

NEW CITY / OLD CITY

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ABSTRACT: Tieling New City is a master-planned new city built eight kilometers Southwest of Tieling Old City, an ancient (and formerly walled) city that is the gateway between the fertile SongLiao Plain of Northeast China and the industrial cities of the Bohai Bay crescent. This paper documents the national, provincial and municipal policies and ideologies that contributed to the making of this new city and compares social, economic, and physical aspects of Tieling New City with those of Tieling Old City. **KEYWORDS:** Tieling, Shenyang, Liaoning, China, new city, old city, urbanization, urban planning, ideology

It is estimated that 1 out of every 25 people in the world is a resident of a Chinese city who arrived or was born in that city since the current round of economic reforms in China began in 1978. This great migration and rapid urbanization reveals ideological forces that are transforming the built environment.

In the summer of 2000, it was announced that China intended to establish 20 new cities annually until 2020 - a period of 20 years during which 400 new cities would be planned and constructed. According to then Minister of Civil Affairs, Doje Cering, the plan is to increase the urbanization of China's rural areas.

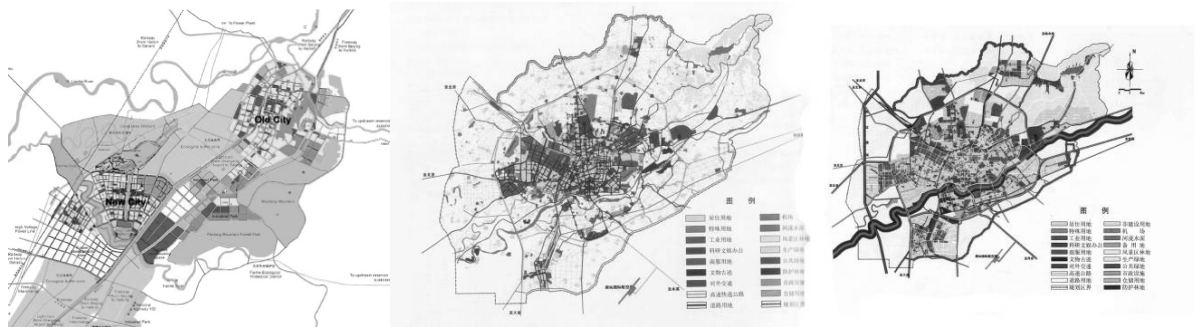


Figure 1 (left) Tieling Master Plan with the Old City to the Northeast and the New City to the Southwest.
(provided by Tieling Planning Bureau)

Figures 2 and 3 Shenyang Master Plan, before (center) and after (right), shows a concentric growth pattern that differs from the New City model of Tieling. (中国城市规划设计研究院总主编,《城市规划资料集》(第二分册), 中国建筑工业出版社, 2004.)

TIELING

This paper investigates Tieling, an urban model tucked away from the spotlight of international media - where the "new city" is paired in name and governance to an adjacent "old city" (Fig. 1) Tieling New City, (planned population of 300,000) is located 8 kilometers southwest of Tieling Old City (current

population 340,000). Tieling New City has now constructed adequate infrastructure and housing that it is on the brink of becoming inhabited and the municipal government has relocated to a lakeside district of the new city this year. The authors' interest in Tieling was initiated when both authors were separately asked to participate in planning competitions and projects for Tieling New City. The paper is a result of the insight from that project work and is augmented by research, field investigation, and interviews.

OLD CITY

[The Old City] has all the basis to become a good city – there's a mountain and a river, and good feng shui. It already has infrastructure and an active population. (residents who work for the electric company, Tieling Old City)

Tieling was originally settled due to its strategic geography. It is the gateway to the fertile SongLiao Plain (named for the SongHua and Liao Rivers) which lies to the north of the city and is situated in a narrow pass through which flows the Liao River - one of China's seven largest rivers - on its southerly route to Bohai Bay. Ancient paths, early railroads, and modern highways have been and are circuited through this same narrow pass between the Nulu'erhu Mountains to the west and the foothills of the Changbai Mountains to the East.

