The Renewal Planning of Migrant Community in Urban Fringe: A Comparison between the China and France

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Abstract: This paper studies the renewal planning of migrant communities–some urban villages in China and some ZUS (zones urbaines sensibles) in France, and gets some suggestions for this planning in China. First it introduces backgrounds and formations of these areas. In addition it gives the spatial-social characteristics and existing plans in these areas of two countries respectively. Then it gives two different models of this planning. Finally it concludes that although different countries have special situations of society and economy, we can learn from same principles to solve space-social problems in migrant communities.

Key-Words: Renewal Planning; Migrant Community; Urban Fringe; Comparison; China; France; Social Equity

1 Introduction

France and China are two important countries in world political system, and they have different aspects in politics, economy, and society. But they have similar problems of migrant workers and their communities in urban fringes, in China most of them came from countryside and in France most of them came from francophone countries.

In China before 1978 although there were some inequalities between cities and countries, Chinese government had a strict Household Registration System (“hukou”) to avoid the flow of population. Almost all of Chinese cities did not have migrant communities. After 1978, with rapidly developing of china's economy, the process of Chinese urbanization has also been accelerated with the process of industrialization. The dualistic system of urban and countryside has begun to change in many aspects, many rural people can go to cites as “migrant workers”. But because of this system is still existing in China (migrant workers still are called “temporary population” in most of cities). In some sense they did not gain enough welfares as urban residents, such as social security, medical insurance and opportunities of education (they all need registrations of urban identities) just like immigrants in many developed countries (such as France). And most of them are live in villages which locate in urban fringes, we call them as “Xinjiang village”, “Wenzhou village” and so on.

In France, after Second World War the all-important thing is reconstruction of country, France needed more labors in many industries, so French government begun to encourage immigration (l’ordonnance du 2 novembre 1945). Although after 1970s French government begun to control new immigrations (les circulaires Marcellin – Fontanet,
Now France has 4.9 million immigrations in middle of 2004, 8.1% of total population in France[1]. Except some immigrations who came from European Union, most of them came from francophone countries. Because there were not enough houses for them in 1945-1975 (Trente Glorieuses), French government and private developers constructed many great housing estates (grands ensembles) for them. And following middle class persons have left these areas, they became to migrant and marginal communities.

After 1990s China and France both have begun to make some renewal plans for these communities, of course they are some parts of whole urban renewal plans. In China most of them are the type of urban villages’ reconstruction plans, in France most of them are parts of “The national program of urban renovation in France” (Le Programme National de Rénovation Urbaine).

2 The Spatial-social Characteristics and Renewal Planning of Migrant Community

2.1 The Spatial-social Characteristics of Migrant Community

In China’s migrant communities have three remarkable spatial-social characteristics.

First although in most of these communities migrants are too much more than local residents, almost all of them are poorer than local residents. In Sanyuanli village of Guangzhou, the number of migrants is six times as great as the number of local residents [2]. In other two urban villages of Guangzhou, migrants are four times and seven times more than local residents[3]. But the income of local residents is two or three times as great as migrants.

In addition the characteristic of habitation is most of residents (local and migrant) reside in the many single houses. But these houses are built by local residents, and Bureau urban planning can’t regulate them. So for getting more rents, the building density and building height are higher than standard of urban planning, and habitation conditions are worse than other parts of urban area. They did not have enough sunlight and steady infrastructures.

Finally the culture of these communities is different with adjacent communities. We can call this phenomenon as “culture implanting”. Although local residents have better economic status, they also did not have good education and they are influenced by migrants.

In France most of migrant communities are ZUS (zones urbaines sensibles). Except high percents of migrants (about 30%), they also have some similar characteristics with other ZUS.

First is about employment situation. Migrant communities not only have higher unemployment rate than urban center, but also higher than other ZUS. According to the report of INSEE (Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques) some ZUS which have many migrants had 25%-28% jobless persons in 2007. And meanwhile on the whole ZUS had 11.9% jobless persons, in French urban area this rate only was 6% [4].

2.2 The Renewal Planning of Migrant Community

Fig.1 French situation of employment in 2007(15-59 years old)
Source: INSEE, Enquête Emploi 2007,2008

Secondly the characteristic of habitation form is that there are many HLM (habitation à loyer modéré) in these communities, it is a type of housing...
for the persons who are modest or lower condition. And most of HLM are great housing estates. In 2007, in whole country of France 61.3% of ZUS’ habitations are HLM. But that in the agglomerations which have a ZUS only is 22.1% [5]. Meanwhile the proportions of HLM are variable in different ZUS, and high proportion of HLM always accompanies with high proportion of migrants.

At last because the French culture is powerful and excellent, migrants either study French culture or change most parts of their own customs. Actually French language and culture are dominance even in the migrant communities.

