

# CREATING A SUCCESSFUL NEW CITY DEVELOPMENT WITHIN A CITY CLUSTER

GLOBAL KNOWLEDGE AND INSIGHTS FOR XIONG'AN  
IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

*Gloria P. Gerilla-Teknomo and Jiawen Yang*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| ADB             | Asian Development Bank                              |
| CFLD            | China Fortune Land Development Co., Ltd.            |
| COVID-19        | coronavirus disease                                 |
| ICT             | information and communication technology            |
| KETDZ           | Kunshan Economic and Technological Development Zone |
| km              | kilometer   |
| km <sup>2</sup> | square kilometer                                    |
| NTDCs           | New Town Development Corporations                   |
| PPP             | public–private partnership                          |
| PRC             | People’s Republic of China                          |
| ROK             | Republic of Korea                                   |
| SWOT            | strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats   |
| UK              | United Kingdom                                      |
| US              | United States                                       |

## ABSTRACT

Traditional cities grow over time, spreading and sprawling as their populations expand, but each of the new cities analyzed in this study was built or is still being built for a specific purpose. To determine the factors that contributed to their success or failure, this paper has studied 16 major new city developments in the world. Based on the studied cities, there are several factors that all new city developers have to give importance to. The presence of anchor institutions and transport infrastructure, strong national and local government policies, and business models with private sector participation can jump-start and sustain new city development. These factors were analyzed to synthesize useful knowledge and draw insights that the Xiong'an New Area and other new city developments in the world can learn from to better achieve their growth objectives.

*JEL Classification:* O18, R11, R14

*Keywords:* new city development; new town, city cluster; sustainable cities; Xiong'an New Area



# I. INTRODUCTION

Since the year 2000, more than 40 countries in various parts of the world have built hundreds of new cities.<sup>1</sup> More new cities are being planned and developed, with the United Nations now estimating that no less than 60% of the world's population will be living in cities by 2030.<sup>2</sup>

Cities of long standing are now getting typically too crowded for comfort, thus becoming uncompetitive or increasingly unable to attract and generate new economic activity. New cities within a comfortable distance from densely populated urban centers are rising at a fast pace to become new magnets for commercial, industrial, and housing development. The better planned and better managed of these new cities are expected to grow at a fast clip and, within a few decades, are likely to catch up or even surpass the dynamism of the well-established city centers adjoining or near them.

This research study has looked into several of these new city developments to figure out the key influential factors that have shaped or are shaping their growth and competitiveness in the commercial, industrial, and residential aspects. The primary purpose of the study is to produce useful insights for maximizing the potential of the Xiong'an New Area (Xiong'an) to the fullest, a goal that largely shaped the research approach employed in this study.

Xiong'an is a new city development that started in the People's Republic of China (PRC) in April 2017 to serve as an important hub for the bustling Beijing–Tianjin–Hebei regional cluster. It is envisioned as a new special economic and development zone that would transform a largely agricultural and low-technology manufacturing region into a high-tech and green metropolis. As such, it is being developed to attract both international and national resources to set up advanced technology research centers in Xiong'an for incubating future technological innovation.

To help Xiong'an chart a realistic development strategy, this study has identified and analyzed the approaches of six representative new city developments in the PRC and 10 in four countries: Japan, 4; the Republic of Korea (ROK), 1; the United Kingdom (UK), 1; and the United States (US), 4.

Section II of this report describes how the new city developments in various countries were selected for this comparative study.

Section III presents the methodology and assessment in determining the key influential factors for a successful new city development.

Section IV provides case studies for the top five new city developments.

Section V analyzes the effect of these key influential factors on the new city developments that were selected for this comparative study.

Section VI suggests some important inputs and insights for Xiong'an to consider in its own city development efforts.

Section VII concludes this working paper.

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<sup>1</sup> W. Shepard. 2018. 5 New Cities that are set to shake up the future. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/wadeshepard/2018/03/29/5-new-cities-that-are-set-to-shake-up-the-future-for-better-or-worse/?sh=688c7efe7250>. Accessed in May 2020.

<sup>2</sup> United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2018). The World's Cities in 2018—Data Booklet (ST/ESA/SER.A/417). [https://www.un.org/en/events/citiesday/assets/pdf/the\\_worlds\\_cities\\_in\\_2018\\_data\\_booklet.pdf](https://www.un.org/en/events/citiesday/assets/pdf/the_worlds_cities_in_2018_data_booklet.pdf).

## II. SELECTION OF THE NEW CITY DEVELOPMENTS FOR THIS STUDY

The term “city” suggests very different geographic entities. It could refer to an urban area with or without a specific city government, or to a city government-administered territory that is mostly rural but with a primarily urbanized central part (Qin 2014). When “city” is used in the term “new city development,” it refers more to a projected development outcome than to its current status. The cities that have been selected for this study, therefore, may be not cities in the strict sense, so they often name and consider themselves as a cooperative zone, an industrial park, or some such area. In the case of Xiong’an, it calls itself Xiong’an New Area.

A total of 17 cities in various countries, including Xiong’an, were selected for this study based on the following primary criteria: (i) its creation and development as a new city was under the impetus and strong influence of one or more established cities within the same city cluster, and (ii) its new city development area is mostly self-administered.

Table 1 lists the selected new city developments by country, and then sorts them based on the similarity of their geographic position and attributes to Xiong’an’s. For being comparable to the location of Xiong’an in relation to Beijing, new city developments in Japan, the UK, and the US were selected for their nearness to their respective national capitals. In the PRC, the new city developments in the three megaregions of Beijing–Tianjin–Hebei, Yangtze River Delta, and Pearl River Delta were selected based on their respective geographical proximities to a well-established city.

**Table 1. List of the 17 New City Developments Selected for This Study**

| No. | Name  | Country | Location                     | Year Established | Leading Actor                   | Development Goal  |
|-----|---|---------|------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| 1.  | Xiong’an New Area                                   | PRC     | 130 km southwest of Beijing  | 2017             | Central government              | To receive relocated activities from Beijing                |
| 2.  | Shenzhen  | PRC     | Adjacent to Hong Kong, China | 1980             | Central government              | A model city for reform and development                     |
| 3.  | Zhuhai  | PRC     | Adjacent to Macau, China     | 1980             | Central government              | A model city for reform and development                     |
| 4.  | Shenzhen–Shanwei Collaboration Zone                 | PRC     | 100 km east of Shenzhen      | 2011             | Partnership of local government | A new industrial zone for regional coordinated development  |
| 5.  | Pingdi–Xinxu–Qingxi Cooperative Zone                | PRC     | 70 km northeast of Shenzhen  | 2010             | Partnership of local government | An industrial zone for three city collaboration             |
| 6.  | Kunshan Economic and Technological Development Zone | PRC     | 50 km west of Shanghai       | 1985             | Local government                | To promote industrialization                                |
| 7.  | Gu’an New Industry City                             | PRC     | 50 km south of Beijing       | 2002             | Private developer               | A new zone of high-quality livability and industrial growth |
| 8.  | Science City of Tsukuba                             | Japan   | 60 km northeast of Tokyo     | 1963             | Central government              | To upgrade Japan’s industries                               |
| 9.  | Tama New Town                                       | Japan   | 30 km west of Tokyo          | 1965             | Central government              | To supply housing for Tokyo                                 |