There is evidence of Stone Age inhabitants 7,000 years ago. Artifacts indicate that the area had cultural and economic relationships with central China early in the Yin and Shang Dynasty and further evidence confirms continuing close ties during the Warring States Period and the Yan State. The Tomb of the Handmaiden survives from the Jin Dynasty. The Tieling White Pagoda and CiQing Temple at Dragon Mountain survive from the Tang Dynasty.

The endurance of its cultural legacy, however, is challenged by Tieling's strategic military position and this has led to the destruction of the city during periods of dynastic succession and modern wars.

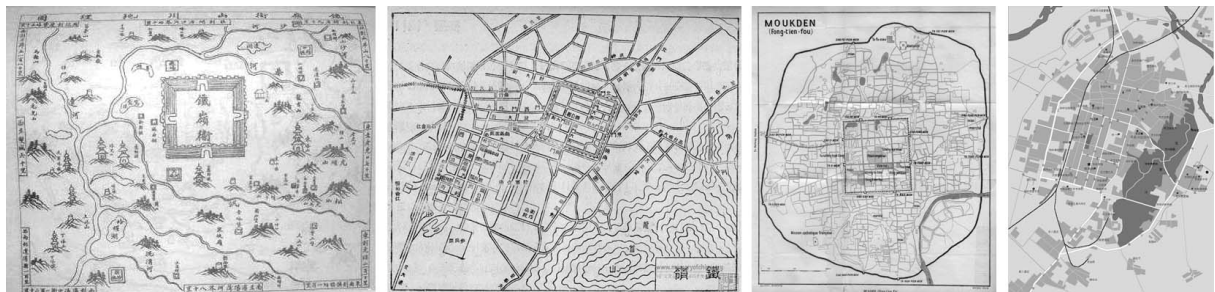


Figure 4 (left) Tieling, a 4-square / 4-gate Chinese city plan situated on the east bank of the Liao River. (provided by Tieling Planning Bureau)

Figure 5 (center left) Tieling in 1920, showing the walled city nestled against Dragon Hill to the southeast and the rail station in Tiexi, west of the walls. (provided by Tieling Planning Bureau)

Figure 6 (center right) Shenyang (formerly Moukden) in 1912, a notable 9-square / 8-gate Chinese city plan with the Imperial Palace in the center block. (Madrolle's Guide Books, 1912)

Figure 7 (right) A contemporary map of Tieling shows the river to the west, the important railway lines, Dragon Hill, and the disappearance of the city walls. (provided by Tieling Planning Bureau)

Tieling Wei, as it was known, was established in the Ming Dynasty as a walled garrison to defend against invasion from the Mongolian and Nuzhen tribes of the north (Fig. 4). The walled city of Tieling was roughly square in plan and oriented slightly NNE on the east bank of the Liao River. It nestled against the northwest slope of Dragon Hill, an isolated hill that sits in the river valley (Fig. 5). The nearby major city of Shenyang, the early capital of the later Qing Dynasty and the current capital of Liaoning Province, is a 9-square walled city with 8 gates (Fig. 6).

The Manchu Qing conquest of what is now northeast China killed or drove Han Chinese loyal to the Ming Dynasty south which resulted in a drastic reduction in population. According to Governor Zhang Shangxian, in 1661, "Tieling and Fushun only have a few vagrants" (Edmonds, 1985). Tieling County was

established in 1664, the third year of the reign of Qing Emperor Kangxi. Through much of the Qing Dynasty, Tieling was a small town whose strategic importance was limited because the Qing rulers, being from the north, found it unnecessary to defend against their home territory.

As the Qing Dynasty faded, Russia gained control of the northeast railroad in the late 19C as part of the Eight Allied Army concessions but lost control of the rail territories to Japan. In the Spring of 1905, the last land battle of the Russo-Japanese War resulted in a victory for the Japanese forces in Shenyang. The Russian troops retreated north from Shenyang through the pass at Tieling to modern-day Siping in what is now Jilin Province. Along the way, the Russian troops torched Tieling to thwart Japanese advances to the north. Again, like the aftermath of the Qing victory over the Ming, Tieling was reduced to ruins. However, it's important location along the South Manchuria Railroad, which was controlled by Japan, meant that Tieling would be rebuilt and governed by Japan from 1932 -1945 as part of Japanese Manchukuo.

