they will invite some urban planning companies to prepare urban planning project. With this project, they can reuse these land. This model have some features. Firstly, most of lands in this model will be totally demolished to support empty land for rebuilding. After rebuilding, almost all of the construction in this land are completely new. Secondly, government dominate the whole progress. The government led every step of the renewal. Thirdly, government always cooperate with developer who have profit purpose. Government can get money from developers by approve the right to use land for them, and

developers can get money from estate development. Finally, because the goal of the government is clear, they can easily to make decision. Therefore it will just take a short time period for the renewal of a large scale land.

3.1.2. The superiority and the deficiency of government-led big scope radical renewal

This model has been widely adopted in China. At the initial stage it achieved great results, but along with the development of cities, an increasing number of problems exposed. Many scholars have also conducted a number of studies on this topic. They got the superiorities and deficiencies of this model. In particular, it mainly includes the following aspects.

Superiority

Firstly, it makes urban develop rapidly. As mentioned above, due to the clear purpose of this model, governments can exercise their rights to promote renewal of a particular urban area in a short period of time. By this way it will speed up the metabolism of the city. In this process, the most terrible environment of the city can be improved fast. Therefore the development process of the city can be speeded up. Secondly, it can bring a good economic benefit. Due to the scarcity of urban land, large-scale radical renewal will undoubtedly make the land of old city can be used again. Redevelopment of the land can bring a good economic benefit. Thirdly, the new region constructed by the method will have good integrity. In practice, old city area which needs to be update will be given to one or several teams to design, so that the landscape of the entire region would look without too much chaos. They will have similar styles. This also helps to maintain the integrity of the city and solve some municipal issues on urban scale.

Deficiency

Firstly, it break the process of urban development and undermined urban development history. In the process of renewal, the landscape of the cities which have been formed in decades can be completely changed in one or two years. You can find nothing about the traces of the urban development in the new area. This kind of model have created a number of rootless city. Secondly, it takes a lot of start-up capital. The areas which adopt this model often have a large scale with a lot of people living in them. If you want to use the land for large-scale radical renewal, you must relocate all the people living in this land. Therefore it need a large amount of capital to compensate them. This situation will become even worse when face some special land with problems of estate rights. Thirdly, it impacts on the lives of lower level citizens. The objects of the city renewal tend to the place which have poor environment or old facilities. However, these areas are low-cost areas in the city and most low level citizens living in them. After big-scale racial renewal, these area will become expensive areas like wealthy neighborhood. The low level citizens will lost their living environment. Finally, it will separate social networks and damage social vitality. A healthy city is bound to have good interpersonal networking rather than strange feelings and inhospitality. The old city always have some social networks or neighborhood relationships which establish with a long period of time. Nevertheless, the big-scale racial renewal will inevitably lead to large-scale evictions. In this process, these social networks and neighborhood relationships will disappear.

3.1.3. The current situation in China and its reason

The governments of China have partiality for government-led big scope radical renewal. We can see that many cities adopt government-led big scope radical renewal even though it bring some problems. There are four reason to explain this situation.