*continued on next page*

Table 1 *continued*

| No. | Name           | Country           | Location                          | Year Established | Leading Actor      | Development Goal   |
|-----|----------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|--|
| 10. | Chiba New Town | Japan             | 40 km east of Tokyo               | 1966             | Local government   | To supply housing for Tokyo                                |
| 11. | Senri New Town | Japan             | 15 km north of Osaka              | 1960             | Local government   | Housing supply for Osaka region                            |
| 12. | Sejong         | Republic of Korea | 120 km south of Seoul             | 2007             | Central government | To receive relocated government activities                 |
| 13. | Milton Keynes  | United Kingdom    | 80 km northwest of London         | 1967             | Central government | A new city to receive industries and residents from London |
| 14. | Irvine         | United States     | 60 km southeast of Los Angeles    | 1959             | Private developer  | To build a comprehensive new city                          |
| 15. | Radburn        | United States     | 30 km northwest of New York       | 1924             | Private developer  | A suburban city following garden city concept              |
| 16. | Reston         | United States     | 35 km west of Washington, DC      | 1964             | Private developer  | A suburban new city  |
| 17. | Columbia       | United States     | 50 km northeast of Washington, DC | 1965             | Private developer  | A suburban new city  |

km = kilometer.

Source: Asian Development Bank.

The new cities in Table 1 differ in their development purpose and development strategies. Some of them, like Tama, Milton Keynes, and Xiong'an, are planned to receive relocated activities from pre-established cities, while others like Irvine (Forsyth 2002b) were, from the very beginning, planned to grow into self-dependent cities.

Many of them, particularly those in US suburban cities, started as bedroom communities.<sup>3</sup> Others have a mission to promote high-tech industries, like Tsukuba in Japan (Lin 1997).

Most of these new cities mainly have an economic development objective or serve an administrative function. In the case of Sejong in the ROK, in particular, it was initially planned to receive all central government units that were to be relocated from Seoul (Kwon 2015).

<sup>3</sup> Bedroom communities are populated areas that are primarily residential, rather than commercial or industrial. Residents commute to work in another city or town.

### III. METHODOLOGY AND ASSESSMENT

The two major analysis questions which were framed to be answered by this study are:

- (i) How successful are these new city developments?
- (ii) What key factors, whether natural, technical, political, and/or institutional, have been considered most influential in the development of each of these cities?

No universal definition of success was assumed for evaluating these new city developments because each of them was created for different or unique objectives. Thus, the study deemed it methodically useful to rate the success or failure of each of them against their planned goals.

The study adopted, as a common success measure, the city's development outcome against its own expectations. Three ratings were used: *positive*, *negative*, or *mixed*.

Eleven of the new city developments received a *positive* rating, a rating that should not be necessarily taken to suggest that they are better than other cities, but that they appeared to have met the planned target.

Two of them received a *negative* rating. This is because they clearly fell behind their own planned goals either because of slow pace of development or of having set unrealistic development targets to begin with.

Two of them received a *mixed* rating. This is because they may appear to have performed well in a certain aspect or aspects, but have fallen short in one or some of them.

A few of the new city developments were not given any rating yet, as they are still in too early a stage to draw a conclusion.

Table 2 shows how each of the new city developments rated in this study.

The elements that made each new city development achieve its primary goals were studied in detail. Its potential for continuing success was measured in terms of the existence of evident conditions that could help it perform the following four tasks:

- (i) maximize its strengths,
- (ii) overcome its perceived weaknesses,
- (iii) pursue and explore external opportunities, and
- (iv) effectively contend with external threats.

Most of new city developments that were taken up in this study have been documented in previous studies. Their success or underperformance was assessed from various perspectives by the mass media or social media, as well as by recent urban development literature.

To identify and measure the key factors in the new city development's success, this study applied a simplified approach using the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats (SWOT) framework. The SWOT is a widely used strategic planning tool (Dess 2018) that can help organizations systematically identify their strengths (S), weaknesses (W), and opportunities (O) as well as deal with threats (T)

**Table 2: Rating of Each of the 17 New Cities Based on Their Development Outcomes**

| <b>New City Development</b>                         | <b>Rating</b>   |
|---|-----------------|
| Xiong'an  | Not available   |
| Shenzhen  | <i>Positive</i> |
| Zhuhai  | <i>Mixed</i>    |
| Shenzhen–Shanwei Collaboration Zone                 | Not available   |
| Pingdi–Xinxu–Qingxi Cooperative Zone                | <i>Negative</i> |
| Kunshan Economic and Technological Development Zone | <i>Positive</i> |
| Gu'an New Industry City                             | <i>Positive</i> |
| Science City of Tsukuba                             | <i>Positive</i> |
| Tama New Town                                       | <i>Positive</i> |
| Chiba New Town                                      | <i>Positive</i> |
| Senri New Town                                      | <i>Mixed</i>    |
| Sejong  | <i>Negative</i> |
| Milton Keynes                                       | <i>Positive</i> |
| Irvine  | <i>Positive</i> |
| Radburn   | <i>Positive</i> |
| Reston  | <i>Positive</i> |
| Columbia  | <i>Positive</i> |

Source: Asian Development Bank.

posed by business competition or similarly planned projects. On top of these capabilities, the SWOT can also be used to effectively evaluate the strategic position of a city based on its geography and competitive environment.

Using the SWOT framework, the study assessed each of the new city developments by posing the following questions:

- (i) Did it use good city planning procedures and practices for creating and introducing a new city?
- (ii) Did it enjoy generous support from the central government or higher entity, such as investment or expenditure, favorable tax policies, or other resource-mobilizing action?
- (iii) Did it have a local government of its own capable of coming up and implementing policies to attract businesses and new residents?
- (iv) Did it have a capable local governance structure to make it effectively contend with competition and external threats?
- (v) Does its locality have a supportive environment to get the private sector interested and to participate in its development?

Table 3 presents the outcomes of the SWOT analysis.

After the SWOT assessment, key influential factors were identified based on the recurring themes in the SWOT. Content analysis of the literature and the SWOT to identify, tag, and cluster the key recurring themes were used. These themes were (i) planning practice, (ii) policies, (iii) private sector participation, (iv) governing institutions, and (v) natural endowment.