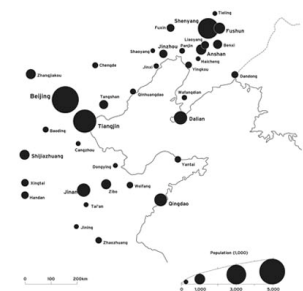


Figure 8 As recently as the 1960s, Tieling was a rural town of pingfans, small one story buildings. (provided by Tieling Planning Bureau)

Figure 9 Tieling Old City, street market showing scale of recent development in the background (photo by R.Henderson, May 2008)

Figure 10 Tieling is the northernmost city of the BoHai Bay conurbation and the gateway between the BoHai Bay cities to the south and the fertile, grain-rich, SongLiao Plain of northern China (Lo and Yeung, 1997) **Figure 11** Tieling Old City, from atop Dragon Mountain (photo by S.Szabo, July 2009)

Before the establishment of the People's Republic of China, Tieling was a rural settlement - a little town with a wall and towers. As recently as the 1960s, much of the city (inside and outside the walls) was pingfans (small one story buildings) (Fig. 8). Beginning in the 1960s, the western part of the city, Tiexi (Tieling West), grew toward the train station. Tiexi is the old industrial quarter and today is the poorest area of the city with factories either being moved out or closing. In this period, the QingHe Hydroelectric Power Plant, the largest in China at the time, was constructed in Tieling County. In 1984, Tieling was elevated to city status, and though most buildings were still pingfans, a new city center linking the railroad and Tiexi with the old city was constructed (Fig. 9). This was also the time when the ancient walls were taken down (Fig. 10). The south part of the city remained agricultural land until the 1990s but, as the city grew, new roads and neighborhoods were developed here along the transportation routes leading to and from the provincial capital of Shenyang which is located just 30 kilometers south of Tieling (Figs. 11).

NEW CITY IN CONTEXT OF POLICY AND IDEOLOGY

Tieling New City is for young people, with skills, without a life already developed in the Old

City. For them, its an opportunity to develop their lives in a better place. (restaurant owner, Tieling Old City)

Cities are the main engines of economic growth in China today. The government aims to increase economic productivity and narrow the urban-rural income gap through the development of cities and towns. The 10th Five Year Plan (2001-05) described urbanization as part of the modernization process. It stated that “the conditions are ripe for China to push urbanization forward and it should lose no time in implementing its strategy along this line”. Furthermore, it strongly emphasized the development of the service industry in the directions of market-orientation, industrialization and socialization, with a focus towards increasing employment opportunities.

Under the 11th Five Year Plan (2006-10), urbanization continues to be key in the government’s development objectives. This plan emphasizes a balance of regional development between the coastal and inland provinces by coordinating the development of large, medium-sized, and small cities and statutory towns, and strengthening the development of urban settlements around metropolitan areas. National and provincial governments are told to focus their efforts on towns with what could be a high potential for employment generation and economic growth. In order to solve the employment problem, the plan calls for the implementation of strategies and urbanization that promote coordinated development in large areas such as the western region, revitalizing old industrial bases in the northeast (such as Tieling) and other regions, promoting the rise of the central area, and encouraging faster development of the eastern area. Certainly the attention to Liaoning Province can also be tied to the rise of Li Keqiang, former Secretary of Liaoning Provincial Committee of the CPC and currently Vice-Premier of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC, China's highest governing body.

While urbanization is encouraged, as of this year, China’s Land Authority has called on local governments to carry out land reclamation to make up for the loss of existing arable land to non-farming purposes in order to ensure future grain security. China aims to keep its arable land at 121 million ha by 2010 and no less than 120 million ha by 2020. Nevertheless, Tieling New City is constructed on highly productive arable land.

Liaoning (Fig. 12) was one of the first provinces in China to industrialize. Beginning under Japanese occupation, and continuing into the 1950s and 60s during the Maoist Great Leap Forward, much of China’s Northeast region today, has a heritage of heavy industry. This early focus on heavy industry has become a liability, and the province faces challenges related to pollution and poor living conditions, insufficient public services and infrastructure, and many economic difficulties relating largely to the conversion of former state-owned enterprises, and subsequent unemployment. The Chinese central government, recognizing the difficulties but also the opportunities in the region, has launched a campaign to “Revitalize the Northeast”. The core of the program is to revitalize the regions's traditional industry while speeding development in aspects of structural regulation, regional cooperation, economic reform, the construction of an environment-friendly economy, and increased efforts in education, healthcare, and cultural projects.

