From Reactive to Proactive Participation: A Case Study on Micro-regeneration in Shanghai, China

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1 Introduction

An inclusive city should be one that can be 'accessed, understood, and used to the greatest extent possible by all people' (Tucker et al., 2020, p. 291) and that treats people in different and in particular disadvantaged situations in an equitable way (Heylighen et al., 2017). For a city to be inclusive, inclusion should happen in all spatial, social, economic, environmental and political dimensions (Liang et al., 2022), and inclusive space should endeavour to meet the needs and preferences of individuals of different gender, race and ethnicity by providing designs and facilities that consider these differences (Mehta & Mahato, 2020). Inclusive placemaking should thus encourage full participation and self-expression (Sharp et al., 2005; Zhou, 2019) and promotes visibility and opportunities for socialisation among different social groups (Sezer, 2020). As one of the concepts often discussed in the context of inclusion, participation has a reciprocal relationship with the goal of inclusiveness. On the one hand, participation is considered an effective means to the end of inclusive plan-making as it helps break down cultural barriers and create intergroup cohesion (Nwachi, 2021). On the other hand, inclusiveness is indispensable for improving people's access to resources necessary for participation (De Haas et al., 2021). Even though the two concepts are not synonymous, the present research uses participation as the point of entry into the discussion of inclusive placemaking. As the rest of the chapter will show, in Shanghai, the empirical context for the research, although inclusiveness per se is not always what the official agenda emphasises, various experiments at participatory urban regeneration have in effect added more inclusiveness to placemaking processes conventionally dominated by the government and market actors.

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Seen through the lens of participation and engagement, studies of inclusive placemaking could be categorised into interconnected ones of scope and mechanism. The first strand focuses on understanding the needs and preferences of disadvantaged groups such as women (Huang & Napawan, 2021), people with disabilities (Patrick & McKinnon, 2022), children (Haider, 2007; Kusumaningdyah & Purnamasari, 2018; Krishnamurthy, 2019), homeless people (Nielsen, 2021), ethnic or religious minorities (Rishbeth, 2001; Johnson & Miles, 2014) and marginalised communities (Smiley et al., 2016) and integrating these needs into spatial design products and processes. In other words, these studies attempt to enlarge the scope of beneficiaries of placemaking to include those excluded and neglected by traditional placemaking practices. The second strand more closely examines the actor and method of making processes more equitable and empowering (Toolis, 2021), with a particular focus on the role of public institutions and governance models (Attia & Ibrahim, 2018; Wojtyńska et al., 2022). Following these two strands, a distinction can be also made between reactive participation and proactive participation. That is, studies of external inclusive measures promoting reactive participation, such as those highlighting how designers or facilitators strategically advance their competence (Luck, 2007; Sokolaj, 2022) and how institutions and states interrogate the power-sharing mechanisms (Arnstein, 1969; Milbrath, 1981), run parallel to studies of actors' internal motivations for proactive participation or reasons for shunning away from participation such as distrust (Swapan, 2014, 2016) and habitual thinking of management knows best (Morrison & Milliken, 2000). The present research therefore attempts to balance these two directions of participation and discusses how external measures promoting reactive participation and internal motivations leading to proactive participation simultaneously play a part in making more inclusive placemaking.

This perspective is particularly needed in the discussion of contemporary Shanghai urban regeneration, where inclusion and public engagement are frequently ambiguously defined and utilised interchangeably. As the city aspires to become an 'Excellent Global City'[1] and a 'People's City',[2] its ongoing urban regeneration emphasises the people-oriented nature of development and citizens' collaboration, participation and common interests. Conventionally, bottom-up, citizen-led participation in China has mostly consisted of demonstrations against unfair housing compensation, forceful displacement, not-in-my-backyard projects and the demolition of historically significant buildings (Zhang et al., 2020). In the new urban context, besides the existing formal information publication and consultation, planning and design experiments that respond to the people-oriented principle with various inclusive elements are emerging in Shanghai as part of the city's ongoing urban regeneration efforts (Zhong & Leung, 2019; Chen & Qu, 2020). The present research turns

[1] "Shanghai Master Plan 2017–2035 (public version)", Shanghai Municipal People's Government, 2018. Available at: http://ghzyj.sh.gov.cn/ghjh/20200110/0032-811864.html.