**Table 3. Results of the SWOT Analysis of Each of the 17 New City Developments**

| New City Development                                | Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats (SWOT)                     |   |   |   |
|---|--|---|---|---|
|   | Internal Strength  | Internal Weakness   | External Opportunities  | External Threats  |
| Xiong'an  | Low population and building density; high land availability                  | Relatively long distance to Beijing   | Activity relocation from Beijing  | Beijing's agglomeration effect  |
| Shenzhen  | Adjacent to Hong Kong, China   | Mountainous   | Special economic zone; local legislative power and foreign direct investment              | Unstable international political environment; lack of trust in new market economy |
| Zhuhai  | Adjacent to Macau, China   | Unsteady development strategy   | Special economic zone; local legislative power and foreign direct investment              | Competition with neighboring cities   |
| Shenzhen–Shanwei Collaboration Zone                 | Low population and building density; high land availability                  | Relatively long distance to Shenzhen  | Relocation of Shenzhen's manufacturer   | Competition from other cities   |
| Pingdi–Xinxu–Qingxi Cooperative Zone                | Low population and building density; high land availability                  | Fragmented government; lack of substantive communication and cooperation                      | Relocation of Shenzhen's business   | Competition from other development zones in the same region                       |
| Kunshan Economic and Technological Development Zone | Adjacent to Shanghai; service-oriented local government                      | Weak pre-existing industry sector   | Manufacturing relocation from Shanghai; development and opening of Pudong, Shanghai       | No special support from higher-level governments                                  |
| Gu'an New Industry City                             | Adjacent to Beijing; strong public–private partnership                       | Narrow industrial base  | Relocation of Beijing's manufacturers   | Competition with neighbor cities  |
| Science City of Tsukuba                             | Responsive local strategies  | Weak private sector and market players in the early years; delayed infrastructure development | The first science city in Japan; legal support and investment from the central government | Stagflation in Japan  |
| Tama New Town                                       | Tight coupling of new city development and rail transit                      | Weak local government and private sector  | Relocated activities from Tokyo   | Change of regional economy and political environment                              |
| Chiba New Town                                      | Tight coupling of new city development and rail transit                      | –   | Relocated activities from Tokyo   | Slowdown of overall economic growth   |
| Senri New Town                                      | High planning standard; integration of new city development and rail transit | Aging population  | Relocated activities from Osaka   | Slowdown of overall economic growth   |
| Sejong  | Geometric center of the Republic of Korea                                    | Lack of master planning; lagging public services  | Crowded Seoul   | Interest groups against capital relocation  |

*continued on next page*

Table 3 *continued*

| New City Development | Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats (SWOT)           |                   |  |                                   |
|----------------------|--|-------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
|                      | Internal Strength  | Internal Weakness | External Opportunities   | External Threats                  |
| Milton Keynes        | Active participation of the local government and private companies |                   | Strong support from the Government of the United Kingdom; compulsory land expropriation; manufacturing/resident relocation | Competition from other new cities |
| Irvine               | Unique natural environment; top-down master plan                   |                   | California's economic growth   | Economic downturn                 |
| Radburn              | New urban design; Radburn Principle                                |                   | Suburbanization  | Economic downturn                 |
| Reston               | Residential planned community zoning                               |                   | Suburbanization; legal support from the central government   | Economic downturn                 |
| Columbia             | Active participation of the private company                        | Gentrification    | Regulation changes of federal government   | Economic downturn                 |

Source: Asian Development Bank

Planning practice mainly includes availability of transportation and/or transport plans, master plans, and services. The term “policies” refers to government measures pursued without the force of law, including policies from both the local government and the central government. Typical policies include tax reduction and exemption for new businesses or high-tech companies, and subsidies for housing.

The term “governing institution” refers to the legal and organizational capacity of the governing body of the new city. Governing institution varies among new cities.

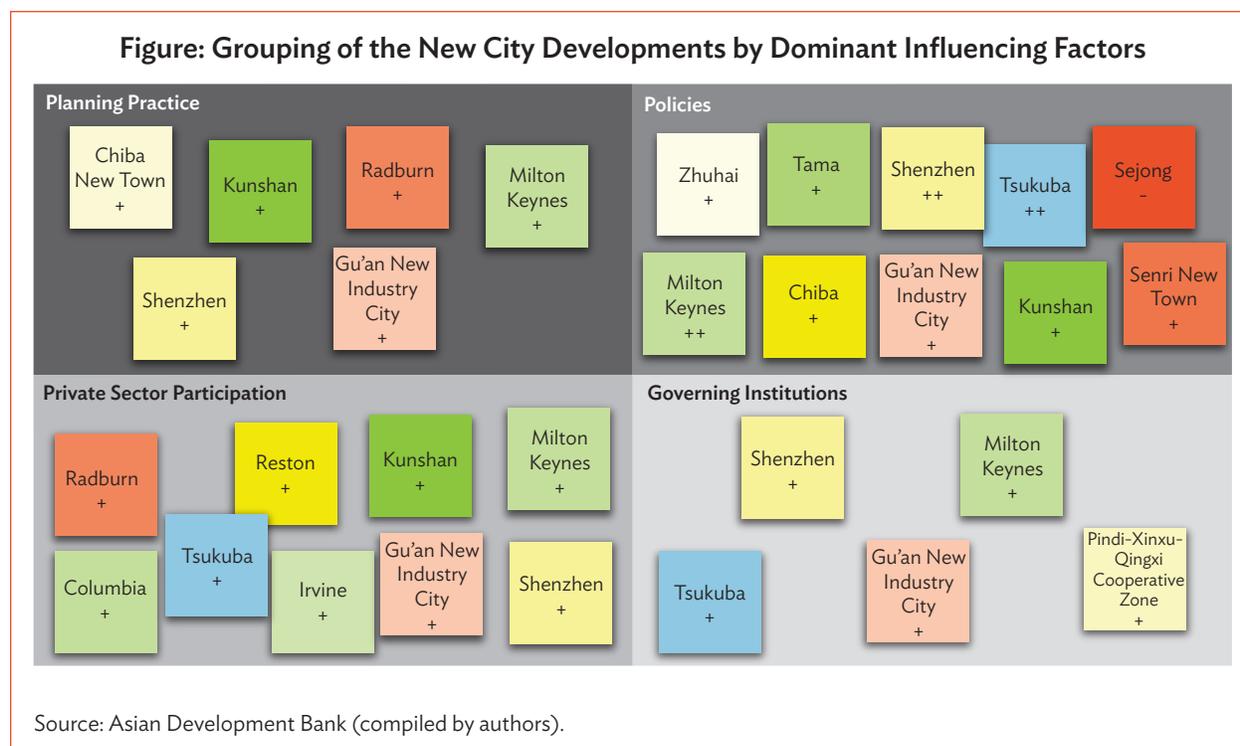
The last theme is natural endowment where the landscape and presence of natural features, such as a lake or mountain, may attract residents to the new development.