Firstly, this model have obvious market competitive advantage. On one hand, the capital problem have haunted governments when they face urban renewal problems. The local government will have a lot of financial pressure if they are at their own expense. Hence they need to seek money through the ways like real estate development (Jie Zhang and Jun Pang, 2009). On the other hand, the scarcity of old city land indicate its inherent economic value. However, the developers who pursuit maximizing profit will definitely become the chaser of old city land. They will look for opportunities to acquire land and use their funds for land development for interest returns. According to this, the government who have demand for funds and the developer who pursuing profit will cooperate inevitably. There is no doubt this alliance will chose to adopt government-led big scope radical renewal which is much easier and faster to maximize their profit. Secondly, the assessment mechanism of government impelled the government to rely on big scope radical renewal(Jie Zhang and Jun Pang, 2009). In China, government is the absolute power to effect urban renewal. If there are some external negative factors impede the smooth progress of a project, the government will overcome all difficulties to ensure the renewal with its force and authority. This behavior occurs because of the current government assessment mechanism, which often regards revenues, urban landscape as the basis for assessment. Government hopes to change the face of the city dramatically in a short time to get better assessment results. This mechanism led to the government relies on big scope radical renewal to reflect achievements. Thirdly, tax distribution system of China makes government more like big scope radical renewal. Tax distribution system means that lower levels government must hand over their received tax to the higher authorities level by level. That is to say, financial rights go up, while the execution responsibility go down. In other words, the local government must finish their city management with litter revenue(Jie Zhang and Jun Pang, 2009). In this case, governments will rely on big scope radical renewal with which governments can get land revenue by land auction, real estate development. Finally, the lack of public participation contributed to the big scope radical renewal. During the actual renewal process, due to the lack of public participation and its incomplete associated regime, local government were free to command their powers according to their own cost-benefit and maximize its benefits. The authority transferred from the representation of 'public good' to "economic man" that make government put profit at first instead of 'public good' when they facing the old city renewal problems. That's why the big scope radical renewal can always be executed.

3.2. Community-led small scope gradual renewal

3.2.1. Definition

Community-led small scope gradual renewal is a kind of renewal which aim is to return to the original development status of a city. That is to say, someone who live in this city want to improve their living environment after they have enough economic strength or their offspring want to enhance their quality

of life after they get better education, they will try to renew their own house.

This model also have some features. Firstly, nobody will force the residents to renew their own house therefor the leading role of this model is the residents who live in communities. Sometimes these residents will establish an organization to integrate different ideas and manage the renewal. Secondly, since the desire of renewal is come from the residents, they must pay for their own. Thirdly, it is impossible that all of the residents in a community have desire to improve their living environment at the same time, thus it will take a long time and it is a gradual process. Finally, it is easily to see the history of the land in this model for the change is not accomplished at one stroke.

3.2.2. The superiority and the deficiency of community-led small scope gradual renewal

Due to a series of problems brought by big scope radical renewal over the years, many scholars began to advocate to adopt small scope gradual renewal which make urban development return to its original rule. This small scope gradual renewal also have their advantages and disadvantages.

Superiority

Firstly, compared with the big scale radical renewal, it is cheaper and more flexible. The main body of this renewal is the occupants themselves, therefore the scope of update should be very small, without too much effect to other people around. The renewal of a single small unit will significant more economical than big scale renewal. Simultaneously, these changes are small, if they are not as you wish, it is much easier to make corrections. That is why it is more flexible. Secondly, it facilitates public participation. Community-led small scope gradual renewal was principally initiated by community members, and even the Community Management Department also represents the wishes of community members. Due to the small scale, the wishes of the people can be easy to collect and easy to coordinate. In this process, therefore, the degree of public participation is also much higher than big scale renewal. Thirdly, it can be economical to meet the residential requirements. this model change the living environment according to the wish of residents and use the money of themselves, therefore they will make most use of their money to satisfy their own needs instead of waste of them. In this case, some unnecessary functions and spaces will not be produced. Finally, it can protect urban historical environment. This model is a gradual process, thus the shape of the city which formed in a long period of time can be kept for a long period of time, too. When you see the landscape of the city, you can find many traces of history. These superiorities happen to be scarce in big scale radical renewal. However, it also have some special imperfections.

Deficiency

Firstly, it is a long term process. As previously stated, since this is a dispersion regeneration pattern, each resident are updated their living environment only when they are in need. Not all of the household are able to have demand at the same time, and the demand categories and cycles of different residents are multifarious. The time for completing the renewal of individual unit is short, while it will take a long time to update the whole region. Secondly, the integrity of this model is not enough which can easily lead to disorder urban landscape. Every resident have their own idea of their idea living environment.