[2] "Outline of the 14th Five-Year Plan (2021–2025) for National Economic and Social Development and Vision 2035 of Shanghai", Shanghai Municipal People's Government, 2021. Available at: https://www.shanghai.gov.cn/nw12344/20210129/ced9958c16294feab926754394d9db91.html.

to the micro-regeneration, one of the neighbourhood-scale participatory placemaking experiments in Shanghai that seek to empower local communities and involve more actors in combating the decline of inner-city neighbourhoods. This chapter explores how different stakeholders' rationales and motivations for proactive participation are intertwined with the techniques and mechanisms designed to promote the inclusion of multiple actors in Shanghai's micro-regeneration programmes. It therefore argues that the inclusion mechanisms that push for reactive practices must be understood in relation to what motivates people to engage in these processes proactively. It should be noted that micro-regeneration is by no means the first or the only participatory channel and what the chapter aims to highlight is its potential in raising civic awareness and stimulating more proactive thinking about changing the shared environment.

Two stages of fieldwork (March to October 2019, and August 2021 to March 2022) were conducted by the two authors respectively for this research, allowing the study to trace the evolution of different types of micro-regeneration practices. Instead of statistical analysis of data, the chapter aims to qualitatively capture the snapshots of micro-regeneration that are most pertinent to inclusive placemaking. Section 2 of the chapter discusses the development of different types of micro-regeneration. It is built on secondary data collected from policy documents, online announcements published by government departments and urban planning bureaus and major state-owned media reports. Section 3 then takes a closer look at the motivations and mechanisms for participation in micro-regeneration. It draws on primary data collected through semi-structured interviews and participant and non-participant observations. The interviewees were identified and contacted from publicly available project information as well as through the authors' personal contacts. The roles of the interviewees include architectural and landscape designers (n = 30), planners from different levels of planning authorities (n = 10), residents' committee representatives (n = 15) and residents (n = 60). The final section of the chapter puts forward some practical suggestions and at the same time reflects on some further issues with micro-regeneration in relation to inclusive city-making.

2 Changing Urban Regeneration Paradigm and Evolving Micro-regeneration in Shanghai

Urban renewal in China since the 1990s has been infamous for its massive demolition and reconstruction paradigm. After years of conspicuous growth, the primarily government-dominated regeneration model has become increasingly unsustainable due to accumulated problems such as limited available land resources, capital and financial constraints, social discontent and unbalanced development, and discussions of these issues were gradually making the front page and spurring public attention.[3] Since around 2015, however, there has been a notable shift from the

[3] 'Shanghai nears construction land "ceiling" and aims for negative growth of 41 sq. km in 5 years', Pengpai News, 7 August 2015. Available at https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_1361673.

excessive focus on economic development to a national promotion of city betterment and urban quality improvement (Fig. 1). Shanghai and a few other top-tier cities in China like Beijing and Shenzhen started to experiment with the so-called micro-regeneration as an alternative to the traditional urban regeneration approach (Wang et al., 2022). Micro-regeneration, quite literally urban regeneration that is small or micro, covers a variety of spatial and social transformations, often happening on the neighbourhood scale, that seek to engage different urban actors, develop inclusive platforms and promote social participation[4] (Fig. 2). Distinguishing the main device to organise actions, the chapter categorise the myriad of practices into four types, namely, pilot experiment, community action, model demonstration and pedagogical programme. Featuring varying but not drastically different leading actors and project delivery mechanisms, these four types are not developed strictly sequentially and can sometimes co-exist in a single micro-regeneration project.