When the ratings from Table 2 were combined with the results of the SWOT analysis, the top five cities that garnered the highest positive ratings were

- (i) Shenzhen,
- (ii) Science City of Tsukuba,
- (iii) Kunshan,
- (iv) Milton Keynes, and
- (v) Gu’an.

Each of these five cities has achieved its development goal and possesses all the necessary ingredients for a successful development. For this reason, the characteristics and performance to date of these five new city developments form the main bases for the recommendations that this study is proposing for Xiong’an.

The dominant factors influencing each of the new city developments are identified and visually presented in the figure.



## IV. CASE STUDIES OF THE TOP FIVE NEW CITY DEVELOPMENTS

What follows are the profiles, histories, and descriptions of the top five new city developments that garnered the highest positive ratings in the SWOT analysis:

### A. Shenzhen (People's Republic of China)

The rise of Shenzhen from rural county to megacity within a span of only 40 years epitomizes the success of the PRC's reform initiatives and policies in opening up new city developments. In 1979, the rural county of Bao'an that was Shenzhen's predecessor had a population of only 314,000. The Guangdong Provincial Government led by Xi Zhongxun then proposed Shenzhen as a new economic zone. The following year, the PRC's central government approved the establishment of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, incorporating with the zone the cities of Zhuhai, Xiamen, and Shantou (Shi 2007).

Today, Shenzhen is one of the top four cities in the PRC. It has a population of more than 13 million on a land area of less than 20% of Beijing's and Shanghai's, but with a gross domestic product of CNY2.77 trillion comparable to theirs. Therefore, Shenzhen has become a role model for other cities in the PRC that aspire to further develop economically and grow.

Shenzhen's development embodies the impact of the PRC's increasing departures from its pre-existing planned economy. In the 1980s and 1990s, many entrepreneurs from Hong Kong, China came to Shenzhen to put up and operate their manufacturing plants. The cheap land and low salary levels have enabled many businesses in Hong Kong, China to compete in the international market with a decisive price edge. As the magnitude of its manufacturing activities grew, migrants from all over the PRC moved to Shenzhen for better-paying jobs.

Manufacturing equipment were imported into Shenzhen along with new market economy ideas and market-oriented innovations in business management and technology (Gao 1995). Shenzhen produced goods not only for international trade but for the domestic market as well. As the goods produced in Shenzhen began to be distributed throughout the PRC, governments of other localities in the country put up contacting offices in Shenzhen to explore business opportunities there. Major state-owned enterprises likewise set up branches in Shenzhen (Zhu 1996).

The biggest drawback to Shenzhen's development in its early years was the absence of a legal framework and institutions to enable its market economy to flourish more quickly. With his famous speech in 1992, the then PRC paramount leader Deng Xiaoping highly praised Shenzhen's remarkable achievement as a new city. The Shenzhen City Government was then granted legislative power that year, enabling the new economic zone to pass laws to protect the private sector and foreign investments in the meantime that the national law still had no pertinent provisions for such protection (Wang 2019a).

On this basis, Shenzhen's local legislature was empowered to independently create new laws and regulations to meet its needs as a new city development (Li 2011). This special and unique power that was granted to Shenzhen greatly hastened its development, and allowed it to reintroduce land markets and housing markets, create modern corporations within its zone, reform state-owned enterprises, spur the development of high-tech industries, and even regenerate its urban centers on its own in the present day (Wang 2019a).

## **B. Science City of Tsukuba (Japan)**

The development of Tsukuba as a new city started in 1963 as a response of the Government of Japan to the nation's economic crisis that had seriously dampened investment momentum. There was a shift in the focus of national economic development from trade to technology, in the early stage of which the central government positioned Tsukuba as the first science city in Japan with the goal of helping upgrade domestic industries.

In 1973, Tsukuba University was established. Twelve years later, after Japan held its International Exposition of Science and Technology, Tsukuba started to get more investments as a new urban development with the putting up of various modern infrastructure and a well-developed regional transportation network. By 2013, the Tsukuba Science City already had some 20,000 researchers and about 140 research institutions and universities. This made Tsukuba one of the few decidedly high-tech research and development centers and cutting-edge talent training centers in the world (Wei 2019).

The success of Tsukuba's development in its first 2 decades was made possible with strong external support from the central government. Its sustained growth as a new city development is the result of the local strategies that Tsukuba adopted in later years that proved highly responsive to its changing circumstances.

The central government pursued a truly top-down approach to new city development for Tsukuba and it had three distinctive aspects.

First, a national law was enacted in 1970 that legalized the central government's general support for Tsukuba's development (Zhong 2001). Put fully in charge of the construction and management of Tsukuba was the Academic New Town Construction Promotion Headquarters that was established under the Prime Minister's Office in 1964. It formulated the Basic Principles for Planning the Construction of Tsukuba Science City based on the national law, in contrast to its counterpart management headquarters for other science city projects that were typically under local government supervision (Shi 2019).

Second, the central government actively helped to move many of its institutions and instrumentalities to Tsukuba. Thus, for more than 30 years after 1963, Tsukuba accumulated up to ¥2.5 trillion of government investment. On top of this, since the late 1980s, Tsukuba has become home to 30% of national research institutions and 40% of researchers in Japan (Wei 2019). The central government also gave corporate tax reductions and exemptions as well as guaranteed start-up funding for new companies.

Third, the central government spurred Tsukuba's development by providing much-needed help in funding rail transit, expressways, and other transportation services. In the 1980s, new expressways were already facilitating trips between Tokyo and Tsukuba. The express bus service thus provided fast and reliable transport until 2005, when the Tsukuba Express rail service started and further reduced travel time between Tsukuba and Tokyo from 2 hours to only 45 minutes (Cen 2014).

This top-down approach was remarkably effective in the first decade of Tsukuba's development, but the central government's strong hand had two adverse impacts: the private sector and the market players became ineffectual in their roles and Tsukuba's production efficiency went down disappointingly. The input-output ratio was as high as 3.3:1, and the collaboration between the business sector and the research sector fell way below expectations for a new city anchored on the use of science to greatly promote economic development (Cao 2014).

In view of this, two decades into Tsukuba's development, the central government changed course in its overall strategy and started to encourage greater participation among market players (Yu 2019). With the goal of "promoting research cooperation between industries, research institutes and universities," the central government made efforts to create an environment that integrates scientific research and product development (Qiu 2019).