Therefore this model with rely on residents can create a variety of landscape in different units which can easy cause disorder. Meanwhile, since everybody will just care about themselves, many public problem cannot be changed during the renewal process. Thirdly, funds are limited, the transformation may not be ideal. This model mainly depends on the personal or community property. It relieves a big burden of government, while because of the limited financial resources of individuals or communities, many renewal projects cannot be immediately enforced or using cheaper materials which cannot get satisfactory result. These deficiencies are the reasons why the community-led small scope gradual renewal is rarely used by cities.

3.3. Apply conditions for two models.

Neither of this two models are perfect, while in some cases the big scale radical renewal is more suitable than small scale gradual renewal, and in other cases the latter is better. There for they both have some apply conditions.

Conditions for government-led big scope radical renewal

Firstly, even though this is a big scope model, the scale should not too big. The too big scale need too much star-up cost and it will have more significant subversive to the urban environment. The bigger the scale, more obvious the deficiency of this model will be. Secondly, the environment problem of an area is too serious to wait. When the urban environment of a regional is too bad, the living standard of the residents needed to change as soon as possible, no one wants to wait a long time to gradually repair the urban environment by gradual renewal. At this point, the radical renewal is much suitable to be adopted to change the status quo. Thirdly, some important urban point which have high requirements of integrity need big scale renewal. Some point of the city have important location, but it have no symbol building or landscape in the past that need to create in the process of renewal. At this time it will have high requirements on the integrity of the landscape. This demand cannot be meet by gradual renewal.

Conditions for community-led small scope gradual renewal

Firstly, when the government don't have enough capital to do the big scope radical renewal, they can adopt some policies to encourage individuals or communities to use gradual renewal. Secondly, if community organizations in the region is good, motivated, and the inhabitants have positive view of renewal, using gradual renewal will be better. Thirdly and the most important one, is that if the region has retention value, like it reflects an era of architectural features, it has some other irreplaceable role in the city or its construction quality is good, bulldozing and rebuilding is not only costly, but also not conducive to the sustainable development of the region.

4. Case study: Jiangjiabang

Jiangjiabang is an existing typical low-income community in shanghai. It is an old neighborhood which was began to build in 1957. In 1970, majority of these buildings are belonging to factories as dormitories. Then with the pass of time, the slow development of this region makes it lag behind the overall

development of Shanghai. And with living personnel changes, the living condition gradually became terrible. The government said that demolition and resettlement may take place in 1996. However, no demolition operation for big scope radical renewal have been taken until now. This area do have some special features.

4.1. Physical environment of Jiangjiabang

Location

Jiangjiabang located near Kunming Road of Shanghai, China. It is about 3 km far from wujiaochang which is a subcenter of Shanghai. It have convenient transportation with two subway station near it.