The pilot experiment-type micro-regeneration emerged as Shanghai started to explore alternative urban regeneration approaches in the face of resource constraints. To combat the urban diseases of declining spatial quality and living standards typically found in old inner-city areas, the 'Shanghai Urban Regeneration Implementation Measures' published in 2015 encouraged the increased provision of public amenities and open spaces and multiple actors' participation in making urban regeneration plans.[5] To exemplify these principles and produce promotable model projects, the municipal planning authority initiated the 'Walking in Shanghai' community public space micro-regeneration scheme (Case A) in 2016 that served as a prototype for later micro-regeneration schemes. Adopting a design competition format, this initiative aimed to solicit design proposals for the renovation of problematic leftover or underutilised space. In the initial 2 years of the scheme, most pilot projects were located within selected residential neighbourhoods (Fig. 3), and in the subsequent years, the scope of 'Walking in Shanghai' gradually expanded into the urban realm to include 'under-bridge' spaces (2018, 2019) and service facility building (2020).

To further test urban regeneration strategies outlined in the 'Shanghai 2035' masterplan published in 2018, the municipality encouraged community organisations, professionals, philanthropies and other social groups to use more people-oriented methods to improve community governance in spatial planning coordination. Festivals, zines, markets, shared kitchens, gardens and other forms of community programmes have been used to facilitate community building and revitalisation. Such community action-type micro-regeneration was unexpectedly

'Shanghai sets four bottom lines for 13th Five-Year Plan: resident population should not exceed 25 million', Xinhua News, 24 December 2015. Available at: http://shzw.eastday.com/shzw/G/20151224/u1a9153282.html.

[4] 'Micro-regeneration is advancing from community pilot sites to more diverse public spaces', Jiefang Daily, 13 December 2021. Available at https://www.shanghai.gov.cn/nw4411/20211213/b52479f9fa8141e8ba6d7c43db57df18.html.

[5] 'Information on the Implementation Measures of Urban Regeneration in Shanghai', Shanghai Municipal Information Office, 2015. Available at: http://www.shio.gov.cn/sh/xwb/n790/n792/n925/n967/u1ai13031.html.