The central government further extended its support to the new city development with the following initiatives:

- (i) Established a Tsukuba Science City foreign exchange program to attract researchers and research institutions from other countries. An outcome of this initiative was that, not long after the program was offered, an estimated 3,000 foreign students and researchers from 90 countries lived in Tsukuba on an average day (Dearing 2020).
- (ii) Allowed the local government to lower Tsukuba's tax rates to encourage private sector investment. To promote this campaign, the Tsukuba Research Assistance Center Inc. was created as a public-private partnership (PPP) participated in by the prefectural government, the local banks, and private companies (Shin 2002). It aimed to foster a more active relationship between scientists and local entrepreneurs and to assist in spin-off activities from the government research institutions located in Tsukuba.
- (iii) Exerted efforts to improve the livability of Tsukuba as a new city by making it more responsive to the needs of its growing populace. Tsukuba's initial public sector investments had focused too strongly on physical infrastructure and overlooked putting up adequate facilities for retail outlets, entertainment, and leisure activities. As the city did not have enough shopping centers and theaters in the 1970s, researchers who moved their families to Tsukuba found it extremely difficult to maintain their pre-existing lifestyles. It was likewise terribly inconvenient to do grocery shopping, dine out, and dispose of garbage.
- (iv) To address these glaring inadequacies, Tsukuba created a new city development company in 1973 to promote the putting up of shopping malls and supermarkets. In short order, high-end department stores, recreational centers, and civic and cultural centers opened and greatly enriched city life in Tsukuba.

A major turning point that made Tsukuba truly a more workable and livable place was the International Exposition of Science and Technology that it held in 1985. This was preceded by very generous spending by the local government on environmental improvement and infrastructure construction (Cityif 2020). Today's Tsukuba truly has become an ideal city for hardworking scientists to enjoy a relaxing and convenient life.

### **C. Kunshan Economic and Technological Development Zone (People's Republic of China)**

Among the top 100 counties and county-level cities of the PRC, Kunshan rose to first place in 2004 and has stayed among the top listers ever since. The Kunshan government was the first ever in the PRC to successfully build an economic and technological development zone at its own expense, as a result of which Kunshan got upgraded to provincial level and further to the national level just a few years later (Xu 2003). Kunshan's extraordinary achievements attracted attention from academics and the media alike, both of which admirably started dubbing its development trajectory as the "Kunshan Road."

In the 1980s, when Kunshan began to move along a new development path, it did not receive any special support from higher-level governments. But its local government leaders had a very strong resolve to seize the development opportunities that stemmed from the relocation of Shanghai's manufacturing industry and later the development of the Pudong New Area in Shanghai.

In the beginning, Kunshan was a typical agricultural county with a weak industry sector and very limited government revenues. But Kunshan had the built-in advantages of low land prices, a relatively well-educated labor force, a convenient transportation system, and—above all other advantages—proximity to Shanghai. These advantages enabled Kunshan to seize the unique opportunity that presented itself to the county in the mid-1980s.

At that point, many polluting manufacturing plants were eager to move out of Shanghai at the same time that manufacturing plants that had moved out of Shanghai to remote inner parts of the PRC in the 1960s wanted to move back, but were finding it extremely difficult to resettle there. For these returning manufacturing plants, the Kunshan local government decided to open a new industrial zone right outside Shanghai in 1985, offering them suitable locations for their manufacturing plants and enticing them to relocate to an area on the old city's east side along with great incentives and highly favorable local policies (Xu 2003). That relocation area was named Kunshan Economic and Technological Development Zone (KETDZ) in 1988.

New growth opportunities presented themselves to Kunshan in 1990 when the State Council announced the development and opening up of the Pudong New Area in Shanghai. By this time, Kunshan's economic success in previous years and its proximity to Shanghai had given the local government great bargaining power and support from the higher-level governments (Kong and Yang 2013). With these strengths in its favor, the KETDZ quickly got official approval from the provincial government in 1991 and from the central government in 1992 (Xu 2003). This development opened the door for Kunshan to attract even more foreign direct investments.

Three key aspects distinguished Kunshan's bottom-up approach to the new city development experience:

- (i) The Kunshan government redefined the role of government in local economic development. Instead of viewing themselves as the commander of local affairs, the local leaders emphasized the ultimate importance of truly serving the business communities.

The local government created an electronic tracking system, making the government administration process truly transparent to the public.

Performance of government departments and employees started to be reviewed based on feedback from business owners and potential investors (Xu 2003).

- (ii) The Kunshan local government pursued a strategy that diversified the industry base. Under the county government's leadership, the 15 towns within Kunshan agreed to move in slightly different directions so they can better serve businesses of different categories.

As a result, an export zone and a number of specialized industrial parks were created. This diversification and specialization strategy enabled Kunshan to host enterprises of different types and sizes (Zhang 2006). In a time of economic downturn, this diversification proved important in maintaining Kunshan's local resiliency (Lin 1997).

- (iii) The Kunshan local government continually encourages innovation to move forward its vision to modernize its industry. Over the years, Kunshan has gradually moved away from merely attracting relocated businesses, giving great emphasis to technology transfer and industrial upgrading.

Knowing the importance of attracting and retaining a labor force of high quality, the Kunshan government has paid great attention to improving its labor force training as well as the city's urban infrastructure, social facilities, and ecological environment.

Its geographic location has much to do with Kunshan's success as a new city development, but beyond this, many more aspects were involved, particularly the tremendous efforts of the local government to make it happen.

For example, to facilitate the move of the very first foreign company to Kunshan, its local government officials took the trouble of taking hundreds of trips to Beijing, Shanghai, and Suzhou to persuade the relevant government units to authorize the foreign company's move.

Owing to the indefatigable efforts of its local officials, Kunshan's economy is now very well integrated with the Shanghai region. Every day some 200 high-speed trains travel between the two cities. The PRC's very first multi-city metro line, the urban rail service between Kunshan and Shanghai will be further extended by 2023 to Kunshan's outskirts and within itself.

To ensure their new city's success, Kunshan's leaders and government employees are truly willing to serve. They are good learners, open to new ideas, and ever ready to embrace new opportunities (Xu 2003). The Kunshan experience thus stands as a role model for a bottom-up approach to urbanization and industrialization in the PRC.

#### **D. Milton Keynes (United Kingdom)**

Located between the two largest cities in the UK, Milton Keynes is 80 kilometers (km) southeast of London and 100 km northwest of Birmingham. Nearby are the university cities of Oxford and Cambridge. There are about 8 million people residing or working within an hour's drive from Milton Keynes as center (Shi 2006).

Despite some nuanced criticism against Milton Keynes as a new city development, it is considered the largest and the most successful new city in the UK in the last century. It has become a model for the construction of new cities in the UK and even the world after nearly 50 years of development.

The planning of Milton Keynes began in 1967 and its construction started in 1971. The Greater London Council worked out the Greater London Development Plan In the 1960s, making three medium-sized new cities—Milton Keynes was one of them—along three main radial expressways as anti-magnetic

centers to relieve central London of its growing population and economic pressures. It was successful in promoting economic growth and population agglomeration (Chen 2017a).