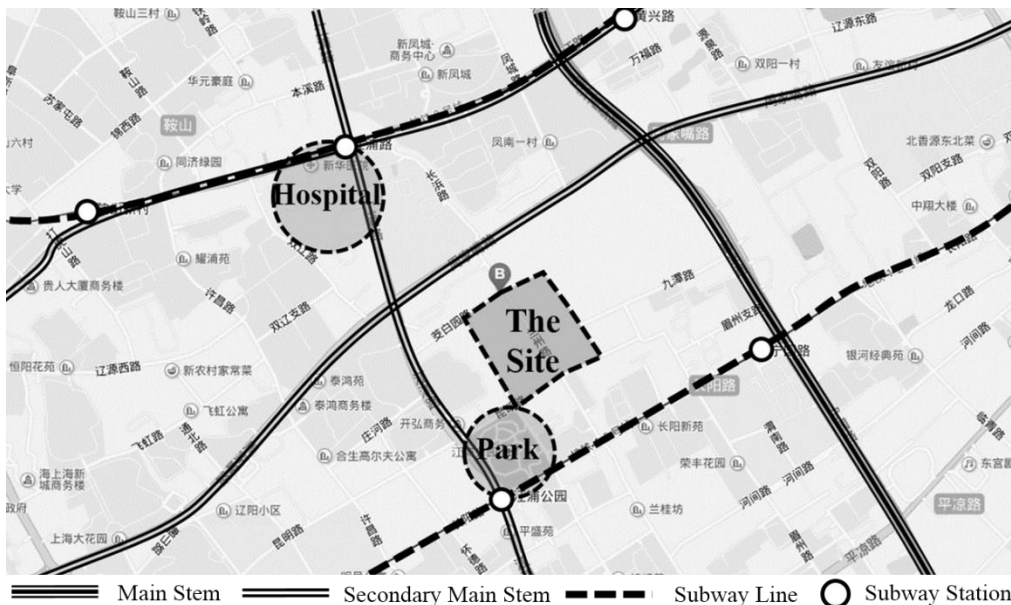


Figure 1. The convenient location of Jiangjiabang

We can say, Jiangjiabang do have a convenient location. Therefore, living here can effectively save transportation cost. It will also have a large number of customers if doing business around it. Because of the location, it is also easy to buy all kinds of life necessities. As a consequence, this kind of places which have high land value and good location advantages but low living cost are undoubtedly the best choice the migrant workers and other immigrants.

Scale

The area of Jiangjiabang is 8.8ha which is equivalent to 13 times the size of standard stadium. It seems not too big in the city scale of Shanghai. However, because of the living density of this region is high, it involves a large population. The high density can be seen from map. We can Assume that each House for 3 persons (in fact more), you can imagine how many people are living here.

Living environment

The crowded street environment: Since Jiangjiabang has been built for a long time, the size of spaces and streets cannot meet the modern way of life. For example, the crowded streets, narrow space, poor accessibility and pavement quality, as well as the filthy surroundings with huddle of wastes, all of this have reflected that Jiangjiabang is short of public space, and its quality need to be improved.

(1) *The uncomfortable housing environment:* The buildings in Jiangjiabang are mostly bungalows with one or two floors. They have characters as small areas with small width and depth, high density, messy and old appearance, disordered illegal structure, safety loophole, the dark and awful inner conditions, shortage of individual privacy with the windows and doors opening toward the streets. Thus, the housing environment is urgent to be improved.

(2) *Municipal facilities:* The incomplete infrastructure: Jiangjiabang has a deficiency of infrastructure due to its history. Since the plan of removal and relocation started in 1996, the infrastructure has always not been maintained. At present, the electricity pipelines and the water system become aging, conducting to a problem of drainage. Still, there is no sewerage, so the inhabitants have to prepare the closestools themselves.

In General, you can use three keywords to describe the physical environment of Jiangjiabang: convenient location, a large number of population and poor living conditions.

4.2. Social environment of Jiangjiabang

Residents

Two types of people live in this area: original inhabitants, with Shanghai household register, are at the bottom of the society of Shanghai because of low income; and new migrants, coming from surrounding countryside, and are working in the city. Both of them have low social status with low income, and even suffer from other social class' discrimination because they live in low-income communities. These people are difficult to be adopted by the other social classes, thus dissociate at the edge of the city classes. The isolation of living leads to a serious social segregation, and generates a lot of social problems.

Living cost

Jacobs wrote in her book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, a city can not only have new and expensive buildings, but also some cheap and old ones, so that to meet the different needs of different people. Low-income communities like Jiangjiabang, the cheap living cost is the one of its advantages.

The cheap living cost provide migrant workers with great probability of survival opportunity and can also support for their business. Undoubtedly, it will promote this part of population transforms from the rural population to urban population, and boosts the urbanization process. It' existence undertakes the social responsibility for the survival of low-income people, makes up for the lack of the city government behavior, unceremoniously challenges to the legal order of the city and the government's credibility at

the same time.

Table 1. The Rent of the Houses in Jiangjiabang

	Living Condition	Rent
ROOM A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Just one room • Public toilet • You must be the friend of landlord • 1-2 person 	¥800
ROOM B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have a kitchen • Private Bathroom • 2-3 person 	¥1,000
ROOM C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Better decoration • Bigger room • 2-4 person 	¥1,200

Table 2. The Living Cost of Jiangjiabang and Other Communities in Shanghai

Income		¥2500 + ¥2500 = ¥5000	
Expense		Jiangjiabang	Other Places
	Rent	¥1,000	¥2,000
	Other expenses	¥1,200	¥2,200
surplus		¥2,800	¥800

Community governance problems

- (1) *Informal employment:* We found almost all people living in Jiangjiabang had no formal employment through our interviewing. The main employments of them are small businesses, including fixed stall selling in markets and itinerant vendors without license. The fixed stalls in markets are legal but have high monthly rent, which is difficult to afford by some immigration just coming to the town. Itinerant vendors have inexpensive cost but high risk for paying a fine. These informal employments lead to residents and immigrants' insecure lives in Jiangjiabang.
- (2) *Insurance problems:* Because of the informal work, most of the migrants did not participate in the insurance business. As a result, once they have an accident or diseases, they will have to bear all the costs which will give themselves and their families a tremendous burden.
- (3) *The children education problems:* In the survey, it was found that many migrants are mostly migrant with their spouse. Whilst their children stay in their hometown, generally becoming left-behind children without the love of parents.

(4) *The crime problems:* Because of the complex personnel, criminal theft are particularly numerous in this region. Because of the lack of the formal registration and the large number of the crime activities, coupled with low-income communities' space and environment problem, it is difficult for police to solve the troubles. This also contributed to the further rampant of theft crime.

Community vitality

The face of the community is not just reflected by the appearance characteristics of the physical environment. What make the person shocked is the various activities take place in the space. Rich social activities in the low-income communities naturally form the colorful city life scenes.

Group- oriented lease: After investigation, the author founded that the immigrants of Jiangjiabang mainly came from Jiangxi province, and most of the leasehold relations are established by the introduction of the fellow friends. This kind of Group- oriented lease make the community to be an acquaintance community.

(1) *The neighborhood activities:* Jiangjiabang have relatively rich neighborhood activities, including chatting, chess activities, square dancing, etc. These rich community activities close the distance between the new immigrants, as well as the new migrants and local residents.

(2) *Market, social glue:* Through the investigation, the author found that the market is the most vigorous area in Jiangjiabang, Interestingly, through interviews and observation, we found that there are many high-income community residents nearby come here to buy fruits and vegetables and aquatic products etc. These high-income will keep the familiar relationship with some residents. Some of them will become good friends because of the long time.

5. Thinking of the suitable renewal model for Jiangjiabang

5.1. The evaluation of Jiangjiabang for renewal

According to the current status of Jiangjiabang, the author summed up some of the regional issues and the According to the current status of Jiangjiabang, summed up some of the regional issues in the update and features in the renewal.

Firstly, the convenient location and the low cost of Jiangjiabang attracted many low-income people to live in (Jianjun Li, 2012). If using a big-scale renewal to address this area and make gentrification to it, that low-income people will be losing their living space (Rongyuan Zhu, Limin Zhang and Xudong Guo, 2006). Secondly, once the big scale radical renewal is started, it needs to compensate for all residents for the demolition. Compensate standards are difficult to set. If based on population, some members of a family have moved to live in other places with the household register still in Jiangjiabang, therefor it is hard to come by. If in terms of area, some buildings damaged and its area reduced with years, and the area of other buildings which built out by their occupants increased. Thus it is difficult to clearly define. Simultaneously, because of the large population, compensation will also be a large government spending.

Thirdly, as said above, Jiangjiabang already have deteriorated living environment which needs to change desperately, so it cannot adopt small scope gradual renewal, because the residents who are suffering the terrible environment couldn't wait any longer (Rongyuan Zhu, Limin Zhang and Xudong Guo, 2006). Fourthly, judging from the results of the investigation, the Community governance problems of Jiangjiabang illustrated that this is a community which has short living and non-fixed residents without public security instability. This point determines community spontaneous renewal will be very difficult in Jiangjiabang. In other words it is difficult to use the community-led small gradual renewal, and must adopt specific government policies to guide. Finally, the remarkable community vitality of Jiangjiabang observed by the author in the investigation, therefore, if we adopt big scope radical renewal to remove this area, it would be huge regret of the city.

5.2. Mixed Renewal in Low-income Communities

Situation of Jiangjiabang decided that it will encounter a lot of obstacles to use either model of renewal. This is the reason why for so many years, it still doesn't start renewal. And this kind of situation represent the most features of low-income communities. As described above, the aim for some scholars to suggest small scope gradual renewal is to compensate for the problems arising in the big scope radical renewal. Analysis the advantage and disadvantage of two models have proved that they are complementary with each other although they are entirely different. Therefore, how about adopt both of them when facing the issues of Jiangjiabang. That is so called mixed renewal. This can be achieved from two aspects: physical environment renewal and renewal governance reform

Physical environment renewal

The first step of physical environment is to evaluate the land. In Jiangjiabang, for example, the number of people involved in is too many to handle, while the government can just manage some important part of the whole area. It needs an evaluation to distinguish which parts should adopt radical renewal while other area need to adopt gradual renewal. This evaluation must be done with holistic view. The area which can be defined as the radical renewal area can be the place where the living environment and the building quality are too bad to live any more. Or these places are suitable for the services facilities while they didn't have in the past so that the government can adopt radical renewal to demolish these land and building facilities on them. Or these places are the key points of this area which should be rebuilt. After evaluation, the rest things can be done as the government-led radical renewal. The other zones which are not need to renew immediately can adopt gradual renewal with some improvement. Firstly, these areas should be divided into several zones to be managed by different community organizations. The municipal facilities must be maintained and the sanitation and landscape environment must improve. The spontaneously renewal of residents will be encouraged. By this way, there will be no large-scale demolition so that the government will not have that much capital pressure. However, the areas which badly need to rebuild can be renovate and the living environment of the whole area can be improved. In this process, most of the areas in Jiangjiabang can be reserved. The vitality of Jiangjiabang can be kept and the living-cost of Jiangjiabang will not sharp jump.

Renewal governance reformation

Both of government-led radical renewal and community-led gradual renewal are just rely on one actor. The mixed renewal should rely on both of them. The government have four responsibilities. First one is to do overall design for the whole area to keep the right development direction of the whole area. Then, the government should make some rules for the retained areas to avoid the excessive variability which happened when the community guide the renewal process. Next, the government must guide the communities and also organize them to propose some planning for renewal. At last, the government should provide some capital assistance by direct investments or help them to develop some financial platforms or build some financial systems. The communities in fact are established by the cooperation of government and the residents. The community have two responsibilities. First one is that it must be the intermediate between government and residents which in charge of collect the opinions of residents and monitor government actions. Then it should organize residents to do some renew by themselves with some advices and sometimes provide some technical support. This way can give residents more sense of participation and sense of belonging (Zhigang Li, 2011). The role of the government in the renewal process is the guide, the encourager and master planner, promoting separate renewal of the dweller and keeping the consistency of the regeneration. The role of the community organizations is the operator, participator and adviser, being involved in the renewal process and influencing the decision of government, guaranteeing the diversity of the development. Both of them are evitable. By this way, the Jiangjiabang can have renewal with relatively strong integration. And at the same time, the degree of residents' participation is relatively high and it can also ensure that the government will not become institutions which seek nothing but profits.

6. Conclusion

Jiangjiabang is a typical low-income neighborhoods in currently China. Due to various reasons such as history and geography, this kind of community will meet different sorts of special issues on the actual application process of renewal. A certain model of urban renewal, in particular, which have been used successfully on many occasions, will also fail when in the face of such complex issues. Therefore, in practical application, the creative renewal model should be adopted according to the actual situation in order to effectively solve the complex practical problems.

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