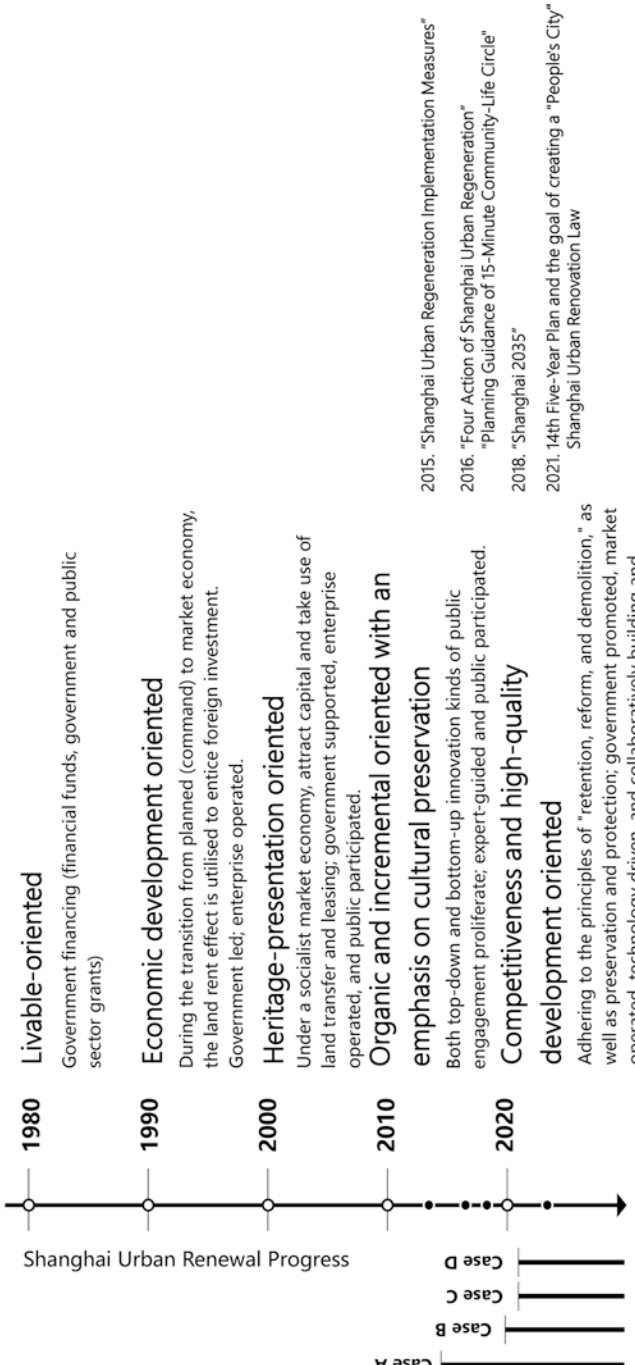

Fig. 1 Shifting urban regeneration paradigm in China. Source: authors' elaboration

Fig. 2 A variety of spatial interventions have been put under the umbrella of micro-regeneration. Source: author, various dates in 2019

boosted during the 2020 Covid outbreak as it helped community members to stay connected and motivated. A prominent example, the Seeding Plan (Case B), was launched in early 2020 during the pandemic by the Clover Nature School (CNS), a professional organisation most known for designing and managing community gardens to engage community environmental improvement, public participation and education. The project aimed to reconnect communities by building micro-gardens in private and semi-private spaces, sharing seeds among neighbours and keeping each other updated on the garden-making progress (Fig. 4). By doing so, it not only encouraged direct daily communication among community members but also advocated proactive participation in turning the otherwise leftover space into community public space.

As the 14th Five-Year Plan put forward the 'People's City' vision, local governments became more invested in model projects not only as tangible improvements of the local environment but more importantly as displays of local urban regeneration achievements and demonstrations of the 'People's City' ideal. One such model project is the Xinhua neighbourhood (Case C) selected as an exhibition neighbourhood in the 2021 Shanghai Urban Space Art Season (SUSAS) to showcase the subdistrict government's achievements in implementing the '15-minute Community Life Circle'.[6] Dayu, the community organisation tasked by the municipal government to implement this project, specialises in stimulating residents to engage in community affairs collaboratively and creatively. They sought to reactivate local businesses by transforming existing commercial spaces into small exhibition halls where local businesses could showcase their daily activities to the wider public

[6] 'SUSAS 2021', https://www.susas.com.cn/en/about.html.

Fig. 3 Representative projects from Case A. Source: author, various dates in 2019

Fig. 4 Community garden and seed station from Case B. Source: author, December 2021

Fig. 5 Transformation of commercial space into exhibition space in Case C. Source: author, September 2021

(Fig. 5). This way not only were residents and businesses mobilised in the regeneration of the neighbourhood, but the positive changes were also highly visible to the general public.

Because of its manageable scale and experimental nature, micro-regeneration has become a popular pedagogical programme for various social actors as well as students and design professionals new to the most recent developments in urban regeneration. In one of the most recent examples, the first National Community Garden Design and Construction Competition and Community Participation Action co-organised in 2021 by a local university and a magazine on architecture and landscape design, Dongming subdistrict (Case D) was chosen as the testing site for interested citizens, professional landscape architects and college students to make public spaces in neighbourhoods collaboratively. The competition drew 362 students from 26 universities around the country, ultimately resulting in the formation of 42 teams and the renovation of a total of 34 sites within the subdistrict ranging from building corner spaces to community centre public spaces (Fig. 6). Such programmes encouraged the residents, rather than designers or facilitators, to occupy the front stage. Professionals were meant to play an initiating role in stimulating the local community to self-organise and explore the different possibilities for transforming their neighbourhoods.