The industrial structure of Milton Keynes changed significantly. In the 21st century, however, Manufacturing went down and producer services went up with the overall proportion reaching one third (Chen 2017a). After the financial crisis in 2008, Milton Keynes had to adjust its economic growth strategies, actively promoting and developing knowledge-intensive industries and high-tech industrial clusters instead. Its population of only 40,000 in 1967 had reached almost 230,000 in the 2011 census (Shi, Wang, and Zhou 2006).

The success of Milton Keynes was attributed to the central government's full support in promoting the rapid growth of the new city development through compulsory land expropriation and by establishing a specialized development company to provide financial support. The local government and private companies actively participated in the new city's construction by forming a model of government support and market operation.

According to British tradition, the construction of new cities should be a matter solely for the local governments to undertake. In this particular case, however, the local governments were not in a position to pursue such huge projects on their own. Therefore, the Government of the UK had no choice but to get deeply involved in the development effort, drawing funds mainly from the National Treasury. Construction was carried out by a semi-independent development company under the direction of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning (Huang and Ning 2003).

The following were the steps taken by the central government to put in motion the new city development program for Milton Keynes:

- (i) It created the law of compulsory land expropriation and invested in buying land from the farmers. The central government's land acquisition rights enabled the locality to assemble land at a reasonable cost (Peiser 1999, and Huang and Ning 2003).
- (ii) The central government set up the New Town Development Corporations (NTDCs) to take charge of all infrastructure projects, guaranteeing the capital and management of every new town construction.
- (iii) The NTDCs were delegated and organized by the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. The minister presided over a meeting of the leaders of corporations interested in participating in the new city development. Before making a decision, the minister had to consult with other government departments and with the local governments involved. The minister then issued an order to demarcate the land for the construction of the new city.
- (iv) The participating corporations then prepared the land plan and built the necessary infrastructures to make the land usable for urban development. When the new city began to take shape, the local government departments sold the development-ready lots and completed houses to recover their investment in the enterprise (Huang and Ning 2003).
- (v) The central government was responsible for supplying all the development funds needed by the corporations. The corporations submitted reports and bills to the town and country planning minister every year, and then the minister submitted them to the UK Parliament for approval.
- (vi) Every 3–4 years, the minister had to compile a detailed report on the progress of the project and submit it to both houses of the UK Parliament for review before release of further funding. Every construction project must be approved by the town and country planning minister

- (vii) A reasonable profit was expected for the central government's investments in the new city development. Most new city developments in the UK actually declared a net profit every year that resulted in reasonable returns at the end of the 60-year loan period (Huang and Ning 2003).

Compared with the model city initiatives in the US, Milton Keynes' appeared to be more financially successful. However, the approaches to new city development in the UK and the US have been remarkably different. Unlike the siting procedures in the US, the British central government strategically chooses the location of new towns instead of waiting for the advice of developers.

Thus, the support of the central government thus provided Milton Keynes with sufficient financing and the rights for land expropriation, both of which were not provided to the private sector-led new towns in the US (Mattingly and Bloom 2002, and Muniak and Auger 2005). In addition, Milton Keynes enjoyed the benefits of the central government's incentives to encourage companies and government agencies to settle in the new city (Peiser 1999).

In sum, the central government and the private sector have created an effective collaborative framework for developing Milton Keynes as a new city. For the various new city development costs, the central government directly contributed 49%, the local government investment 21%, and private investors the remaining 30%.

Although final decisions remained in the hands of UK's town and country planning minister, the local government was greatly involved in project decisions and management. It must also be pointed out that, in Milton Keynes, many private developers bought land with infrastructures already developed and built by the NTDC (Huang and Ning 2003).

## **E. Gu'an (People's Republic of China)**

Gu'an Industrial Park is located in Gu'an County in Hebei Province, bordering the Xiong'an New Area in the south and Beijing in the north. Before Gu'an was developed as an industrial park, it was a typical agricultural county whose gross domestic product ranked second to last in Hebei Province (Yu 2018). From that low position, Gu'an County and the China Fortune Land Development Co., Ltd. (CFLD) joined hands in 2002 to build a new industrial city. This successfully transformed Gu'an to a livable modern new industry city, with fiscal revenues rising so dramatically that Gu'an now ranks among the very top earners of Hebei Province.

The key factor that drives Gu'an's continuing success is the dynamic PPP that it signed with CFLD in 2002, under which the Gu'an County Government exclusively franchised CFLD for 50 years to perform all development-related tasks (Sang and Shang 2018). Under this arrangement, revenues generated by the development process are divided between the government and CFLD by pre-specified and agreed-on percentages (Yu 2018). This has enabled Gu'an's county government to effectively overcome the barriers of its poor industrial base and lack of infrastructure to jump-start the new development.

Gu'an achieved this goal in two decisive and well-executed stages:

- (i) With CFLD at the promotional helm, Gu'an's industrial city development dramatically attracted as many as 482 new investments by the end of 2014. These investments were for the manufacture of electronic products, auto parts, and various equipment (Guo 2016). The site selection and the design and construction of manufacturing compounds were meticulously executed to ensure a truly livable new industry city.

- (ii) CFLD invested about \$3 billion in infrastructure development, readying all the needed roads and drainage facilities and ensuring adequate supply of potable water, electricity, and gas for industrial, commercial, and residential use. Likewise developed in record time were parks, city squares, exhibition halls, schools, gyms, and hospitals, thus maximizing Gu'an's attractiveness to potential new investments (Guo 2016).

Its masterful handling of the whole development process has made Gu'an one of the fastest-growing counties in Hebei Province. For this reason, the partners in this successful PPP intend to continue and maintain their collaboration. The Gu'an County Government will remain responsible for development planning and urban planning, deciding on development goals, and providing necessary government support to help local businesses thrive and prosper. For its part, CFLD will continue to take charge of specific development tasks such as infrastructure construction and project operation.

For the remarkable success of Gu'an Industrial Park as a new city development, the Hebei Provincial Government upgraded it to provincial industrial park status in 2006. Inspired by Gu'an's success story, its public-private partner CFLD has started similar new city developments at more than 60 localities in the PRC.

## V. FACTORS FOR SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT

Based on the SWOT analysis and the performance ratings of each of the new city developments evaluated in this study, this section will now summarize the key influential factors in their success.

### A. Availability of Anchor Institutions and Transport Infrastructure

To strongly attract not only industrial and commercial businesses but also residential movers, a new city development absolutely must provide excellent anchor institutions such as schools, hospitals, and marketplaces. Connectivity and mobility for the people working or residing in the area should likewise be assured with efficient and comfortable mass transit systems with well-designed and well-maintained highways, railways, and road networks. To help jump-start the new city, the operators of these anchor institutions and transport infrastructure should not only provide necessary services but likewise serve as key employers.