2.2 The Renewal Planning of Migrant Community

In China most renewal plans are called “the reconstruction plan”. Because most migrants live in urban villages, these plans are included in integrated program of urban renewal. Guangzhou city’s government gave a guidance in 2002 — “The deliverances of Guangzhou city government about promoting the reconstruction of urban villages”, then in 2004 Shenzhen city established a regulation “The temporary regulations about the reconstruction of urban villages in Shenzhen”.

Because most of urban planners in China still use the traditional ways of rational plan, most of detail renewal plans only for land use and layout of buildings. And now in China Neo-liberalism influences many policies of local governments, they care less about social cohesion, but more about benefits from developing real estates in urban villages.

Although most researchers have noticed the problems of local residents’ rights [6] and some researchers have pointed out we should help the migrant workers in urban fringes [7], local government did not give more detail policies for migrants. Even now some urban villages in Beijing trying closed administration to control migrants. These villages are open from 6:00am to 11:00 pm. Without exceptional case, no one is allowed to be in or out [8]. Actually local governments and real estate developer are main forces to promote reconstructions of these communities. In reconstruction plan of Liede village of Guangzhou city, there are some big projects which belong to Hongkong real estate companies.

In 2007 “Real Right Law of the People's Republic of China” was promulgated. Because the property right of local residents was protected in this law, the renewal planning has begun to add more issues about local residents who will lose their lands in reconstruction process. But most of them still did not care about migrants.

In France begun with these plans, they have different concepts for them. In France urban planners and governments gave a special term for correlative field—La politique de la ville, it is only for poor communities. Of course the problems of migrant communities also are important parts of these policies.

Because these policies include building environment, education, employment and so on, French government also has different type of plans for renewal of these communities.

In August 1er 2003, Loi d’orientation et de programmation pour la ville et la rénovation urbaine have been presented in France. This act instituted Le Programme National de Rénovation Urbaine (PNRU) for ZUS. And the French government established Agence Nationale pour la Rénovation Urbaine (ANRU) for this program.

This program includes these parts as follows: renovation, demolition and production of social housing; creation, renovation, demolition of public equipments; reorganization the spaces of commerzial and economical actions; assistance of investment of urban renovation.

In 2005, a more comprehensive plan was presented by French government—plan de cohésion sociale,
this plan includes employment, housing and equality chance of education.

In local level they also have different types of renewal plans. For example GPV (grand projet de ville) is for some communities which need radical change, ORU (Opération de renouvellement urbain) or GPRU (grand projet de renouvellement urbain) in Paris are partial renovation for other communities. After 2006, French government presented CUCS (Les Contrats urbains de cohésion sociale) to replace GPV, ORU and GPRU.

3 Case Study: The Physical Space Model and Social-Spatial Model for Renewal Plan of Migrant Communities

In this section I will give two cases in China and France. In China we plan for transportation and land use, and then make an urban design. It is traditional and physical model of urban renewal planning. In France there are different plans for these communities, they are made by different departments and have different functions. They are mixing plan for social mixing.

3.1 Physical Spatial Renewal Plan and Design for Lanshi District in Foshan City

Foshan city is the third largest city in Guangdong province, it has many traditional industries such as iron and steel, ceramic, mechanical manufacturing and so on. Of course there are many migrant workers from other provinces.

Lanshi district is a center of stainless steel industry in south China. In 2005 the throughput of stainless steel accounted for 30% of whole China [9]. But now it has about 100,000 migrants and there are only 40,000 local residents [10]. The gap between migrants and local residents is becoming bigger.

Some villages in Lanshi district such as Beisheng village and Yongfeng village will be demolish for real estate developing. And these villages have many migrants, in Beisheng village there are 80% migrants [10].

In 2005 we have made a plan for Lanshi district. Although we wanted to give some measures for migrants, local government asked us to focus on economic development and physical space. Finally we cannot but make short and simply plan for migrants. We only can reserve and improve two villages in Lanshi district, and others will be demolished in next 15 years.

Fig.2 Reserved Villages and Demolishment villages in Lanshi District Renewal Plan

Finally our plan includes the economical development strategy and plan, land use plan and transportation plan for this district. Local government asked us make urban lands having the biggest economic interests.

Then they asked foreign architecture design company to make a great urban design near the river bank of pearl river. Of course this design is not for poor people in this district, they want to build expensive housing for rich people.

Actually although most of Chinese urban planners did not admit that they work for powerful group,
their plans are more advantaged for local governments and real estate developers. Physical spatial plan did not mean that planners have not values for them, and in China planners and architects’ elite aesthetics just are tally with powerful group.

3.2 Social-Spatial Plan: Renewal Plan in Chichy-sous-Bois-Montfermeil

Chichy-sous-Bois-Montfermeil (93) is in the Seine St Denis department of Ile-de-France, Chichy-sous-Bois and Montfermeil are two communes of Seine-Saint-Denis, and they have many migrants and the tensional society.