Fig. 6 Landscape improvement in Case D. Source: author, October 2021

3 Inclusion in Micro-regeneration: Motivations and Mechanisms

3.1 A Myriad of Motivations for Inclusion

Aiming to 'inspire a sense of honour, belonging, and mastery and create an atmosphere of every member of society building, sharing, and governing the city',[7] micro-regeneration in effect produces tools and mechanisms that make local placemaking more inclusive than before in the quest for participation and co-creation. As more actors become aware of prospective changes and, to varying degrees, empowered to contribute to local transformation, previously government-dominated urban renewal processes are partially opened, allowing more diverse groups of professionals and social actors to participate. Simultaneously, local communities become inspired to contribute to improving their living environment, not only by providing feedback or taking part in design-led events devised by external facilitators but also by initiating and participating in more hands-on daily activities.

Before examining various mechanisms embedded in micro-regeneration that bring this inclusiveness, a closer examination of the motivations of different actors initiating or joining micro-regeneration at different stages is needed. As the key player in urban regeneration, the municipal planning authority has been keen to demonstrate the efficacy of social participation as an important component of urban regeneration in the new urban context. Encouraging public participation not only directs resources to target problems raised from the locals' perspectives but also symbolically demonstrates that the planning authority and the government in general are turning away from the old managerial approach to a more service-oriented role (Ma & Ying, 2016). For different levels of government, the participatory and

[7] 'Seminar on Shanghai's Four Action Plans for Urban Regeneration 2016 and "Walking in Shanghai" Brand Launch', Shanghai Municipal Planning and Natural Resources Bureau, 2016. Available at: http://ghzyj.sh.gov.cn/xwfb/20200110/0032-684984.html.

inclusive elements in micro-regeneration add to the legitimacy of these spatial transformation processes and echo Shanghai's recent 'People's City' vision. In addition to demonstrating local progress and achievement, they are also crucial in highlighting the shift in the government-people relationship and the development of growing social awareness.[8]

According to interviews with those participating in the design of various micro-regeneration projects, personal passions and professional objectives strongly influence the participation of designers and facilitators in micro-regeneration. Designers with academic backgrounds or research interests in community development see participating in micro-regeneration as a research opportunity. Given various micro-regeneration projects' promise to follow through the entire project, relatively inexperienced designers and design students seek to use micro-regeneration to start building their professional profiles and apply what they learn in college to the real world. Native Shanghainese designers are also often motivated by their attachment to specific places or the old neighbourhood as a particular interesting component of the Shanghai residential typology. The aspiring NGOs tend to use micro-regeneration as an advanced test to interrogate how to include public voices in shaping neighbourhoods. This sometimes creates tensions between communities and NGOs since what some people see as the NGOs' exploration of new methods for promoting public participation in city-building could be perceived by local people as self-promotion and self-branding.

The participation of locals and the wider public is often personal and self-oriented, rarely inspired by inclusion as a social ideal. For example, some elderly people in Case D joined because this programme allowed them to claim a small portion of public space near their apartments to expand their planting territory (interviews with residents, June 2022). In Case C, with the programme allowing individuals to self-define their participatory projects, most social actors were motivated by more practical personal pursuits than a pure aspiration to help improve inclusive placemaking. For example, some young scholars offered to be researchers, recorders or workers so that they might collect the required information to do their research (interviews with two student researchers, December 2021). Some artists saw it as an opportunity to organise a solo exhibition, acquire skills and test neighbourhood art exhibitions (interviews with an artist and a curator, November 2021). In other words, contributing to the public welfare by working for the underrepresented people is often only a secondary motivation for these participants.