The timing of construction and availability of these infrastructures is of paramount importance. Any underestimation of their construction pace and/or any delay in the availability of their services could irreparably slow down the growth of new cities.

As examples of such drawbacks, the construction of Tsukuba's rail transit in Japan seriously lagged in the early years, resulting in time-consuming traffic and a poor connection with Tokyo (Cen 2014). In Sejong, relocation to its new city development is seriously discouraged and hampered by the fact that the high-speed railway crosses the edge of the city without a stop because the closest station is still 30 km away (Zi'An 2019).

## **B. Strong Central and Local Government Support and Policies**

Strong support by both the central government and local government plays a decisive role in new city development. However, overreliance on central government support may seriously hamper a new city's growth in the event of adverse developments like a major change in the higher-level government leadership. A local government that is building a new city should thus have viable contingency plans to deal with a similar very serious situation.

A prime example is what happened to Sejong in the ROK. Its new city development was primarily conceived and planned to be the seat of all of the central government's administrative functions that would be relocated to Sejong from Seoul (Kwon 2015). However, opponents of this plan brought the case to court and the proponent of Sejong as the new city lost the battle for that major relocation of central government administrative units to Sejong. From then on Sejong lost its momentum, and until today the relocation is only half-done (Wang, Wang, and Cui 2016). Only much later did it dawn on the relocation planners on both the central and local government sides that it would very seriously bloat administration costs to segment central government departments by locating parts of them in two cities more than 100 km apart.

## **C. An Enabling Environment for the Business Sector to Flourish**

Government planning and public sector expenditure are essential to the growth of new cities, but these two elements are far from enough to make a city prosper. A third important dimension is the ability of the private sector to participate, cooperate, and function smoothly in the new city development.

In the US, private developers have led the development of many successful suburban cities. The American experience suggests that new cities could work well even without any targeted support from the higher level government (Forsyth 2002b). However, private sector-led development should always be moderated by the public sector. While the private sector has been beneficial in delivering large-scale land development and infrastructure especially in financially strapped cities, poorly managed, private sector-led development can lead to a weakening of public regulation, and contribute to urban fragmentation and increasing inequality, particularly in access to land and services at the expense of the low-income population.

In the PRC, the new city development stories of Shenzhen and Kunshan illustrate how local institutions, when enabled or empowered by high-level governments or their local governments, could effectively lay down the foundations for the private sector participants to prosper. Shenzhen's outstanding performance as a new city owes in great measure from the active participation of the city's private sector.

In a very real sense, the ability of the Government of the PRC to attract and involve the private sector has set the tone for new city growth. Typical policies for attracting the private sector in new city development are substantial tax reductions and generous tax exemptions for new businesses or high-tech companies.

## **D. The Importance of Proactive and Responsive Governing Institutions**

The capacity of local institutions is critical to the success of a new development as they are the ones that implement the policies and oversee its growth. Local institutions should be proactive and be responsive to the growing needs of the community and they must constantly review and update development strategies. The stories of Shenzhen, Kunshan, and Tsukuba have illustrated how local institutions have adapted and responded to the changing circumstances that led to the growth of these cities.

## E. Natural Endowment Not a Dominating Factor in New City Development

The most prominent natural attribute of an area is often the major attraction for businesses and people to relocate to a new city development. However, this study has determined that this is rarely the case in reality. Although natural endowment is a desirable plus, it is not necessary for the development of a new city. For example, Lake Kasumigaura, the second-largest lake in Japan, is located near Tsukuba, making the situation comparable to the Baiyangdian Lake within Xiong'an. Irvine in California is highly praised for its natural environment (Chen 2017). Still, such natural endowments of a new city development are rarely mentioned in the literature as a leading factor in a new city's success.

## VI. LESSONS FOR XIONG'AN AS A NEW CITY DEVELOPMENT

Xiong'an was developed to support the non-core functions of Beijing by making it a truly modern city—green, intelligent, and livable—that would be strongly competitive while promoting harmonious human environment interaction. Located about 130 km from Beijing and covering three counties in Hebei Province, the Xiong'an new city development has a planned total area of 1,770 square kilometers (km<sup>2</sup>), with the 100 km<sup>2</sup> main urban section as the start-up area. The Xiong'an New Area sits at the center of the triangular area formed by Beijing, Tianjin, and Shijiazhuang. In this area will be situated high-tech industries and advanced research centers, around which will be relocated some administrative departments, logistics bases, and residential housing in Beijing to alleviate the growing population pressures in the capital city.

Within that start-up area, construction of a boot area of 38 km<sup>2</sup> was started in 2019. The following year, the Beijing–Xiong'an intercity high-speed railway was opened with a railway station in Xiong'an and three expressways linking Xiong'an, Beijing, and Tianjin were opened to traffic in May 2021. There are four airports serving the area, the nearest one of which is the Beijing new airport about 100 km away. The rapid progress of Xiong'an's transport connectivity is a bellwether for its continuing growth as a new city.

### A. Business Models for Recouping Investments in New City Development

In the UK, deep involvement by the central government using funds from the national treasury is a major aspect of how Milton Keynes has developed as a new city (Burrows 1987, and Peiser and Chang 1999). Moreover, to significantly reduce the land acquisition cost for the new city, the Government of the UK passed the law of compulsory land expropriation especially for Milton Keynes (Peiser and Chang 1999), then set up the NTDC to take charge of infrastructure projects and land preparation.

Once the development-ready land parcels or the completed real estate properties get sold in the market, the central government would recover its investment cost (Huang and Ning 2003). This model proved to be financially successful for the UK, an experience that suggests that the private sector had played a very important role in Milton Keynes' success as the development cost was proportionately shouldered by the funding participants. Private developers were also allowed to buy development-ready land from the NTDC (Huang and Ning 2003).

A financing model different from Milton Keynes' is being used by Xiong'an. In this model, generally all the enterprises called upon by the Government of the PRC to participate in Xiong'an's development are state-owned. The real estate sector is expected to operate without a true property market. In particular, all housing units in Xiong'an are planned to be public housing, with no private household

ownership allowed. However, today, where private property ownership is already well-entrenched in the PRC, how this arrangement will ultimately affect community building and city development is yet to be known.

In sharp contrast, Gu'an in the PRC has a financing model totally different from Xiong'an's. Gu'an contracted a private corporation, CFLD, to take charge of all local infrastructure development and the relocation of many manufacturing plants from Beijing to Gu'an. The cost and profit-sharing contract between Gu'an government and CFLD is for 50 years.