Inspired by the successes of the Pearl River Delta and the Yangtze River Delta Economic Zones, the plan for the revitalization of the old Northeast industrial base is the creation of the Central Liaoning City Cluster around Shenyang (the Northeast’s largest city and the capital of Liaoning Province) whose groundwork started in 2003 and which was formally opened in April 2005 (Figs. 2, 3). The total area of the Zone is 65,028 sq. km. (43.9% of the provincial total), with a 150 km. radius centered in Shenyang, and a population of 21,275,000 (51.1% of the provincial total). Its level of urbanization has increased to around 65% from 58% in the last 3 years and the province is the most urbanized in China. This is to be a key area supporting Liaoning Province’s strategy of the coast opening up to the outside world, called the “Five Points and One Line”, in which nearly 40% of the Northeast's total foreign investment has been concentrated.

The idea of the Shenyang Economic Zone is based on the premise that eight cities working together are more than eight working alone. The eight cities are: Anshan (1,300,000) steel city; Fushun (1,300,000) coal and petrochemical city; Benxi (950,000) coal and iron city; Fuxin (800,000) coal city; Liaoyang (700,000) synthetic fiber city; Tieling (400,000) coal, logistics and education city; and Yingkou (1,100,000) port city; with Shenyang (4,000,000) at the center (Fig. 13). The cluster cities will follow the laws of a market re-allocation of resources, mainly by a unified labour and talent market, cohesive information platform, integrated transportation, and joint development of cultural construction and tourist resources. The

Liaoning provincial government is now looking to consolidate this alliance with the introduction of a new system of residence reform and housing legislation to make it easier for residents to buy apartments in other areas of the zone.

This new cluster alludes to the structure that existed in the 1950s, when the industries in the eight cities worked to complement one another, while maintaining their own distinctive focuses. Together, for instance, the cities had been responsible for one third of China's total steel output. Shenyang was renowned for being China's "Machinery Equipment Center", and had unparalleled strength in the manufacture of basic machinery, heavy machinery equipment, power transmissions and transformation equipment, as well as military equipment. The late 1970s brought opening-up policies, and with them, cities adopting strategies to compete with one another to secure contracts and investments, and much investment went toward creating what could be unnecessary duplications of output. Liaoning province is now aiming to restore the cooperation that once characterized the area, with all the efficiency and savings that it entails. (Zhao, 2005)

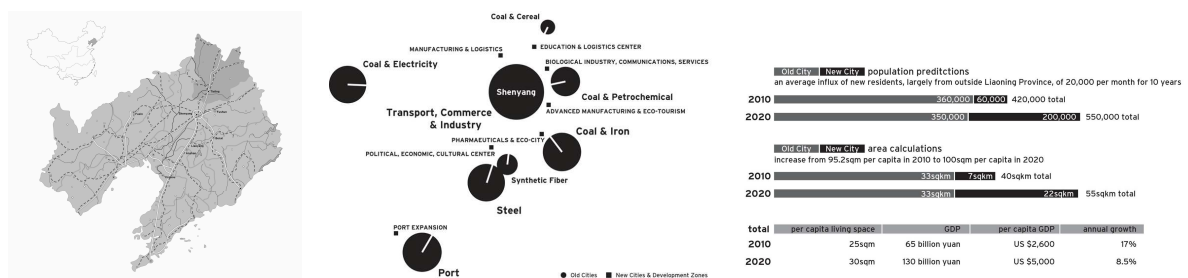


Figure 12 (left) Liaoning Province showing cities in the cluster (authors)

Figure 13 (center) Shenyang city cluster by allocated function (authors)

Figure 14 (right) Local government predictions for Tieling (authors)

Together with Shenyang, Tieling will form the ShenTie Industrial Corridor. Connected with new fast rail lines and expressways, the corridor will host 4 bases to support the city cluster: special vehicle manufacturing, modern logistics, financial back office operations, and vocational education. The plan is to construct 17 industrial parks (194 sq. km. total) within one city (Fanhe New Town / Tieling New City) and seven districts - Tieling Hi-Tech Development Area, Yilu Industrial Park, Yaopu Industrial Park, Fanhu Industrial Park, Yinzhou District Industrial Park, Industrial Park of Tieling Economic Development Area and Pingdingpu Industrial Park. According to the plan, by 2010, the corridor will reach an industrial value of RMB 150 billion. By then, 60% of the population of Tieling City, 70% of employment positions, and 80% of economic forces will be produced within the newly built space.