3.2 Informing, Inviting and Actively Contributing: A Mix of Reactive and Proactive Inclusion Measures

Over the years, micro-regeneration increasingly shows the potential as a catalyst that encourages communities to proactively contribute to community spatial and

[8] "Urban Social Governance Enters the 2.0 Era", Xinmin Weekly, 6 January 2016. Available at: http://www.xinminweekly.com.cn/fengmian/2016/01/06/6628.html.

social changes in addition to reactively being invited to consultation events and informed of project progress. The tools and mechanisms enabling this mix of reactive and proactive participation can be discerned in different aspects of micro-regeneration including project initiation, project task, the role of facilitator, programme publicity and external incentives.

3.2.1 Project Initiation: From Imposing to Empowering

Since its early days, the promoters of micro-regeneration have attempted to distinguish it from conventional urban regeneration by highlighting residents' roles. For example, the pilot projects in Case A were chosen through a combination of bottom-up nomination and top-down designation, where residents were asked to propose their neighbourhoods as candidate sites to the local governments who then passed these intentions of participation to the municipal planning authority to coordinate further programme organisation. Although this approach had innate problems with the viability of public-proposed projects and the real degree of democratic decision-making, it symbolised the inclusion of local communities in the otherwise strictly top-down and imposed urban regeneration agenda. Similarly, in subsequent cases, residents could propose suitable sites, and government and professionals would review proposals, make evaluations and proceed with decisions. Still, the symbolic nature of such practices cannot be dismissed, and the persistent difference between local knowledge and professional judgement often leads professionals to think of the inclusion of too many voices as impractical or counter-effective (interviews with designers, May 2019).

3.2.2 Project Task: From Formal Design Intervention to Informal Open-Ended Daily Activity

Early projects such as Case A featured design tasks predominantly tackled by professionals. As a result, participatory measures such as questionnaire surveys and design review meetings were used by designers to collect information useful for making design decisions. Techniques such as these made the placemaking process more inclusive compared to the conventional formal consultation procedures in community affairs, but this inclusion was still one-directional and reactive as it was aimed at producing a consensual design outcome. As the technicality of design weighed heavily in such cases, inclusive procedures alone might not be enough to encourage active participation as residents considered the design interventions irrelative to them, lacked the experience to understand the project on paper or feared they were not competent enough to voice their suggestions (interviews with designers, various dates, 2019).

As micro-regeneration becomes increasingly open-ended and self-defined, more mundane and easy-to-complete activities are replacing professional-led formal design tasks, which enables micro-regeneration to stimulate more inclusive possibilities. For example, in Case B, locals were given the simple task of planting seeds in their homes or semi-private spaces and inviting ten other neighbours to participate. In this way, not only were community gardens built through incremental and collaborative efforts, but residents were also able to connect with their neighbours

with the help of activities and shared stories. This restoration of social networks proved to be extremely important for morale during the pandemic (interviews with designers and residents, various dates, 2022). Similarly, the exhibition platform in Case C provided venues for residents and other actors involved to showcase their individual projects and manifest how they were contributing to the community with their personal interests. These examples show that micro-regeneration is transitioning from technical design tasks to open-ended and daily placemaking, which in turn accommodates the goals and motivations of more diverse actors and stimulates participant interests, hence making the community regeneration programmes more inclusive.

3.2.3 Role of Facilitator: From Designing a Project to Managing a Platform

The development of micro-regeneration also sees the role of professionals shifting from designers of spatial improvements to facilitators of processes and further to managers of everyday community building. In the early days of micro-regeneration, professionals mostly became involved as participants in design competitions or through direct commission, and their main task was designing the project as technical experts. However, in some Case A projects, designers had started to act as an intermediary more consciously between resident groups, local governments and other stakeholders (interviews with designers, various dates, 2019). As micro-regeneration shifts from formal design interventions to informal, ongoing and open-ended community improvement, professionals also start to assume more diverse responsibilities as facilitators and managers by developing appropriate toolboxes or platforms. For example, CNS in Case B utilised a mobile phone application that allowed daily check-in, measurement of the duration and frequency of the participated events, story sharing and regular communication. In trying to cultivate participation and sharing habits, CNS acted as a facilitator enabling the collective production of the space and autonomous decision-making about the space based on a large subject. Similarly, in Case C, Dayu invested much in facilitation activities such as organising routine meetings and workshops, recruiting volunteers and mediating conflicts. While not conventionally considered a designer's responsibility, these activities help build bonds among stakeholders and stimulate more public interest in joining the scheme. These shifting roles of professionals ultimately help maintain a more inclusive milieu that exists beyond a single one-off design-led project.