The fiscal revenues of Gu'an county have grown dramatically, putting it at the forefront of the revenue earners of Hebei Province (Sang and Shang 2018, and Yu 2018). From an agricultural county, it has transformed itself into a livable modern new industrial city.

## **B. Local Institutional Capacity Development for Sustained Growth**

Tsukuba in Japan and Xiong'an in the PRC are similar in many aspects. Both planned to serve their respective national capitals, they were primarily meant to be relocation sites for high-tech industries and related undertakings from Tokyo in the case of Tsukuba and from Beijing in the case of Xiong'an. The growth of these two new city developments was greatly boosted by their respective powerful central governments (Tang 2017).

In the case of Tsukuba's development, two key factors are evident: (i) strong support from the Government of Japan during the first two decades, and (ii) Tsukuba's responsive local strategies to changing circumstances that sustained its growth into what today has become the truly impressive City of Science in Japan (Bloom 1981).

Xiong'an shares Tsukuba's top-down approach. The central government got directly involved in the new city's planning and infrastructure development. It required nudging various institutions to relocate the whole or part of their activities from the national capital to the new city. But Tsukuba's experience suggests that the strong hand of the central government came with this adverse side impact: the private sector and the market players were not sufficiently motivated, and the production efficiency was low (Wang 2019). In addition, the quality of the collaboration between the business sector and the research sector fell below expectations for a new city that claims to use science to promote economic development.

Two decades into Tsukuba's development, the central government changed its course and began to encourage the participation of market players (Qiu 2019 and Yu 2019). To promote research cooperation between industries, research institutes, and universities, the central government attempted to create an environment that integrates scientific research and product development (Dearing 2020). Policies and institutes were created to foster an active relationship between scientists and local entrepreneurs, as well as to assist in the spin-off activities from the government research institutions located in Tsukuba.

Xiong'an may face similar challenges in the near future. While support from the higher-level government is undoubtedly extremely important, that support could diminish and even completely disappear. Thus, it is very important from the very beginning for Xiong'an to have its own road map to developing its local institutional capacity.

### **C. Bottom-Up Approach to Foster Growth**

KETDZ demonstrates how a local government's entrepreneurship can change a sub-ordinary county into a national star. In 2004, Kunshan was ranked no.1 among the PRC's top 100 counties and county-level cities. For more than a decade it has continuously earned that distinction.

When it was jump-starting its technological development zone in the 1980s, however, the Kunshan government received neither funding nor policy favors at all from the central or higher-level government (Xu 2003). Kunshan stands out because of the local government's continuous willingness to innovate its services for the business sector and its proactiveness to attract investments. The Kunshan case has become a leading example of bottom-up development in the PRC's industrialization and urbanization.

While Xiong'an is endowed with unmatched central government support, its ability to cultivate adaptive local institutions and vibrant markets has not been tested yet. In this regard, Xiong'an can learn valuable insights from the Chinese new city development experiences presented in this study.

### **D. Impacts of COVID-19 to New City Developments**

The coronavirus disease (COVID-19) pandemic has drastically changed the quality of life in cities. Health and well-being worldwide have declined, and physical and social interaction have been curtailed because of the pandemic. Creating new city developments which are resilient is important to be able to tackle future pandemics, shocks, and disasters. Physical (anchor institutions and infrastructure) and nonphysical factors (governance, and private sector participation) discussed in the paper are important aspects of resilient urban strategies. Technological approaches such as development of smart infrastructure, and information and communication technologies (ICTs) are significant during this pandemic as mobility restrictions imposed by governments have limited the movement of people. Stark changes in the lifestyles and smart solutions were accelerated to mitigate the impact of COVID-19 such as remote working, tele health consultations, e-commerce, and online learning. Cities which have more advanced ICT infrastructure have coped and thrived during the pandemic including mitigation of the spread of the disease through contact tracing using ICT. The ROK has a robust ICT infrastructure and has developed the COVID-19 Data Platform which is a cloud-based open data hub used to collect, process, analyze, and publish data. The platform has been used to quickly identify the transmission routes that infected patients have visited. The ROK has successfully detected incidents of cluster infection and identified their sources.

Empirical research in Greek cities show that denser neighborhoods are linked to lower well-being during COVID-19 and smaller dwellings are linked to worse health outcomes. The research mentioned that low-income neighborhoods are largely affected (Mouratidis 2022). Policies on urban form for new city developments should take into account provision of spacious dwellings and housing support for vulnerable groups, and open green spaces, and easy access to inclusive, large, well-maintained parks, gardens, and other open public spaces with sufficient nonmotorized transport facilities. Compact neighborhoods where there is provision of multiple, diverse facilities and services at short distances is also significant. Accessible new mobility options are some measures that could ensure and strengthen the capacities of cities to deal with the effects of a public health crisis and improve the health and well-being of their citizens.

The significance of city level governance and local government strategies is also widely recognized in addressing societal challenges during the pandemic. The proactiveness of local government leaders who provided economic support to poor, disadvantaged, and vulnerable groups is essential.

## VII. CONCLUSIONS

New city development is a complicated and dynamic process. Therefore, it is not surprising that the literature of new city planning and urban development is replete with many cases of success and failure. The SWOT framework used in this study is an eminently useful way to qualitatively measure and group together the most important factors for planning the goals and assessing the outcome of every new city development effort.

The pathway to diversified growth of new city developments is underpinned by various driving factors. First, planning and infrastructure decisions have to be made with social and budgetary concerns clearly in mind. Second, municipal services must be adequately supplied to jump-start a new city's development. And third, while a new city's natural endowment is a big plus in some respects, its importance should not be exaggerated.

This study has identified specific top-down and bottom-up approaches that could propel a new city development into becoming a vibrant success. However, both approaches need a masterful interplay of central and local government support to attract and maximize private sector involvement with responsive anchor institutions and proactive municipal departments providing nothing less than superb services.

Because of the effect of COVID-19, new city developments should be planned to be resilient and sustainable to be able to weather the external shocks, future pandemics, and disasters. While Xiong'an New Area is still in the development stage, its current master plan and ICT development are on the right track for it to become a resilient and thriving new city development.

Xiong'an definitely also will need continuing strong central government support and a favorable market environment to succeed in the long term, but it needs to craft and pursue its very own development path, thoughtfully and decisively taking into account the diverse experiences of the highly successful new city developments that are presented in this study.

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## **Creating a Successful New City Development Within a City Cluster**

*Global Knowledge and Insights for Xiong'an in the People's Republic of China*

Since the early 2000s, hundreds of new cities were built in more than 40 countries in various parts of the world. This working paper has studied 16 new city developments to determine the most decisive factors that have contributed to their success or inability to achieve it. The particular interest of this study is to synthesize useful knowledge and draw insights that the Xiong'an New Area in the People's Republic of China can put to use to better achieve its growth objectives.

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