In 2005, the Tieling Municipal Government made the decision to build a New City. It was noted that Tieling Old City was already full, its infrastructure over-burdened, and its growth restricted by rivers to the North and West, and mountains to the East. The location of the New City was established according to 3 factors: the route of the fast train from Dalian to Harbin already under construction; closer proximity to the provincial capital of Shenyang; and the attraction of the selected site as a "beautiful landscape which was mostly flat" (interview with Ms. Sun, Civil Engineer, Tieling Planning Bureau) with desirable water access (Fig. 14).

PLANNING AND DESIGN OF THE NEW CITY

There is an old Chinese saying, "If water flows, money flows," so it was decided that, with the Liao River and the Fan River, there would be a system to bring water through the city to make Tieling New City the "Water City of North China." (planner, Tieling Planning Bureau)

The Tieling City Master Plan (2005 - 2020) outlines the ideology that guides the planning of the New City: 1. adhere to the national-level "five balances principle" of harmonious society, scientific authority, master planning, regulatory oversight, and municipal control of city planning; 2. adhere to the Provincial and Municipal goals of urbanization with Chinese characteristics, rationally-conceived goals and

strategies of urban development, comprehensive planning, and sustainable development; 3. adhere to Municipal features of conservation, environmental protection, and recognition of Tieling history and culture; and 4. integrate the urban infrastructure standards and service levels with the regional infrastructure. (Tieling City Masterplan, 2005-2020)

Furthermore, the City Plan defines the spatial organization of both the New City and the Old City. The New City, with an area of about 20 square kilometers, extends from the mountains to the East, the Harbin-Dalian High-Speed Railroad to the west, the former village of Sujiantun on the banks of the Fan River to the south, and Lotus Lake to the north. The New City is characterized as "one center, three axis, five areas" which indicates the central axis along the Tianshui Canal axis that terminates at the Government Center to the south and Phoenix Mountain to the north, the three axis of the north-south public facilities axis, the Fan River landscape axis, and the Ganjiang Road east west commercial axis, and the five functional areas: the center area, Xiaofanhe residential area, Wanjiawa residential area, Sujiantu residential area and the Liaohai industrial area. It will be the administrative, financial, recreational, exhibition / conference, educational, and tourist center of Tieling.

The Old City is characterized as "one center, four axis, four areas." The one center is the the center of the old city, just east of the train station. The four axis refer to four main development corridors: Guangyu Street-Chaihe Road, Yinzhou Road, Nanma Road and Nanhuan Road. The four four functional areas are: the center area, Tiexi area near the train station, Chengnan area and Lingdong area.



Figure 15 looking north with Ruyi Lake (created from damming the Fan River), Diamond Square, and the new Government Center in the foreground. (left)

Figure 16 looking north along Tianshui Canal toward Phoenix Mountain with the Lotus Lake National Wetland Park in the distance (center)

Figure 17 looking south along the Tianshui Canal with the Government Center in the background. (right)
(all three aerial photographs, 2008, Tsinghua Urban Planning and Design Institute, used with permission)

The development of Tieling New City (Figs. 15, 16, 17) is occurring in three phases. Phase One, beginning in 2007, is the construction of Ruyi Lake by damming the Fanhe (Fan River), the Government Center whose design was the result of a competition won by Tongji University, and a five-star hotel. Phase One includes a RMB 10 billion investment in 1.5 million sq.m. of buildings, 9 roads, 8 bridges, water treatment plant, sewage processing plant, electrical transformer substation, fuel stations, central heating plant, and 1.9 million sq.m. of landscape with 170,000 trees and over 1 million shrubs.

Phase Two, beginning in 2008, is the laying out and construction of all the roads, utilities, and public landscape infrastructure that forms the diamond-shaped plan of Tieling New City. Phase Three, in 2009, is the completion of additional infrastructure Southwest of the Fan River and the final completion of Phases One and Two. Currently, China South City Group, a Shenzhen development company and major investor in Tieling New City, is constructing high-rise residential buildings on 2 sq.km. of property.

LANDSCAPE

This is great land for agriculture – for a special Fanhe rice, for corn, such a shame that its all gone. (group of elderly residents, Tieling Old City)

I want to go to Tieling New City to see the fountain and Diamond Square that I heard about - but I work every night so I haven't had a chance to go. (woman who works in a dumpling

restaurant, Tieling Old City)

The order of construction in New City Tieling is the same as the construction of a Chinese garden: first, the earth is excavated to create bodies of water and then, the excavated material is piled up to create hills. Tieling, which is characterized not only as an "garden city" but the even more exemplary "eco-garden city" by the central government, will have a "green cover" that exceeds forty-five percent.

The Old City is propitiously situated, as mentioned earlier, in the fertile plain of the Liao River and protected by mountains to the east and west. While the New City also boasts a mountain and a river, it is worthwhile to compare the way that these landscapes "work" in the Old City and "decorate" in the New City.

The mountain in the Old City, Dragon Mountain, have served as a sacred space in the lives of Tieling residents given the presence of temples and the pagoda. It is a geological anomaly, an isolated hill in the sedimented river valley that has played in the imagination and rituals of Tieling since a settlement first was made there. Dragon Mountain is now paired with its "female" counterpart, Phoenix Mountain, in the New City. Phoenix Mountain is a willfully man-made mountain constructed from material removed from a 48 meter high hill that impeded the development of the largest logistics center in northern China which is being developed by Hong Kong's Hunancheng Group on 7.5 million square meters of land. This hill, coupled with earth dug for the construction of the meandering canal at the center of the New City, was used to pile up the new Phoenix Mountain. If a new city does not have a suitable setting, it is perfectly reasonable in contemporary China to build a new landscape that will compensate for poor sites. Formerly, this mountain-building achievement was an imperial act, such as at Jingshan, at the north gate of the Forbidden City in Beijing. A planner at the Tieling Planner Bureau boasted, "Our mountain is like Beijing's Olympic Mountain." Today, there are man-made hills erupting all across the middle kingdom.

The river is similarly manipulated to create Ruyi Lake as the forecourt for the Government Center. Rubber dams interrupt the native flow of the river in order to establish a decorative, recreational, and symbolic lake. The municipal government boasts that Tieling New City includes a water surface area of 4 square kilometers, or 20% of the total area of the new downtown, and has accomplished a tree coverage of 14.19%. The per capita "green area" will be 12.52 sq.m. of which 10.02 sq.m. is "public green area" which means that "private green area" is only 2.50 sq.m. Given the generosity of public landscapes and the very small allocation for private outdoor space, one can imagine that the monumental landscapes of the man-made mountain, canal, and lake will be the future focus of both family and civic life in Tieling New City.

Despite the ecological sloganeering, it is difficult to accept that an urban plan that has altered the flow of waterbodies and moved millions of cubic meters of arable soil into symbolic mountains is indeed an integrated ecological system. However, the plan did protect and "enhance" an important wetland, The Lotus Lake National Wetland, which is a critical habitat for migratory birds just north of the Phoenix Mountain as an "eco-guide area", the most restrictive category of human access in the city. Other districts of the city are designated as "ecological control areas" or the less restrictive, "ecological protection areas."

STRUCTURE

Here in the Old City, only four residential buildings have elevators. In the New City, there are only high rises lining the new streets - all wide and straight." (Mrs. Lu, Tieling Old City)

The government took all the money they were supposed to invest in pingfans and spent it on the New City. [We are at the foot of Dragon Mountain where] many tourists come through and it is embarrassing. We are so weak ... talk to Hu Jintao for us ! (grandmother who lives in a pingfan)

Since the abandonment of the planned economy for the constitution of the market based system in 1992, the form and function of cities has changed. In contrast to the relative uniformity of China's urban sector dating from the centralized policy, the new decentralized city encourages a unique identity and competitive urban entrepreneurialism. In 2003, when the new government of Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao declared its intent to alleviate rural poverty and to focus on the poorer central and western zones of China, it also stated its conviction that cities are to be favored as vehicles of transition, modernization and development. Urban space has come to be considered as a platform, harnessing a potential for economic change – producing real estate markets, the new service sector, and competitive consumerism in general.

Branding, promotion, and competitiveness have moved to the forefront of planning considerations, aiming to entice the once-rural population and to encourage private investment from China and abroad.

Tieling New City is now putting itself on the global map – its new identity within a wider network of importance means that it is no longer a small producer city, but rather a shining example of modernization, an open market, progress and power. Branding itself as “The Water City of Northeast China”, “The Diamond City”, “The Logistic and Civic Center”, “The Green Backyard of Shenyang”, it will host industrial parks, logistic centers, education centers, a golf course, all of which house functions whose reach is far beyond the physical city limits. China’s administration and local politics system, however, is oriented rather differently from those of other market-oriented economies. Local officials are appointed by higher-level governments - not elected locally - thus their responsibility is to their superiors and their superior’s plans. Their performance is therefore also directed to the leadership hierarchy.

This chain of command directly influences new urban spatial planning in China. Tieling New City began with a central axis, and on it, the pivot for the entire urban plan – the government center. Adhering to Confucian beliefs and ShanShui traditional laws, water and mountains are located in a North-South configuration, locating the intended foreground at the South end, and ensuring it is clearly visible and is the ruler over those of a lesser stature (who in turn, ruled over those of an even lesser stature progressing northward and outward). Facing the front, the government buildings designed in the form of the Chinese character “pin,” alluding to morality and commitment, also face its leaders in the capital of Liaoning, the center of its new economic force (Tan, 2005)

Skyline regulations have been designed to form a wave as another reinforcement to ensure fortune flowing and a hierarchy. The high-rises just North of the government center, a development entitled Qianshuiwan No.1, and where most government employees have been instructed to purchase apartments, will ‘rule over’ the next residential developments, and certainly over the migrant enclaves in the outskirts.

Very few high-rises currently exist in the Old City, but are beginning to replace the four to five story buildings that previously characterized it. Towers are a symbol of success and luxury offer the most expensive residences in the city, lining the new 6-lane roads which are a sign of development and progress for local citizens. In the Old City, the government buildings were dispersed throughout the city. Today, some have been bought by large industry headquarters, but all of them stand empty. The city center of the Old City developed around the traffic hub, with an inter-city train station and bus stations. Itself a little monument and gateway, the station is adjacent to a major commercial axis and a large public square.

The shophouse typology, vernacular structures and little hutong openings, which used to combine to pattern the city and streets are slowly being cleared away in an effort to ‘clean’ the old city. None of these types have made it onto the New City plan. Only in the farmer’s compound have five story buildings been built – everyone else shall live in towers.

REGULATION

The New City and Old City will remain divided with a natural reserve between them. There is no intention to connect them. (Ms. Sun, planning bureau engineer)

I am certain that in the future, Tieling will be one big city - the Old City and the New City will be united as one beautiful place. (old man from Tiexi)

With social stratification clearly marked in the structure of the New City plan, its divide from the Old City may also be seen, in itself, a further entrenchment of socioeconomic disparities. While the Old City in the North is home to the working class, the educated, professional, commercial, law-enforcing and ruling class will be moved to the New City, where quality of life, leisure and success are all planned for. The government is now no longer a part of the old structure, no longer related to the difficulties that result from the past. Aside from the law instructing all law-enforcement and government employees to buy apartments and move to the New City, there is no intention in the planning bureau of any other population arriving from the Old. No stimulus was formed offering alternative housing rates for Tieling citizens, or any small-businesses stimulus to encourage the establishment of new commercial enterprises by locals. And the prices are far higher than what the Old City offers.

The resettled farmers, for instance, have received no benefits to help them to open businesses. Although they are the first population to settle in the New City (they moved in the winter of 2006), they had

no services or shops available to them. The local primary school was only opened in 2008. Those who had savings immediately opened businesses to fill the niches, but none did so in the allocated commercial spaces on the streets. Due to the cost of the commercial space, they opened businesses inside their flats, within the gated compound of their community. There is no room for these businesses to expand and to reach the rest of the city. In fact, there is no room for the city to grow, as it has been developed as a complete and a finite structure.

Spatial and landuse planning therefore regulate investment and the market economy. In turn, urban land development seems to be based on a close relationship between the government and developers. In Tieling New City, one developer in particular, Shenzhen Hunancheng Group (now called Tianshui Wuchan), invested an estimated 8 billion yuan in the city, financing 5 trade centers in the Northeast Logistic Center, the Qianshuiwan No.1 residential development, the theme park, and more commercial buildings. This was also the company that conducted an international concept competition (won by the Australian design firm, Cox Group) for the Tieling New City Masterplan in 2006, which followed a brief commissioned by the Tieling government and composed by Shanghai Tongji Urban Planning & Design Institute. Hunancheng Group proceeded to select the results that would guide the masterplan prepared by China Urban Planning Institute (directly under the central government), and the Landscape Department of Tsinghua Institute of Planning & Design who designed the landscape.

Intended to attract a new population, Liaoning has deepened the reform of the household registration management system. Implemented in 1958, the hukou system is a remnant of Maoist era population and migration control by assigning every citizen a single location to which they can belong and where they can receive benefits, creating rigid divides between agricultural and non-agricultural populations and enrooting a system where socioeconomic opportunities of individuals are largely determined by birth. Over the last two decades, changes in hukou legislation have altered migration patterns greatly, and the government continues to test new legal and economic ideas in the system (Fan, 2008). Hukou reforms for Tieling New City allow for registration within the actual place of residence as early as 1 month after resettlement, and living in the city for over 1 year while maintaining a stable source of income, awards an urban hukou. These new laws can entice a young population with either skills to work for an enterprise, or the means to establish a private business. Furthermore, the New City is built to attract the successful urbanites from Shenyang, with villa compounds and exclusive clubs, the theme park and golf course, there to create a new backyard for the South, at a clear distance from the Old City in the North.

SEQUENCE

My wife and I like that we live next to the people we work with, it creates a community. ... There is nothing like that in the New City. The New City was built for the government, it has nothing to do with us. (Mr. Lu)

Aside from government officials, all the people in the Old City, will stay in the Old City. Officials and public servants have had to buy flats in the New City already – although some may choose to stay in the Old City and just keep the flat here empty. (Ms. Sun, planning bureau engineer)

In Tieling Old City, the saying is “3 meals a day from the 3 state companies”: the coal company, the electric company, and the power-station construction and management company, all state owned, all based in and around the city. These used to be *danwei*, or work units, which were a fundamental element of the Mao-era ‘producer city’ vision, its resource allocation, infrastructural engineering and spatial configuration. The *danwei* was the primary unit that determined the urban scheme. Each was given land through a government quota system to create communal cells within urban blocks, supply housing, childcare, shops and services.

In modern-day China, the *danwei* system has been almost entirely eliminated (the military still has a similar system), but it has left imprints on the modern city. For one thing, inward-looking gated communities remain a standard in residential planning, each with its own services and small shops within. At the same time, the idea that accommodation is somewhat the workplace’s responsibility still exists. Each of Tieling’s state companies have entered into joint ventures with private developers to build residential compounds and offer their employees the option to buy at rates far below the value of the property. These gated communities are inhabited primarily by the employees and their families, creating islands in the city.

In Tieling New City, there is no offer of such joint ventures, and all projects are entirely commercial and will be sold by developers at market rate. The danwei units, however, seem to have left an imprint on the urban planning mechanism – construction phases of the New City suggest a similar modular progression where lives are built around work. The government center was built with a high-end residential development for government officials, a university campus and teaching hospital in the North of the City constructed with a residential block across the street; a local farmer’s resettlement enclave on the city’s Eastern periphery with only small vacant shops around, and the beginning construction now is a school and sports center with another residential block. All of these work-life islands are built apart and kept separate by empty urban blocks. The phasing decisions therefore don’t allow for the city to function until its final phase is completed.

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- Much of the information was obtained through personal interviews with residents of Tieling Old City, with key figures in the planning process, and with the Tieling Planning Bureau.