3.2.4 Programme Publicity: From Giving Information to Explaining Philosophy

In addition, micro-regeneration practices become more inclusive as strategies for publicity diversify and increasingly appeal to individual interests. Rather than simply issuing an announcement informing people of pending projects and demanding comments, recent micro-regeneration initiatives put greater emphasis on attracting citizen participation and contribution by highlighting the project philosophy and developing a shared value and consensus. For example, in Case D, a programme

advocating for the collective improvement of public spaces in the neighbourhood, the organisers tried to convey to residents the philosophy of 'instead of waiting for the government to implement long-term plans, we can begin with community gardens in which we can all contribute to improving our living environment' (interview with a landscape architect, January 2022). Many residents actively participated exactly because they were convinced by this idea, and they aspired to try if they could indeed transform their own living environment (interviews with residents, March 2022). This case exemplifies that by using an explanatory approach and sharing the project philosophy, micro-regeneration could potentially become more inclusive by resonating with residents on a deeper level and consequently inviting more proactive participation.

3.2.5 External Incentives: From Individual Action to a Sense of Community and Collective Recognition

Finally, micro-regeneration can symbolically and ideologically encourage inclusion by evoking a sense of community and collective ownership. For example, in Case B, CNS used the social media platform to publish information as well as to instil in residents a sense of social identity as members of a larger community with a passion for maintaining public spaces (interview with an urban planner, January 2022). In Cases C and D, the official social media accounts at the community to subdistrict levels published updates on everyday involvements, openly praising the accomplishments of participants and nudging interested but hesitant community members to act. As an example, the personal experience of one local resident in Case D who not only participated in the programme herself but helped her neighbours with questions or confusion was widely circulated, and this motivated more people to join in the action (interviews with residents, November 2021). By displaying the personal experiences of locals, these motivating methods demonstrate that everyone can make positive changes and that they can collectively contribute to improving the neighbourhood's physical and social environment.

Evoking collective ownership also entails the use of incentives to provide extra motivation. The incentive does not have to be substantial monetary gains or promotion to any formal role within community organisations since getting social recognition and affirmation could be effective enough to encourage individuals to take the first step into collective placemaking (interviews with residents and designers, various dates, 2021 and 2022). One community participant in Case B was awarded a 'super active participant' for her outstanding contributions to the Seeding programme. This informal award was enough encouragement for this individual to feel a greater sense of responsibility and to continue her contribution, and what's more, this recognition also encouraged other community members to place more trust in this 'advanced' individual and follow suit (interviews with residents, various dates, 2021).

4 Challenges and Outlook

In Shanghai, the emergence of micro-regeneration cannot be separated from the city's pursuit of the 'Excellent Global City' and 'People's City' status, and the emphasis on participation, co-creation and social governance creates the condition for exploring inclusive placemaking. The preceding discussions on the one hand reveal that the stakeholders' diverse rationales are intertwined with the mechanisms of specific micro-regeneration programmes, producing different results in physical environment upgrades and community building. This complex interplay shows that to make the inclusive methods that push for participatory practices more effective, it is important to consider the internal motivations for proactive participation, which can be very local and context-specific. Simultaneously, a pattern could be discerned that the ongoing micro-regeneration experiments are shifting from informing and inviting citizens to citizens proactively contributing. These coexisting dynamics are reflected in the changes in project initiation, project task, the role of facilitator, programme publicity and external incentives that all stimulate and encourage the re-articulation of the social inclusion discourse in city-making.

Through the case studies, it is possible to identify some effective strategies to make local placemaking more inclusive and spark communities' proactive participation in the process. First, holding design competitions and other community programmes with competitive elements is helpful for soliciting new ideas as well as bringing social capital and resources into the community. It also appeals to the motivations of interested professional and social enterprises, which is beneficial since inclusive city-making includes the disadvantaged or underrepresented groups and other relevant actors who can help create a more inclusive social milieu. Second, inclusive placemaking should go beyond formal spatial interventions and draw on the advantages of informal, open-ended actions. This shift from reactive participation to proactive participation could maximise the mix of external motivation and self-motivation that pull people to actively participate in public affairs. Third, the use of digital platforms and other forms of technical support within micro-regeneration strategies should be further explored. Circulation of stories and progresses on these platforms is not only simply disseminating information but also creating a sense of involvement and ownership, which have also proven useful for easing individuals into participation in community-related actions. Last but not least, facilitators play a crucial role in inclusive placemaking by setting out rules, developing appropriate toolboxes and platforms and stimulating people's interest and confidence. Rather than dominating the process, they need to work closely with active local community members because the model effect embedded in the local social network cannot be downplayed. Or as Sennett (1992) contends, design professionals should provide people with the opportunity to learn how to outline their own futures rather than doing it for them.

This discussion of inclusive city-making in the context of Shanghai's ongoing micro-regeneration practices still leaves three important questions waiting to be explored. The first concerns where the decision-making power ultimately lies. The case studies show that practices are changing from reactive to proactive

participation, and with the support of improved policies and the facilitation of creative mechanisms, more diverse voices and standpoints have been included in different stages. However, even though communities have some ability to influence the direction of development or the details of design, there are still things that are not open for public debate such as local development policies and regulatory plans. Beyond the micro-regeneration phenomenon, many studies conclude that participation and inclusion in the Chinese context are still mostly consultation rather than real decision-making (Samara, 2015), and main stakeholders' rights and responsibilities remain unchanged (Xu & Lin, 2018). What needs to be further explored is how to make the decision-making process truly more inclusive by rebalancing the existing power dynamics in urban development.

The second question is how to balance the pattern book and the case-by-case approaches to inclusive placemaking. The case studies reveal the decision-makers' intention to use model projects to create a pattern book of exemplary micro-regeneration practices to be promoted more widely. This approach has indeed been successful in popularising the idea of micro-regeneration and persuading local stakeholders to adopt well-tested design methods. But the general good principles and intentions do not necessarily fit into specific local conditions. The useful tactics identified earlier work in the analysed cases, but their applicability in other conditions, with different local aspirations and development needs, is questionable. What remains to be explored is how to harness the context-specific attitudes, intentions and deployable resources and to design inclusive mechanisms that respond to specific local situations.

The final question is how to make inclusive placemaking a sustainable long-term process rather than a one-off project limited by specific facilitators, funding cycles and other restraints. Fundamentally, in the increasingly diverse and contentious urban world, an inclusive city should not be treated as a normative ideal but as a dynamic and open process shaped by the interplay of different motivations, rationales and agendas. Therefore, how to sustainably drive holistic endeavours remains a challenge, since relying on the government and waiting for changes is not a proactive way to contribute to a more inclusive city. This is why this chapter attempts to address the shift from reactive to proactive participation to determine the stimulus and mechanism that might change the existing governance mode, ignite people's passion and increase civic awareness. In order to evaluate the prospect of establishing more sustainable inclusion mechanisms, further research and experiments are needed. Ultimately, an inclusive city should be treated as a dynamic, open process rather than a normative ideal, and both reactive and proactive inclusion and participation mechanisms are needed in inclusive placemaking for urban actors as agents with both external connections to diverse urban processes and internal perceptions and judgments. Thus, inclusion should not remain a one-time endeavour, but need to become a long-term mechanism for more sustainable inclusion.

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