Table 1. Main indications of social precariousness in 1999 Clichy-sous-Bois/Montfermeil

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Clichy</th>
<th>Grand Ensemble</th>
<th>ZUS in whole department</th>
<th>ZUS in whole region</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-sous -Bois/</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Montfermeil</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobless</td>
<td>20.7 %</td>
<td>27.9 %</td>
<td>23.2 %</td>
<td>19.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-diploma</td>
<td>30.4 %</td>
<td>40.3 %</td>
<td>33.3 %</td>
<td>29.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 25 years</td>
<td>42.2 %</td>
<td>48.9 %</td>
<td>41.8 %</td>
<td>55.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigners</td>
<td>27.2 %</td>
<td>39.0 %</td>
<td>25.8 %</td>
<td>21.6 %</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>HLM</strong></td>
<td>14.4 %</td>
<td>16.9 %</td>
<td>22.7 %</td>
<td>21.7 %</td>
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Sources INSEE RP 1999

In great housing estate, there were 39.0% persons are foreigners and jobless rate was 27.9%.

First in 1999 they have a framework social and spatial plan, they called it as contract between governments (center and local), organizations and people. This contract name is *Convention-cadre du contrat de ville de Clichy-sous-Bois et de Montfermeil (2000-2006)*. It includes employment, education, housing and security of these communes. It has relatively independent spatial plan- *GPV* of Chichy-sous-Bois-Montfermeil.

The theme II of this contract is about renovation of urban space and urban life, it includes 5 aspects: Fighting with degradation of condominiums and improving social housing’s quality; improving the quality of urban spaces; improving the value of green spaces; creating a new centre of new community.

In 2004 they have an independent spatial plan- the plan of urban renovation, and this plan is conducted by ANRU.

Although this plan focuses on renovation of buildings, the final object of this project is for promoting social mixing. It has two operations to achieve this object: one is improving the quality of building for attraction of middle class, another is change the composition of people who re-resided in these houses, and make some residents who are resided in ZUS before to re-reside in other place.

In 2006 they have more comprehensive plan than before- *le contrat urbain de cohésion sociale*. Actually after civil unrest of 2005, French government begun to know maybe it can’t solve the social problems in ZUS quickly and the main keyword of these areas is “social cohesion”, so government begun to make more detailed and shorter programme to ensure the effectiveness of existed plans.

When PNRU has begun in August 1st ,2003, it only has financial programme form 2004-2008, then after modifications in 2005 and 2006, it has been prolonged to 2013. Now most of projects in Chichy-sous-Bois-Montfermeil which are signed in 2004 are finished, of course there are some projects which are signed in 2006(for example *ZAC de la Dhuys*). But after 2007, because of the world Financial Crisis, ANRU begun to face some
difficulties of finance, Comité d’évaluation et de suivi de l’ANRU(CES) suggested ANRU should cooperate with ANAH(L’Agence nationale de l’habitat) and they can focus on the urban renovation of this community’s center[11]. I believe there will a fire-new plan of urban renovation in this community, and maybe we can call it Urban Renovation II.

4 Conclusion

In France beginning with Lefebver(1974) , Castells (1972),Neo-Marxists have pointed out the social attribute of urban renewal plan[12][13].They considered that urban renewal in Europe and North-America has brought social segregate in 1960s-1970s.

Influenced by their theories, in French urban planning filed there are special and independent sub-filed for urban poor and social planning. As is stated above, it is La politique de la ville. The social-spatial model of urban planning is the important production of this sub-filed.

It means that urban planners not only are architects and engineers, sociologists and anthropologists are also important for urban planning. Actually in the act of Solidarité et renouvellement urbain(the last important act of urban planning in France), the principle of social and urban mixing became the legislative principle. It is for this object—“avoiding the phenomenon of social segregate and ghettoization, then makes the cohabitation between social housing and non-social housing” [14].

In China although we have learned more and more form Western world in urban planning and urban renewal, we still use some principles form Soviet Union. Now Chinese government still has the five-year plans for economical development, and one important object of urban planning is to support the arrangement of five-year plan. Actually if we did not care about migrants or other vulnerable groups, these plans are good for efficiency of society, but they are not equity. They should leave the migrant communities and go to some places further form city than now. But if China wants to change into good market economy country, we should plan for social equity.

First China should have a new legal system for the urban renewal, and it have to confirm the social function and obligation of urban renewal planning-promotion of social mixing. In France and whole Europe have pluralistic concept to make laws about urban fringes, it means that plural laws (code de urbanisme, code du travail, Code de la construction et de l’habitation ) and public participation. But now in China we only have “Urban and Rural Planning Law” and “Regulations of Administration of the Demolition and Removal of Urban Houses” (not including urban villages).

Secondly planners should include social engineers who have specialty on social projects and social analysis. Actually now the academic circles of Chinese urban planning have begun to changed knowledge structure, but some officers and common people still argue that urban planners are architects or artists. Some famous academicians defined urban planning to “generalized architecture”.

At last and most important is we should give some special plans for migrants in urban fringes. They cannot get enough social resources in free market, governments have obligation to give some welfares to them, especially in housing, education and employment.

References:


