

**Villagers' Life Transformation and Community Governance in China's Land
Expropriation-induced Resettlement Neighborhoods: A Shanghai Case Study**

by

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Author's Declaration

This thesis consists of material all of which I authored or co-authored: see Statement of Contributions included in the thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Statement of Contributions

This thesis follows the conventional monolithic dissertation model. Shuping Zhang initiated the study, conducted literature review, designed and conducted on-site fieldwork (participatory observation, key informant interviews, and door-to-door surveys), performed data analyses, prepared figures and tables, and drafted and revised the thesis.

The major findings in Chapter Four of this thesis were published in the article titled “Villagers’ Acculturation in China’s Land Expropriation-induced Resettlement Neighborhoods: A Shanghai Case” in 2020 (DOI: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2019.10.012) by the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, co-authored with Dr. Zhu Qian. Shuping Zhang is the first author and contributed extensively to the conceptualization and writing process of this article. Dr. Zhu Qian provided constructive feedback on this article.

Abstract

In China, urban lands belong to the state and rural lands belong to village collectives. To meet the demand for land to use in expansive urbanization, the state expropriates rural land from village collectives and offers compensation and resettlement arrangements to the subsequent land-lost villagers. Land expropriation-induced resettlement (LEIR) has transformed villagers' life patterns, from a horizontal and self-sufficient style in spacious village houses to a vertical one depending on market goods and paid services in compact urban neighborhoods. Through a Shanghai case study—combining methods of participatory observations, household surveys, and key informant interviews—this thesis unpacks villagers' cultural dimensional urban integration and the management of that integration by various regulatory actors in LEIR neighborhoods.

Villagers' cultural dimensional urban integration is assessed through acculturation theory—a conceptual approach for interpreting individuals' attitudinal, behavioral, and cognitive inclinations when being exposed to two cultural systems. This study uncovers villagers' stronger inclination toward rural village culture than urban neighborhood culture. Social demographic attributes, pre-resettlement conditions, and post-resettlement situations all affect villagers' urban integration. Villagers who are older, less educated, separated from their children, less exposed to urban life prior to resettlement, and more isolated from urban residents in their new settlements tend to become the most passive participants in integrating to urban environments and society.

The management of villagers' urban integration is discussed from a community governance perspective. The study examines the features and capacity of the existing mechanism and new regulatory coalition in LEIR neighborhoods, specifically related to service provision, regulation enforcement, conflict mediation, and the overall management of villagers' urban integration.

The existing community governance mechanism is demystified through three conceptual narratives. The first narrative, base-level democratization, draws attention to the emergence of civil society and civic engagement in China's urban neighborhoods. This research identifies three areas of challenges experienced by community regulators in leading the construction of civil society in LEIR neighborhoods: (1) limited executive power; (2) staff shortages; and (3) tense relationships with villagers. Meanwhile, villagers' civic engagement has not thrived, largely due to the lack of meaningful and equal channels for their participation. The second narrative, top-down state control, explores the central authority's "state-building" and "institutional embeddedness" in LEIR neighborhoods. Given the involuntary nature of the resettlement, the state-building through Party-construction and ideological absorption barely achieves its full potential in LEIR neighborhoods. The state's institutional embeddedness has also been criticized for its omnipresent paternalism. The third narrative, cultural interpenetration, echoes villagers' life transformation. Despite efforts by neighborhood associations to assist villagers' urban integration, institutional approaches to serving villagers' socio-cultural needs are still very limited.

Through regime theory, this research further underlines the capacity of the new regulatory coalition—the state, local governments, and community regulators—in advancing the existing community governance mechanism and navigating villagers' post-resettlement urban integration. This coalition is sustained by a governing regime that emphasizes strategic networks, resource sharing, long-term collaborations, and co-production. However, the capacity of the regime has been constrained by the coalition's internal instability and its weak connection with the public.

Villagers' cultural embeddedness in urban communities is an incremental process. Base-level community regulators will need continuous institutional guidance and support from the central and local governments to better serve villagers' socio-cultural needs and adaptive resilience.

Acknowledgements

When I was a little girl and running across the bamboo forest in my grandparents' village, I never thought that one day, the village would be demolished to accommodate the country's fast-paced urbanization. The rice paddies are gone. The streams full of loach and crayfish are gone. The bustling markets are gone. My grandparents are getting old and weak. They, along with many other village members, now live in compact government-built urban resettlement apartments.

My journey of undertaking and completing this PhD started from my strong desire to document how China's urbanization has changed the geographical, social, cultural, and political landscapes of its countryside. This heartfelt piece of work reflects my respect and care for China's land-lost villagers, whom I have always found to be generous, honest, hardworking, and cheerful.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Prologue

In China, urban lands belong to the state and rural lands belong to village collectives. To meet the demand for land to use in expansive urbanization, the state expropriates rural land from village collectives and offers compensation and resettlement arrangements to landless villagers. Land expropriation-induced resettlement (LEIR) has been an emerging state-sponsored land development practice for accommodating China's fast-paced urbanization. In the last two decades, China's annual total urban built-up area has increased from 21, 379.6 km² in 1998 to 55, 155.5 km² in 2017; its annual total expropriated land area for urban construction has increased from 515.5 km² in 1998 to 1, 934.4 km² in 2017 (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 1999 & 2018).

Through land expropriation and resettlement, the central state acquires collectively-owned rural land to realize its ambitious urbanization agenda. Benefiting from LEIR practices, local governments are able to maximize their land-based revenues by collecting high land conveyance fees from commercial developers who want to use newly expropriated land. For affected rural dwellers, LEIR practice has tremendously transformed their life patterns, from a horizontal and self-sufficient style in spacious village houses to a vertical one depending on market goods and paid services in compact urban neighborhoods. Villagers' uneasy urban integration in resettlement neighborhoods also brings administrative challenges for the central and local states in supervising and accommodating this major societal transformation.

The encroachment of rural land and the consequential resettlement of rural populations have tremendous impacts on villagers' social positions and life styles. Through an investigation of four resettlement neighborhoods located in two suburban districts of metropolitan Shanghai, this research sheds light on resettled villagers' life transformation in the process of integrating into urban environment and society. The analysis is guided by acculturation theory, a conceptual approach for interpreting individual's attitudinal, behavioral, and cognitive inclinations when being simultaneously exposed to two or more independent cultural systems. By assessing resettled villagers' acculturative trajectories—from the perspectives of language use, social interaction, living habits, cultural identity, and place experiences—this study uncovers how LEIR practices have reconstituted villagers' everyday life in their new settlements.

The study also examines the rationales and effects of the existing community governance mechanism and new regulatory collation in undertaking routine tasks and providing additional socio-cultural services to villagers in LEIR neighborhoods. The major challenge associated with governing resettlement neighborhoods is how to assist villagers to truly become part of urban communities, not only in terms of formal status change from rural to urban, but also socio-cultural conversion through which villagers are reconstituted as urbanites. The analysis of community governance in LEIR neighborhoods is, therefore, situated in the special context of villagers' life transformation, exploring how this complex process has restructured the bottom-up democratization of governance and top-down state control in the micro environment of resettlement neighborhoods.

The following sections of this chapter introduce the research background, purposes of the study, the overarching research questions, and the approaches to the investigation. This chapter ends with a brief review of the thesis structure.

LEIR Practice and Its Life Impacts

It was estimated that more than 100 million Chinese villagers would have lost their land by 2020 (China Association for Promoting Democracy, 2013). To make up for villagers' land loss and sustain their livelihood, local governments—under the supervision of the central state—allocate compensation to affected rural collectives and households. Approaches for such compensation include: monetary compensation; employment alternatives; shareholding and dividend distribution; social security assurance; and land reserve approaches (Qian, 2015; Yang, 2012). Since the early 21st century, resettlement arrangement has become a popular compensation method in areas where villagers can no longer live in their original rural settlements after land expropriation. To provide new settlements for land-expropriated villagers, local governments construct multistory apartment buildings in suburbs or urban peripheries. Despite the close proximity between their old homes and new settlements, former villagers have to adapt to new living environments, urban cultures, and governance patterns in LEIR neighborhoods (Jiang et al., 2018; Yan & Bao, 2018; Zhang et al., 2018).

To date, extensive scholarly works have documented China's LEIR practice and its impacts on affected rural populations, covering three major topics: (1) physical environment and housing conditions of resettlement neighborhoods; (2) socio-economic impacts of LEIR practices on affected villagers' everyday life; and (3) villagers' voice in institutions, policies, and resources related to resettlement arrangements.

First, the living environment of a typical LEIR neighborhood differs significantly from that of a village. A rural house usually consists of several stories, supplemented by a front yard and a backyard. In contrast, a resettlement apartment unit, often not so different from a commercial

apartment unit, commonly comprises several functioning rooms on a single story without courtyard spaces (Xu et al., 2011). Limited open and public areas prevent villagers from organizing social gatherings or traditional rural community activities. Nevertheless, villagers spontaneously transfer the use of public spaces in resettlement neighborhoods for the purpose of social interaction, cultural engagement, and personal storage (Li et al., 2016). Despite the challenges of adapting to new physical spaces, villagers are overall satisfied with the upgrades of sanitary, transportation, and security conditions in resettlement neighborhoods (Tang et al., 2016; Zhang et al., 2017).

Second, the LEIR practice has tremendous impacts on resettled villagers' everyday life. For affected villagers, moving to an urban environment means terminating their dependence on farmland or other agricultural resources. Securing stable and well-paid non-agricultural jobs is challenging for most resettled villagers. In the meantime, deprived of "courtyard economy" and rental income from housing migrant workers, villagers become vulnerable in sustaining costly urban life in resettlement neighborhoods (Jiang et al., 2018; Ong, 2014). Moreover, the reconfiguration of social space due to a changed living environment dismantles village-based social networks (Hui et al., 2013; Li et al., 2016). It is even harder for villagers to fully integrate into urban society when being regarded as "uncivil" or "uncultured" by urban citizens (Shieh, 2011). Nevertheless, the recent trend of localized resettlement (on-site or within 1 km of the original residence) and the practice of moving all affected villagers to one designated neighborhood help preserve the social fabric of pre-resettlement communities (Yan & Bao, 2018; Zhang et al., 2017).

Third, policy discussion is largely centered on social welfare provisions for resettled villagers. As part of the compensation for their loss of land and properties, villagers are entitled to monthly subsistence or welfare packages (e.g., senior pension and medical insurance). Some argue

that by exchanging rural land for urban social welfare, villagers are free from agricultural duties. This grants them more leisure time for non-agricultural and social activities (Xu et al., 2011). However, since villagers have limited rights or channels to influence the design and implementation of resettlement policies, rent seeking and corruption are rampant at local levels, hindering governmental endeavors to facilitate villagers' life transformation (Hsing, 2010; Hui et al., 2013; Ong, 2014).

Although attention on the impacts of LEIR practices on affected rural populations has recently increased, it mainly focuses on socio-spatial, economic, and legal aspects (Hui et al., 2013). Cultural challenges encountered by villagers when integrating into urban environment and society have yet to be fully explored. Limited scholarly work has delved into the performance and effectiveness of urban governance in managing villagers' post-resettlement urban integration. This thesis aims to close a portion of these gaps by investigating villagers' cultural dimensional life transformation in LEIR neighborhoods, and further reflecting on the vested interests, power relations, and executive capacities of different regulatory actors in managing villagers' urban integration in the platform of resettlement neighborhoods.

Research Purpose and Overarching Questions

According to the UN definition, urbanization is a complex socio-economic process that “transforms the built environment, converting formerly rural into urban settlements, while also shifting the spatial distribution of a population from rural to urban areas” (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2019). The level of urbanization is measured by the percentage of population residing in urban areas and the land area of urban

settlements. Accordingly, China has experienced rapid urbanization since the late 1970s. The proportion of urban population in China has increased from 20 per cent in 1980 to 60 per cent in 2018. By 2050, 80 per cent of the Chinese population will be urban residents (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2019, p.9).

The UN definition and projection of China's urbanization rate is largely centered on the form of population shift. There has been little emphasis on how the changes of lifestyles, values, and cultural practices are reflected in the calculation of urbanization. In contrast to its remarkable increase of urban population between 2018 and 2050, China will also be the country experiencing the largest decline of rural population: losing approximately 305 million, over one half of the rural population in 2018 (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2019, p.12). Villages are disappearing or being transformed into parts of new towns or city jurisdictions. Meanwhile, villagers see their registration status changed from rural to urban, either due to on-site urbanization or resettlement arrangements associated with land expropriation. From a statistical point of view, the conversion of villagers' registration status has "accelerated" China's pace of urbanization. But in reality, very few of these newly "absorbed" urban populations view themselves as "urbanites" right after residing in urban areas. In other words, if we consider the time required for villagers' urban integration—a complex processes of political, social, economic, and cultural changes experienced by rural individuals in learning and adapting to their new urban settlements and societies—China's de facto urbanization rate would be much slower than the predicted ones. Essentially, a high degree of urbanization does not equal a more advanced level of human development or living experience. Reflecting on new citizens' journey of urban integration will ultimately direct us to a more sustainable and just path to urbanization.

The discussion of villagers' urban integration in resettlement neighborhoods has covered the perspectives of economic integration (Du & Pan, 2014; Hui et al., 2013; Jiang et al., 2018; Liu et al., 2004; Mao & Wang, 2006; Qian, 2019; Ye, 2008), social integration (Li & Zhong, 2011; Qian, 2019; Xie et al., 2014; Xu & Jiao, 2016; Ye, 2008; Zhang et al., 2017), environmental integration (Du & Pan, 2014; Li et al., 2016; Qian, 2019), and psychological integration (Liang & Li, 2014; Liang et al., 2014; Du & Pan, 2014; Zhang & Tong, 2006). This thesis adds insights to the existing literature by introducing a less-documented cultural angle for understanding villagers' post-resettlement urban integration. When rural dwellers move from villages to urban neighborhoods, they need to live with two cultural systems that coexist while operating independently. Compared to physical adaptation, villagers face more difficulties integrating into urban settings, which are organized by different rules, norms, traditions, and other cultural constructs (Li et al., 2014; Wu & Qin, 2008). Through documenting villagers' life transformation in LEIR neighborhoods, this study unpacks how cultural constructs have affected resettled villagers' urban integration patterns. The research further explores factors accounting for villagers' various cultural dimensional integration trajectories.

The analysis is developed based on acculturation theory. Acculturation involves the adaptation, partially or completely, of the values, attitudes, ways of behavior, and other cultural domains (Cabassa, 2003; Fellmann et al., 1995). It is an interactive, developmental, multifactorial, and multidimensional process that affects individuals at different levels of functioning such as behavioral, affective, and cognitive (Cuéllar et al., 1995). For land-expropriated villagers, the resettlement from a rural setting to an urban environment provides the context and basis for the occurrence of an acculturation process that entails two directions of action: (1) maintenance of one's original culture; and (2) adherence to one's host culture. However, there is a lack of

comprehensive understanding about how well resettled villagers have maintained their previous rural village culture and adapted to current urban neighborhood culture in the process of their post-resettlement urban integration.

By employing door-to-door surveys with resettled villagers in two different types of LEIR neighborhoods (see **Chapter Three** for more details about the two types of resettlement neighborhoods), this study assesses villagers' cultural inclinations towards their original culture and the culture of their new settlements. Villagers' cultural inclinations indicate their levels of post-resettlement urban integration in a cultural sense. More specifically, the research addresses three specific research questions regarding villagers' cultural dimensional life transformation and urban integration. First, what are the general acculturation patterns manifested among resettled villagers during their life transformation in LEIR neighborhoods? Second, how do villagers' acculturation outcomes vary by individual socio-demographic attributes and situational factors (e.g., pre-resettlement conditions and neighborhood socio-geographic contexts)? Third, how do villagers' acculturation outcomes influence their current residence preferences, an indicator reflecting their acceptance levels of their new settlements?

Another major issue regarding the fate of villagers' post-resettlement urban integration is how such societal transformation has been managed by multiple levels of regulatory forces. This research discusses the management on a micro neighborhood scale and investigates the roles of the central state, local government entities, and neighborhood associations in the engagement of community governance in LEIR neighborhoods.

China's formal administrative system is composed of five hierarchical levels of governments (**Figure 1-1**). The first level is the central government. The second level includes

twenty three provinces, four centrally controlled municipalities, five autonomous regions, and two special administrative regions. The third level includes prefectures and prefecture-level cities. The fourth level includes counties and county-level cities. The fifth level includes township and towns. Below these five levels of formal government entities is an ensemble of quasi-formal governance extensions on a neighborhood scale. These grassroots institutions undertake base-level public administration and service tasks in China's rural and urban communities.

To date, scholarly attention has been paid mainly to the roles of the central and subnational government apparatuses in navigating rural inhabitants' urban integration, in the backdrop of the country's top-down devotion to achieving its nationwide "urban-rural integration" ("cheng-xiang-yi-ti-hua" in Chinese) (Chuang, 2014; Ong, 2014; Xu et al., 2011; Zhang et al., 2018). This focus acknowledges the "state-led" rather than "spontaneous" nature of villagers' urban integration caused by land expropriation and resettlement practices. While this narrative provides critical arguments for explaining the paternalistic and hierarchical rationales behind the top-down management of urban integration, it does not fully explain the dynamic state-society interactions and complex power relations among multi-level regulators, especially the base-level ones, in managing that process. This focus is also insufficient to locate the management of such societal transformation in one of the most fundamental platforms of urban governance—the micro-environment of resettlement neighborhoods.

**Hierarchy of Formal Government Entities and Quasi-formal Governance Extensions in China
(Excluding Autonomous Regions and Special Administrative Regions)**

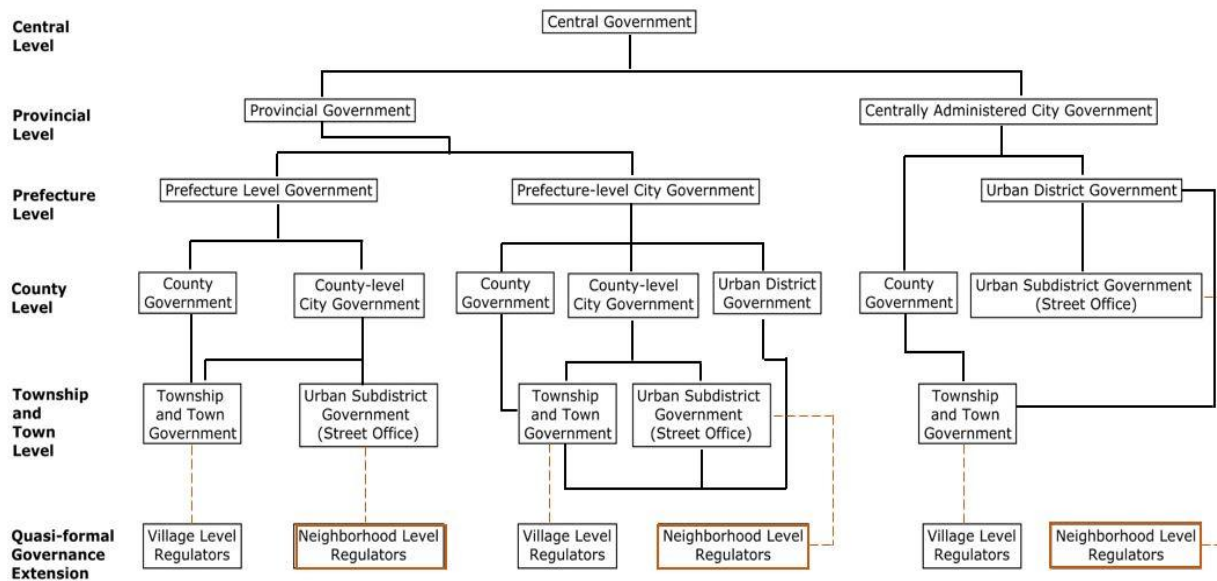


Figure 1-1: Hierarchy of Formal Government Entities and Quasi-formal Governance Extensions in China (Modified by the Author). *Note:* Autonomous regions with concentration of ethnic groups and special administrative regions (Hong Kong and Macao) are not included.

Since the 1990s, China’s central government has increasingly allocated resources and professionals to community governance associations (Shen, 2007; Shieh, 2011; Wan, 2015). The “complex and vibrant micro-environment” (Yip, 2014, p.2) in an urban neighborhood has been shaped by dynamic interactions among different stakeholders—property owners and their homeowners’ associations, property developers and their property management agents, residents’ committees and their superiors (e.g., street offices, district governments, and real estate bureaus). This thesis contributes the discussion on the management of villagers’ urban integration by assessing the existing mechanism and new regulatory coalition of community governance in LEIR neighborhoods. More specifically, the study reveals the features and feasibilities of the current community governance mechanism in managing villagers’ post-resettlement urban integration.

The research also looks into the effectiveness of the new regulatory coalition—the central state, local governments, and community regulators—in achieving its designated institutional objectives and extending its capacity to facilitate villagers’ post-resettlement urban integration in LEIR neighborhoods.

Two narratives have been applied to study the governance mechanism in China’s urban neighborhoods. The first narrative highlights the increasing citizen engagement and the construction of civil society in China’s urban communities (Chen, 2014; Jiang, 2014; Li, 2008). The second narrative focuses on the continuous infiltration of the central state into grassroots communities for the purpose of social control and regime stability (Gui & Ma, 2014; Heberer, 2011; Heberer & Göbel, 2011; Zhang, 2005). These two narratives set up a basic conceptual foundation for unraveling the community governance mechanism in China’s LEIR neighborhoods.

However, considering the gradual transformation of rurality among resettled villagers, it is important to reflect on how such cultural transformation has interpenetrated and modified the bottom-up democratization, the top-down state control, and the overall performance of community governance in LEIR neighborhoods. For resettled villagers, only after their cultural needs and expectations are addressed will they truly support and comply with the community rules, norms, and covenants. For community regulators and their superiors, these cultural insights can be used to tackle the emerging governance challenges associated with villagers’ urban integration; elevate the endorsement and effectiveness of the existing community governance mechanism; and strengthen the social cohesion among resettled villagers, urban residents, and multi-level regulators. In general, the cultural dimensional narrative deepens the understandings of the state-society interactions, power relations among different actors, and the governing capacity of community regulators in LEIR neighborhoods.

To facilitate villagers' urban integration and advance the performance of the current community governance mechanism in LEIR neighborhoods, a new governing coalition has been observed in recent years. This new coalition—composed of the central state, local government entities, and community regulators—aims to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of community governance in service delivery, regulation enforcement, civic engagement, conflict mediation, and most importantly, the management of villagers' urban integration in resettlement neighborhoods. The coalition is analyzed through the lens of regime theory. Regime theory provides a conceptual framework for understanding the creation of new coalitions and partnerships in mobilizing strategic resources and tackling non-routine challenges under increasing social complexity and institutional interdependence (Stoker, 1995). Regime theorists see complexity as the heart of urban governance and argue that a strong regime is capable of reuniting fragmented responsibilities, underpinning deficiencies in service provision, managing intricate networks, and maximizing the potential of social inclusiveness (Clarke & Stewart, 1994). The performance of the new regime in governing China's LEIR neighborhoods provides valuable planning and policy insights for guiding the management of rural inhabitants' urban integration in China and other country regions.

This research investigates the existing mechanism and new coalition of community governance in LEIR neighborhoods through key informant interviews with neighborhood association representatives and resettled villagers, complemented by information from survey participants. The overarching research questions are: what are the respective conditions for and consequences of civic engagement in LEIR neighborhoods? To what degree have formal governmental entities intervened in governing LEIR neighborhoods? How do neighborhood regulators and resettled villagers evaluate the performance of community governance in their

neighborhoods? What are the cultural barriers preventing community regulators from achieving their governance objectives, and how have such challenges been addressed? What are the features of the new regulatory coalition? What are the motivations of and strategies applied by the actors of the new coalition to fulfill their institutional objectives? Has this coalition advanced the existing community governance and/or created new problems in LEIR neighborhoods? What are the implications of this coalition in managing villagers' post-resettlement urban integration?

The Shanghai Case

The research is mainly a case study exploring villagers' uneasy urban integration and the evolving state-society interactions in governing LEIR neighborhoods. The Shanghai case provides threefold implications for cities undergoing or expecting similar socio-political transition.

First, much scholarly work discussing the approaches and consequences of urbanization is framed at the level of the entire city, while less depicts the variations across different areas of the city. For this study, the discussion about the two major issues, villagers' urban integration and the management of that integration, is situated in the context of rapid urban expansion beyond city limits. Shanghai was selected as the site for investigation as it is one of the most typical metropolises undergoing fast-paced peri-urbanization—featuring landscape changes in urban fringe regions, as well as the dispossession and displacement of rural residents in urban peripheries—in the last half century. Its vibrant and varied urban sprawl trajectories make it a suitable exemplary case for understanding the dramatic changes of lifestyle and grassroots governance in the rural-urban interfaces of the Global South.

Second, the Shanghai case study spotlights the urban integration trajectories of land-expropriated and resettled villagers. Different from typical cross-regional or transnational rural migrants, land-expropriated villagers expect more government support in adapting to urban environments and societies, largely due to the involuntary and permanent nature of their resettlement. As a result, their reaction to new social norms, living standards, and ways of governance could be notably different from those rural migrants who move to affluent city regions out of personal or family interests. While traditional migration studies have offered valuable insight for understanding the motivations and barriers for cross-region urban integration, the conclusions are not universally applicable to state-led resettlement. Paying close attention to land-expropriated villagers' cultural dimensional urban integration and the management of that integration in the micro-neighborhood environment, the Shanghai case study expands the spectrum of intercultural research and diversifies the discussion on base-level urban governance.

Finally, Shanghai's leading role in China's urban development is largely attributed to its unique political atmosphere that maintains a strategic balance between complying fully with the national political framework and decentralizing citywide urban governance to promote growth and efficiency. This political setting offers a new framework for a reconceptualization of the state-centered theories of urbanism and urbanization in China and in the Global South. The shifting boundary between the state and the civil society in governing Shanghai's LEIR neighborhoods demonstrates the new trends of grassroots governance where the state's monopoly in public spheres being complemented by the coordination among various formal, contractual, and voluntary actors. The evolving state-society interactions in Shanghai's resettlement neighborhoods provide good references for other cities in the Global South where non-state sectors begin to play their parts in social welfare provision and public services.

Structure of the Thesis

The thesis follows the conventional monolithic dissertation model. **Chapter Two** reviews the literature on the theories of acculturation and community governance. These two genres of theories lay out the conceptual framework for understanding villagers' post-resettlement urban integration and the management of that integration in a LEIR neighborhood context. **Chapter Three** introduces the case study area, research participants, research methods, and ethical considerations. Guided by acculturation theory, **Chapter Four** demystifies resettled villagers' cultural dimensional life transformation in LEIR neighborhoods in the process of integrating into urban environment and society. **Chapter Five** explores the conditions, rationales, and effectiveness of community governance in LEIR neighborhoods. The discussion examines the community governance performance through two well-developed narratives—bottom-up democratization and top-down state control. The examination also uncovers how cultural constructs derived from villagers' life transformation have impacted base-level social management, state's infiltration in grassroots communities, and the overall structure of the existing community governance mechanism functioning in LEIR neighborhoods. Through the conceptual lens of regime theory, **Chapter Six** reveals the features, capacities, and constraints of the new regulatory coalition—the central state, local governments, and community regulators—in tackling complex and non-routine governance challenges in LEIR neighborhoods. **Chapter Seven** synthesizes and reflects on the research findings. Areas requiring future research are also identified.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Prologue

Land expropriation-induced resettlement (LEIR) has triggered a new phase of urban integration in contemporary China. A thorough documentation of this societal transformation in a basic neighborhood platform requires the inclusion of voices from both resettled villagers whose everyday life has been continuously reconstituted and regulatory forces, especially base-level ones, whose missions are to navigate, monitor, and facilitate villagers' integration.

Villagers' post-resettlement urban integration is multifaceted. This process is associated with both tangible changes (e.g., living environment, employment, and accessibility to public amenities) and intangible changes (e.g., identity recognition, social networking, and place attachment). For affected villagers, moving from rural to urban settings requires them to adapt to an urban society with different values, rules, norms, and other cultural domains. Although the cultural dimensional life transformation has far-reaching and profound impacts on villagers' attitudes, feelings, and reactions towards urban integration, it has yet to be fully examined, largely due to its less tangible parameters that are hard to discern, measure, and interpret. The acculturation theory provides a useful conceptual lens to decipher resettled villagers' inclinations to their previous village culture and the culture of their new settlements. These inclinations, generated by a wide range of cultural domains at various functioning levels, serve as important indicators for assessing the phases of villagers' post-resettlement urban integration in LEIR neighborhoods.

Villagers' urban integration in LEIR neighborhoods is not an easy process and will need continuous institutional support for sustaining their life transformation. As the most fundamental segment of China's governance systems, community governance plays a vital role in fulfilling this institutional obligation.

Two conceptual narratives have been widely referred to in depictions of the socio-political sphere in China's urban neighborhoods. The first narrative highlights the emergence of bottom-up democratization in China's urban neighborhoods. The second narrative highlights the state's strengthened social control at community level. These two narratives are helpful in analyzing the community governance mechanism operated in China's LEIR neighborhoods. Meanwhile, considering villagers' slow-paced post-resettlement urban integration, it is necessary to include a cultural dimensional narrative when interpreting the constitutive power of culture in penetrating grassroots governance and societal changes in LEIR neighborhoods.

In addition to unpacking the existing community governance mechanism, scholars and practitioners also need to be aware of the emergence of new initiatives and paradigm shifts in managing villagers' post-resettlement urban integration. A review of relevant theories in conceptualizing these new changes help set up the conceptual framework for appraising the effectiveness of new approaches in governing China's LEIR neighborhoods.

In the following sections of this chapter, I review two genres of literature: one relevant to villagers' cultural dimensional life transformation and the other associated with the community governance in LEIR neighborhoods. These two genres of literature set up the conceptual framework for investigating villagers' post-resettlement urban integration and community-based governance approaches for managing this integration.

Conceptual Framework

Figure 2-1 outlines the conceptual framework of the research. The thesis is designed to explore two major issues.

The first issue is to understand the process of villagers' post-resettlement urban integration in LEIR neighborhoods through documenting their life transformation trajectories. This research demystifies villagers' life transformation through a less-documented cultural aspect. Acculturation theory is used to conceptualize this process. Individuals experience an acculturation process when they are living with two or more cultural systems. Acculturation patterns are consequences of people's purposeful or unconscious choices over certain cultural systems. Resettled villagers' life transformation in LEIR neighborhoods demonstrates an acculturation process wherein villagers are required to live with and react to two cultural systems—previous rural village culture and current urban neighborhood culture. Their cultural dimensional urban integration is, therefore, assessed through two parameters: the level of villagers' maintenance of their original culture and the level of their adherence to their host culture. Major research questions involved in the inquiry of the first issue are: How have villagers' cultural inclinations affected their urban integration? What are the factors accounting for villagers' various acculturation and integration results?

The second issue of the research is to unpack how villagers' post-resettlement urban integration has been managed by community regulators and other administrative forces. The discussion has two parts. The first part unpacks the existing mechanism of community governance functioning in resettlement neighborhoods. Two well documented narratives about the state-society interactions and a case-specific cultural dimensional narrative echoing villagers' life transformation are considered in guiding the empirical work.

The first narrative denotes the increasing bottom-up democratization through base-level social management. The empowerment of grassroots community associations and the proliferation of citizen engagement facilitated by these institutions anticipate new neighborhood life that is centered on grassroots governance and public participation. Concepts of “civil society” and “civic engagement” are applied to explain the democratic consolidation of grassroots governance in China’s urban neighborhoods. “Civil society” is a kind of associational ecosystem where members’ livelihoods are secured, services that are weakly delivered by the state and market are provided, and positive social values and networks are nurtured (Diamond, 1999; Edwards, 2004). “Civic engagement” is a composite of associational life and voluntary interaction that develops knowledge, skills, values, and motivations to promote the quality of life in a community. Civic engagement takes many forms, including individual voluntarism, organizational involvement, and electoral participation (Battistoni, 2003; Ehrlich, 2000).

The second narrative emphasizes the irreplaceable role of the party authority in tackling social and political problems in urban China through reaching deeper to grassroots communities. Accordingly, neighborhood associations are seen as “extensions” of the state’s territorial power, through which the central state is able to achieve its “control”—societal absorption and institutional penetration from below—of the grassroots society. The concepts of “state-building” and “institutional embeddedness” are applied to decipher the top-down initiatives. “State-building” highlights the importance of fortifying the legitimate role of a central political authority in promoting economic development, directing political relations, and solving social problems (Carothers, 2007; Fukuyama, 2004; Yu & He, 2007). “Institutional embeddedness” describes the state’s political strategy in connecting state and non-state sectors of actors through controlling and allocating vital resources (Gorski, 2003; Mann, 1984; Soifer & vom Hau, 2008).

The third cultural dimensional narrative acknowledges the constitutive power of culture in modifying and penetrating social relations and political practices. Considering the unique resident compositions, the trajectories of community governance in LEIR neighborhoods need to be reassessed. It is not surprising that cultural constructs may have major impacts on base-level democratization and central-level state control, and thus provide an important, though often overlooked, third dimension for understanding the conditions and rationales of the existing governance mechanism functioning in LEIR neighborhoods. The concept of “centrality of culture” is introduced to explain why and how cultural inputs affect the capacity of a governance system. The “centrality of culture” underscores the constitutive power of culture in penetrating and mediating various scales of social life (Bennett, 2003; Hall, 1997).

The second part of understanding the management of villagers’ urban integration looks into a new regulatory coalition of community governance. Involving the central state, local governments, and community regulators, this new coalition aims to advance the current community governance mechanism and facilitate villagers’ post-resettlement urban integration. In terms of its focus, this new coalition pays much attention to its governing capacity for managing social changes. As for its structure, the coalition unites different levels of regulators to share resources, reach consents, and enhance their respective governance accountability.

The new regulatory coalition is unpacked through the conceptual lens of regime theory. The word “regime” connotes different things, but in this research, it specifically refers to an “informal coalition of public and private interests working together to make and carry out governing decisions” (Hamilton, 2014, p. 319). Regime theory is useful to explain the motivations and rationales of new coalitions and partnerships in mobilizing strategic resources and solving non-routine governance problems (Stocker, 1995). A strong regime is expected to truly unite

fragmented responsibilities and maximize the institutional accountabilities of each regime partner (Clarke & Stewart, 1994). The stability and sustainability of a regime is largely determined by whether the system is sufficiently robust and responsive to achieve a smooth and effective devolution of political power (transforming the focus from “power over” to “power to”) and optimize the capacity of informal coalitions to assemble and use resources for policy initiatives (transforming the focus from “social control” to “social production”) (Stone, 1989). Through regime theory, the research appraises the effectiveness and implications of the new coalition in advancing the current community governance mechanism and managing villagers’ post-resettlement urban integration.

Finally, it is important to point out that villagers’ post-resettlement urban integration and regulators’ management of that integration are influencing each other. On the one hand, villager’s life transformation adds an important cultural dimension to the structure and vision of the community governance in LEIR neighborhoods, ultimately affecting urban integration management at a base level. On the other hand, the resilience of the management system determines its capacity to serve villagers’ socio-cultural needs and help these new citizens integrate into urban settlements and societies.

Conceptual Framework of the Thesis

Villagers' Post-resettlement Urban Integration and the Management of the Integration in LEIR Neighborhoods

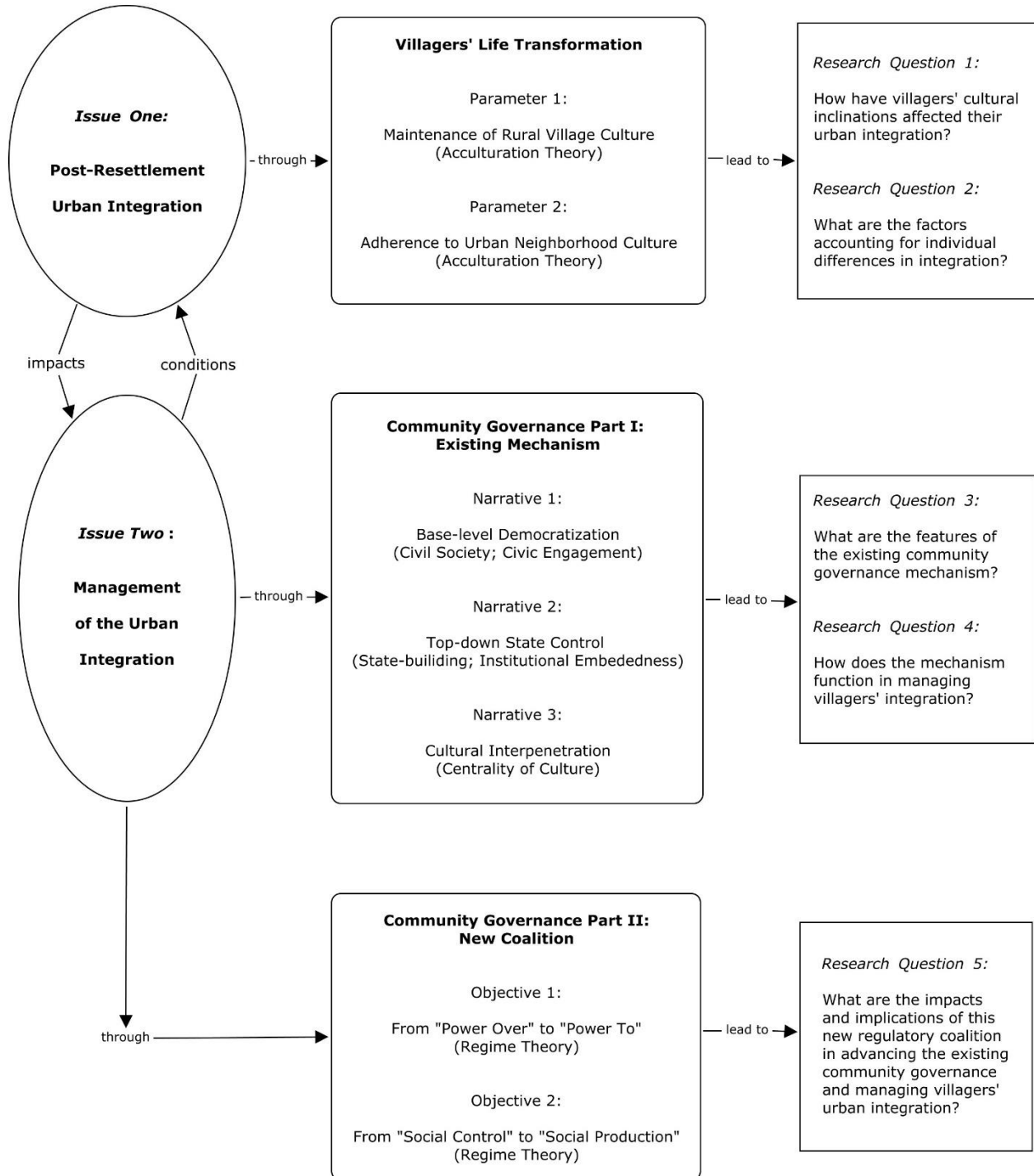


Figure 2-1: Conceptual Framework of the Thesis (Created by the Author)

Unpacking Villagers' Life Transformation through Acculturation Theory

When rural dwellers move from villages to urban neighborhoods, they live with two cultural systems—their original rural village culture and the host urban neighborhood culture. Compared to physical adaptation, villagers face more difficulties integrating into urban environment and society, which are organized by different rules, norms, traditions, and other cultural constructs (Li et al., 2014; Wu & Qin, 2008). Through the conceptual lens of acculturation, this research explores villagers' life transformation experience and their cultural dimensional urban integration in resettlement neighborhoods.

Definition and Multi-disciplinary Application of Acculturation Theory

According to Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936), acculturation “comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups” (p. 149). Acculturation is an interactive, developmental, multifactorial, and multidimensional process that determines one's maintenance of the culture of origin (“heritage culture” or “ethnic culture”) and adherence to the culture of new settlement (“host culture” or “dominant culture”). This process involves the adaptation, partially or completely, of values, attitudes, ways of behavior, and other cultural domains (Cabassa, 2003; Fellmann et al., 1995). Acculturation affects individuals at behavioral, affective, and cognitive levels of functioning (Cuéllar et al., 1995).

Acculturation has characterized human contacts since early times between primitive groups, between primitive and literate groups, and between literate groups (Redfield et al., 1936, p. 150). The early studies of acculturation interpret the value and life changes among indigenous groups during and after the process of colonization (Hallowell, 1945; Koptseva & Kirko, 2014). Following that, the concept has been operationalized to elucidate immigrants' identity recognition and acculturative behaviors in their receiving settlements (Berry et al., 2006; Schwartz et al., 2006). The theory developed from these studies has then been applied to conceptualize ethnic and cultural minorities' involvement in multicultural societies (Cuéllar et al., 1995; Landrine & Klonoff, 1994). To date, these three foci have generated profound case studies reflecting on the gains and losses of cultural transformations in human history.

By employing acculturation perspectives, social and behavioral scientists are able to decipher psychological adaptation patterns at individual level and depict sociocultural adaptation approaches at group level. Early in the 20th century, anthropologists were the first social scientists tracing cultural traits and the ways that cultures changed and differentiated in various civilizations (Trimble, 2003). The integration of culture has important sociological consequences as well. Durkheim (1964 [1893]; 1965 [1912]) underlined the significant role of culture in shaping the “solidarity”—the cohesion—of a society. Kroeber (1917) characterized the complex cultural process as a “superorganic” force. For psychologists, they are particularly interested in the correlations between people's acculturative approaches and their well-being such as mental health (Schwartz et al., 2010). Within the planning profession, it is considered urgent to design for multicultural cities that are capable of “bringing people together”, not only to “share their experiences and work in solidarity”, but also to “work through their differences in transformative ways” (Sandercock, 2004, p.139).

Measurement and Interpretation of Acculturation Outcomes

One of the critical challenges in conceptualizing and measuring acculturation is its dimensionality. The early linear or unidimensional approach proposes a bipolar acculturation process by arguing that people's attachment to and involvement in their original culture weaken when they become more adherent to their host culture (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994; Trimble, 2003). This approach sees cultural changes as proceeding "away from one's own lifeway in a linear manner" and culminating "in the full and complete internalization of another culture's lifeways" (Trimble, 2003, p. 6). But recent studies suggest that acculturation is better understood as a two-dimensional process (Cuéllaret al., 1995; Marín & Gamba, 1996; Stephenson, 2000): one's adoption of dominant host culture and retention of inherited ethnic culture can vary independently (Mendoza, 1989; Zane & Mak, 2003).

The two-dimensional approach has increasingly gained popularity. Based on this dimensionality assumption, Berry and his associates (1980; 1988; 1989; 1992; 1997; 2005) develop a "two-dimensional model"—also referred to as "fourfold paradigm"—to classify and interpret various acculturative trajectories. The model has been frequently cited and widely applied in recent empirical studies (Berry & Sabatier, 2011; Donà & Berry, 1994; Ward & Kennedy, 1994).

According to this fourfold paradigm, the process of acculturation entails two dimensions of action: (1) maintenance of the culture of origin; and (2) adherence to the dominant or host culture. Based on the distinction of one's behavioral inclination to his/her culture of origin (also referred to as "heritage culture" or "ethnic culture") and to the corresponding culture of new settlement (also referred to as "host culture" or "dominant culture"), four acculturation strategies—integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization—have been identified (Berry, 1980,

1992 & 2005; Berry & Kim, 1988; Berry et al., 1989; Berry & Sam, 1997). **Figure 2-2** shows the classification of the four acculturation strategies based on one’s maintenance of his/her original culture (horizontal axes) and engagement in his/her host culture (vertical axes). When newcomers gradually forsake their original culture and proactively get involved in a host society, their acculturation strategy is referred to as “assimilation”. In contrast, if people are reluctant to change their culture of origin and continually resist the interaction with people from their host culture, their acculturation strategy comes close to “separation”. For individuals who manage to maintain their heritage culture while seeking to participate as integral members of their host culture, their acculturation strategy is classified as “integration”. Finally, “marginalization” is a type of acculturation strategy that defines people who have little interest in either maintaining their heritage culture or absorbing the culture of their host society.

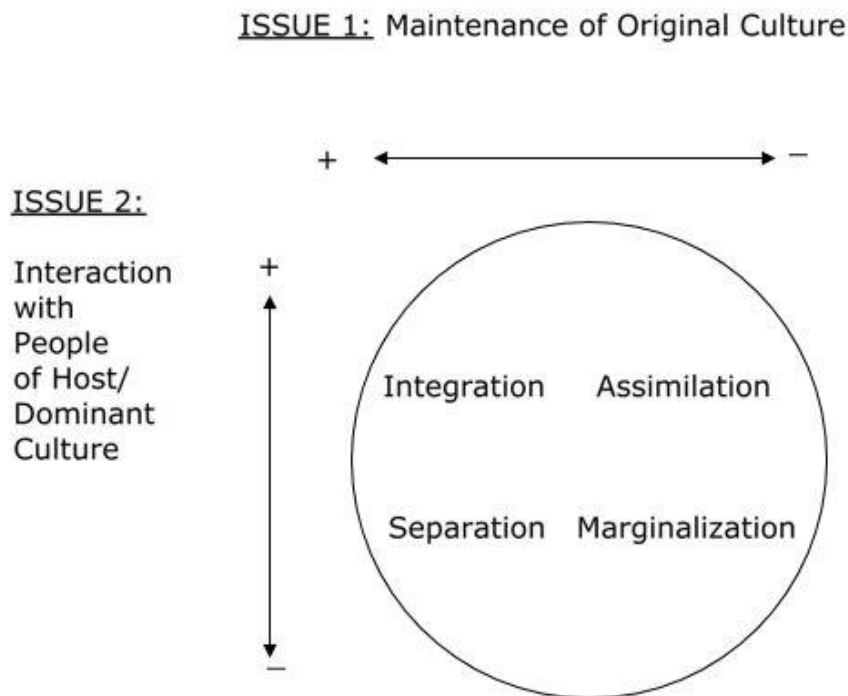


Figure 2-2: Four Acculturation Strategies (Edited from Berry, 2005, p. 705)

Among these four types, integration is usually considered as the least stressful adaptation result (especially when a new ethnic group is largely accepted by the host society); marginalization, in contrast, is the most stressful approach for new inhabitants; and assimilation and separation strategies are intermediate (Berry, 2005). With regard to the changes in behaviors and beliefs, people adopting the separation strategy experience fewest changes whilst those who pursuing the assimilation direction engage in most changes. Integration involves accepting the host culture and a certain degree of retention of one's heritage culture. By contrast, marginalization is aligned with the loss of one's culture of origin and a passive attempt to accept the dominant culture (Berry, 2003). In real cases, an individual's dominant acculturation strategy can vary through time (Berry, 1997 & 1998; Cabassa, 2003; Schönplflug, 1997).

Although being widely applied, the fourfold approach has been recently criticized by scholars. The flaws of the approach include its arbitrary classification of acculturation types (Berry & Sabatier, 2011; Demes & Geeraert, 2014; Ward & Kus, 2012); its weakness in discerning individual differences within an acculturative group (Barth, 1969; Zane & Mak, 2003); its uneven discussion of different acculturation functioning levels (Cuéllar et al., 1995; Schwartz et al, 2015; Ward & Kus, 2012); its underestimation of situational/contextual perspectives (Trimble, 1989; Rudmin, 2003), and the misinterpretations of certain acculturation types (Spindler & Goldschmidt, 1952; Rees, 1970; Rudmin, 2007) (**Chapter 4** provides more details about the scholarly critiques on the “fourfold paradigm”). These deficiencies call for updated approaches to advance the existing measurement methods.

Another major concern when theorizing or measuring acculturative consequences relates to the context of and influential factors for acculturation process. An individual's acculturation pattern is affected by a wide range of forces, including the attitude of or pressure from large society

(Berry, 1991), the changing culture of which the individual is a member (Benedict, 1934), the way situations shape and determine one's behavior, emotion, and cognition (Trimble, 1989), and a variety of individual psychosocial characteristics (Zane & Mak, 2003). Experimentally, these contextual influences are embodied by distinguishable cultural traits. The parameters of examining these cultural traits involve behavioral, attitudinal, and cognitive functioning dimensions (Cuéllar et al., 1995). More specifically, empirical studies sample diverse cultural domains to represent acculturation trajectories, including: language use, preference, and proficiency (Marín & Gamba, 1996; Martinez et al., 1984); social ties, affiliation, and interaction (Fang et al., 2016; Fang et al., 2017; Mendoza, 1989); everyday living habits and practices (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994; Szapocznik et al., 1980); and cultural knowledge, beliefs, values, and identification (Gui et al., 2012; Stephenson, 2000).

Acculturation in LEIR Neighborhood

According to the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), acculturation denotes culture change that is “initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems”. The dynamics of the process can be understood as “the selective adaptation of value systems”, “the processes of integration and differentiation”, “the generation of developmental sequences”, and “the operation of role determinants and personality factors” (1954, p. 974). Acculturation theory provides an appropriate conceptual framework to assess the cultural perspectives of villagers' life transformation in LEIR neighborhoods.

The occurrence of acculturation involves people's continuous contact of two or more independent cultural systems. The cultural settings in China's LEIR neighborhoods meet this

condition. For land-expropriated villagers, the resettlement from a rural to an urban environment provides the context and basis for the occurrence of an acculturation process. Although villagers are expected to abide by new urban regulations, rules, and values in resettlement neighborhoods, they rarely abandon all the rural cultural beliefs and practices. It is, therefore, appropriate to examine villagers' cultural transformation through the conceptual lens of acculturation.

Acculturation is a process involving dynamic changes related to adaptation, integration, and differentiation. Downing and Garcia-Downing (2009, p. 230) posit that resettlement arrangements, especially involuntary ones, could lead to the emergence of “dissonant culture”—a temporary reordering of space, time, relationships, norms, and psycho-socio-cultural constructs. For affected villagers, membership in resettlement neighborhoods means regulations and changed expectations—where to go, what procedures to follow to seek assistance, and what activities and behaviors are acceptable. Li et al. (2016) depicted villagers' spontaneously transforming their current living space to keep certain elements of their rural culture (i.e., planting vegetables in green belts, breeding poultries outside their apartments, and holding private ceremonies in public areas). The social engagement and networking in an urban neighborhood are quite dissimilar comparing to those in rural villages as well (Hui et al., 2013; Liang & Zhu, 2014; Xu & Chan, 2011). Intimate relationships among neighbors and the formation of a society of acquaintances are two distinctive characteristics of being rural (Fei, 1947 [1992]). For instance, the front yard of farmhouses used to be the venue for social gathering and information sharing. Such relaxing and pleasant get-togethers have been remarkably reduced in villagers' everyday life after resettlement (Xu et al., 2011). The dramatic differences between rural society and urban society bring numerous adaptation challenges for resettled villages (Ong, 2014; Xu et al., 2011; Xu & Chan, 2011). In

addition, villagers also face pressure for adaptation from the reaction of the dominant urban cultural group, who regard the newcomers as “uncivil” or “uncultured” (Shieh, 2011, p. 148).

The acculturation concept has gained popularity in depicting the transformation of Chinese society. Through a survey, Mao and Wang (2006) revealed that, in addition to the loss of social networks, the difficulty of integration into the urban community culture is the key reason why rural farmers have refused to become urban citizens. Ye (2008) pointed out that the boundary between the private space and public space is much less distinguishable in villages than in urban areas. Some cultures and behaviors of the resettled villagers seem quite reasonable in a rural setting but less acceptable to local urban residents. Scholarly works have also highlighted the importance of enhancing community service functions, such as providing employment training opportunities and organizing cultural activities, to achieve a smooth urban-rural integration in resettlement neighborhoods (Huang et al., 2015; Zhao et al., 2012).

Community Governance: The Definition and Broad Context

A community, as a small territorial scale, is situated in a strategic position to help foster and achieve positive values (e.g., trust, solidarity, reciprocity, reputation, personal pride, respect, vengeance, and retribution) that residents can refer to regulate their common activities (Bowles & Gintis, 2002). Under the context of worldwide territorial restructuring and the shift from “government” to “governance” (see, for example, Jessop, 1994 & 2000; Rhodes, 1994 & 1996; Pierre & Peters, 2000) in a post-Fordism era, the discussion of community governance has been continually gaining momentum. Theoretical and empirical studies have explored institutional

techniques applied by community governance apparatuses to tackle emerging societal challenges for achieving a wide range of policy objectives at grassroots level.

Conceptualization and Contextualization

The beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed a worldwide flood of competing institutions, movements, and social interventions in response to failures of formal regulative methods. This mélange of political activities created the atmosphere for the emergence of modern community governance, a new governance approach with the potential of addressing problems that troubled the Western society at that time (Clarke, 2017, pp. 41-42). In the middle of the nineteenth century, philanthropic and charitable organizations attempted to address poverty, solve chronic unemployment, and slow the perceived decline in public morality. Despite the proliferation of structured and non-governmental institutions, social problems persisted; however, increasing professionalization and the institutionalization of welfare solutions brought to the fore wider recognition of community governance (Steiner, 1925). Gradually, the theoretical concepts, practical models, and contextual competencies of community governance were refined. The field then evolved to a more structured format that could be understood and integrated into the practice and training of social work (Lane, 1940), and act as an effective vehicle to accelerate social changes and advance inclusiveness, justice, and citizen empowerment.

Today, “community governance” is defined as “arrangements for collective decision-making and/or public service delivery at sub-local level” (Lowndes & Sullivan, 2008). It constitutes “an indispensable element of empowered participatory governance” at the scale of relatively small territories (Somerville, 2005, p.120). Community governance empowers the public

and accelerates the local democratization of governance (Clarke & Stewart, 1992). Empowering the public involves “giving them the right to participate” and deal with community issues through “direct control” and through “institutions as neighborhood forums or community councils”. It requires new democratic frameworks, which “may be concerned with the full range of activities that can be undertaken by local authorities on behalf of their community” (Clarke & Stewart, 1992, p. 23). Under community governance, the community—led by community development associations and supported by all community members—functions as the “largest stakeholder” in decision-making processes. Community development associations are responsible for “preparing and organising the social and institutional forces” and “setting up of the appropriate planning structures and implementation programs” (Clarke, 2017, p. 17). General tasks of community regulators include networking with other institutions, recruiting members and training leaders, creating and updating organizational structures, and sustaining successful governance activities while nurturing new initiatives. Other stakeholders in community governance include those providing public and private goods and services to communities, and groups functioning at other levels of governance (e.g., national and subnational governments) to whom the community is accountable (Clarke & Stewart, 1992; Somerville, 2005).

Recording, monitoring, and evaluating the practices of community governance and their effects is of critical importance. Bowles and Gintis (2002) highlighted four key elements that can be applied to enhance desirable community governance. First, community members should “own the fruits of their success or failure in solving the collective problems they face” (p. 429). Second, mistrust or conflict in a community can be avoided when “opportunities for mutual monitoring and punishment of non-co-operators are built into the structure of social interactions” (p. 430). The third element is the need for “a legal and governmental environment favourable to [a community’s]

functioning”, and the fourth element endorses “active advocacy of the conventional liberal ethics of equal treatment and enforcement of conventional anti-discrimination policies” (pp. 430-431).

Recent empirical studies have highlighted some key themes in the practice of community governance in the 21st century. These include a serious concern for the physical and mental health of community members (Cloutier et al., 2014; Meads et al., 2017; Sorensen et al., 2010); a rising awareness of the role of community in achieving sustainability goals, protecting eco-systems, and mitigating the impacts of climate change (Burns, 2001; Forrest & Wiek, 2015; Hoff & Gausset, 2015; Kull, 2002); and an urgent call for enhancing inclusiveness, participation, leadership, collaboration, and interactive governance (Caparas & Agrawal, 2016; Drivdal, 2016; Galvis, 2014; Kim, 2016; Matthews & Astbury, 2017; Parag et al., 2013; Wang et al., 2015).

Community Governance in a Chinese Context

Durose and Lowndes (2010) identified four forms of neighborhood governance in western countries: (1) the neighborhood empowerment approach emphasizing direct citizen participation; (2) the neighborhood partnership approach seeking to coordinate local services; (3) the neighborhood government approach aiming at improving the accountability and responsiveness of local government; and (4) the neighborhood management approach focusing on improving efficiency and service. Not all of these forms apply to the community governance practices in China, but some of them are quite relevant to the Chinese context, especially when considering the new trends of grassroots governance (He, 2015; Hu, 2014; Song, 2015; Yip, 2014). To help interpret the evolution of China’s contemporary community governance, the following sections provide more details about two well-developed narratives—(1) the community-based

democratization through base-level social management and (2) the state's interest in social control and closer connection to the grassroots. How the power of culture can penetrate and reconstitute governance performance in general and in LEIR neighborhoods particularly is discussed to add a third cultural dimensional narrative. Following that, new regulatory coalitions of community governance will be reviewed through regime theory.

The “Shequ” Concept and Its History

The term “community” is translated as “*shequ*” in Chinese. The *shequ* concept in contemporary China can be understood from three perspectives. In a spatial sense, a *shequ* is an administrative sub-unit below the street office (**Figure 1-1 in Chapter One** demonstrates the hierarchy of China's formal government entities and informal regulatory forces). In a social sense, *shequ* refers to active human actors and social relationships within a defined space. In regard to its normative or functional dimension, a *shequ* is characterized by spatial proximity, mutual interests, and social control (Heberer & Göbel, 2011).

The old model of a *shequ* can be traced back to the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). However, for the scope of this research, the discussion of *shequ* or community governance is mainly situated in a more recent context, starting from China's Opening and Reform in 1978. During the period of state socialism (from 1949-1978), *danwei* (the work unit) played the predominant role in delivering public goods and social welfare to urban citizens living in the same neighborhoods and affiliated with the same state-owned enterprises (SOEs). At that time, a small portion of urban residents (i.e., the disabled, unemployed, and socially disadvantaged) were not entitled to these forms of welfare. To provide services for and enforce regulations among these residents, the central

government established a delegated type of institution—*jiedao* (the street office) (Bray, 2006, p.533). To support those street offices at a more grassroots level, a new type of neighborhood-based organization—*juweihui* (the residents' committee) was put into practice. With limited authority and power, the administrative system composed of street offices and residents' committees (hereinafter referred to as the “SR system”) functioned as a supplement administrative system for serving the residents outside the *danwei* system.

In the early 1990s, a large number of SOEs were closed down due to their lack of economic efficiency and competitive strength. Consequently, the *danwei* system was no longer suitable for and capable of providing residents with necessary social welfare and amenities. The burden of offering public services to neighborhoods and communities was then shifted to local governments, and more specifically the SR system. On the demand side, China's housing reform, started in 1998, accelerated the building of commercial housing projects. To meet the expectations of an emerging group of middle-class apartment buyers, there have been calls to update community infrastructures and services provided in urban neighborhoods (He, 2015; Yip, 2014). These two forces in combination are transforming China's grassroots governance on a small territorial scale. Since the early 21st century, China's community governance has expanded from a dominant SR system to a wider collaboration among formal regulators, voluntary organizations, professional social workers, and private sector stakeholders (General Office of the State Council, 2011; Ministry of Civil Affairs, 2016).

Base-level Democratization: Civil Society and Civic Engagement

Since the early 1990s, under the country's political decentralization and economic marketization, Chinese people began to see the emergence of a civil society relatively independent from the state and with its own operating logic. At that time, people's understanding of civil society was largely influenced by the western "pluralist" thought and the term was translated as "Society of Burghers" ("*shi-min-she-hui*" in Chinese). Since the late 1990s, researchers have begun to realize that the construction of the civil society in China must break through the constraints of the private sphere and reach out to a wider coverage in public space. The interpretation of civil society was, accordingly, revised to "Society of Citizens" ("*gong-min-she-hui*" in Chinese).

As Bray (2006, p. 532) highlighted, community is a form of organization through which "ordinary people can mobilize their interests in opposition to those of the state, or of larger global forces". Community construction has transformed Chinese urban neighborhoods to form a potential public arena free from the state's monopoly and thus a site for cultivating an emerging civil society. Moreover, reshaping organizational relations and the power order in communities in a bottom-up manner continuously influences state-society relations (Li, 2008; Zhang, 2005). Li (2003) posited that the ultimate goal of China's community governance is to construct or cultivate China's civil society. China's community governance is a low-cost administrative innovation that has expanded citizen engagement in the public sphere.

In China, three fundamental associations—residents' committees (RCs), homeowners' associations (HOAs), and property management agents (PMAs)—are responsible for providing residents with basic administrative guidance and public services in urban neighborhoods. These grassroots organizations play managerial roles in the spread of an associational life that

underscores citizen action and engagement. This neighborhood scale leadership enables China's urban residents to secure a large institutional space for interest representation and resource access in their local communities (Xu, 2001).

In addition to governance efforts made by neighborhood-level regulatory forces, civic engagement in the decision-making process in neighborhood affairs also enhances residents' sense of belonging to their communities and nourishes their public consciousness (Pateman, 2006). Activities of civic engagement include serving on neighborhood associations, attending elections of community cadres, and providing support for other members.

Since the late 1990s, the increasing civic engagement in Chinese urban communities has provided strong evidence for Chinese people's increasing awareness of public participation and empowerment. However, as China's urban neighborhoods have become more diverse in location, size, function, resident composition, and other aspects, it is inappropriate to generalize or oversimplify China's base-level civil society construction without referring to specific neighborhood contexts. Also, civic participation and engagement in LEIR neighborhoods may have been largely influenced by a number of cultural and political constraints. These constraints distinguish the case from those observed in conventional urban neighborhoods.

Documenting and reflecting on the above-mentioned case-specific factors is critical for Chinese planners and policy makers in the establishment of more robust and responsive practices to support land-expropriated villagers resettled in urban LEIR neighborhoods. Meanwhile, eradicating the hindrances to the base-level democratization of governance in resettlement neighborhoods can ultimately empower resettled villagers to be more involved in the decision-making processes of their own community affairs.

State Control and Deeper Reach into Grassroots Governance

While the construction of civil society and the increasing civic engagement have largely changed the governance landscape of China's urban communities, the central authority has never forsaken its influences on small territorial scales. The continuous infiltration of the state power in grassroots communities is rooted in the Party authority's fear of an irreversible decline in social control and regime stability during the process of power devolution.

In the beginning of the 21st century, the Hu Jintao leadership launched the campaign for "Building a Harmonious Socialistic Society" and highlighted the role of the state in coordinating such transition. Governance in China became "the reconstruction of the state rather than the dismantlement of a strong state" (Yu & He, 2012, p.44). "State-building" accentuates the fact that good governance cannot be achieved without a strong and effective state. Under this mentality, the central authority has strengthened the ability of the state to "penetrate society, organize social relations, and implement policies through a process of negotiation and cooperation in society" (Onis, 1991, p.123). By reconstructing the coordination with base-level neighborhood associations, China's nation state extends its institutional "embeddedness" in grassroots society (Soifer & vom Hau, 2008). By mediating conflicts among neighborhood regulative forces and maximizing their effectiveness in facilitating societal transitions, the state fortifies its administrative influence and societal absorption from below (Heberer & Göbel, 2011).

In addition to institutional embeddedness, the central government also encourages community members to regulate themselves according to state-led frames of references. These frames are structured by a mentality—a "collective, relative bounded unity"—that is not "readily examined by those who inhabit it" (Dean, 1999, p. 16).

The Interpenetration of Culture in Urban Governance

A century ago, two European sociologists, Max Weber and Emile Durkheim anticipated the advent of new “cultural bonds” (Thompson, 1997) that would “facilitate orderly social change and reduce the disturbing effects on social order of the industrial and political revolutions, and of pressures from urbanization and individualizations” (p.10). More recently, Low (1996) highlights the “cultural and sociopolitical manifestations” of urban lives and everyday practices in theorizing and understanding cities.

An ongoing debate concerns the role of culture in urban governance. Chartier (1997) precisely synthesized two senses of “culture”:

The first designates the works and the acts that, in a given society, concern aesthetic or intellectual judgement; the second aims at the ordinary practices—the ones “with no qualities”—that weave the fabric of daily relations and express the way a community lives and reflects its relations with the world and with the past (p. 21).

Some argue that the first sense of culture normalizes and restrains the second sense of culture through the empowerment of experts, legislators, moral guardians, and other ruling forces. Accordingly, culture is subjected to political practices that are manipulated by elite classes and powerful authorities. This interpretation underestimates the fundamental role of culture in advancing human civilization and fails to foresee the advent of a “cultural turn” that conceives culture as “a constitutive condition of existence of social life”, instead of “a dependent variable” (Hall, 1997, p.220). The manifesto of the culture turn highlights the capacity of culture in formatting, organizing, and “constituting from within” all sorts of social relations, activities, and institutions (Bennett, 2003, p. 50).

Culture, in the realm of the public sphere, “standardizes values of a community” and “mediates the experience of individuals” (Douglas, 1966, p.38). Every social practice has a cultural dimension. The power of culture in restructuring subjective meanings, identities, and inner-selves is profound. The “centrality of culture”—with regard to its constitution of “subjectivity” and “identity”—manifested in all scales of social relations, activities, and institutions (Bennett, 2003; Hall, 1997). “Governing by culture” is to incorporate culture as a constitutive tool for tackling governance challenges and sustaining social and moral order (Hall, 1997). The more centrally a culture is positioned, the more effectively its constitutive power can be utilized to manage governance deficiencies and make social changes (Bennett, 2003).

The cultural focus opens up a new scope for unraveling the existing community governance in China’s LEIR neighborhoods. Culture as a constitutive factor has shaped resettled villagers’ attitudes towards regulative authorities, and consequently affects the overall performance of community governance and the delivery of community services in LEIR neighborhoods. Unfortunately, the current institutional strategies employed in resettlement neighborhoods are not different from those applied in conventional urban neighborhoods. Very limited training and resources are available for grassroots regulators to use in accommodating resettled villagers’ particular socio-cultural needs in LEIR neighborhoods (Li et al., 2016; Liang et al., 2014).

Essentially, the cultural factors associated with villagers’ life transformation help appraise the features and feasibilities of grassroots institutions in governing resettlement neighborhoods. To advance the current community governance in LEIR neighborhoods, decision makers should pay more attention to villagers’ post-resettlement cultural integration and adaptive resilience.

Coalitions in Community Governance and the Formation of New Regimes

In recent years, new patterns of community governance have begun to emerge. These changes relate not just to the changing role and nature of local governments, but relate also to the roles of other stakeholders in the governing system. Today, a wide range of organizations work as agents or partners in the provision of diverse community services (Clarke, 2017). This trend, however, does not mean a diminution of the power and influences of the state and local governance apparatuses, but rather signals a “complexity” that is added to grassroots governance and service provision in urban communities (Clarke & Stewart, 1994, pp. 202-203):

The innovations manifesting themselves in structures such as partnerships, local agencies for economic development, *ad hoc* initiatives in economic and community development in inner city and rural areas and approaches to management which place a high value on devolution, deconcentration and clearly define accountabilities, all add to complexity within the community, whatever other benefit they may bring.

Different forms of partnerships and relationships between formal or structured governments and the voluntary or contractual sectors, in combination with their dynamic interactions, have led to new models for community governance. The intricate matrix of such partnerships and relationships constructs the formation of new regimes in a world where social complexity and institutional interdependence are pervasive. Here the key concept, *regime*, refers to informal yet relatively stable coalitions for ruling territories, communities or societies (Stone, 1989). A regime’s capacity or power is maintained through sustained cooperation navigated by clear policy direction, and depends on regime partners’ ability to mobilize strategic resources in accordance with major policy agendas (Stoker, 1995, p. 61).

The formation of a regime is based on the awareness of interdependence among members of an urban community. A new governance regime is expected to reunite fragmented responsibilities; underpin deficiencies in infrastructure provision; ensure that diverse voices are heard and needs are expressed; and manage intricate networks through which different agencies and organizations operate in a proper, efficient, and supportive way (Clarke & Stewart, 1994).

The millennium has shifted China's community governance from a focus of "community service" to a new agenda of "community building" (Bray, 2006). China's urban community is no longer confined to providing residents with basic property management and social welfare services. New forms of physical and social spaces within a community have broadened its original institutional function to include medical and health care, culture, education, policing, grassroots democracy, and Party building (General Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, 2011; Ministry of Civil Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2016). While these new areas of functioning have enlarged the scope of community governance in China's urban neighborhoods, the processes of community building have been constantly imbued with a more complex dimensions of sensitivity to public interest, representativeness, and systemic power. It is under such context that new regulatory coalition is being initiated to create a larger relational space to support social transformation and societal resurgence. However, the stabilities and strength of a coalition significantly vary when considering different scenarios of leadership components, resource sharing, and network strategies. In addition, the capacity of a coalition to perform and accomplish goals is highly dependent on the characteristics of different partners and the specific socio-cultural context of each action arena.

Conclusions

Based on the conceptual framework of the thesis (**Figure 2-1**), this chapter reviews multiple threads of literature that are used to understand villagers' post-resettlement urban integration and the management of that integration in LEIR neighborhoods. This literature review sets up the theoretical foundation for conducting my fieldwork and analyzing the research findings.

Acculturation theory helps unpack villagers' post-resettlement urban integration through documenting their less-tangible cultural dimensional life transformation. By introducing the acculturation concept, the analysis of villagers' post-resettlement life conditions can be linked directly to their changing values, attitudes, ways of behavior, and other cultural domains at behavioral, affective, and cognitive levels of functioning. While the discussion of land expropriated villagers' urban integration in resettlement neighborhoods has covered a wide range of perspectives, there has been little emphasis on analyzing villagers' life transformation experience as a complex process of cultural inclinations. In addition, there is a paucity of research that systematically examines how villagers' cultural inclinations, residence preferences, and levels of urban integration may have varied due to individual differences and situational factors. This research proposes two hypotheses regarding villagers' post-resettlement urban integration. The first hypothesis is that villagers' cultural inclinations have largely affected their stages of urban integration. The second hypothesis is that villagers' life transformation and urban integration trajectories vary by their socio-demographic attributes and situational factors such as pre-resettlement conditions and neighborhood socio-geographic contexts.

Discourse analysis of the management of villagers' urban integration is centered on community-based governance. Since the 1990s, China's urban communities have largely shifted

the burden of public goods and services away from being the governments' responsibility. The research on community planning and governance has accordingly gained popularity. However, there is a lack of scholarly work fully assessing the community governance mechanism in an LEIR neighborhood context. Even less literature has articulated the impacts and implications of community-based governance on villagers' post-resettlement urban integration. My research closes a portion of these gaps through unpacking the existing mechanism and new coalition of community governance functioning in LEIR neighborhoods.

The features of the existing community governance mechanism are conceptualized through three narratives. The two conventional (well-developed) narratives—community-based democratization and state control—have laid out the foundation for the investigation of state-society interactions in LEIR neighborhoods. However, the results of the base-level social management and the state's deeper reach into grassroots governance may form unique patterns when considering the specific resident components of resettlement neighborhoods. This thesis proposes that the gradual transformation of rurality among the resettled villagers interpenetrates and modifies the bottom-up democratization, the top-down state control, and the overall performance of community governance in LEIR neighborhoods, which ultimately affects community associations' capacity in managing villagers' post-resettlement urban integration. The third cultural narrative underscores the particular socio-spatial context of the case and reiterates the constitutive power of culture in mediating social relations and political practices.

The review of literature ends with looking into the new coalition of community governance. The formation of new regulatory coalitions aims to tackle the case-specific and non-routine governance challenges in LEIR neighborhoods. The construction of these coalitions aligns with the world's most-recent trends in governance goals and approaches. The appraisal of the new

regulatory coalition for advancing China's community governance is guided by regime theory, a conceptual framework for understanding the creation of new coalitions and partnerships among the state, non-state, and private sector actors. The empirical findings will provide valuable planning and policy insights for guiding the management of rural inhabitants' urban integration in China and other country regions.

Finally, it is worthwhile noting that the process of resettled villagers' post-resettlement urban integration and the overall performance of community regulators and other regime partners in managing this process condition and impact each other, largely due to the constitutive and interpenetrative power of culture in restructuring social relations and urban governance. These reciprocal interactions, as well as the cultural inputs in such interactions, are further discussed in the later chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Method

Prologue

Through case studies of four resettlement neighborhoods located in two suburban districts of metropolitan Shanghai, the thesis is designed to examine resettled villagers' urban integration and the unique rationales of community governance in managing that process in LEIR neighborhoods. The examination of the governance lies in the backdrop of a complex socio-political matrix—constituted by the emergence of community-based democratization, the infiltration of the state's paternalistic scientism, and the existence of the cultural barriers associated with villagers' life transformation experience—manifested in the sampled LEIR neighborhoods. Through understanding the perspectives from both affected villagers and multi-level regulators, this work not only highlights China's ongoing societal transformation driven by massive land expropriation and rural-to-urban resettlement, but also assesses the effectiveness of the existing community governance mechanism and new coalition in service delivery, regulation enforcement, civic engagement, conflict management, and the overall urban integration management.

On-site data collection and field work were conducted from May to September in 2017. The research method combined (1) participatory observations in the sampled LEIR neighborhoods; (2) door-to-door household surveys of resettled villagers; and (3) key informant interviews with community association staff members and resettled villagers. This chapter introduces the case study sites, the participants, the details of the surveys and interviews, and relevant ethical considerations.

Case Study Sites

The selection of study area and fieldwork sites started with an archival study in the Shanghai Library, Shanghai City Archives, Shanghai Urban Construction Archives, Shanghai Institute for Economics of Urban and Rural Development, and local libraries and archives from June to September of 2014. In December 2015 and August 2016, I paid field visits to several potential research sites and made connections with local contacts for later field work. Two factors—representativeness and feasibility—were considered in the final selection of research sites. The on-site field work was conducted from May to September of 2017 in four selected resettlement neighborhoods from two suburban districts—Songjiang District and Fengxian District.

Study Area

The Yangtze River Delta (YRD) city region (**Figure 3-1**), led by metropolitan Shanghai, has a long history of domestic and global trade beginning in the early 19th century. In 2008, Shanghai rose to be in the same rank as Tokyo according to a report done by the Globalization and World Cities Research Network at Loughborough University in the UK. For China, Shanghai's status of being the regional hub is tied to the country's strategic development plan. If Shanghai maintains its pace of economic development, it will take a leading role in Asia and become one of the most thriving and competitive global centers that attract worldwide investment and talents.

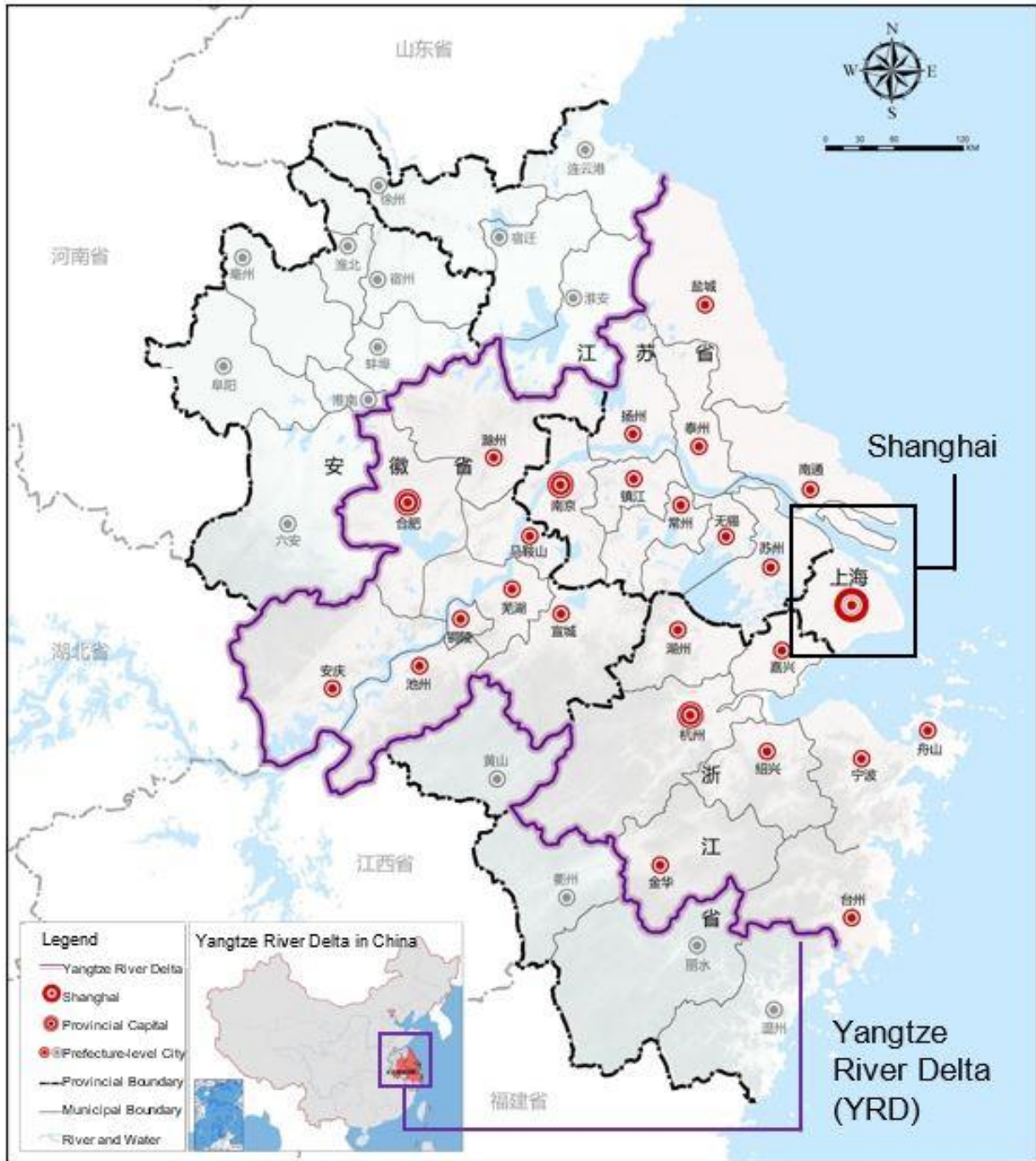


Figure 3-1: Yangtze River Delta (YRD) City Region and the Location of Municipal Shanghai

Source: National Development and Reform Commission (Edited by the Author)

As China's economic center and an emerging global city, Shanghai is a place where "old edifices were being ripped down and replaced by new ones" (Wasserstrom, 2009, p. 109). The rise of Shanghai has witnessed a remarkable urban expansion and restructuring beyond the city limits. To facilitate Shanghai's growth, China's state council approved the incorporation of seven counties from the city's neighboring province, Jiangsu Province, into the municipal territory in 1956 and has since gradually extended the city boundary through annexation. In 1949, Shanghai covered an area of only 636.18 square kilometers, whereas at the end of 2010, the city had a total area of 6,340 square kilometers. In fact, the municipal territory has expanded almost ten times within fifty years. At the end of 2017, the city had a total population over 24 million, with about 14.46 million permanent residents (Shanghai Municipal Statistics Bureau and Survey Office of the National Bureau of Statistics Shanghai, 2018).

Shanghai as a model city is smart, competitive, and prosperous. However, this city is not just a place where innovative development strategies and governance techniques have been initiated, it is also a place where new urban problems first emerge. The city renewal project in the 1990s led to the demolishing of many old downtown neighborhoods to accommodate the construction of towering office buildings, high-end hotels, and shopping malls. Since the launch of the satellite-town projects in 1958, many suburban towns have begun to face serious water, sewage, and solid waste problems, widening the living-quality gap between urban and rural residents. The rising socio-spatial problems caused by accelerated urban restructuring raises questions about the promised future of Shanghai. Whose city is it and whom does it serve? How are different groups of people affected? How is urbanization controlled and by whom? Shanghai, as a fascinating case, provides meaningful lessons—both promising and cautionary—for cities in China and beyond.

Sampled Neighborhoods

The four selected LEIR neighborhoods are located in two suburban districts—Songjiang and Fengxian—in the southwest and south areas of metropolitan Shanghai (**Figure 3-2**). This selection considers the situational factors—such as resident component, geographic location, and host cultural influences—that might affect villagers’ life transformation and community governance. These four sampled neighborhoods represent two major types of LEIR neighborhoods.

The first type are newly constructed multistory apartments specifically designed to accommodate land-expropriated villagers (hereafter “Mono” type or sample). These neighborhoods are commonly close to former land expropriation sites but far from urban centers. The majority of the RC staff in Mono LEIR neighborhoods have experiences working in rural areas and are quite familiar with rural culture and life styles. A large LEIR neighborhood in Songjiang District was selected to represent this type. To ensure confidentiality, “Y” is given as the anonymous name for this neighborhood (**Figure 3-3**, upper left). The neighborhood was built to accommodate rural residents, from four nearby villages, whose lands were expropriated for national high-speed rail construction and rural land consolidation projects. The neighborhood, which completed Phase I construction (496 apartment units) in 2006 and Phase II construction (1,094 apartment units) in 2012, is close to a manufacturing-based industrial park, a high-speed railway station, and a stretch of wasteland, but far from commercial or service centers. A bus station is right beside the main entrance of the neighborhood. It takes villagers 30 minutes by bus to travel between their neighborhood and the nearest commercial/or service centers.

The second type of LEIR neighborhoods accommodates a mix of resettled villagers and commercial apartment buyers in existing urban residential areas (hereafter “Mix” type or sample).

Compared to Mono type LEIR neighborhoods, Mix type LEIR neighborhoods are often closer to urban commercial and service centers. Most RC members there are experienced in grassroots community governance. This type of LEIR neighborhood is represented by three adjacent resettlement neighborhoods in Fengxian District (a total of 2, 137 apartment units). To ensure confidentiality, “*K*”, “*D*”, and “*M*” are given as the anonymous names for these neighborhoods (**Figure 3-3**, upper right, lower left, and lower right, respectively). In each neighborhood, approximately one-third of the residents are previous rural residents, from four nearby villages, whose lands were expropriated for the construction of schools, commercial housing projects, and road expansion. Neighborhood *K* was built in 2004 with a capacity of 741 apartment units. Neighborhood *D* was built in 2006. It includes a west zone (534 apartment units) and an east zone (290 apartment units) divided by a major road. Neighborhood *M* was built in 2013. It has 572 apartment units. Compared to Neighborhood *K* and Neighborhood *D*, its physical appearance and infrastructures are more up to date. These three resettlement neighborhoods adjoin a few multistory commercial apartments and three high-rises that target middle-class buyers. A hospital, a middle school, a basketball court, a small public library, and a variety of restaurants, recreational areas, and service centers are within walking distance of the sampled neighborhoods. As the scales of the neighborhoods and the number of total resettled villagers living in these three neighborhoods are much smaller than those in Neighborhood *Y*, I combined the three neighborhoods as one united sample to represent the conditions in Mix LEIR neighborhoods. In addition, the difference of the construction years of these three neighborhoods resembles the sequential construction phases of Neighborhood *Y*. These time differences include time-related factors, such as length of residence, into the discussion.

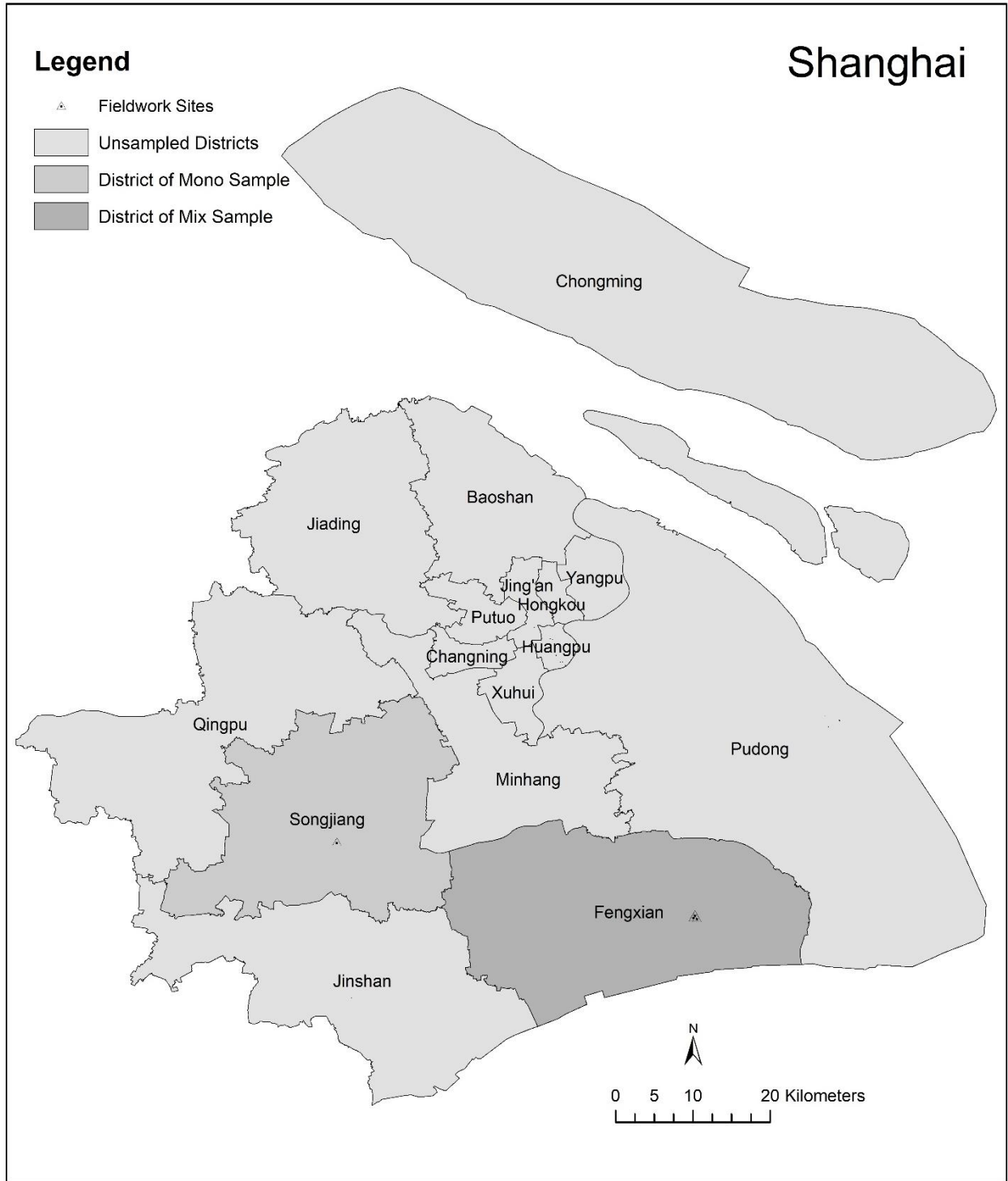


Figure 3-2: Case Study Sites in Suburban Shanghai (Created by the Author)



Figure 3-3: Sampled Neighborhoods (Photos Taken by the Author)

Note: upper left: Neighborhood K; upper right: Neighborhood Y; lower left: Neighborhood D; and lower right: Neighborhood M.

The Participants

Survey Participants

A total of 453 valid questionnaires were received from resettled villagers in the four sampled LEIR neighborhoods. The survey was carried out between May and September in 2017. Specifically, 250 participants from Neighborhood *Y* represent villagers resettled to Mono type LEIR neighborhoods and 203 participants from the other three sampled neighborhoods (Neighborhood *K*: 78; Neighborhood *D*: 64; and Neighborhood *M*: 61) represent villagers resettled to Mix type LEIR neighborhoods. As the total population of resettled villagers in the four sampled LEIR neighborhoods is approximately 4,600 (Neighborhood *Y*: 2,721; Neighborhood *K*: 625; Neighborhood *D*: 686; and Neighborhood *M*: 562), the sample rate is around 9.8%, which is appropriate for statistical assessment. A combination of stratified sampling (in each sampled neighborhood, the questionnaires were equally distributed in every building) and random sampling (in each building, the questionnaires were randomly distributed to apartment units) was applied to recruit the survey participants. I read the survey contents to villagers and recorded their answers. I provided immediate explanations when villagers needed clarifications about the questionnaire.

Ten socio-demographic attributes—gender, age, employment status, education level, marital status, housing condition, generation(s) living together, monthly income, length of residence, and urban exposure before resettlement—were collected to record individual differences. The detailed distributions of each socio-demographic attribute are presented in **Table 4-1** of **Chapter Four**. In later chapters, the survey participants will be referred to in the format of their survey IDs with their neighborhood types and targeting neighborhoods (e.g., Survey 1_Mono_Neighborhood *Y*).

Interview Participants

The key informant interviewees in this research are staff members from the three major neighborhood associations—residents’ committee (RC), homeowners’ association (HOA), and property management agent (PMA)—in the four sampled LEIR neighborhoods. The average interviews length was about an hour. A total number of eighteen interviews were conducted from July to September of 2017, among which ten represented the Mono type and eight represented the Mix type. The recruitment was completed in May and June of 2017. Purposive sampling was applied to recruit participants. Accordingly, ten respondents are RC members, four respondents are HOA representatives, and four respondents are PMA staff. More information about the interviewed neighborhood association representatives is provided in the interview agenda presented in **Appendix A**. In later chapters, these interviewees will be referred to in the format of their interview IDs with their association types and targeting neighborhoods (e.g., Interviewee 1_RC_Neighborhood Y).

In addition to the feedback from community regulatory forces, the opinions from resettled villagers were also collected. From June to September of 2017, a total number of ten in-depth interviews were conducted with resettled villagers, among which four represent the Mono type and six represent the Mix type. The interviewees were chosen from the survey participants who were enthusiastic about sharing more of their feelings, experiences, and expectations of living in LEIR neighborhoods. They were further asked to provide extra comments on the existing community governance mechanism in facilitating their life transformation in scheduled interviews. **Appendix B** shows the socio-demographic information for the ten interviewed resettled villagers. In later chapters, these interviewees will be referred to in the format of their interview IDs with their resident status and associated neighborhoods (e.g., Interview 1_Resident_Neighborhood Y).

Research Methods

Participatory Observation

My participatory experiences allowed me to more closely investigate the impacts of LEIR practices on reconstituting villagers' everyday life and grassroots community governance. During my five months of fieldwork, I stayed in places within or near the sampled neighborhoods to better document villagers' living environments, spatial experiences, and the rhythms of their everyday life. I took site photos and wrote my observation notes by the end of the day. Living close to the research sites also enabled me to observe special community events (e.g., garbage sorting campaign) and traditional ceremonial activities (e.g., funerals and nuptials). I supplemented my observation with surveys and interviews.

Introduced by a local contact, I was able to undertake a two-month internship at the residents' committee of neighborhood *Y* to closely observe the routine work of the staff members and how they interact with resettled villagers on a regular basis. This opportunity provided me valuable insights on the institutional dynamics, internal divisions of labor, and workload of staff members in a typical RC that serves LEIR neighborhoods. Through RC members in the sampled resettlement neighborhoods, I made connections with the representatives of homeowners' associations and property management agents working in the same areas.

Despite being time-consuming and costly, the on-site ethnographic work helped me build up relationships with local residents and community regulators. Interacting with me in a more regular basis, they felt confident about confiding in me and were open to share their life or work experiences in the sampled LEIR neighborhoods.

Door-to-door Survey

Door-to-door surveys were conducted to demystify villagers' life transformation trajectories in resettlement neighborhoods and further collect their opinions on community governance. A small portion of the participants provided extra information for their answers to the survey questions, which served as valuable sources when interpreting the survey results. The survey has three parts. The first part generates socio-demographic information of the participants. The second part investigates villagers' life transformation through the conceptual lens of acculturation. The last part asks villagers for their opinions on three major community associations involved in facilitating their urban integration in new settlements. The entire content of the survey is attached in **Appendix C: Survey Questionnaire**.

The questions for investigating villagers' acculturation trajectories were developed through pilot interviews with resettled villagers in sampled neighborhoods prior to the field work. The final assessment items were refined to 19 questions, among which 18 were selected to appraise villagers' cultural inclinations and one extra question was set to assess villagers' current preferences on where to live. The 18 cultural inclination questions represent five acculturation domains: (I) language use; (II) social interaction; (III) living habit; (IV) cultural identity; and (V) place experience. "Language use" refers to the regularity of and preferences for villagers to speak their local dialects and the official language "mandarin". "Social interaction" measures how frequently and willingly villagers develops "bonding (in-group)" and "bridging (out-group)" networks at the neighborhood level (Putnam, 2001; Wang et al., 2017). "Living habit" denotes villagers' frequency of and attitudes towards practicing certain living habits and customs that are respectively identical with their original and host cultures. "Cultural identity" traces how villagers situate or locate themselves in rural and urban cultural groups. And finally, "place experience" reflects villagers'

general perception of living in their previous and current settlements. Detailed information about these five acculturation domains and their respective questionnaire items are presented in **Table 4-2** of **Chapter Four**. These cultural domains have been discussed in many empirical studies examining acculturative consequences among a variety of population groups (see, for example, Cuéllar et al., 1995; Fang et al., 2016; Fang et al., 2017; Gui et al., 2012; Landrine & Klonoff, 1994; Marin & Gamba, 1996; Mendoza, 1989; Stephenson, 2000; Szapocznik et al., 1980). In addition to acculturation inquiries, the participants were also asked about their current living preferences (three options: “rural village”, “LEIR neighborhood”, and “no particular preference”) to indicate their general acceptance of their new settlement.

This study applied multiple models to present and interpret villagers’ acculturation results. *Pearson’s Product-moment* correlation analysis was applied to test the dimensional dependence of the two studied cultural issues. Following that, the *K-means* algorithm was used to present the clustering distribution of villagers’ group acculturation patterns. Box plots, along with a table of results, visualized the variances of five acculturation domains. Multiple linear regressions were processed to illustrate how acculturative results varied among villagers with dissimilar socio-graphic attributes. Finally, the relationships between villagers’ acculturation outcomes and their current residence preferences were analyzed through multinomial logistic regressions. All the models were processed through the *R* software. I have compared the results of the two sample sets to consider situational/contextual factors that might affect villagers’ acculturative behaviors.

Following the acculturation section, villagers were asked to evaluate the respective governance performance of the three neighborhood associations (three options: no/limited help; some help; and great help) in facilitating their urban integration in their resettlement neighborhoods. Participants were encouraged to provide extra comments on their answers. These

answers solicited general opinions, from the side of resettled villagers, on: (1) the mismatch between community services/amenities and villagers' socio-cultural needs; (2) the cases of villagers' interactions and/or conflicts with neighborhoods associations; and (3) villagers' overall opinions on the effectiveness and governing capacity of neighborhood associations in assisting their urban integration. This set of feedback was then combined with the interview results to assess community governance in LEIR neighborhoods.

Key Informant Interview

The key informant interview probes the rationales, features, and effectiveness of the existing community governance mechanism operated in LEIR neighborhoods, especially in the perspective of conditioning and facilitating resettled villagers' urban integration. The concepts of base-level democratization, state control, and cultural impacts were incorporated into the design of the interview protocols. A total number of 28 interviews were recorded in four sampled LEIR neighborhoods (18 interviews with representatives from three major neighborhood associations and 10 interviews with resettled villagers). The interview results were sorted and assessed through the *NVivo 12 Plus* software according to various thematic categories. Additional comments collected from the surveys were also included in the discussion of the results and discourse analysis.

The interview targeting neighborhood association representatives contains five sections. The first section asks for basic information on community administration and services provided by interviewees' organizations. The second section explores the impacts of villagers' life transformation on community governance. The third section solicits answers about the capacity of community governance in facilitating villagers' urban integration in LEIR neighborhoods. The

fourth section probes the collaborations and/or conflicts between interviewees' institutions and other regulative actors/partners in governing LEIR neighborhoods. Interviewees are also consulted about their opinions on governmental interventions and new collaborative initiatives in community governance and neighborhood affairs. The fifth section asks interviewees to comment on community governance and services provided by their institutions and other neighborhood associations. The entire content of the interview with neighborhood association representatives is attached in **Appendix D: Interview Protocol (I)**.

The open-ended interviews with resettled villagers deepens the understanding of the results collected from the door-to-door surveys. The interview contains three sections. The first section asks villagers to compare their life experiences in rural and urban communities. They are also asked to describe their urban integration experiences in their current resettlement neighborhoods. The second section explores social, cultural, and political perspectives of villagers' post-resettlement life experiences, including their civic engagement, regulatory compliance, and social networking. The final section investigates villagers' comments on existing community governance in LEIR neighborhoods. More specifically, villagers are consulted about their opinions on different degrees of assistance they have received from the three key community regulatory forces (RCs, HOAs, and PMAs) to integrate to the urban environment and society of their new settlement. The entire content of the interview with resettled villagers is attached in **Appendix E: Interview Protocol (II)**.

Voices from resettled villagers and neighborhood association representatives provide comparative views on villagers' life transformation and community governance in sampled LEIR neighborhoods. These comparative results help to identify the communicative barriers between community regulators and resettled villagers. Moreover, the comparative results, especially in

terms of both sides' comments on community governance, uncover the limitations of current community governance mechanism in tackling specific administrative and service challenges that are manifested particularly in LEIR neighborhoods. In addition, feedback from the residents and grassroots foresees new governance initiatives—some currently being piloted—that may accelerate a paradigm shift in governing China's urban neighborhoods.

Ethical Considerations

Prior to the on-site fieldwork, I received the approval of the application for the ethics review of research involving human participants from the university's Office of Research Ethics. Involvement in the research was invited in a way to minimize pressure on potential participants. Participating in the study was completely voluntary. All the survey and interview participants were informed that they could decline to answer any questions and stop the study or withdraw their participation at any time by advising the researcher without any penalty.

Confidentiality is set as the priority for protecting the research participants. Surveys and interviews in this thesis do not contain any personal identification information of the participants. All the identification information is completely confidential. Participants' names were not linked to the collected data. As such, privacy and confidentiality were maintained through the use of pseudonymous IDs. Also, the survey and interview participants were not identified by their words or who they discuss. Finally, all the research documents and field notes were carefully stored with an exclusive access for the investigator.

CHAPTER FOUR

Villagers' Acculturation in LEIR Neighborhoods

Prologue

LEIR practice has tremendous impacts on villagers' everyday life. Compared to their physical adaptation, villagers face more difficulties in adapting to the life in urban settings organized by new values, norms, and traditions (Li et al., 2014; Wu & Qin, 2008). For land-expropriated villagers, the resettlement from a rural setting to an urban environment provides the context for an acculturation process that entails two dimensions of action—the continuity of rural village culture and the adoption of urban neighborhood culture. Yet, there is a lack of comprehensive understanding about how well villagers have maintained their original culture and adapted to the culture of their new settlements. This research demystifies resettled villagers' life transformation in LEIR neighborhoods through the conceptual lens of acculturation.

The early studies of acculturation interpret the value and life changes among indigenous groups during and after the process of colonization (Hallowell, 1945; Koptseva & Kirko, 2014). The theory developed from these studies has then been applied to conceptualize ethnic and cultural minorities' involvement in multicultural societies (Cuéllar et al., 1995; Landrine & Klonoff, 1994). With an increasing level of worldwide population mobility, the acculturation among migrants has been extensively discussed. For instance, Berry and Sabatier (2011) illustrated the relationship of acculturation attitudes with the self-esteem levels among second-generation immigrants. Gui, Berry, and Zheng (2012) articulated the influences of migrant workers' acculturation on their life

satisfaction and self-worth. Fang, Sun, and Yuen (2017) examined the relationship between migrant children's acculturation orientations and their mental health.

Although a burgeoning body of literature has documented a wide range of acculturation trajectories among a variety of migrant populations, scholarly work has not fully fathomed the nuances of acculturation phenomenon among China's land-expropriated villagers whose resettlement is initiated by governments. Different from typical voluntary rural-to-urban migrations, China's state-led land expropriation-induced resettlement (LEIR) brings three major changes to former rural dwellers: (1) household registration status (*hukou*) change that entails identity reconfiguration; (2) relinquishment of rural land use right, which is compensated by urban social welfare entitlement; and (3) permanent displacement, followed by the loss of traditional rural community and social networks. Essentially, the acculturation processes and consequences of government-led LEIR practices could be notably different from those of voluntary migrations that are driven by personal, family, or group interests. It is, therefore, critical to avoid overgeneralizing acculturation findings without referring to specific resettlement preconditions. By giving voices to the resettled villagers in suburban Shanghai, this study uncovers how China's state-led LEIR practice has reconstituted the socio-cultural fabric of its urban neighborhoods.

Through conducting door-to-door surveys with resettled villagers in four sampled LEIR neighborhoods, this chapter provides answers to three research questions. First, what are the general acculturation patterns manifested among resettled villagers during their life transformation in LEIR neighborhoods? Second, how do individual acculturation outcomes vary by socio-demographic attributes of resettled villagers? Third, how do villagers' acculturation outcomes influence their current residence preferences?

Measuring and Interpreting Acculturative Behaviors

Acculturation is an interactive, developmental, multifactorial, and multidimensional process that determines one's maintenance of the culture of origin ("heritage culture" or "ethnic culture") and adherence to the culture of new settlement ("host culture" or "dominant culture"). This process involves the adaptation, partially or completely, of the values, attitudes, ways of behavior, and other cultural domains (Cabassa, 2003; Fellmann et al., 1995).

The measurement of acculturation starts with a consideration of acculturation dimension. Early empirical studies apply a unidimensional approach by assuming that people's maintenance of their ethnic/heritage cultures weakens when they are more inclined to dominant/host cultures (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994; Trimble, 2003). This statement is challenged by a two-dimensional assumption that highlights the interdependence of two different cultural issues (Cuéllaret al., 1995; Marín & Gamba, 1996; Mendoza, 1989; Stephenson, 2000; Zane & Mak, 2003). In recent years, the two-dimensional approach has been frequently cited in scholarly works (See, for example, Gui et al., 2012; Fang et al., 2017).

Based on the two-dimensional approach, Berry and his associates developed the "fourfold paradigm" (1980; 1988; 1989; 1992; 1997; 2005). This model classifies individual acculturation trajectories into four fixed types (integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization), determined by one's maintenance of the culture of origin and his/her adherence to the dominant or host culture (**Chapter Two** provides more details about the model). Although being widely applied, the fourfold model has been criticized in at least five aspects.

First, as the categorization requires dichotomizing individuals' inclinations to two cultural issues—by splitting their acculturation results of each cultural issue at the median, mean, or scalar

midpoint—the classification of individuals according to the four acculturation strategies is rigid and not strictly comparable across empirical studies (Demes & Geeraert, 2014; Ward & Kus, 2012). Such arbitrary classification is unable to fully explain overlaps among different strategies such as “marginality by assimilation” and “marginality by separation” (concepts raised by Taft in 1981). In addition, the method leads to possible misrepresentation of information, especially when results fall on or near the midpoint lines of the two cultural issues (Berry & Sabatier, 2011).

Second, as the approach only maps the distribution of acculturation types within a targeting group, individual differences in making acculturative choices or impacting collective patterns are inadequate (Barth, 1969; Zane & Mak, 2003). Actually, empirical studies have uncovered a wide range of factors affecting individual acculturation outcomes, including the attitude of or pressure from large society (Berry, 1991), the changing culture of which an individual is a member (Benedict, 1934), the way situations shape and determine one’s behavior, emotion, and cognition (Trimble, 1989), and a variety of individual psychosocial characteristics (Zane & Mak, 2003).

Third, the measuring parameters emphasize more on attitudes than other functioning dimensions (Ward & Kus, 2012). This tendency understates the fact that acculturative changes vary as function of acculturation domains (Cuéllar et al., 1995; Schwartz et al, 2015).

Fourth, the original measurement criteria are dominantly internal factors while situational/contextual perspectives are less considered (Trimble, 1989; Rudmin, 2003). In response to this concern, Berry (2003, 2005, & 2006) advanced the paradigm by introducing acculturation influences from mainstream/large society, and further situated the four acculturation strategies at three scales (national, individual, and institutional levels). In a recent study, Ward and Geeraert (2016) synthesized how familial, institutional and societal contexts impact acculturation.

Finally, there is an unsettled debate on which types of acculturation correlate with negative social or psychological conditions and which correlate with positive ones (Berry & Sam, 1997; Rees, 1970; Spindler & Goldschmidt, 1952). Meanwhile, misinterpretation and miscitations have further weakened the reliability of correlating acculturation types with acculturative stress (Rudmin, 2007).

For the dimensionality debate, this research applied correlation analysis to test the dependence between villagers' maintenance of rural village culture and their adherence to urban neighborhood culture. In response to the deficiencies of the "fourfold paradigm", I developed new analysis approaches to advance the existing measuring models. To address the rigidity concern, I introduced the clustering method. Instead of assigning individuals' acculturation results into four fixed acculturation types (one per quadrant), I grouped these results into clusters. Each cluster contained data yielding close acculturation results in both dimensions. To highlight within-group individual differences, I examined how acculturative results varied among villagers with dissimilar socio-demographic attributes. To go beyond the attitudinal/affective focus, my survey items covered various functioning levels of acculturation. As for the situational factor, I compared the results of two sample sets representing different socio-spatial contexts. Finally, I assessed the relationship between villagers' acculturation outcomes and their current residence preferences. Compared to most abstract perceptions (e.g., happiness, stress, and satisfaction), residence preference is a less biased and measurable perspective that indicates villagers' acceptance levels of their new settlements.

Survey Design and Analytical Approach

Acculturation is assessed through examining various acculturation domains at behavioral, attitudinal, and cognitive functioning levels (Cuéllar et al., 1995). These domains include: language use, preference, and proficiency (Marín & Gamba, 1996; Martinez et al., 1984); social ties, affiliation, and interaction (Fang et al., 2017; Mendoza, 1989); habits and practices (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994; Szapocznik et al., 1980); and cultural knowledge, beliefs, values, and identification (Gui et al., 2012; Stephenson, 2000). The survey content covers five acculturation domains—language use, social interaction, living habit, cultural identity, and place experience. Through pilot interviews, 22 items were retained for composing the final questionnaire. After factor analysis, 18 items were retained, nine items representing villagers' maintenance of rural village culture and nine items representing their adherence to urban neighborhood culture (**Table 4-1**). **Table 4-2** records the loadings of the domains on their corresponding acculturation issues. For the Mono sample, the domain loadings on maintenance of rural culture ($\alpha=0.62$) explained variance of 29% and the domain loadings on adherence to urban culture ($\alpha=0.68$) explained variance of 33%. For the Mix sample, the domain loadings on maintenance of rural culture ($\alpha=0.58$) explained variance of 26% and the domain loadings on adherence to urban culture ($\alpha=0.71$) explained variance of 37%. As eight participants from the Mix sample are not local-born residents, the loadings for the rural dimensional “language use” and “social interaction” of this sample were relatively low. These participants, along with many others, were resettled from Chongqing to Shanghai in 2001 after their lands were expropriated for the Three Gorges Project. These migrants barely speak the local dialect and have kept their distance from local villagers.

Table 4-1: Domains and Items for Assessing Villagers' Acculturation

Domains	Assessment Items	Definition
I. Language Use	X ₁ Frequency of speaking the local dialect:	1) Frequency of Activity (X ₁ , X ₂ , X ₅ , X ₆ , X ₉ , X ₁₀ , X ₁₁ , and X ₁₂ ,) : 1= <i>never</i> 2= <i>seldom</i> 3= <i>sometimes</i> 4= <i>often</i> 5= <i>always</i> 2) Extent of Consent to Statement (X ₃ , X ₄ , X ₇ , X ₈ , X ₁₃ , X ₁₄ , X ₁₅ , X ₁₆ , X ₁₇ , and X ₁₈) : 1= <i>completely disagree</i> 2= <i>mostly disagree</i> 3= <i>moderate or neutral</i> 4= <i>mostly agree</i> 5= <i>completely agree</i>
	X ₂ Frequency of speaking mandarin:	
	X ₃ I feel comfortable when speaking the local dialect.	
	X ₄ I feel comfortable when speaking mandarin.	
II. Social Interaction	X ₅ Frequency of interacting and socializing with people having rural background or life experiences:	
	X ₆ Frequency of interacting and socializing with urban residents:	
	X ₇ I like interacting and socializing with people having rural background or life experiences.	
	X ₈ I like interacting and socializing with urban residents.	
III. Living Habit	X ₉ Frequency of dropping in neighbors' homes and chatting:	
	X ₁₀ Frequency of practicing recycling and garbage sorting:	
	X ₁₁ Frequency of conducting farm work, planting vegetable, or raising poultry during leisure time:	
	X ₁₂ Frequency of participating in community activities during leisure time:	
	X ₁₃ We maintain rural living habits/customs at home (e.g., preparing traditional food, worshiping ancestors, and maintaining rural norms/customs).	
	X ₁₄ We have the same living habits/customs as urbanites.	
IV. Cultural Identity	X ₁₅ In a cultural sense, I currently consider myself as a rural people.	
	X ₁₆ In a cultural sense, I currently consider myself as an urban people.	
V. Place Experience	X ₁₇ I enjoy living in rural village.	
	X ₁₈ I enjoy living in current resettlement neighborhood.	

Note: Rural dimension variables: X₁ , X₃ , X₅ , X₇ , X₉ , X₁₁ , X₁₃ , X₁₅ , and X₁₇ . Urban dimension variables: X₂ , X₄ , X₆ , X₈ , X₁₀ , X₁₂ , X₁₄ , X₁₆ , and X₁₈ .

Table 4-2: Loadings of Acculturation Domains on Two Acculturation Issues

a. Loadings on maintenance of rural culture			b. Loadings on adherence to urban culture		
	Mono Sample	Mix Sample		Mono Sample	Mix Sample
Language Use (X ₁ , X ₃)	0.68	0.16	Language Use (X ₂ , X ₄)	0.75	0.77
Social Interaction (X ₅ , X ₇)	0.66	0.21	Social Interaction (X ₆ , X ₈)	0.80	0.88
Living Habit (X ₉ , X ₁₁ , X ₁₃)	0.33	0.48	Living Habit (X ₁₀ , X ₁₂ , X ₁₄)	0.21	0.32
Cultural Identity (X ₁₅)	0.48	0.65	Cultural Identity (X ₁₆)	0.54	0.56
Place Experience (X ₁₇)	0.45	0.77	Place Experience (X ₁₈)	0.36	0.27
Alpha (α)	0.62	0.58	Alpha (α)	0.68	0.71
SS loadings	1.43	1.30	SS loadings	1.65	1.84
Proportion variance	0.29	0.26	Proportion variance	0.33	0.37

Note: I employed “varimax” rotation to calculate the loadings of the acculturation domains.

An individual’s acculturation outcome was represented by his/her two dimensional acculturation scores—the rural maintenance score (RMS, mean score of the rural dimensional items) and the urban adherence score (UAS, mean score of the urban dimensional items). For each item, a 1-5 Likert scale was applied to measure either the frequency of the relevant activities (from Level 1 denoting “never” to Level 5 denoting “always”) or the extent of consent to the statements (from Level 1 denoting “completely disagree” to Level 5 denoting “complete agree”). The description of the ranges is provided in **Appendix C: Survey Questionnaire**. In addition to the acculturation questions, I also collected information about villagers’ socio-demographic conditions and current living preferences (three options: “rural village”, “LEIR neighborhood”, and “no particular preference”).

Socio-demographic Attributes of the Survey Participants

Ten socio-demographic variables were recorded to reflect the background of the survey participants (Mono: 250; Mix: 203) (**Table 4-3**). The gender distribution was fairly equal (Mono sample: 47.6% male and 52.4% female; Mix sample: 50.7% male and 49.3% female). Elderly people formed the largest proportion of the participants. A community cadre working in the sampled Mono LEIR neighborhood confirmed that about seven out of ten apartment units were occupied by elderly residents. In this case study, 67% of the participants were over 50 years old and 52% were over 60 years old. More than half of the respondents were retired. Only 28% of the participants had obtained high school education and 4% held university degree. Most participants were married and lived with their spouses and/or children. As for the housing condition, the average individual living space was 37.8 m², slightly higher than the 2017 municipal record for the average individual living space of urban residents (36.7 m² according to Shanghai Statistical Bureau). Multi-generations living together reached a higher percentage of total surveyed participants in the Mono sample (66 %) than those in the Mix one (52.8%). Less than 12% of the surveyed villagers' monthly income exceeded the 2017 municipal average individual monthly income of urban residents (RMB 5, 216 / month according to Shanghai Statistical Bureau). This was mainly due to the large number of retired population in the sampled neighborhoods. Although villagers' length of residence in resettlement neighborhoods varied, very few reported a residence over 10 years. This rather short residence time enabled us to better gauge villagers' life transformation. Lastly, 43% of the participants had visited urban areas—for visiting friends or relatives, work, study, entertainment, shopping, or others—on a daily basis before resettlement; around one third visited urban areas on a weekly basis; and the rest went to urban areas on a monthly basis or less. This indicated villagers' considerable urban exposure before resettlement.

Table 4-3: Socio-demographic Information of the Survey Participants

		Mono Sample (N=250)		Mix Sample (N=203)		Total (N=453)	
Gender	Male	119	47.6%	103	50.7%	222	49.0%
	Female	131	52.4%	100	49.3%	231	51.0%
Age	18-29	25	10.0%	12	5.9%	37	8.2%
	30-39	31	12.4%	19	9.4%	50	11.0%
	40-49	37	14.8%	27	13.3%	64	14.1%
	50-59	37	14.8%	31	15.3%	68	15.0%
	60-69	57	22.8%	75	36.9%	132	29.1%
	70 & above	63	25.2%	39	19.2%	102	22.5%
Employment Status	Unemployed	18	7.2%	15	7.4%	33	7.3%
	Employed	104	41.6%	72	35.5%	176	38.9%
	Retired	128	51.2%	116	57.1%	244	53.9%
Education Level	Primary school & below	105	42.0%	72	35.5%	177	39.1%
	Middle & high school	105	42.0%	116	57.1%	221	48.8%
	College & above	40	16.0%	15	7.4%	55	12.1%
Marital Status	Single	15	6.0%	10	4.9%	25	5.5%
	Married	211	84.4%	184	90.6%	395	87.2%
	Divorced	4	1.6%	1	0.5%	5	1.1%
	Widowed	20	8.0%	8	3.9%	28	6.2%
Housing Condition	Average Living Space(m ² / Person)	32.8		44.1		37.8	
Generation(s) Living Together	One	85	34.0%	129	63.5%	214	47.2%
	Two	87	34.8%	62	30.5%	149	32.9%
	Three & above	78	31.2%	12	5.9%	90	19.9%
Monthly Income (RMB)	Around 1,000	27	10.8%	28	13.8%	55	12.1%
	Around 2,000	132	52.8%	105	51.7%	237	52.3%
	Around 3,000	36	14.4%	41	20.2%	77	17.0%
	Around 4,000	18	7.2%	12	5.9%	30	6.6%
	Around 5,000& above	37	14.8%	17	8.4%	54	11.9%
Length of Residence	1-3 years	56	22.4%	23	11.3%	79	17.4%
	4-6 years	139	55.6%	51	25.1%	190	41.9%
	7-9 years	25	10.0%	89	43.8%	114	25.2%
	10 years & above	30	12.0%	40	19.7%	70	15.5%
Urban Exposure before Resettlement	Monthly or less	53	21.2%	46	22.7%	99	21.9%
	Weekly	90	36.0%	68	33.5%	158	34.9%
	Daily	107	42.8%	89	43.8%	196	43.3%

Results

The analysis began with examining acculturation dimensionality through a correlation study. Clustering method was introduced to assess group acculturation patterns. Results of different acculturation domains were compared through box plots and a readable table. Multiple linear regressions were ran to test the influences of socio-demographic attributes on individuals' acculturation outcomes. Following that, multinomial logistic regressions were operated to examine the relationship between villagers' acculturation outcomes and their current residence preferences. All the models were processed through the *R* software and I compared the results of the two sample sets to gauge situational/contextual impacts on acculturative results.

Dimensionality Test

If two cultural issues have strong negative correlation, the two dimensions could be combined into one and a unidimensional model is preferred. If two cultural issues present positive or moderately negative correlation, a two-dimensional model is more suitable to investigate the comparative independence of the two cultural directions (Berry, 2003). In this research, the *Pearson's product-moment* correlation coefficients of the two culture issues (rural village culture and urban neighborhood culture) represented by RMS and UAS results were “- 0.48” for the Mono sample ($t(248) = -8.7, p < 0.001$) and “- 0.39” for the Mix sample ($t(201) = -6.08, p < 0.001$) (Table 4-4). The results showed that the two dimensions were negatively correlated on an average medium level effect size. Besides, except for “cultural identity” of the Mono sample, I did not find strong negative correlations in studied acculturation domains. I, therefore, adopted a two-dimensional framework.

Table 4-4: Pearson’s Product-moment Correlation Coefficients of the Two Cultural Issues

	Mono Sample (N=250)		Mix Sample (N=203)		Total (N=453)	
	<i>r</i>	<i>t</i> (248)	<i>r</i>	<i>t</i> (201)	<i>r</i>	<i>t</i> (451)
I. Language Use	-0.36***	-6.01	-0.34***	-5.08	-0.34***	-7.75
II. Social Interaction	-0.12***	-2.30	0.04	0.62	-0.05	-1.06
III. Living Habit	0.06	0.95	0.15*	2.12	0.11*	2.27
IV. Cultural Identity	-0.65***	-13.30	-0.44***	-6.89	-0.54***	-13.54
V. Place Experience	-0.22***	-3.62	-0.12’	-1.66	-0.14**	-3.03
Acculturation Scores	-0.48***	-8.70	-0.39***	-6.08	-0.42***	-9.88

Note: ’ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Group Acculturation Pattern

Although I criticized the fourfold paradigm for its rigid categorization, I credited its conceptualization of acculturation dimensionality. After validating the two dimensional framework, I estimated four clusters of acculturation results: (1) cluster of “rural inclination”—participants with high RMS and much lower UAS; (2) cluster of “integration”—participants with closely high RMS and UAS; (3) cluster of “urban inclination”—participants with high UAS and much lower RMS; and (4) cluster of “no inclination”—participants with low RMS and low UAS. The survey results excluded the fourth cluster. I, therefore, set the number of the clusters as three. The clustering results under the *K-means* algorithm (**Figure 4-1**) indicated that the Mono and Mix samples followed similar clustering patterns. **Table 4-5** provides more details about the distribution and mean acculturation scores of the three clusters. These results indicated a medium level of urban adherence and a moderately high level of rural inclination among the participants. In both sample sets, villagers of “rural inclination” and “integration” clusters—around two thirds

of the participants—received higher RMSs than UASs. With 95% confidence, the true average RMS was between 0.73 and 0.98 higher than the true average UAS for the Mono sample ($t(476.95) = 13.24, p < 0.001$) and the true average RMS was between 0.84 and 1.12 higher than the true average UAS for the Mix sample ($t(376.12) = 13.55, p < 0.001$). Overall, villagers felt more comfortable when speaking the dialect of their original community; connecting with neighbors having rural life experiences; participating in traditional rural activities; and holding rural identities.

When comparing the two sample sets, I found that the Mix sample had higher percentages of villagers in the clusters of “integration” and “urban inclination”. This result indicated a more evident tendency towards urban integration and adaptation among villagers in the Mix LEIR neighborhoods. With 95% confidence, the true average RMS of the Mix sample was between 0.12 and 0.35 higher than that of the Mono sample ($t(437.91) = 3.98, p < 0.001$) and the true average UAS of the Mix sample was between -0.03 and 0.27 higher than that of the Mono sample ($t(426.71) = 1.52, p = 0.13$). In contrast to the Mix LEIR neighborhoods’ proximity to urban infrastructures and amenities, the Mono LEIR neighborhood was a little bit far from urban residential or commercial sites. In addition, the resident composition of the Mix LEIR neighborhoods provided more opportunities for resettled villagers to interact with urban residents than their counterparts in Mono LEIR neighborhoods. Nevertheless, the sample difference was not very large. The survey participants generally reported high frequency of visiting urban areas before resettlement, for education, employment, entertainment, and other purposes. Also, with the advent of mass media and internet, urban culture and values have widely extended to China’s countryside.

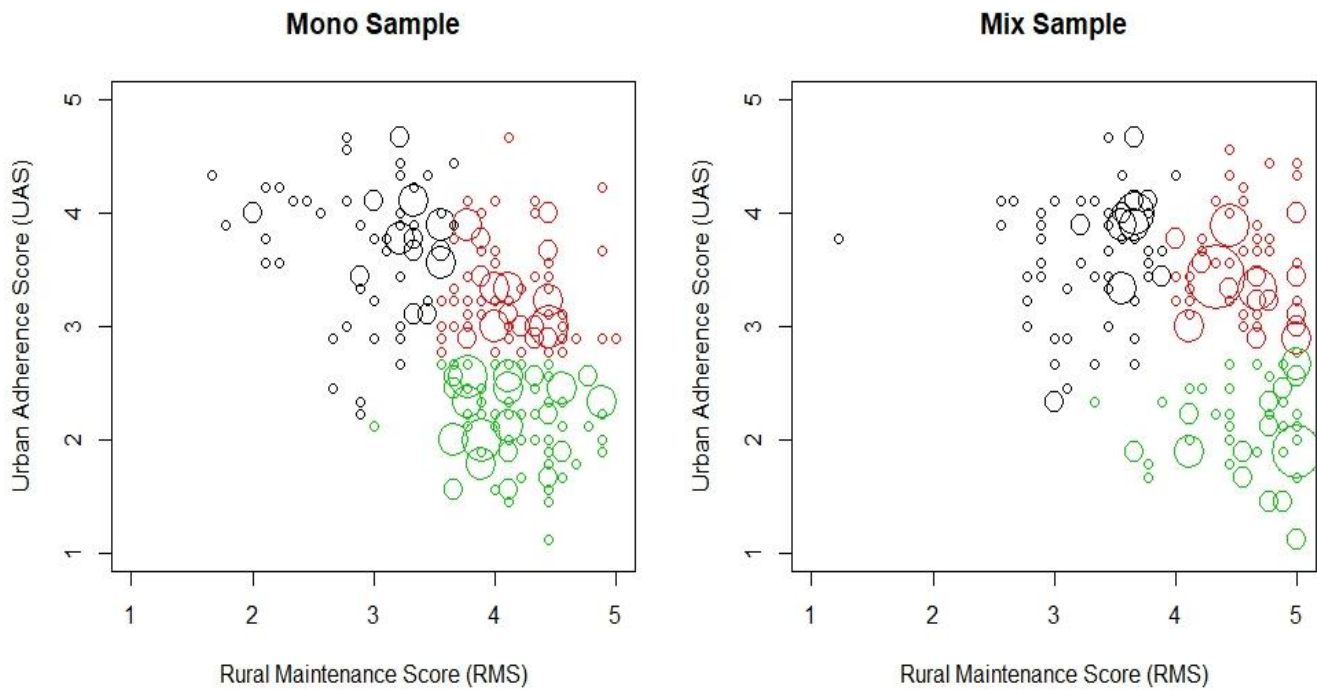


Figure 4-1: Clusters of Acculturation Results in Two Sample Sets (Created by the Author)

Note: In the box, the larger the dot size, the bigger the numbers of duplicated results it represents.

Table 4-5: Distribution and Mean Acculturation Scores of the Three Acculturation Clusters

	Mono Sample (N=250)			Mix Sample (N=203)		
	Percent (%)	Mean RMS	Mean UAS	Percent (%)	Mean RMS	Mean UAS
Rural Inclination	38.40	4.15	2.16	29.56	4.66	2.08
Integration	33.60	4.15	3.30	36.45	4.55	3.50
Urban Inclination	28.00	3.03	3.72	33.99	3.36	3.66

Acculturation Domains

The box plots in **Figure 4-2** visualize the magnitudes and ranges of villagers' acculturation scores according to the five acculturation domains on two dimensions. I drew each box from the first quartile to the third quartile of the scores in a specific domain (a total of 50% of the data). The dark vertical line goes through the box at the median. Above the box lies a short horizontal line (the maximum score), attached to the box with a vertical line, representing 25% of the data that were greater than the scores within the box. Below the box lies a short horizontal line (the minimum score), attached to the box with a vertical line, representing 25% of the data that were less than the scores within the box. The dots outside the short horizontal lines represent outliers from the data frame. **Table 4-6** demonstrates the means, medians, and distributions of each acculturation domain.

For the rural dimension, “language use” and “social interaction” yielded much higher scores than other domains, while “living habit” yielded the lowest. As villager members were resettled to the same LEIR neighborhoods with their families and other previous neighbors, the language environment and pre-resettlement social ties were largely maintained. In contrast, due to space limitation and strict neighborhood regulations, it was hard for villagers to practice their former rural habits (e.g., cultivating vegetable, worshiping ancestors, and dropping in neighbors' homes). The results of “cultural identity” and “place experience” were higher than those of “living habit”. Compared to reconstituting “cultural identity” and “place experience” at a cognitive level, changing one's living habits at a behavioral level was less emotional and stressful. Altering one's living habits also required less collective engagement, and was, therefore, easier to accomplish at an individual level.

For the urban dimension, “living habit” domain did not yield high scores, either. Membership in resettlement neighborhoods brought new regulations and expectations. It took time for villagers to adapt to these new norms and standards. One such example from the survey was the low frequency of practicing recycling and garbage sorting (Mono sample X_{10} mean: 2.82; Mix sample X_{10} mean: 2.87). Meanwhile, urban community activities, such as reading club and public square dancing, were not very attractive to villagers (Mono sample X_{12} mean: 1.94; Mix sample X_{12} mean: 2.05). Consequently, villagers spent more time on watching TV at home or socializing with neighbors in the entranceways of their apartments.

The “cultural identity” domains depicted wider score ranges than other domains, and that feature was more outstanding in the urban dimension (Mono sample “cultural identity” SDs: 1.57 for the rural dimension and 1.65 for the urban dimension; Mix sample “cultural identity” SDs: 1.55 for the rural dimension and 1.84 for the urban dimension). The time resettled villagers took in fully identifying themselves as urban citizens varied from case to case. While some participants viewed themselves as new urbanites right after their registration status was changed from rural to urban, others were reluctant to forsake their rural cultural identity.

While the sample differences were minor in most domains, the Mix sample generated higher scores in rural “living habit”, urban “cultural identity”, and two dimensions of “place experience”. Due to a larger percentage of elderly population, the participants of the Mix sample presented a higher level of practicing and appreciating rural habits. Meanwhile, a less-segregated environment in the Mix LEIR neighborhoods enabled villagers to better observe, learn, and appreciate urban life style. As a result, Mix sample villagers were less conservative in accepting their new cultural identity and more likely to enjoy living in their new settlements.

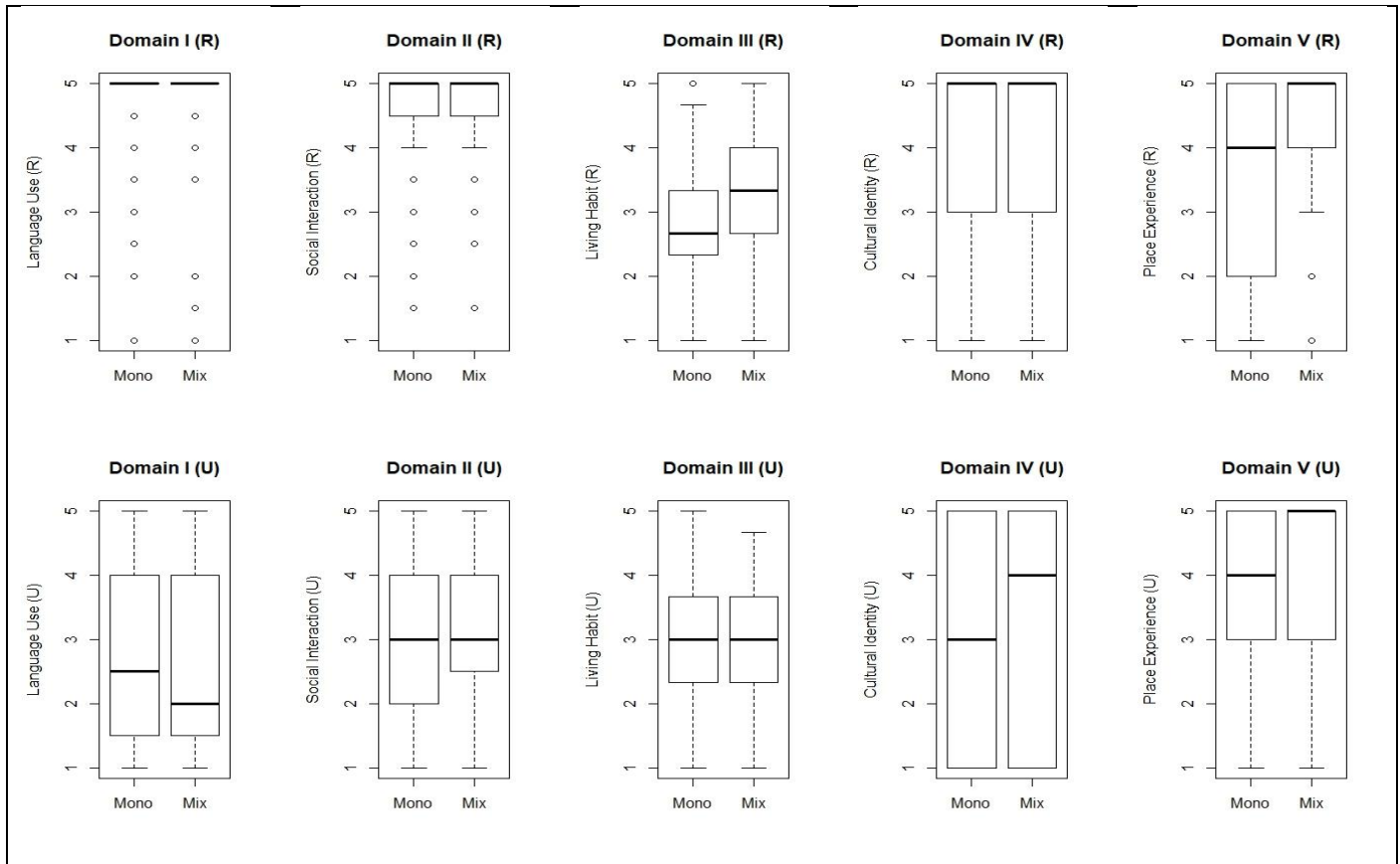


Figure 4-2: Box Plots of Acculturation Results According to Five Acculturation Domains
Note: “R” represents the rural dimension and “U” stands for the urban dimension.

Table 4-6: Means, Medians, and Distributions of the Scores of the Five Acculturation Domains

		Mono Sample (N=250)					Mix Sample (N=203)				
		<i>M</i>	<i>Md</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Md</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>
Language Use	Rural dimension	4.71	5.00	0.75	1.00	5.00	4.66	5.00	0.90	1.00	5.00
	Urban dimension	2.73	2.50	1.48	1.00	5.00	2.66	2.00	1.32	1.00	5.00
Social Interaction	Rural dimension	4.59	5.00	0.71	1.50	5.00	4.71	5.00	0.57	1.50	5.00
	Urban dimension	3.04	3.00	1.17	1.00	5.00	3.15	3.00	1.13	1.00	5.00
Living Habit	Rural dimension	2.81	2.67	0.96	1.00	5.00	3.22	3.33	1.03	1.00	5.00
	Urban dimension	2.95	3.00	0.81	1.00	5.00	3.00	3.00	0.88	1.00	4.67
Cultural Identity	Rural dimension	3.90	5.00	1.57	1.00	5.00	4.00	5.00	1.55	1.00	5.00
	Urban dimension	2.74	3.00	1.65	1.00	5.00	3.19	4.00	1.84	1.00	5.00
Place Experience	Rural dimension	3.60	4.00	1.55	1.00	5.00	4.26	5.00	1.24	1.00	5.00
	Urban dimension	3.68	4.00	1.31	1.00	5.00	4.07	5.00	1.30	1.00	5.00

Individual Differences

According to the multiple linear regression results presented in **Table 4-7**, four of the ten socio-demographic attributes—“age”, “education”, “generation(s) living together”, and “urban exposure before resettlement”—were significantly associated with villagers’ acculturation outcomes for both samples. First, each additional year of age was associated with an increase in villagers’ RMS, when other variables were held constant. Second, villagers with middle and high school education or above had lower RMSs and higher UASs compared to those with primary school education or below. Third, each one more generation living with a participant was associated with an increase of that person’s UAS, when other variables were held constant. Finally, villagers visiting urban areas on a daily basis before resettlement had higher UASs compared to those being exposed to urban environment on a monthly basis or less.

Older villagers were more likely to maintain their rural culture. Having lived in spacious rural areas for a long time, the elderly had strong attachment to rural environment. They were reluctant to forsake their rural lifestyle. Two prominent examples were: (1) elders’ continuous engagement in agricultural activities on nearby unclaimed or public lands; and (2) elders’ spontaneous transformation of public spaces for practicing rural habits. **Figure 4-3** illustrates how villagers were engaged in planting vegetables and flowers in the green areas of their neighborhoods and how they transformed public spaces for realizing extra storage, raising pets outside, and doing laundry activities. In contrast, younger villagers were less attached to the countryside and they commonly had stronger desire for urban lifestyle.



Figure 4-3: Continuity of Rural Life in LEIR Neighborhoods (Photos Taken by the Author)

Note: Upper left: using neighborhood lawns for planting vegetables; upper right: using front door areas for planting flowers; lower left: using open space for storage and raising pets; and lower right: constructing stone platform for washing clothes.

Education was another significant factor. Villagers with higher education were more likely to enjoy urban culture while those less educated were more loyal to their culture of origin. Due to limited education, villagers felt constrained to understand new regulations, seek assistance and utilize urban services, and mingle with urban cultural groups. Moreover, lack of professional education excluded villagers from sophisticated urban jobs and their associated social security benefits. This further discouraged villagers from blending into the dominant society.

With regard to the household factor, higher RMSs were statistically associated with a larger number of generations living together. Informed by the participants, I found that multi-generation living enabled family members to help each other adapt to urban life: the elderly practiced mandarin with their grandchildren; the middle-aged learned about community services from their seniors; and children's after school programs engaged their families in urban social life. Unfortunately, due to an increasing outflow of young people, there are fewer and fewer households with three or more generations living under the same roof in urban resettlement neighborhoods.

Finally, villagers visiting urban areas on a more frequent basis before resettlement were more prepared for their life transformation in the Mix LEIR neighborhoods. Post-resettlement situations also impacted villagers' acculturation. "Length of residence", for example, was more associated with villagers' rural cultural inclination in the Mix sample. The Mono LEIR neighborhood mainly accommodated land-lost villagers. Sharing similar cultural background, community members perceived less stress or incentives for discontinuing their rural cultural practices within a short time frame. In contrast, the socio-spatial conditions in the Mix LEIR neighborhoods facilitated a more sophisticated acculturation process that featured cultural learning, exchange, loss, conflicts, and reconfiguration. Living closely with urban residents, Mix sample villagers more easily recognized the dissimilarity between urban and rural culture, which in turn reinforced their awareness of preserving their heritage culture, at least for the short term.

Table 4-7: Multiple Linear Regression of Acculturation Scores and Socio-demographic Attributes

	Mono Sample		Mix Sample	
	RMS	UAS	RMS	UAS
(Intercept)	2.91 ***	2.71 ***	1.96 ***	2.59 **
1. Gender (ref. = Female)				
-Male	0.04	0.02	-0.02	- 0.05
2. Age	0.02 ***	-0.01	0.01*	-0.005
3. Employment Status (ref. = Unemployed)				
-Employed	0.17	- 0.31	- 0.01	0.28
-Retired	0.11	- 0.08	0.13	0.08
4. Education (ref. = Primary school & below)				
-Middle & high school	-0.14	0.39 ***	-0.22*	0.28 *
-College & above	- 0.26 [’]	0.67 ***	-0.008	0.45 [’]
5. Marital Status (ref. = Single)				
-Married	0.10	0.24	0.42	- 0.07
-Divorced	0.24	0.44	0.27	0.24
-Widowed	- 0.14	0.10	- 0.26	- 0.37
6. Average Living Space (m²/ Person)	- 0.001	-0.0002	0.01**	0.005
7. Generation(s) Living Together	0.008	0.15*	0.10	0.26 [’]
8. Monthly Income (RMB) (ref. = Low: <2000)				
- Average: 2000 - 3999	- 0.17	- 0.17	-0.02	-0.19
- High: 4000 & above	- 0.36 [’]	0.12	- 0.19	-0.23
9. Length of Residence	0.003	- 0.001	0.06***	-0.03
10. Urban Exposure before Resettlement (ref. = Monthly or less)				
-Weekly	0.06	0.07	0.15	0.2
-Daily	- 0.08	0.34 **	0.08	0.58 ***
Residual standard error	0.50	0.61	0.48	0.67
R ²	0.45	0.45	0.46	0.37
Adjusted R ²	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.32
F-Statistic	11.86 ***	11.94 ***	9.90 ***	7.04 ***

Note: [’] $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Residence Preference

The results generated through the multinomial logistic regression (**Table 4-8**) show that villagers' current residence preferences were closely associated with their acculturation outcomes. The marginal effects at the mean (MEM) predicted the probability change of a villager's residence preference when that individual's RMS or UAS was raised by one unit. Accordingly, one RMS unit increase would raise the probability of villagers' inclination to live in rural villages (Mono sample: + 25%; Mix sample: + 22%) and lower the probability of their favor toward residing in LEIR neighborhoods (Mono sample: - 23%; Mix sample: - 26%). One UAS unit increase would raise the probability of villagers' inclination to live in LEIR neighborhoods (Mono sample: + 16%; Mix sample: + 25%) and lower the probability of their favor toward residing in rural villages (Mono sample: - 11%; Mix sample: - 25%). The estimated coefficients uncovered that in comparison to the referencing choice (*Option 3*: "no particular preference"), participants with higher RMSs were overall more likely to prefer living in rural villages and less likely to prefer living in LEIR neighborhoods. The Mono sample participants with higher UASs were more likely to prefer living in LEIR neighborhoods and the Mix sample participants with higher UASs were less likely to prefer living in rural villages.

From the results, I verified that villagers' inclination towards living in LEIR neighborhoods were statistically associated with their acculturation outcomes. More specifically, higher probability of choosing to live in resettlement neighborhoods aligned with higher UASs and/or lower RMSs. To strengthen villagers' place attachment and sense of belonging in LEIR neighborhoods, community regulators should improve the conditions for villagers to adapt to urban culture. On the other hand, as constraining the practice of ethnic culture could lead to acculturative stress and irreversible cultural loss (Benedict, 1934; Rudmin, 2003), it is unwise for community

regulators to strongly intervene in villagers' maintenance of their rural culture for the purpose of accelerating their urban integration. Nevertheless, villagers' continuity of certain living habits developed in their previous rural settlements could negatively affect other residents' place experiences within or near their resettlement neighborhoods. These habits include: charging electric vehicles through wires pulling from upstairs which creates safety hazards; piling up personal belongings in public areas which raises sanitation concerns; letting pets wandering outside during nights which causes noise nuisances; and drying crops, vegetables, and cloths on surrounding lawns which damages neighborhood landscapes (Figure 4-4). To achieve neighborhood resilience and social integrity in LEIR neighborhoods, community regulators should control and correct these behaviors.



Figure 4-4: Controversial Habits in Sampled Neighborhoods (Photos Taken by the Author)

In the previous sections, it was confirmed that the Mix sample participants demonstrated a higher level of inclination to urban culture than the Mono sample participants. This observation was consistent with the findings about villagers' residence preferences—26.6% of the Mix sample participants and 26.8% of the Mono sample participants preferred to live in rural villages; and 52.7% of the Mix sample participants and 47.6% of the Mono sample participants were in favor of living in LEIR neighborhoods. There was bigger sample difference in the percentage of urban residence preference than the percentage of rural residence preference. Overall, villagers from the Mix LEIR neighborhoods enjoyed a better human-environment relationship and displayed a higher degree of integration in urban society than their Mono sample counterparts.

Table 4-8: Multinomial Logistic Regression of Residence Preference

	Option 1: Rural village			Option 2: LEIR neighborhood			Option 3: No particular preference		
	B	Exp (B)	MEM	B	Exp (B)	MEM	B	Exp (B)	MEM
<u>Mono Sample</u>									
Rural Dimension									
-(Intercept)	-4.39**	0.01	N/A	2.15*	8.62	N/A	0	0	N/A
-RMS	1.11**	3.03	0.25	-0.41'	0.66	-0.23	0	0	-0.02
Goodness of fit:	Log-likelihood = -249.49; McFadden R ² = 0.05; and Chi-square = 28.56 ($p < 0.001$)								
Urban Dimension									
-(Intercept)	0.70	2.02	N/A	-0.91	0.40	N/A	0	0	N/A
-UAS	-0.23	0.79	-0.11	0.51 *	1.66	0.16	0	0	-0.05
Goodness of fit:	Log-likelihood = -256.06; McFadden R ² = 0.03; and Chi-square = 15.42 ($p < 0.001$)								
<u>Mix Sample</u>									
Rural Dimension									
-(Intercept)	-2.91'	0.05	N/A	3.63 **	37.57	N/A	0	0	N/A
-RMS	0.74'	2.10	0.22	-0.67*	0.51	-0.26	0	0	0.04
Goodness of fit:	Log-likelihood = --195.56; McFadden R ² = 0.05; and Chi-square = 21.27 ($p < 0.001$)								
Urban Dimension									
-(Intercept)	3.46***	31.95	N/A	-0.56	0.57	N/A	0	0	N/A
-UAS	-1.14***	0.32	-0.25	0.46'	1.58	0.25	0	0	-0.004
Goodness of fit:	Log-likelihood = -182.04; McFadden R ² = 0.12; and Chi-square = 48.32 ($p < 0.001$)								

Note: ' $p < 0.1$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. Option 3 was set as the base category.

Discussion

Strong Maintenance of Rural Culture

Participants from both the Mono and Mix samples illustrated strong maintenance of rural culture. A strong continuity of rural culture indicates villagers' uncertainty, uneasiness, and unwillingness in adjusting to a new cultural environment.

The spatiality of a village is very different from that of an urban resettlement neighborhood (Li et al., 2016; Xu et al., 2011). Along with landscape change is the transformation of social fabric (Hui et al., 2013; Liang & Zhu, 2014; Xu & Chan, 2011). Open front and back yards for social gathering, farmland for family plantation, and natural landscape for recreational activities all accommodate the formation of a unique village lifestyle in China's countryside. In contrast, limited open space, scarce green area, and detachment from rural land and ecosystem alienate villagers from their current living environment. The research found that while villagers valued the improved sanitation and security in resettlement neighborhoods, they would like to maintain certain elements of spatial arrangement.

With regard to governance, China's traditional rural society is more like an "organic solidarity" (Durkheim, 1964[1983]) maintained by rituals, customs, and conventions, while a typical urban neighborhood is more close to a "mechanical solidarity" (Durkheim, 1964 [1983]) restrained by laws and regulations. In my sampled neighborhoods, many rural activities—such as planting vegetables in green belts, raising poultry outside apartments, and holding private ceremonies in public areas—were either persuaded or forced by community cadres to discontinue. Although villagers gradually altered their cultural practice to align with urban behavioral norms and regulative standards, most of them did not find those changes exciting or meaningful. This is

largely due to the involuntary nature of the resettlement. Different from typical migration, government-initiated resettlement is a process of permanent “displacement” that is accompanied by economic, social, and emotional pressure. In this process, people are uprooted from places full of rustic family story and community memory (Tang et al., 2016; Xu et al., 2016). Consequently, although villagers’ everyday life has been reconstructed in many ways, it takes much longer time for them to forego the rurality embedded in their cultural consciousness.

Varied Identity Recognition

Tajfel (1972) first introduced the concept of social identity as “the individual’s knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership” (p. 292). The emphasis on social identity as part of the self-concept, such as self-categorization theory, was further explored by Turner and his colleagues (Turner, 1985; Turner et al., 1987) to show how individuals become unified into a group and capable of collective behaviors.

Resettlement arrangements, especially those involuntary ones, could lead to the emergence of “dissonant culture”—a temporary reordering of space, time, relationships, norms, and psycho-socio-cultural constructs (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009). This stage of “dissonant culture” fermented a multifaceted identity recognition among sampled villagers. Reasons for such variety included individual differences, institutional barriers, and situational factors.

After dwelling in urban LEIR neighborhoods, villagers are expected to change their social identity from “rural farmers” to “urban citizens”. The identity recognition is not a smooth process

for resettled villagers (Wu, 2013; Wu & Qin, 2008; Zhang & Tong, 2006). By asking resettled villagers about their perceived self-identity in LEIR neighborhoods, Wu (2013) collected three types of answers. The first category of surveyed subjects claimed that their social identity remains as rural farmers even after the resettlement. They adhered to their original rural ways of life and preferred to interact with old village fellows than with urban residents. The second type of respondents recognized themselves as urban residents after the resettlement arrangement. Their forsaking of village cultures and proactive involvement in community activities uncovered their desires to become urban residents. The rest of the surveyed individuals experienced a wrestling of identity recognition. Although they acknowledged their registration statuses being changed from rural to urban, they have not yet built up a sense of belonging to urban society.

For some villagers, especially the younger generation, land expropriation-induced resettlement was regarded as an opportunity to upgrade their social status, given commonly held view in mainstream society that considers “rural” as “less privileged”, “uncivil”, or “uncultured” in China’s mainstream society (Hui et al., 2013). This portion of villagers highly valued the improved sanitation, safety, accessibility, and other urban amenities in their new settlements. Their forsaking of rural identity accelerated their adaptation to urban neighborhood life. Such identity recognition, however, was matched by a dissolution of deep inter-personal relationships with previous village fellows and undermined their sense of responsibility to support other villagers in managing acculturative pressure and challenges. In contrast, some villagers viewed themselves as “second-class” citizens. The “town social security (*zhen-bao*)” allocated to villagers to compensate their land loss is commonly granted with fewer benefits than the “city social security (*cheng-bao*)” enjoyed by urban citizens (Xu et al., 2011). This inequality prevents villagers from appreciating their new urban identity. Additionally, resettled villagers may perceive themselves as “outsiders”

of urban communities when experiencing exclusion and marginalization in the dominant society (Hui et al., 2013). Mao and Wang (2006) uncovered that the difficulty of integrating into urban communities is the key reason why villagers have refused to become urban citizens. For some other villagers, acceptance of their urban identity was not a singular or straightforward process. On the one hand, due to the resettlement, villagers visited urban supermarkets, recreational centers, and service institutions on a more regular basis. An intense exposure to city life urged them to redefine their roles. On the other hand, uneasiness of being called urbanites, continual practice of rural habits, and nostalgia for previous pastoral life all prevented villagers from fully accepting their new urban identity.

Socio-demographic Barriers

In this study, villagers who were older, less educated, separated from their children, and with limited exposure to urban life tended to become the most vulnerable or passive participants in urban integration. In fact, a large portion of China's resettled villagers fit this group. For the young generation, many of them will eventually sell their compensated resettlement apartments and move to places closer to urban centers. LEIR practice exacerbates the "empty nesters" problem manifested in China's remote rural areas. Receiving less care and support from their children, seniors feel isolated and excluded in the mainstream society. Meanwhile, detached from rural land, the elderly begin to lose sense of purpose (Ong, 2014). Limited education and urban life experiences also constrain villagers' ability to lobby and fight for their cultural needs.

Although it is risky for subnational states to set different rules for resettled villagers and local urbanites, an underestimation of the socio-demographic barriers for governing LEIR

neighborhoods has undermined governmental endeavors in conditioning and facilitating villagers' life transformation. The indifference of local state to villagers' adaptive resilience can create challenges for government-led community building. To express their discontent, villagers, especially those featuring the above mentioned socio-demographic characteristics, refuse to be aligned with community conventions or undertake membership responsibilities.

Resettled villagers' cultural embeddedness into urban society is an incremental process that will need long-term continuous governmental guidance and supports, including but are not limited to adaptation assistance and consultation services, fundamental education of neighborhood norms and regulations, and engaging platforms for intercultural learning and exchange. Meanwhile, villagers are also expected to walk out of their comfort zones by practicing the urban language, making initiatives in socializing with urban residents, and being ready for an uneasy process of identity recognition.

Acculturation and Residence Preference

This research confirms the close relationship between resettled villagers' acculturation results and their current residence preferences. A villager's increasing urban cultural adherence and/or decreasing rural cultural maintenance aligned with that person's inclination to live in a resettlement neighborhood.

However, villagers' residence preferences are not determined only by their cultural inclinations. About half of the participants preferred to live in LEIR neighborhoods while around 26.7% of the participants preferred to live in rural villages (**Table 4-9**). This difference indicates

villagers' by and large inclination to urban residence. In contrast, the survey results depict villagers' medium level of urban culture adherence and moderately high level of rural culture continuity. Setting the acculturation domain of "place experience" as an example, the percentage of villagers who agreed with the statement "I enjoy living in rural village" is higher than the percentage of villagers who agreed with the statement "I enjoy living in current resettlement neighborhood" (Table 4-10).

Resettled villagers are subjected to numerous factors that influence their opinions on residence. These factors range from tangible ones (e.g., living environment, job opportunities, and public amenities) to the less tangible (e.g., individual psychosocial characteristics, large society influences, and situational conditions). In sampled LEIR neighborhoods, three key factors account for villagers' comparatively high preferences of residing in urban resettlement neighborhoods.

One factor is the pace and pattern of everyday life. Villagers who preferred to live in rural habitats missed the less disciplined and less restrained lifestyle in their previous settlements. For them, complying with numerous neighborhood regulations means compromising their freedom for political control and/or cultural homogenization. In contrast, those who favored urban residence enjoyed their current carefree life after exchanging their lands for urban social security coverage.

The character of social relations is another important factor. Villagers who preferred village living complained that the residential mix in their resettlement neighborhoods—rural villagers, commodity buyers, and tenants—was too complicated, subjecting them to high degrees of uncertainty and insecurity. They also perceived declining intimacy with their neighbors due to reduced drop-ins and daily interactions. In contrast, villagers who advocated for urban residence

saw their social networks expanded in number and composition. Their social relations were now more independent of kinship, and they started to make friends outside their communities.

Geographic conditions also matter. Although government-initiated migration is fraught with livelihood, social, and cultural challenges (Zhang et al., 2017), villagers from affluent areas have notable socio-economic opportunities to thrive after relinquishing their rural landholdings and being resettled to urban resettlement neighborhoods (Tang et al., 2016; Zhao & Webster, 2011). Considering Shanghai’s prestigious status, current LEIR practices within the region are generally well funded and strictly supervised. Villagers’ acceptance levels of their new settlements are, therefore, much higher than those residing in less developed regions.

Other influential factors mentioned by the participants include: sanitation, air quality, noise levels, green and public areas, facilities and amenities, housing conditions, and security concerns. To conclude, while villagers’ current residence preferences are statistically associated with their acculturation outcomes, it is essential to avoid oversimplifying the relationship.

Table 4-9: Resettled Villagers’ Current Residence Preferences

	Mono Sample (N=250)		Mix Sample (N=203)		Total (N=453)	
Rural village	67	26.8 %	54	26.6 %	121	26.7 %
LEIR neighborhood	119	47.6 %	107	52.7 %	226	49.9 %
No particular preference	64	25.6 %	42	20.7 %	106	23.4 %

Table 4-10: Resettled Villagers' Place Experiences

			Completely disagree	Mostly disagree	Moderate or neutral	Mostly agree	Completely agree
X₁₇	I have a sense of place in rural village.	Mono sample	18.0 %	7.2 %	17.6%	11.2%	46.0%
		Mix Sample	4.9 %	9.9 %	7.4%	10.3%	67.5%
X₁₈	I have a sense of place in current neighborhood.	Mono sample	10.0%	4.8%	31.2%	14.8%	39.2%
		Mix Sample	7.9%	5.4%	16.7%	11.8%	58.1%

Conclusions

The widespread land expropriation-induced resettlement (LEIR) practice in Chinese cities has generated an increasing flow of state-initiated rural-to-urban migrants. This process has reconstituted villagers' everyday life from a low-density and self-sufficient style to a high-density mode that is regulated by market and governmental rules.

Compared to their physical adaptation, villagers encounter more difficulties in integrating in urban settings with different rules, norms, traditions, and values. In this chapter, I investigate how well villagers become a part of the urban community. The findings demystify resettled villagers' group acculturation patterns, individual differences in acculturative outcomes, and the relationship between villagers' acculturation results and current residence preferences.

The cluster analysis illustrates villagers' stronger inclination toward rural village culture than urban neighborhood culture. The acculturation domain results highlight villagers' wide range

of identity recognition, influenced by both institutional and subjective factors. The regression results lead to a few findings: older villagers are more likely to maintain rural village culture; villagers with higher education levels better adapt to urban neighborhood culture; multi-generation living benefits intercultural learning and exchange; and conditions prior to resettlement influence villagers' acculturation. I further contend that an increase in the probability of a villager's residence preference for LEIR neighborhood aligns with an increase in that person's adherence to urban neighborhood culture and/or a decrease in that individual's continuity of rural village culture. However, I also identify factors that complicate these correlations.

Throughout the chapter, the comparison of the two sample sets denotes the situational impacts on villagers' acculturation. The survey results indicate that socio-spatial mixture and diversity facilitates villagers' urban integration in resettlement neighborhoods.

Acknowledging the acculturation patterns in LEIR neighborhoods is vital for community planners and policy makers to advance their current planning and administrative solutions for villagers' post-resettlement adaptive resilience. To better serve villagers' socio-cultural needs in urban integration, long-term and people-centered institutional supports need to be continuously provided to grassroots community regulators who interact with and assist villagers on a regular and long-term basis.

CHAPTER FIVE

Community Governance in LEIR Neighborhoods:

Base-level Democratization, State Control, and Cultural Impacts

Prologue

When commenting on China's post-reform governance paradigm, there has been an unsettled debate between those who stress the pivotal role played by the central state in the control of resources and infrastructure (Cartier, 2013 & 2015; Huang, 1996; Huo, 1994; Yang, 1990 & 1994) and the others who focus on reduced state interventions in local affairs and service provision (Hsing, 2006 & 2010; Ma & Lin, 1993; Naughton, 1987; Wang, 1994 & 1995). The debate of these two camps of thoughts reveals the complexity of the state's role in China's post-reform political structure. During the early period of reform under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping (1978-1992), the motivation behind decentralization was to introduce markets and incentives in economic transition. For the post-Deng Xiaoping leaderships, although many administrative and service responsibilities have now counted on local institutions, the state has substantively reinforced its intervention in the public sphere in response to emerging market failures, complex social problems, and diminishing central influences at the grassroots level.

In spite of this continuing discussion of the state's role in local affairs, scholars have reached a consensus that subnational governments are no longer passive instruments for maintaining the top-down territorial order. China's local states now actively deploy governance technologies to facilitate regional development and social changes (Hsing, 2010; Yang, 2006; Zhou et al., 2011). Grassroots regulators such as neighborhood associations are undertaking vital roles in providing base-level public services and social management. Meanwhile, increasing citizen

input and civic engagement in community construction add fuel to self-governance initiatives and public empowerment. Directed by formal structured, voluntary-based, and contractual-selected neighborhood associations, China's ordinary residents begin to have a larger institutional space for interest representation and resource access.

However, the devolution of state power in a “glocalizing” (Swyngedouw, 1997) world does not mean that non-government regimes will render the state redundant (Jessop, 2004). While the construction of civil society calls for a bottom-up change of subnational governance, the Party authority has been reinforcing its grassroots influences through institutional penetration and political indoctrination (Heberer & Göbel, 2011; Li, 2008; Yang, 2007). The political infiltration, nevertheless, has been achieved through subtle and tacit strategies by providing frameworks and regulations, rather than through overt and manipulative sanctions by imposing coercion and propaganda (Hsu & Hasmath, 2014; Chang et al., 2019).

In addition to applying the above two narratives—base-level democratization and state's infiltration into the grassroots—in examining the governance rationales and outcomes in China's LEIR neighborhoods, a third cultural dimensional narrative has been added into the discussion considering the unique context of the case study. This cultural perspective underlines the limitation of solely relying on conventional community governance mechanism in dealing with specific administrative and service challenges accumulated in resettlement neighborhoods. Through unpacking the cultural constraints behind these challenges, this research further accentuates the importance of prioritizing villagers' adaptive resilience in governing LEIR neighborhoods.

Base-level Democratization: Civil Society and Civic Engagement

Diamond (1999) defined civil society as “the realm of organized social life that is open, voluntary, self-generating, at least partially self-supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules” (p.221). The notion of civil society emphasizes what is implicit in the state-society relation discussion: the state does not monopolize the public sphere. As Mathews (1997) pointed out, national governments are now sharing powers—including political, social, and security roles at the core of sovereignty—with business, international organizations, and a multitude of citizen groups. In the early 1990s, under the backdrop of the devolution of state power in the public sphere, civil society began to emerge in China’s urban neighborhoods, bringing fundamental changes to public service delivery, grassroots community governance, and people’s everyday life.

As the state continues to retreat from many of its social obligations, neighborhood associations play increasingly significant roles in leading the associational life and the construction of civil society in China’s urban neighborhoods. However, whether the current community governance mechanism is effective in fostering civic engagement and advancing the construction of civil society in resettlement neighborhoods has not been fully discussed. In this section, I introduce the institutional obligations of three major neighborhood associations—residents’ committee (RC), homeowners’ association (HOA), and property management agent (PMA)—in governing LEIR neighborhoods. I then identify three areas of challenges faced by community regulators in governing resettlement neighborhoods, especially in leading the community-based construction of civil society. Following that, I explain the reasons for villagers’ passive civic engagement in their new settlements.

Institutional Obligations of Neighborhood Associations

China's central authority has reached a consensus about the practical significance of relying on base-level community administrative systems (Li, 2012; Lu, 1999; Smith et al., 2019; Xiang & Hua, 2019; Zhang, 2014). In China, community-based organizations are responsible for the provision of essential neighborhood administrative and service tasks. These tasks cover the areas of social welfare, health care, culture, education, policing, and property management (Ministry of Civil Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2016).¹

Residents' committees (RCs), homeowners' associations (HOAs), and property management agents (PMAs) are three basic community organizations functioning as neighborhood regulators and service providers. These three institutions construct the formation of a "troika"² that directs the operation of China's community governance in urban neighborhoods. Operating under different supervisory authorities, these associations are assigned different community duties (**Table 5-1**). Since the 1990s, laws, regulations, and rules have been enacted to standardize the institutional set up to guide the work of these neighborhood organizations.³

¹ The content of community services is firstly described in the *Notification of the State Council Secretariat Regarding the Distribution of the Community Service System Construction Plan (2015)* issued in 2011. The plan was then repealed and replaced by the *Urban-rural Community Service System Construction Plan (2016-2020)* enacted by the Ministry of Civil Affairs in 2016.

² "Troika" is a vehicle drawn by three horses abreast. Here the vehicle is a metaphor of community governance and the three horses correspond to three major neighborhood associations.

³ See, for example, the *Organic Law of the Urban Residents' Committee of the People's Republic of China* promulgated by the President of the People's Republic of China, the *Regulation on Property Management* issued by the State Council in 2003, *Measures for the Administration of Property Management Fee* promulgated by the National Development and Reform Commission in 2003; *Measures for the Administration of Special Fund for Property Repair* enacted by the Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of Finance in 2007; the *Guiding Rules for Homeowners' Congress and Homeowners' Associations* enacted by the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development in 2009, the *Measures for the Administration of Qualifications of Property Service Enterprises* issued by the Ministry of Construction in 2015 and repealed by the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development in 2018.

Table 5-1: Regular Services, Administration, and Extra Duties of the “Troika”

Name	Regular Services and Administration	Extra Duties in LEIR neighborhoods
Residents’ Committee (RC)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Publicizing laws and regulations • Educating residents for statutory obligations • Fostering socialist culture and ideology • Handling public affairs and welfare services • Organizing community activities • Mediating disputes among residents • Assisting the maintenance of public security • Helping local governments in works related to the interests of residents • Addressing residents’ opinions to and providing recommendations for local governments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explaining urban welfare packages to resettled villagers • Establishing consultation platforms for unemployed land-expropriated villagers • Providing channels for resettlement-related complaints
Homeowners’ Association (HOA)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Holding homeowners’ meetings and reporting the implementation of property management • Signing property service contracts with PMAs and supervising their services • Acknowledging and addressing homeowners’ opinions and suggestions • Mediating property-based conflicts and other duties assigned by homeowners’ congresses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitoring the use of the “special funds”* • Facilitating communication and collaboration between villagers and regulators
Property Management Agent (PMA)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facility maintenance and repair • Security surveillance • Ground maintenance and sanitation • Parking management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extra effort to collect service fees • Correcting villagers’ spontaneous space transformation and inappropriate behaviors

Source: Created by the author based on the review of legal documents and scholarly work.

Note: *Special funds refer to funds—collected from villagers prior to resettlement—for repairing and maintaining neighborhood buildings and facilities.

According to the *Organic Law of the Urban Residents' Committee of the People's Republic of China*, an urban residents' committee (RC) is an organization for self-governance at the grassroots level, in which the residents manage their own affairs, educate themselves, and serve their own needs. Employed by local governments, an RC team (5-9 members) is composed of a secretary, a chairman, one or two vice-chairmen and several members. Each member is in charge of at least one specific area of service (e.g., employment consultation, dispute mediation, and event planning). The chairman and the secretary lead, coordinate, and supervise the works of RC members. In LEIR neighborhoods, RC members are also responsible for additional duties, including explaining social welfare provisions for land-expropriated villagers; establishing consultation platforms for unemployed villagers to learn about available positions and training opportunities; disseminating information about neighborhood services, norms, and regulations; and providing channels for villagers to convey specific complaints about their resettlement.

In this study, the residents' committee of Neighborhood *Y* (hereinafter referred to as "Mono RC") has nine formal employees. The three other sampled LEIR neighborhoods—Neighborhood *K*, Neighborhood *D*, and Neighborhood *M*—have the same RC team, which consists of six staff members (hereinafter referred to as "Mix RC"). RC teams receive help from adjunct staff, informal assistants, and volunteers in the fulfillment of their institutional obligations. The Mono RC absorbed the cadres of previous villagers' committees into its team, which now serves as valuable human resource for learning about resettled households' basic information and special needs.

Since the mid-1990s, government policies have encouraged the setting up of homeowners' associations (HOAs). After a decade of negotiation and experimentation, the first *Regulation on*

Property Management was enacted in 2003, standardizing the institutional set up of HOAs.⁴ According to this regulation and the *Guiding Rules for Homeowners' Congress and Homeowners' Association* enacted by the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development in 2009, an HOA, consisting 5-11 members, is the executive body of homeowners' congress representing all homeowners within a neighborhood. Members of homeowners' associations are expected to be enthusiastic about public welfare causes. They are also expected to have a high sense of responsibility and certain capacity of operating organizations. HOA representatives play mediators' roles in urban neighborhoods. Including HOAs in the community governance system has lessened the likelihood of property-based conflicts and promoted equity and transparency of service provision. In LEIR neighborhoods, HOA representatives also monitor the use of special funds reserved from villagers' resettlement subsidies and facilitate the dialogues between villagers and community regulators. Familiar with pre-resettlement conditions, HOA members serve as valuable resources for other regulatory forces to reach out and communicate with resettled villagers.

In this study, each sampled neighborhood has a homeowners' association, consisting of five members selected from the homeowners of that neighborhood. The Mono HOA is completely composed of resettled villagers while the Mix HOAs consist a mix of resettled villagers (in a dominant proportion) and commodity apartment owners.

In China, property management agents (PMAs)—either owned by subnational governments or independent legal entities—provide property management services in urban neighborhoods. A property service contract is signed between a HOA and a PMA within a property

⁴ The *Regulation on Property Management* was issued by the State Council in 2003, amended in 2007 for the first time, and amended in 2016 for the second time.

management area. This contract specifies the contents of property management activities, service quality, service fees, rights and obligations of the parties signing the contract; administration and use of special funds; the building allocated to property management agents; the term of the contract; and the liability for the breach of contract.⁵ PMAs profit from providing basic property maintenance services in urban neighborhoods. PMAs lack regulatory power, but have wide latitude to set their own rules and fees (Zhang, 2010). However, it is hard for PMA staff to collect property management fees and other service fees from resettled villagers. Given the involuntary nature of LEIR practice, villagers insist that governments should take care of extra fees resulting from resettlement. It takes time for villagers to fully accept the idea of purchasing community services and paying for the use of public spaces in urban neighborhoods. In addition to the difficulty of collecting service fees, PMA personnel in resettlement neighborhoods take extra effort to reform resettled villagers' rural habits that hinder the delivery of property management.

Two types of PMAs were identified in this research. The first type is sponsored by the government (hereinafter referred to as "Government PMA"). The PMA staff in Neighborhood *Y* are employed by the local street office. Subsidized by subnational governments, "Government PMAs" are less sensitive to revenue-generation. The other type is privately owned PMAs that prioritize profit-seeking (hereinafter referred to as "Private PMA"). Despite private ownership, non-government PMAs are supervised by local real estate administrative departments. Property management services in Neighborhood *K* and *D* are provided by one private property management company that has been engaged in this field for many years. In Neighborhood *M*, a newly established private property management company was contracted for service provision in 2017.

⁵ Please see *Article 34 of the Regulation on Property Management*.

The neighborhood associations in the studied communities undertake a wide range of institutional obligations (**Table 5-2**). Tasks of RCs include the maintenance of the physical and social order within the neighborhood, providing necessary aid to the less-capable residents, organizing events and activities, and implementing government regulations and initiatives. The HOAs are responsible for providing assistance to the corresponding residents' committee, managing the use of the "special funds" reserved for repairing and maintaining neighborhood buildings and facilities, and collecting opinions and appeals addressed by community members. The PMAs in the sampled neighborhoods are in charge of providing basic property maintenance and repair services to the residents. In recent years, new staff have been recruited to manage an increasing number of automobiles and growing concerns for neighborhood security. Both the government-sponsored and private-owned PMAs are required to report the use of the special funds to residents and the local real estate departments. At the end of each year, the PMAs are required to prepare annual financial reports for the residents and the local real estate administrative bodies.

While each of these institutions—RC, HOA, PMA—is responsible for certain types of regulatory and service tasks, there are a few areas where these institutions can collaborate with each other. For example, the maintenance of neighborhood environment and sanitation falls under the purview of all three. For resettled villagers, extra instructions are needed for them to navigate the institutional support to avoid seeking assistance from the wrong institutions.

Table 5-2: Institutional Obligations of Sampled Neighborhood Associations

Type	Institutional Obligations
<i>Residents’ Committee (RC)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintaining neighborhood environment and sanitation (e.g., garbage sorting, cleaning up debris in public spaces, and demolishing illegal constructions) • Maintaining neighborhood order and harmony (e.g., mediating conflicts, correcting unacceptable behaviors, and regulating temporary residence) • Providing aids to vulnerable residents (e.g., job consultation and arrangement for the unemployed and caring for residents with disabilities/illness.) • Organizing community clubs and neighborhood activities (e.g., allocating rooms for playing mah-jong and holding lectures for community members) • Disseminating government policies and initiatives (e.g., coordinating the campaign for “Building Civilized Cities and Districts” and advocating for garbage sorting)
<i>Homeowners’ Association (HOA)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assisting RCs in maintaining good neighborhood environment and sanitation • Administering and monitoring the use of the “special funds”* • Consulting about villagers’ needs for community services and addressing their comments on existing community governance
<i>Property Management Agent (PMA)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collecting property management and other service fees • Employing security guards to enhance neighborhood safety and parking management • Employing workers for maintaining sanitation and greening conditions in neighborhoods • Providing maintenance and repair services • Preparing financial reports of the use of the “special funds” * for the record of neighborhood residents, as well as local governments

Note: *Special funds refer to funds—collected from villagers prior to resettlement—for repairing and maintaining neighborhood buildings and facilities.

Three Areas of Governance Challenges

Major governance challenges experienced by the community regulators in the sampled LEIR neighborhoods include: (1) lack of legitimacy and executive power for enforcing policies and regulations; (2) a severe shortage of staff for completing heavy workloads; and (3) tension in their relationship with resettled villagers. These areas of challenges have undermined the capacity of neighborhood associations in fulfilling their administrative and service tasks.

First, although the administrative roles of neighborhood associations in managing urban community affairs are inscribed in, and protected by, national and subnational legislation,⁶ these institutions lack legal authority to enforce laws, regulations, and community covenants. One RC representative argued that efforts to discipline unacceptable behaviors (e.g., group renting, aggregation of vendors, and gambling activities) were constrained by staff members' limited executive power. In many cases, neighborhood regulators can only deal with misbehaviors and violations through collaboration with governmental authorities such as street offices, police forces, and urban management officers.⁷ A PMA representative also pointed out that without the presence of formal governmental entities, it is impossible for PMA staff to remove illegal construction and personal belongings piled in public areas.⁸ Another PMA staff admitted that due to limited executive power, he and his colleagues had to "tolerate" villagers' practice of many rural habits such as planting vegetables in green belts, letting pets run loose, and appropriating public spaces

⁶ Examples of relevant national laws include: *The Organic Law of the Urban Residents Committee of People's Republic of China* enforced in 1990, *The Regulation on Property Management* enforced in 2003; and *The Guiding Rules for Homeowners' Congress and Homeowners' Association* enforced in 2009.

⁷ Interview 1_RC_Neighborhood Y

⁸ Interview 15_PMA_Neighborhood M

for private use (see **Figure 4-3** and **Figure 4-4** in the previous chapter).⁹ For PMA staff members, trying to change villagers' rural ways of life leads to direct conflicts. These conflicts can ignite resentful and even retaliatory reactions by resettled villagers.

Second, the workload required in LEIR neighborhoods is heavier than that in conventional urban neighborhoods. In addition to regular community service provision and administrative work, staff members need to offer extra institutional support for villagers' life transformation. For example, due to villagers' unfamiliarity with urban welfare packages, service institutions, and other social amenities, RC members need to answer a wide range of questions raised by villagers on a daily basis. PMA staff are kept busy correcting villagers' willful appropriation of public spaces for private use. Despite being assigned many extra tasks, the number of staff working for LEIR neighborhood associations is not different from that in conventional neighborhoods. The RC team in Neighborhood *Y* is comprised of nine formal staff, who are responsible for serving approximately 2,000 households. The RC team responsible for Neighborhood *K*, Neighborhood *D*, and Neighborhood *M* are responsible for over 3,000 households.¹⁰ One HOA member asserted that a comprehensive investigation of residents' opinions from approximately 500 households by each HOA member would be a daunting task that could not be accomplished in a short time frame.¹¹ The severe shortage of staff constrains the capacity of RC teams to address the concerns of every household within their jurisdictions. In sampled neighborhoods, institutional assistance was preferentially provided to those in urgent need (e.g., the unemployed); community activities were

⁹ Interview 14_PMA_Neighborhood *M*

¹⁰ The Mix RC team had been responsible for administering 15 neighborhoods with around 72,000 households until 2017 when 8 of these neighborhoods were assigned to other two RC teams.

¹¹ Interview 16_HOA_Neighborhood *K*

designed for those having abundant spare time (e.g., the elders); and information dissemination was highly dependent on community activists (e.g., the assigned leaders for each residential building). One PMA manager commented on her heavy workloads in the LEIR neighborhood: “last year, overwhelmed by all sorts of complains and besotted by endless additional work, I had noticeably lost weight. Compared to my previous working experiences in ordinary urban neighborhoods, this job made me feel exhausted and depressed every day.”¹²

Third, due to different cultural values and expectations for governance, tension between villagers and community regulators have yet to be settled. This unpleasant resident-regulator relationship leads to a reduction of governance capacity in LEIR neighborhoods. Confronted with villagers’ misunderstandings, complaints, and even hostility, staff members of these grassroots neighborhood associations often lose their passion, patience, and perseverance in their daily work, especially in assisting villagers’ life transformation. One PMA complained that their institutional initiatives for providing villagers with better services and amenities rarely received endorsement. In addition, the frequent NIMBY (not in my backyard) opposition derailed a few good property management approaches. For example, PMA staff from Neighborhood *Y* saw that villagers tied ropes between trees in the lawns to dry their cloths and quilts. The association ordered 33 standardized drying racks for villagers. But sadly, all the racks were removed by the first floor residents who claimed that such placement would block sunlight in their balconies.¹³

¹² Interview 9_PMA_Neighborhood *Y*

¹³ Interview 9_PMA_Neighborhood *Y*

Civic Engagement

In China's urban neighborhoods, not everyone is willing to be involved in associational life. Older generations, who tend to have comparatively strong collective consciousness, are more willing to participate in and contribute to neighborhood development. In contrast, young professionals and migrant residents feel less obligated to community planning and governance (Heberer, 2011; Read, 2003). In the sampled LEIR neighborhoods, HOA members and active community volunteers are commonly composed of elderly villagers. Community governance in resettlement neighborhoods fails to engage the large majority of villagers, especially the young generation or professionals.

Yang (2007) classified community participation into four categories based on two dimensions of assessment: (1) whether residents have raised public issues—issues related to the interest and wellbeing of their communities—for discussion; and (2) whether residents are meaningfully involved in the decision-making process (**Figure 5-1**). “Coerced participation” is exercised without a public issue, and meanwhile, participants are not invited to join in decision-making processes. “Induced participation” involves public issues, but does not grant residents decision-making power. “Spontaneous participation” allows community members to impact decision-making, but the discussion topics are mainly centered on the interests of a small group of residents. Finally, “planned participation” entails a public discussion topic and includes residents in decision-making. Participants share information, opinions, and resources to find solutions for a common challenge. Less than one-third of the interviewed villagers mentioned that their community participation activities were associated with serious public issues. Many of the elders participated in community events such as scientific lectures to obtain small gifts. There was little evidence that villagers were fully consulted in decision-making processes, such as the candidate

selection of community cadres. In most cases, they were informed of the “structured options”, rather than asked to provide their opinions.¹⁴

		<u>ISSUE 1: Covering A Public Issue</u>	
		+	-
<u>ISSUE 2:</u>	+	Planned Participation	Spontaneous Participation
<i>Involvement in Decision- making Process</i>	-	Induced Participation	Coerced Participation

Figure 5-1: Four Types of Community Participation (Edited from Yang, 2007)

In addition to the poor quality of public participation, civic engagement in LEIR neighborhoods is not open and/or equal to everyone. Villagers complain that public spaces or facilities are often exclusively enjoyed by a small group of community members. Constrained by communication channels, information on community events and activities often first reaches active community members, as a result, limiting other residents’ chances of participation:

The largest community activity room in our neighborhood is now mainly used for playing Mahjong (small gambling activities). As no one regulates the smoking behaviors in that place, the room is exclusively used by a small portion of Mahjong players who do not care about being exposed to an unhealthy environment. In addition, we are not granted equal opportunities for learning about or participating in special activities, especially those providing their participants with small gifts. If you check the photos displayed in the neighborhood, you will be surprised by seeing the same faces in many events. They are either active elders who are passionate about community affairs or the friends of HOA members. The information of community activities should

¹⁴ Interview 9_Resident_Neighborhood M

be disseminated more effectively, probably through posting the information in front of the neighborhood entrance or in the community bulletin boards.¹⁵

Attempts to motivate villagers to organize and take up community activities have largely been met with indifference or lukewarm reactions.¹⁶ Villagers' unwillingness to be involved in and contribute to community governance is largely because they do not comprehend such activities as meaningful or desirable. Many community events organized by neighborhood associations—such as reading clubs, group dance classes, and fire-drills—are not attractive to resettled villagers. One interviewed villager suggested that neighborhood associations consider better targeted and more engaging activities:

In addition to guest lectures and amateur clubs, I think it would be helpful if we could organize a variety of activities that target different age groups. City tours will be nice for the elders as many of them would be excited about seeing the landscape changes with their home city. For those who have kids in schools, a platform for sharing educational resources or providing each other with day care services might be helpful.¹⁷

Although activity rooms, community clubs, and other platforms accommodating residents' interaction and mutual-support have started to grow, the overall civic engagement in LEIR neighborhood is neither adequate nor effective. For their leisure time, elderly villagers often wander around the neighborhood open spaces or watch TV in their apartments. The younger generations are even less enthusiastic about the progress of community building or governance. This is partially due to their lack of interest in neighborhood events or community governance.

¹⁵ Interview 6_Resdient_Neighborhood K

¹⁶ Interview 11_RC_Neighborhood K, Neighborhood D, and Neighborhood M

¹⁷ Interview 4_Resdient_Neighborhood Y

Also, with growing involvement in online activities, younger generations are less used to face-to-face interactions, thus spending much less time with their families or other community members.

Finally, due to adaptation challenges, it takes long time for villagers to build strong sense of community in their new settlements. Lack of community attachment restrains villagers' willingness to aid their neighbors. Feelings of vulnerability and/or discrimination also discourages them from devoting their time and energy to advancing the community governance in their neighborhoods.

State Control: State-building and Institutional Embeddedness

The evolution of the community governance in contemporary China has undergone four major stages (Zhang, 2014; Xiang & Hua, 2019): (1) the stage of “community service” (the mid-to-late 1980s to 1990); (2) the experimental and exploratory stage of “community building” (1991-1999); (3) the comprehensively deepening stage of “community building” (2000-2009); and (4) the stage of “community governance” (2010-present) . The first stage focused on gradually shifting the provision of urban social security and public services from the work units to the SR system. The second stage saw 37 cities and districts, designated by the Ministry of Civil Affairs, practicing a wider range of community services and regulative functions in addition to basic public services (e.g., social security and assistance to those in urgent need). Meanwhile, scholars suggested that the Party government invite NGOs, residents, and private sectors to participate in community-based affairs and decision-making (Li, 2008). It is argued that the reconstruction of China's social structure under the backdrop of China's economic marketization could not be solely counted on the SR system, but should rely more on a variety of community-based stakeholders (Lu, 1999).

These strategic suggestions made the government, especially high-level Party organizations, worried that a market economy with rising community autonomy might have political consequences such as weakened state-society relations (Li, 2008). Due to this concern, the central government started to reinforce its oversight and control over grassroots communities through state-building and societal absorption from below (Heberer & Göbel, 2011; Read, 2003).

However, it is uneasy for the central authority to unify various political, scalar, and territorial forces. The maintenance of state power in controlling and penetrating grassroots society is even more challenging in LEIR neighborhoods where interests and cultural values among different groups (e.g., community regulators, villagers, and local urban residents) are polarized.

State-building and Ideological Absorption

The goal of state-building, especially for East Asian nation states, is to build a strong state which “constitutes the basis for consolidation of democracy and implementation of governance” (Yu & He, 2012). Advocates for “state-building” reiterate the importance of fortifying the legitimate role of a central political authority in: (1) constructing, mediating, and directing multiscale governance apparatuses; (2) preconditioning for democratization and marketization; and (3) solving many of the world’s most serious problems (Carothers, 2007; Fukuyama, 2004; Yu & He, 2012). In China, the central authority sees urban neighborhoods as basic “state units” constructed from below to “obtain social integration and control” (Yang, 2007, p.162).

For China’s central authority, the expansion of community-level Party associations has far-reaching impacts on disseminating the mandates and policies of China’s Communist Party (CCP)

to ordinary citizens. At least one member of a residents' committee leads Party affairs in a neighborhood. These affairs include selecting and accepting new party members among the residents; disseminating ongoing ideas, campaigns, and developments of the CCP and the state; and fostering the establishment of household-based sites in which party members can share and reflect on the philosophy and progress of the CCP. In LEIR neighborhoods, the percentage of the residents engaging in Party organizations is much lower than that in conventional neighborhoods. A very small portion of the resettled villagers are Party members. A limited level of education also inhabits villagers' capacity to delve into the discussions on Party matters. In Neighborhood Y, one factor for the low rate of Party participation is the considerable number of Christian believers among the resettled villagers. As members of the Communist Party in China are discouraged from being involved in religious activities, villagers holding religious beliefs are hesitant about engaging in Party organizations or activities.

The rationale of ideological absorption in China is close to the concept of "governmentality" raised by Foucault (1991). Instead of forcing individuals to behave in specific ways, nation states begin to encourage their citizens to regulate themselves by providing frames of reference. These frames are anchored in a "mentality", which is defined by Dean (1996) as a "collective, relatively bounded unity that is not readily examined by those who inhabit it" (p. 16).

In China, instead of managing social control by means of coercive government forces such as the police or the courts, policy makers have started to "stimulate the forces of self-discipline in tightly knit 'communities' (Heberer & Göbel, 2011, p.12)". This approach sees neighborhood

associations as “self-governing” mass organizations, regardless of their limited executive power and conditional freedom from formal government entities.¹⁸

Chen (2004) highlighted “three selves” in delineating the scope of “self-governance” in China’s urban neighborhoods: self-management, self-education, and self-service. These three components of “self-governance” are, nevertheless, hard to operationalize in LEIR neighborhoods where such initiatives are seen by villagers, as well as many grassroots regulators, as either an excuse for a sudden reduction in governmental support, or an utopian idea with little reference to villagers’ pre-resettlement conditions. One villager expressed her concerns about the immature conditions for initiating a reliable self-governance system in her neighborhood:

Here, we emphasize jumin zizhi (self-governance by residents). But in my opinion, very few of us can take on a regulatory role. The director of the homeowners’ association in our neighborhood, for example, spends five days a week babysitting outside the community and barely consults about our emergent needs or expectations regarding community services, amenities, and management.¹⁹

Chinese leaders use “ideological absorption” as a political strategy to “re-educate” its “new urbanites” and simultaneously distract them from questioning the government-led resettlement arrangement (Chuang, 2014).²⁰ A nation-wide campaign encouraging villagers to take up their new “citizen” roles and transform their discontent about the issues of post-resettlement subsistence into an awareness of self-responsibility, neighborhood commitment, and proactive integration. While

¹⁸ Interview 1_RC_Neighborhood Y

¹⁹ Interview 6_Resident_Neighborhood K

²⁰ Chuang (2014) described “ideological absorption” as a strategy used by local governments through “ideological re-education”. For example, township governments use the discourses of “modern township life style” to shift evicted villagers’ attention from their discontent about the issues of post-resettlement subsistence to their acceptance of the urban life and citizenship that have freed them from the “backwardness of land dependence” (p.663).

such ideological absorption might have worked in the early stages of resettlement, its effect could diminish over the long run when villagers sense the gap between the promised vision of modern city life and the challenging reality of sustaining their livelihoods and well-being.

Institutional Embeddedness and Grassroots Penetration

Infrastructural power denotes “political control” (Mann, 1984, p.192) and the “capacity of the state to penetrate and coordinate civil society, and to implement logistically political decisions throughout the realm” (Mann, 1984, p.189). A nation state’s infrastructural power can be enhanced through an extension of “territorial reach” by expanding its organizational networks throughout the country. Another way to fortify the state’s infrastructural power is through “organizational entwining” (Gorski, 2003) of state and non-state actors. To achieve such “organizational entwining”, the central state first accumulates resources that are vital to keep society under control (measured by indicators such as the GDP, state expenditures for welfare, and so forth). The central government then decides how these resources can be employed. The process, according to Soifer and vom Hau (2008), is the state’s “embeddedness” in society.

Despite the state’s increasing support for base-level community governance, urban neighborhoods are still regarded as the basic units under the state’s control. Although the state does not hinder the trend of pluralism or self-governance in urban neighborhoods, its penetration and embeddedness in grassroots society does not cease. Instead, the Party-state’s political technology for fortifying its infrastructural power is reinforced through its institutional penetration of multiple neighborhood agencies, associations, and systems.

One approach in the state's institutional "embeddedness" involves governmental intervention in elections and in promoting staff members to work for neighborhood associations. Although RC members and HOA representatives are elected by residents through residents' general meetings or household visits, all the candidates are selected by local governments (subnational executors/representatives of the central authority) such as street offices or township governments. In my sampled neighborhoods, half of the staff from the Mono RC had been leaders or members of the villagers' committees in pre-resettlement villages. As villagers are used to a "society of acquaintances" in their previous rural communities, the inclusion of village cadres in current RC teams helps build up mutual trust between resettled villagers and RC staff.²¹ Mr. Lu, a current vice chairman for the RC team in Neighborhood *Y* is proud of being familiar with the majority of residents. Thanks to his 30 years' working experience in pre-resettlement villages, Mr. Lu is highly respected and constantly consulted by other RC members. The scenario in the Mix LEIR neighborhoods is different. None of the six formal staff had previously worked in rural communities. It is more challenging for them to regulate and serve resettled villagers as compared to residents who are commodity apartment owners.²²

The central authority's grassroots penetration in LEIR neighborhoods is also achieved through monitoring and managing critical community resources. A strict control of the "special fund" provides a good example. This special fund is collected from villagers prior to resettlement and is specifically reserved for financing future repairs and maintenance of buildings and facilities in their new neighborhoods. The use of this fund is strictly monitored by different levels of

²¹ Interview 3_RC_Neighborhood *Y*

²² Interview 11_RC_Neighborhood *K, D & M* and Interview 12_RC_Neighborhood *K, D & M*.

subnational government and the central government. In neighborhood *Y*, for instance, villagers were required to pay approximately RMB 100 per square meter for their properties as a contribution to the special fund. This fund, of over RMB 10 million, is stored in a registered government bank account to prevent embezzlement or corrupt activities.²³ Every expense on the special fund needs to be approved by the HOA director and the local department of housing management.²⁴ Large expenses require approval from residents and higher-level governments.²⁵ All receipts and reports are kept by corresponding PMAs and specific government institutions.²⁶ Although the intention for the strict administration of this valuable collectively-owned community resource is to ensure its appropriate use, the state's intervention has actually created discontent and conflicts between different regulators, as well as between governing agencies and resettled villagers (see **Chapter Six** for more detailed discussion).

To conclude, the capacity and effectiveness of state-building and grassroots penetration in LEIR neighborhoods are constrained by the involuntary nature of the resettlement practice and the unique post-resettlement socio-political conditions in LEIR neighborhoods. Party-building cannot achieve its full potential, either due to villagers' limited education or their lack of interest. Ideological absorption suffers a setback when villagers are disappointed by governments' failure to fulfill many pre-resettlement promises. Moreover, the unease of villagers about adapting to urban neighborhood life fuels their resentment against government-led campaigns and inspections.

²³ Interview 10_HOA_Neighborhood *Y*

²⁴ Interview 16_HOA_Neighborhood *K*

²⁵ Interview 17_HOA_Neighborhood *D*

²⁶ Interview 13_PMA_Neighborhood *K* and Neighborhood *D*

Cultural Interpenetration in Community Governance

Every social practice relates to meanings and individuals' inner-selves. These subjective meanings and identities are reflected in social practices through culturally constitutive actions, institutions, rituals, and other practice domains. Substantively, the interpenetration of culture in almost every aspect of social life has challenged us when viewing it as trivial force to change the world. Relations of meaning and identity are organized by culture (Bennett, 2003). The "centrality of culture" lies in culture's constitution of "subjectivity", of "identity itself", and of "the person as a social actor" (Hall, 1997, p. 217). This concept depicts the penetration of culture in various scales of social life, "creating a proliferation of secondary environments" that are "mediating everything" (Hall, 1997, p. 215).

Unfortunately, the cultural insight in mediating social relations and directing social life has not gained much attention from conventional neighborhood associations. Considering the unique context of the study, the perspective of cultural interpenetration in community governance is not only relevant but also important in comprehending the rationales behind the existing regulatory mechanism in LEIR neighborhoods. This section articulates how cultural dimensional influences associated with villagers' uneasy urban integration have penetrated and modified the base-level democratization, the state's infiltration into the grassroots society, and the overall community governance performance in LEIR neighborhoods. Following that, villagers' socio-cultural needs and expectations for their new living environments and governance approaches are elaborated. Ignoring these requests and perceptions will significantly limit the capacity of community regulators to fulfil their institutional obligations in resettlement neighborhoods.

Cultural Interpenetration

In LEIR neighborhoods, the interpenetration of culture in base-level governance and residents' associational life reveals the reasons behind the tense relationships between: (1) resettled villagers and community regulators; and (2) resettled villagers and local urban residents. These unpleasant and even hostile relationships virtually reflect the wide gap between villagers and the two other actors with regard to their preferences for the ways of life and governance.

Different from typical voluntary rural-to-urban migrations, LEIR arrangement leads to permanent displacement, followed by the irreversible loss of rural habitats and social fabrics. In urban resettlement neighborhoods, villagers' attempts to practice previous rural habits have been prohibited due to spatial and cultural constraints. The physical setting of an LEIR neighborhood—featured by the scarcity of public areas, open spaces, and idle land—prioritizes privacy, security, and land saving. Consequently, villagers can no longer practice many of their previous rural habits, such as social gathering, poultry breeding, and gardening activities. Meanwhile, the standardization and normalization of community affairs and activities in urban neighborhoods discourages informality and cultural hybridity. In the eyes of community regulators and local urbanites: rural values and practices are featured as chaotic and backward; rural residents are identified as unhygienic, uneducated, and uncivil. Such stigmatization renders villagers a less desirable group to be interacted and associated with. If villagers attempt to expand their social networks with local urban residents and further create a sense of belonging to their new settlements, they are urged to proactively assimilate to urban discourses and behavioral norms, which in some cases contradicts to what they have been used to or expect for.

Villagers' unwillingness to follow community regulations and standards is also due to their unease about integrating in urban life, as well as about adapting to a new approach of urban governance. One RC representative compared the features of governance systems in urban and rural communities:

The governance system operated in rural communities is featured by its flexible, humanistic, and straightforward mechanism. In contrast, the governance system functioning in urban communities follows a precise, standardized, and rigorous pattern. For example, the guidance for allocating financial aid to households in need is clearly defined, which optimizes the use of public resources. But on the other hand, urban community governance seems too rigid and complicated for resettled villagers who are not used to following sophisticated and meticulous procedures.²⁷

China's rural society tends to be maintained by traditions, rituals, and customs, whereas its urban society is restrained by laws and regulations (Fei, 1947 [1992]). It takes time for resettled villagers to fully adapt to the current culture of governance that centers on standardization, normalization, and rationalization. On the other hand, mistrustful, disrespectful, and indifferent reactions are also found among members of neighborhood associations. Interviewed staff members commonly saw resettled villagers as an "uncultivated" and "ignorant" social group—people who lack public manner and scientific knowledge. Certain practices of rural culture, such as burning worship items in open areas for dead relatives, were criticized as not being in line with an urban resident identity. Due to such prejudice, it is hard for neighborhood association representatives, especially those with limited rural-life experience, to effectively communicate with resettled villagers and ultimately foster civic involvement and meaningful participation.

²⁷ Interview 1_RC_Neighborhood Y

Villagers' Socio-cultural Needs and Expectations

The involuntary nature of the LEIR practice makes it a highly stressful and traumatic process, as villagers are uprooted from places full of rustic family story and community memories. One elderly villager's comment on his struggles during this dramatic life transformation is touching, "I feel like I am broken in so many pieces. I left a big part of me in the village, and there is just not enough left to start here."²⁸ When rural dwellers are resettled from their village houses to urban apartments, they need to choose between two cultural systems that coexist while operating independently. This transition is not an easy process.

Along with landscape change goes the transformation of social fabric. The compact living space in LEIR neighborhoods has limited social gathering and collective activities. Spatial rearrangement can be applied to allow villagers to enjoy a more connected life style. A villager highlighted the necessity of reserving a parcel of open space for holding traditional ceremonial activities.²⁹ Another villager criticized the current green belts as being unattractive and useless. She suggested that PMA staff consult about villagers' opinions when redesigning the community landscape to meet villagers' aesthetic preferences.³⁰ The concept of community gardens was raised by many interviewees. Currently, due to a lack of land for planting vegetables or fruits, the phenomenon of villagers' occupying green areas for individual plantations was common in the sampled LEIR neighborhoods. Some villagers who were keen on farm work even attempted to reclaim nearby wasteland for agricultural production.

²⁸ Interview 1_Resident_ Neighborhood Y

²⁹ Interview 3_Resident_ Neighborhood Y

³⁰ Interview 9_Resident_ Neighborhood M

Resettled villagers also miss the engaging and connected social environment experienced in their previous settlement. Intimate relationships among neighbors and the formation of a society of acquaintances are two distinctive characteristics of being rural (Fei, 1947 [1992]). Villagers in resettlement neighborhoods are dissatisfied with alienating multistory buildings that discourage social interaction and mutual support. One resettled villager perceived urban society as a society of strangers and a society of inequity—a society driving landless farmers to an isolated and marginalized position.³¹ Indeed, resettled villagers are curious about the changing face of their city. They are willing to engage themselves in cultural events that would provide a venue for cultural sharing and exchange. These cultural events might eventually bring villagers and their urban counterparts together through highlighting local values, traditions, skills, and works of art. Villagers are also expecting more channels to be created by neighborhood associations to help them mingle with local urban residents and build up a sense of attachment to their new settlements.

Finally, life transformation in LEIR neighborhoods takes time. Villagers commonly endorse a more flexible and lenient approach of community governance. Although villagers' certain behaviors are against neighborhood regulations, rigorous correction executed by community regulators with no space for negotiation often generates anger and resistance among resettled villagers, especially when they consider the involuntary nature of the resettlement arrangement. One villager complained about the frequent governmental inspections in the summer:

This summer, the campaign for “Building Civilized Cities and Districts” broke the peace of our neighborhood. Led by RC members, government entities representing different departments came to our neighborhood one after the other to check all sorts of neighborhood conditions (e.g., sanitation, security, and planning). To meet the

³¹ Interview 7_Resident_Neighborhood D

*official standards, unapproved constructions were demolished in one night, personal belongings left outside were removed without notice, and all the regulations were immediately strengthened. We had never experienced such intense inspections in our village. Residents in resettlement neighborhoods should enjoy more freedom.*³²

An inclusive, engaging, and relaxed neighborhood environment is crucial for the overall life quality for villagers in resettlement neighborhoods. Yet, the creation of such socio-cultural circumstances depends on efforts by both regulators and community members.

Critiques of the Existing Mechanism

Institutional endeavors have been made by community regulatory apparatuses to tackle the existing governance challenges and serve villagers' socio-cultural needs in LEIR neighborhoods. This section introduces some of the efforts made by major neighborhood associations in response to villagers' expectations for community space and governance. Reflecting on the current performance of community governance from the perspectives of the three analytical narratives, this section further uncovers the limitations of the existing mechanism in serving and administering villagers' post-resettlement life transformation.

Institutional Endeavors

Institutional endeavors have been made by the sampled LEIR neighborhood associations with an ultimate goal of accommodating villagers' specific socio-cultural needs. To create an

³² Interview 8_Resident_Neighborhood M

atmosphere for collective life, public spaces were rearranged. In Neighborhood *Y*, a large room within the community recreational center was allocated for residents to play cards and “mah-jong” (small gambling activities). In Neighborhood *M*, villagers were allowed to temporarily use the open space in front of their apartments for holding special events, such as wedding ceremonies, baby showers, and funerals. Neighborhood association representatives also attended some of these events to better understand rural culture and traditions. In Neighborhood *K* and Neighborhood *D*, except for sensitive periods of governmental inspections, PMA staff no longer remove flowers or fruit trees planted by villagers on community lawns. Numerous gourd vines and fig trees transplanted by villagers from their previous rural yards have formed unique and attractive landscapes in these two resettlement neighborhoods. In last year, cultural events, such as traditional opera performances, were organized to enrich villagers’ leisure time.

In addition to better serving villagers’ socio-cultural needs, community regulators in LEIR neighborhoods are also determined to strengthen their accountability in fulfilling their institutional obligations. **Table 5-3** illustrates the organization structures of the two sampled RCs. The internal divisions of labor in the sampled residents’ committees were refined to avoid duplication of service provision. The procedures for answering villagers’ questions and addressing villagers’ concerns were largely simplified.³³ Meaningful and timely communication with resettled villagers appeared in the working agendas of two homeowners’ associations. One HOA representative from Neighborhood *D* denoted the necessity of holding regular meetings to acknowledge villagers’ opinions on ongoing community affairs. Her team organized five to seven meetings each year to address villagers’ major concerns. They then brought up these issues to other neighborhood

³³ Interview 3_RC_Neighborhood *Y*

institutions for negotiation or collaboration. A recent negotiation with the property management company was about the standard of parking fees:

Once the electronic access control system is installed in October, residents must pay their yearly parking fees (RMB 1,000/per car) for the authorization of their vehicles to enter the neighborhood. Resettled villagers insisted on paying a reduced fee and suggested the property management company in our neighborhood learn from the practice in Neighborhood M where villagers paid half of the parking fees commodity housing owners were asked to pay. Collaborating with the residents' committee, we organized several rounds of negotiation with the property management company.³⁴

In recent years, housing marketization has witnessed a thriving development of private property management companies. Their competition with government-sponsored PMAs contributes to an improvement of service provision in urban communities, including resettlement neighborhoods. The manager of Neighborhood M mentioned that although they received less financial support from the local real estate department, they were actively searching for new sources of funds and meanwhile advancing their professional skills through learning from international property management experiences. The manager asserted that, “when property management is fully open to the private sector, competition in the market will be much fiercer”.³⁵

³⁴ Interview 17_HOA_Neighborhood D

³⁵ Interview 15_PMA_Neighborhood M

Table 5-3 Organizational Structures of the Sampled Residents Committees

Rank	Mono RC		Mix RC	
Level 1	<i>Secretary:</i>	-Leadership -Coordination	<i>Secretary & Chairwoman:</i>	-Leadership -Coordination
	<i>Chairwoman:</i>	-Administrative work		
Level 2	<i>Vice Chairwoman 1:</i>	-Party affairs -Discipline inspection -Sanitation	<i>Deputy Secretary:</i>	-Conflict mediation -Youth group -Archival management -Activity arrangement -Publicity
	<i>Vice Chairman 2:</i>	-Civil affairs -Social assistance -Resettlement		
Level 3	<i>Cadre 1:</i>	-Agriculture -Union	<i>Cadre 1:</i>	-Civil affairs -Household registration
	<i>Cadre 2:</i>	-Neighborhood order and security	<i>Cadre 2:</i>	-Sanitation -Militia
	<i>Cadre 3:</i>	-Recreation -Publicity -Community education	<i>Cadre 3:</i>	-Infrastructure -Neighborhood order and security
	<i>Cadre 4:</i>	-Militia -Youth group -Archival management	<i>Cadre 4:</i>	-Women affairs -Birth control -Education
	<i>Cadre 5:</i>	-Women affairs -Birth control -Finance		
Level 4	<i>Adjunct Staff 1:</i>	-Aids to the disabled	<i>Coordinator 1:</i>	-Birth control
	<i>Adjunct Staff 2:</i>	-Employment assistance	<i>Coordinator 2:</i>	-Migrant affairs
	<i>Coordinator 1:</i>	-Migrant affairs	<i>Coordinator 3:</i>	-Conflict mediation -Petition
	<i>Coordinator 2:</i>	-Conflict mediation -Petition		

Source: participatory observation.

Note: Level 1-3 indicate the hierarchical RC positions (from Level 1 denoting the highest rank to Level 3 denoting the lowest rank). Level 4 contains adjunct staff and coordinators.

Limitations of the Mechanism

Civil society creates a comparatively safe public sphere in which villagers can address their community-based concerns to base-level administrative agencies. They, however, have not been fully involved in the creation of basic values or the setting up of the public sphere in LEIR neighborhoods. The interviewed neighborhood association staff commonly attributed this result to villagers' lack of self-discipline or poor upbringing due to their limited education. This perspective is problematic as neighborhood regulators narrowly comprehend "civil society" as a means of achieving a desirable social order, rather than a deeper normative consensus that is meaningful in producing a better society. In addition, the public sphere in LEIR neighborhoods is not equally open to everyone. Interviewed villagers complained that information and resources were often shared only within a small group of residents who maintained close relationships with community cadres. The opportunities for the majority of residents to be truly involved in decision making or to receive community welfares are very limited. Consequently, neighborhood governance apparatuses lack the steadfast support from resettled villagers that would allow them to make bold and decisive changes to the current governance mechanism.

On the other hand, the state's grassroots control and institutional penetration of LEIR neighborhoods hinder a more thorough democratization of community governance system. Although elections are held to form RC and HOA teams, candidate selection and election results are largely influenced by subnational government entities—local executive forces representing the central state. One RC staff claimed that none of the existing community governance associations in China's LEIR neighborhoods were independent from close supervision by formal government apparatuses. As resettlement neighborhoods are the products of a tremendous societal transformation that are considered to be a high risk for bottom-up uprisings, any fundamental

changes will need to obtain approval from multi-level administrative institutions. Accordingly, the capacity and depth of self-governance in LEIR neighborhoods are much weaker than those found in rural villages and conventional urban neighborhoods.

For the cultural dimensional concern, despite institutional efforts made by neighborhood associations to cater villagers' preferences, the overall community governance structure in LEIR neighborhoods is not systematically different from those implemented in conventional urban neighborhoods. Some approaches even conflict with villagers' previous living customs and the culture of governance they have previously experienced. The approaches of governance strongly affect the capacity in which culture can structure, organize, and constitute social relations, activities, and institutions within neighborhoods. One RA representative argued that to advance the current governance mechanism in LEIR neighborhoods, fundamental changes must be enforced to better serve villagers' specific social-cultural needs and expectations.³⁶ Unfortunately, very limited professional training or governmental resources are available to support neighborhood cadres in LEIR neighborhoods leading such structural transformation.

While there are noteworthy progresses made by neighborhood associations in facilitating villagers' post-resettlement urban integration, the above-mentioned governance limitations have continuously served as counter forces for managing the process. To advance the performance of community governance in LEIR neighborhoods, neighborhood regulators should come up with innovative strategies to foster meaningful civic engagement, overcome present institutional

³⁶ Interview 8_RC_Neighborhood Y

constraints, and most importantly, thrive to serve villagers' social cultural needs in future administration and service provision.

Conclusions

Through interviewing resettled villagers and community association representatives, this chapter reveals the dynamics of community governance in LEIR neighborhoods under the complex socio-political matrix shaped by: the emergence of civil society in China's urban neighborhoods, the state's continued influences at the grassroots level, and the discernable cultural barriers that have constrained the governance capacity in LEIR neighborhoods. Through understanding the perspectives from both affected villagers and community regulators, this chapter not only details China's ongoing societal transformation caused by massive land expropriation and resulting involuntary resettlement, but also ponders on the effectiveness of existing community governance mechanism in fulfilling a wide range of institutional obligations.

The research findings regarding base-level democratization identify three major challenges faced by community regulators to govern LEIR neighborhoods. First, the limited executive power granted to community regulators undermines their governance legitimacy and constrains their capacity in enforcing neighborhood rules and regulations. Second, the shortage of staff, especially given the extra workloads for assisting villagers' life transformation, prevents neighborhood institutions from building close and widely-engaged relationships with resettled villagers. Third, the misunderstandings, indignation, and resistance of resettled villagers caused by different cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioral inclinations towards urban and rural culture have significantly discouraged neighborhood regulators from advancing their governance mechanism

and fulfilling their institutional obligations. Meanwhile, villagers' civic engagement in LEIR neighborhoods is also constrained by the lack of meaningful and equal citizen participation.

On the other hand, the state control, through deeper reach into grassroots governance, is faced with new challenges in LEIR neighborhoods. The Party-building and ideological absorption barely achieve their full potential, either due to villagers' limited education or their lack of interest. The state's institutional embeddedness is also challenged by its rigidity in resource mobilization, conflict mediation, and paternalistic scientism.

In addition, cultural dimensional impacts associated with villagers' life transformation have been penetrating and modifying the community-based democratization consolidation and the state's infiltration of grassroots society in LEIR neighborhoods, ultimately changing the dynamics and robustness of the existing governance mechanism. Resettled villagers hold specific socio-cultural needs and expectations. They anticipate more space and freedom for maintaining certain rural ways of life. They seek opportunities for interacting with local residents. They crave to become true members of urban society, not only in terms of land or administrative transition from rural to urban, but also in the ways through which they are reconstituted as urbanites.

In response to villagers' specific socio-cultural needs, neighborhood associations have adjusted their approaches of governance. Sanctions over the use of community public spaces have been loosened to cater villagers' previous habits and customs. Through being proactively involved in residents' traditional events, neighborhood cadres start to understand and respect villagers' cultural heritage. The content-specific refinement of community governance positions enables staff members to deal with individual requests in a more timely and efficient fashion. And finally,

community regulators are more aware of and prepared for the competition from private sectors, which will eventually diversify and improve the service provision in resettlement neighborhoods.

Although endeavors have been made by neighborhood associations to form engaging, flexible, and inclusive community environments, structural governance changes are absent. Weak civic foundation and the state's close control over grassroots society have combined to prevent systematic changes in community governance. This institutional stagnancy further limits the capacity of culture in coordinating social relationships and nourishing social production. Resettled villagers need continuous institutional support in adapting to urban life. The central and local states should reassess current resettlement policies that prioritize the compensation and relocation process while neglecting villagers' adaptive resilience and life transformation challenges. Improvements in these areas can ultimately pave the way for robust civic involvement in resettlement neighborhoods, build mutual trust between grassroots regulators and residents, and foster the formation of a more inclusive, transparent, and sustainable state-society relationship.

CHAPTER SIX

Unpacking the New Regulatory Coalition of Community Governance through Regime Theory

Prologue

The shift from government to governance has witnessed the repositioning of the nation-state and local authorities in the realm of urban politics. Modern nation states achieve their policy objectives through a wide array of political techniques. Poulantzas (1979) saw a nation state as a “relatively unified ensemble of socially embedded, socially regularized, and strategically selective institutions, organisations, social forces and activities organised around (or at least involved in) making collectively binding decisions for an imagined political community”. Althusser (1971) viewed new governing initiatives as embodied in “ideological state apparatuses”. Foucault (1991) raised the concept of “governmentality” to interpret the frames of references a state provides to its citizens to regulate themselves. In practice, from the perspective of local governments, devolving decision-making power to the neighborhood institutions is considered a means of minimizing transaction costs (Webster, 2003) and for some, promises changes that may lead to a “genuine neighborhood democracy” or “citizen governance” (Atkinson, 1994; Box, 1998; Etzioni, 1995; Sullivan, 2001; Tam, 1998).

Although the political technologies associated with the shift towards governance are discussed under diverse empirical contexts, it has been commonly agreed that strategic coalitions and partnerships have been playing central roles in reconstituting local governance. Such coalitions and partnerships are purposefully formed on the acknowledgement of an increasing level of complexity in dealing with emerging societal challenges and institutional interdependence among

different players. Collaborations from multiscale stakeholders help community members access appropriate advice, guidance, and expertise (Somerville, 2005; Sullivan, 2001). These intertwined relationships, networks, and partnerships are combined to form new governance regimes that are capable of dealing with complex non-routine societal challenges since the mid-1980s.

The essence of the regime approach is not to identify who governs, but rather to situate the conditions for a partnership to be created and reinforced for socioeconomic sustainability. This chapter presents how formal governmental entities (the central state and subnational governments) and grassroots community regulators (residents' committees, homeowners' associations, property management agents, and other associated neighborhood institutions) work together to form a new regime in order to tackle the governance challenges manifested in LEIR neighborhoods and ultimately, to better facilitate villagers' urban integration.

This chapter first provides a conceptual review of the regime theory, highlighting its history, definitions, antecedents, and key inputs. Following that, the roles and interests of two major actors (the central state and local governments) of the new regulatory coalition/regime, in addition to community regulators, are introduced. This set-up provides the context for understanding the positions of the regime partners. The major findings presented in this chapter examine the components, features, functioning mechanism, and governing capacity of the new regime. After that, critiques of the regime are presented to uncover its immaturity and deficiencies in advancing the existing community governance mechanism and facilitating villagers' urban integration.

Regime Theory: A Conceptual Review

In our contemporary world where diversity, pluralism, and differences prevail, an increasing level of interdependence has been found between governmental and non-governmental forces in tackling complex economic and social challenges. Scholars recognize the emergence of “governance” and observe the powers of nation states being complemented by non-hierarchical forms of coordination (Brenner, 1996, 1997, & 1998; Swyngedouw, 1997). In contrast to “government”, governance is based on self-organization (networks, negotiations, and coordination) and manages functional interdependencies among state and non-state actors (Jessop, 1997 & 2004).

In this context, regime theory came to the fore in the mid-1980s, providing a new lens for understanding governing coalitions and informal partnerships in global city regions. The first thorough discussions of the regime concept emerged in the empirical work conducted by Clarence Stone in 1989. In this piece of work, Stone documented the formation of a political regime—dominated by two groups, the downtown business elites and the African American political leaders—in Atlanta between 1946 and 1988. In this case, Stone defined a regime as “an informal yet relatively stable group with access to institutional resources that enable it to have a sustained role in making governing decisions” (p.4). The development of trust and cooperation between the regime partners, motivated by the need to reinforce opportunities and achieve common goals, has worked through shared civic institutions and informal exchanges. Through agreeing on resource sharing and operating networking strategies, the regime partners in Atlanta found stable means to cooperate on economic development.

Regime theory has many antecedents. It shares a few commonalities with pluralism, especially neo-pluralism. Both theories denote that current political systems are not generally

oligarchical, and the active citizenry does not constitute a single power elite (Polsby, 1980; Waste, 1987). Regime theorists also agree with the elitism theorists on acknowledging that certain groups (e.g., groups taking control over substantial materials like land, groups having intellectual resources, and groups with financial strategies for investment) play more privileged/dominant roles in decision-making processes. Nevertheless, unlike pluralists and elitists who once focused on the question of “Who governs?”, regime theorists reiterate the concerns about the capacity to act and accomplish goals (Stone, 1989; Stoker, 1995). Regime theory changes the focus of the pluralist-elitist debate from the goal of “social control” to “social production” and from the regulative approach of “power over” to “power to” (Judge et al., 1995).

Building a regime is to facilitate social changes and empower regime partners. In urban politics, there are at least four forms of power (Stocker, 1995; Stone, 1980): (1) systemic power; (2) command power/social control power; (3) coalition power; and (4) pre-emptive power/power of social production. Systemic power is possessed by certain groups based on their advantaged positions in the socioeconomic structure. Command power/social control power is obtained through the active mobilization of resources to achieve domination over other interests. Coalition power is used to share compatible goals and complementary resources. Pre-emptive power/power of social production forms a crucial axis within regime theory. Power here “rests on the need for leadership in a complex society and the capacity of certain interests in coalition to provide that leadership” (Stocker, 1995, p.65). For the regime leaders, pre-emptive power uses regime partners’ strategic position and control over resources to support long-term coalitions that can sustain the regime and achieve its full capacity to govern.

Regime theorists see complexity as the heart of urban governance and hold that a regime is needed to build more stable and intense relationships to achieve difficult and non-routine goals.

As a model of policy choice, the concept holds that public policies are shaped by three factors: (1) the composition of a community's governing coalition; (2) the nature of the relationships among members of the governing coalition; and (3) the resources that members bring to the governing coalition (Stone, 1993, p.2). The regime approach, therefore, does not focus on identifying any influential elites, but rather on investigating the conditions, processes, and consequences of how partnerships are created and maintained.

Regime theory provides a conceptual approach to investigating dynamic and interactive institutional coalitions in urban governance. There is, of course, a point at which "power over" and "power to" merge, and a superior power to form a regime spills over into a trend of domination. However, this possible uneven political power and control of resources is not the focus of this study. The application of regime theory in this empirical research is based on the assumption that a strong or successful regime is capable of uniting fragmented partnerships to facilitate the mobilization of resources and the coordination of efforts through promoting complementary relations and non-hierarchical cooperation. The role of the market in strengthening or threatening the stability of the current regime is not thoroughly explored, either. The governance discourses involved in this case study concentrate more on the shifting boundary between the state and civil society in (re)constituting the existing mechanism. The regime theory is, accordingly, applied to demystify the complementary relations, strategic networks, and constructive partnerships that have been formed between the state (central and local) and community actors to operationalize a new regulatory coalition in governing China's LEIR neighborhoods.

Two Other Actors of the Coalition: The Central State and Local Governments

In **Chapter Five**, I uncovered three major challenges—community regulators’ lack of executive power; the shortage of staff for undertaking heavy workloads; and the tension in the relations between resettled villagers and community regulators—faced by neighborhood organizations in governing LEIR neighborhoods. To tackle these challenges, a new regulatory coalition has been initiated to unite existing community regulators and further engage the two other regulatory actors—the central state and local governments. The following section introduces the roles and interests of these two actors. This review, complemented by the introduction of the major neighborhood associations (RCs, HOAs, and PMAs) provided in the previous chapter, helps identify the characteristics of the actors involved in the new regulatory coalition, and also sets out the context for understanding the intricate relationships and interactions among these actors.

The Central State

Reasons for compulsory land expropriation include the state’s need to provide public social and economic amenities; its obligation to balance economic, social, and cultural benefits; and its search for greater equity and social justice in land distribution (Darin-Drabkin & Darin, 1980; Lichfield, 1980). In both developed and developing countries, the central state has the power to expropriate land and private property in the public interest or for the public good with a payment of just compensation (Denyer-Green, 1998; Knetsch, 1983). In China, the state may—in the public interest—lawfully expropriate land and give compensation accordingly.

Although the state-led land expropriation is protected by the national constitution and land administration law,³⁷ reactions to adverse social impacts caused by this practice, such as protests against violent evictions, have continuously challenged the central authority's executive power over land. Since the 1990s, disputes related to land expropriation and resettlement have become one big reason for villagers to mount court appeals against government (Ding, 2007, p.10).

In response to villagers' discontent, the state has enacted laws and regulations to improve land expropriation and resettlement administration.³⁸ These documents emphasize the mandatory processes of public notice, hearings, and consultation.³⁹ A series of complementary guidelines—drafted by different state departments—were also issued to direct, supervise, and monitor local practices.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, guidance for sustaining villagers' long-term livelihood and adaptive resilience in LEIR neighborhoods is insufficient. Since the early 2000s, the State Council has urged

³⁷ The legitimacy of land expropriation is stated in Article 10 of the *Constitution of the People's Republic of China* and Article 2 of the *Land Administration Law of the People's Republic of China*.

³⁸ See for example, the *Decision of the State Council on Deepening Reform of Strict Land Administration* promulgated by the State Council in 2004, the *Guidelines on Improving Land Expropriation Compensation and Resettlement System* promulgated by the Ministry of Land and Resource in 2004, the *Urgent Circular on Further Enforcing More Rigorous Administration over Demolition and Relocation of Land Expropriation and Effectively Protecting People's Legal Rights and Interests* promulgated by the General Office of the State Council in 2010, the *Circular of the Ministry of Land and Resources on Further Improving Land Expropriation Administration* by the Ministry of Land and Resources in 2010, the *Circular on Intensifying Supervision and Inspection and Further Normalizing Demolition and Relocation Activity of Land Expropriation* promulgated by the General Office of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection in 2011, and the *Urgent Circular Concerning Effectively Improving Administration of Demolition and Relocation of Land Expropriation* promulgated by the Ministry of Land and Resources in 2011.

³⁹ The three documents are the *Decision of the State Council on Deepening Reform of Strict Land Administration*, and the *Guidelines on Improving Land Expropriation Compensation and Resettlement System*, and the *Urgent Circular on Further Enforcing More Rigorous Administration over Demolition and Relocation of Land Expropriation and Effectively Protecting People's Legal Rights and Interest*.

⁴⁰ Supplementary guidelines include: the *Circular of The Ministry of Land and Resources on Further Improving Land Requisition Administration* promulgated by the Ministry of Land and Resources in 2010, the *Urgent Circular Concerning Effectively Improving Administration of Demolition and Relocation of Land Requisition* promulgated by the Ministry of Land and Resources in 2011, and the *Circular on Intensifying Supervision and Inspection and Further Normalizing Demolition and Relocation Activity of Land Requisition* by the General Office of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection in 2011.

the Ministry of Labor and Social Security to cooperate with other departments to establish a legal framework for providing employment and welfare services to landless villagers. In 2006, the *Guideline on Providing Land-lost Farmers with Employment Training and social security* was enforced. According to this guideline, working age villagers were set as prioritized recipients for job training and the elderly became the focus demographic for social security.⁴¹ Job training programs are funded by local governments; social security expenses are mainly retained from resettlement subsidies and land compensation fees, supplemented by local land-based revenues.

In addition to these policies specifying the institutional support for LEIR practices, the central government has released a series of legal documents to raise the overall administration for “people-centered” community governance and urban transformation. Two five-year plans for the community service system—the *Community Service System Construction Plan (2011-2015)* distributed by the State Council Secretariat in 2011 and the *Urban-rural Service System Construction Plan (2016-2020)* enacted by the Ministry of Civil Affairs in 2016—provided guidance for base-level community regulators to better serve the increasingly diversified and individualised needs of their residents. These plans instruct local governments to provide the necessary financing, personnel, and policy support to community regulators and urge an inclusion of communities in local economic, land use, and urban planning processes. In 2014, the State Council announced the *National New-Type Urbanization Plan (2014-2020)*, providing reference to the persistent mismatch between “place of residence” and “place of registration” for rural-to-urban migrants and villagers whose residence status changed from rural to urban.

⁴¹ Accordingly, resettled villagers can receive free job introduction assistance from local public employment service institutions. Villagers applying for small loans for low-profit projects can enjoy 50% subsidized interest. Land-expropriated villagers within urban planning areas shall be included into city and township employment and social security system while those outside urban planning areas shall be entitled with either reserved cultivated lands or rural employment supports and social welfare provision.

However, when central policies reach local levels, they may become distorted. In many cases, villagers are not fully consulted and deals are sealed between township governments and village cadres. This distortion of central policies at subnational levels accounts for villagers' perception of a "benign" central state and "malign" local states (Guo, 2001, p. 453). On the one hand, villagers' relationship with the central state is "political and symbolic," whereas their relationship with local governments is "social and economic" (Guo, 2001, p.453). On the other hand, as the subordinate body of local governments, community leaders rarely back up central policies or villagers' rightful resistance to a full extent. A sense of being betrayed by their representatives intensifies villagers' antagonism to local authorities. To conclude, the state's policy implementation at subnational scales will be continually compromised if the power relationships among land-deprived villagers, local authorities, and community regulators are unsettled.

Despite the difficulties of policy implementation at the local level, the Chinese central government has attempted to make LEIR practices more transparent to affected rural populations. The hope is that this transparency will help reduce corruption and improve land management (Ding, 2004). While the central authority has supported such transparency, there is still a lack of specific mechanism in existing legislation for solving disputes associated with land expropriation and resettlements (Zhou & Banik, 2014). Currently, legal channels for villagers to file appeals and protests against unfair LEIR practices have not yet been fully explained to affected rural residents. There is also an urgent call for the central government to establish standardized guidelines for subnational regulators to assist landless villagers in gaining long-term livelihoods and social security in resettlement neighborhoods.

Local Governments

China's 1994 tax reform signaled the central state's recentralization of fiscal power. Since then, a larger share of local taxable revenues have been retained by the state sector, even though the central state's allocations of fiscal resources to subnational governments have not increased to maintain the balance (Naughton, 2007). Facing heavier tax burdens whilst forced to supplement insufficient budgets, local states have responded by engaging in extra-budgetary financing and revenue-seeking activities. Incomes from land (including land-based taxes and fees, and land transfer payments) have gradually become a prominent and even dominant component of local finance (Tao et al., 2007; Zhou, 2007). Facilitated by land expropriation and resettlement, "land financing" replaces the previous regime of "corporation financing" (Chen & Chen, 2010; Wang & Liu, 2013; Yang & Wen, 2010).

In China, subnational authorities have the indisputable legal right to acquire lands and transfer land uses (Chen, 2012).⁴² In recent years, local governments have been playing "entrepreneurial roles" in expropriating rural lands from village collectives and then selling the use right of those lands to developers who are willing to pay high conveyance fees (Goldstein, 1995). According to Eaton and Kostka (2014), local states' profit-seeking and growth-centered administrative approaches without long-term visions resemble the predatorily self-maximizing and rent-seeking behavior of the "roving bandits" described by Mancur Olson in his article "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development" (1993).

⁴² The 1982 *Land Acquisition Measures for National Construction* separated land ownership from land use rights and stipulated that land acquisition shall be enforced by local states.

The first decade of the 21st century witnessed a dramatic decline in the amount of cultivated lands due to aggressive encroachment onto rural land.⁴³ To halt this decline and guarantee national food security, China’s central authority has strengthened its control over local land expropriation activities in the last two decades.⁴⁴ Despite this strict land control, local states have created a new strategy—the “land development transfer”—that can raise the quotas for construction land in urban areas by transferring land development rights from rural regions (Johnston & Madison, 1997). Municipal and county governments purposefully “increase” arable land reserves by reclaiming the lands of rural homesteads. New arable land quotas are then exchanged for new quotas for construction land in urban areas that will fetch much higher land prices. By evicting villagers from their detached rural houses and relocating them to high-density multistory resettlement neighborhoods, local governments “save” a considerable land quota for lucrative urban construction (Ong, 2014; Zhang & Qian, 2018).

To smoothly relocate villagers to compact LEIR neighborhoods, local states strategically “depoliticize” the resettlement processes. To persuade villagers to move to new towns, local governments proactively advertise the superiority of a modern urban lifestyle and urban social welfare coverage. By doing so, local authorities manage to change villagers’ registration status, revoke their land-use rights, and silence rightful resistance. This deceptive process produces a “depoliticizing effect” on evicted villagers through transferring their attention from “talk of lost land” to “discussions of market rates for compensation and housing prices” (Chuang, 2014, p.663).

⁴³ According to the Ministry of Natural Resources of the People’s Republic of China, from 2001 to 2010, over 46% of the annually added construction lands is converted from cultivated land.

⁴⁴ The central state has adopted two strategies to protect cultivated land. The “rural land consolidation” strategy aims to increase cultivated land through land reclamation and more intensive land use. The “cultivated land requisition-compensation balance” strategy stipulates that when an area of arable land is expropriated for non-agricultural use, the same amount of non-agricultural land elsewhere within the province shall be reclaimed for arable use.

Hsing (2006) identified three types of capacities—political, organizational, and moral—needed for local states to successfully achieve land control and territorial governance. The moral capacity requires local states to function as the “legitimate market regulators” and “social protectors” who take care of society from below (p.577). Although it is increasingly difficult and costly for local states to resettle land-expropriated villagers (Ding, 2004), the expectation still is that subnational governments will provide villagers with long-term services and resources to sustain their livelihoods in LEIR neighborhoods.

Findings

Theorists of urban politics argue that the effectiveness of local government depends greatly on the cooperation of nongovernmental actors and on the combination of state capacity and nongovernmental resources (Crenson, 1983; Jessop, 1997 & 2004; Stone, 1993). This statement indicates that the devolution of local territorial power involves a wider range of actors that are “operationally autonomous from one another” while also “structurally coupled through various forms of reciprocal interdependence” (Jessop, 2004, p.19). Accordingly, the capacity of local regimes can be substantially enhanced by their “access to non-local powers and resources” (Stocker, 1995, p. 67).

Meanwhile, a crucial dimension of regime formation is how local governance apparatuses can manage their relationships with higher levels of government and the wider political environment, and further expand their local governing capacity through creating a new “scale of dependence” and “space of engagement” (Cox, 1998 & 2001; MacLeod & Goodwin, 1999). This perspective is centered on strategic networking and reconciliation.

The above two narratives indicate how an effective regime can transcend the limitations of hierarchical institutional boundaries and foster meaningful coalitions that are built on mutual trust and resource sharing. Keeping this in mind, the following section examines how the new regime is initiated to unify different actors involved in China's LEIR practices to collaborate as a whole (from "power over" to "power to") and achieve a larger capacity to govern (from "social control" to "social production") in resettlement neighborhoods.

Component and Motivations of the Regime Partners

Stone (1986, p. 91) identified two characteristics of effective regime partners: (1) possession of strategic knowledge of social transactions and a capacity to act on the basis of that knowledge; and (2) control of resources that make one an attractive coalition partner. Based on this criteria, two sets of regime partners have been found to regulate and serve the sampled LEIR neighborhoods. The first set of regime partners, initiated within the neighborhoods, is mainly composed of the "troikas" (RCs, HOAs, and PMAs) and their associated organizations/clubs. The second set of regime partners is beyond the neighborhood scale, and includes: (1) community regulators as the major governance and service providers; (2) local governments supporting and supervising community governance in their jurisdictions; and (3) the central state that launches propagandistic or strategic community-based campaigns (e.g., the Garbage Sorting Campaign) and mediates conflicts between different actors.

Although regime partners' strategic knowledge, resources, and powers vary from each other, the shared goal of tackling sophisticated governance challenges in LEIR neighborhoods,

particularly in assisting villagers' post-resettlement urban integration, has united different regime partners to form a coalition through strategic networking and resource sharing.

The central and local states have backed up the new regime for the maintenance of state power and social stability. For the Party state, China's urban neighborhoods are virtually "state units" formed to fortify the legitimate role of the central political authority. Although the state has been increasingly emphasizing the necessity of public involvement, market influences, and base-level organizations in community governance, its authority is always dominant in China's urban neighborhoods. However, in an increasing complex policy world, it is unrealistic for the state actors to oversee all the political, scalar, and territorial forces functioning at the local level (Logan, 2018). The state's paternalistic scientism is even harder to practice in LEIR neighborhoods where cultural values and governance preferences are extremely polarized. The state actors, therefore, shift away from hierarchical approaches of governance to endorse the new model of "networked governance" (Rhodes, 1996). Moving from the functioning of "rowing" to "steering" (Bryson et al., 2014; Osborne & Gaebler, 1993), the authoritarian state is transforming to an "enabling state" (Deakin & Walsh, 1996; Chang et al., 2019). Through partnerships and devolution of power, the state virtually extends its embeddedness in resettlement neighborhoods.

The "troikas" (RCs, HOAs, and PMAs) and their associated institutions in LEIR neighborhoods also benefit from the new governance coalition. In China, community associations are commonly subordinated to the central leadership executed by subnational government entities. Local states possess extensive power in designating and promoting community cadres. Meanwhile, most neighborhood organizations receive state sponsorships (e.g., salary, subsidies, and funds for community events). The political subordination and economic dependency have largely reduced the autonomy and governing capacity of neighborhood institutions in appointing experienced staff,

mobilizing strategic resources, and resolving intercultural conflicts. In addition, to avoid bottom-up uprisings derived from villagers' discontent to their post-resettlement life, community regulators are extremely cautious when implementing governance in LEIR neighborhoods, which further weakens their executive power. A successful governance regime nourishes complementary relations (from "power over" to "power to") and extends regime members' capacity to govern (from "social control" to "social production") (Judge et al., 1995; Stoker, 1995; Stone, 1989 & 1993). For numerous grassroots organizations serving LEIR neighborhoods, being members of the new governance coalition may offer them the opportunity to grow and thrive.

From "Power Over" to "Power To"

The shift from "power over" to "power to" dismisses strong hierarchical relations among regime partners. In a world of diffuse authority and interest, a concentration and optimization of resources is vital for urban governance. The devolution of power does not focus on control and resistance, but gains and fuses a capacity to act and accomplish goals—power to, not power over (Stone, 1989, p. 229). While using regime partners' strategic positions and control over resources, the formation of long-term cooperation, collaboration, and co-production is achieved through the establishment of stable and interpenetrable relationships/networks among regime members, focusing more on coordination and mutual support for accomplishing difficult administrative goals, rather than on hierarchical power leverage that aims to intensify social control from below.

Networking, collaboration, and support among regime partners are multifaceted. The approaches in the sampled LEIR neighborhoods cover the areas of administrative procedures, knowledge exchange and sharing, financial aid, and non-material incentives.

The bottom-up administrative procedures have been significantly simplified. Barriers to the communication among regime partners are being lessened through fewer paper work and the specification of connections.⁴⁵ Each RC member is connected with a designated group of community volunteers/activists, and a particular upper-level government authority undertaking similar services or administrative tasks. For instance, the RC staff who is responsible for providing employment assistance to resettled villagers is well connected by the street office with the district's social security center, professional colleges, and industrial unions:

The district's Social Security Center contacts me when job training opportunities—usually provided by local professional colleges or adult schools—open to the public. I will then inform those residents who might be interested in and qualified for those opportunities. I also pay regular visits to local unions to check available positions and upcoming job fairs. Staff there are supportive. Last year, I helped around 80 residents here find jobs. One of them is a young adult who was born with mental challenge. He lives with his grandma in this neighborhood. I helped him find a job in a local delivery company as a tally clerk. This mission would be hard to accomplish without the support from the street office, the social security center, and other local institutions.⁴⁶

Knowledge exchange and sharing among regime partners is important for maintaining the robustness of a coalition. Government-initiated career training opportunities are available to staff members working in neighborhood associations. For instance, at the early stage of the 2018 nationwide garbage sorting campaign, Shanghai's district governments organized educational training sections to their corresponding officers. This set of knowledge is then disseminated to neighborhood associations through lectures, posters, and discussion forums.⁴⁷ Another example of

⁴⁵ Interview 3_RC_Neighborhood Y

⁴⁶ Interview 8_RC_Neighborhood Y

⁴⁷ Interview 11_RC_Neighborhood K, Neighborhood D, and Neighborhood M

knowledge sharing is in the area of legal education. As resettlement neighborhoods constantly face property ownership disputes,⁴⁸ RC members are allowed to enroll in free government courses to learn about the laws and regulations relevant to tackling villagers' appeals.⁴⁹

Coalitions among regime partners are also enhanced by providing each other with financial support. PMA staff, especially those working for the Government PMAs, hold this view strongly:

When we apply for the use of the special fund, the homeowners' association in our neighborhood can find hundreds of excuses to say no. It is annoying to get approval from these people who are reluctant to pay anything while constantly complaining about the service quality. Fortunately, our company is owned by the street office, and therefore, we turn to it for help in covering a portion of the service fee. Street offices and real estate departments in our city offer subsidies—for a length of two to three years—to government-owned PMAs working in resettlement neighborhoods. These subsidies are used to compensate for reduced property management fees and low profits collected from resettled villagers. Without this financial support, we wouldn't be able to employ enough staff to take care of the current community services.⁵⁰

In addition to financial aid, mutual support among the regime partners is achieved through awards, entitlements, certification, and a wide range of non-material incentives. These sources of encouragement serve as important motivators for grassroots community regulators to regain senses of purpose and passion for their institutional obligations, especially when they are discouraged by villagers' constant complaints or disrespectful reactions to their work.

⁴⁸ Many resettled villagers do not obtain property ownership certificate due to the disputes between local government and property developers regarding the expense for building resettlement neighborhoods.

⁴⁹ Interview 11_RC_Neighborhood K, Neighborhood D, and Neighborhood M

⁵⁰ Interview 9_PMA_Neighborhood Y

From “Social Control” to “Social Production”

Regime theory shifts the focuses of governance from “social control” to “social production” and alters the governance approaches from “power over” to “power to”. The social control model emphasizes “control and resistance, with the cost of compliance serving to limit the power of the superordinate actor in accordance with the subordinate actor’s will to resist” (Stone, 1993, p.9). This model resembles March’s “power depleting model” (1966). By contrast, the social production model “makes being on the outside (the counterpart to resistance) costly to the subordinate actor” (Stone, 1993, p.9). This model resembles March’s “power generating model” (1966).

Governance requires political strategies to combine necessary elements for publicly significant results such as smooth societal transformation. In a world where fragmented memberships and vested interests prevail, the issue of achieving the governance objectives is how to bring about enough and effective cooperation among disparate community elements to get things done. Urban regimes are “arrangements for acting”, for “accomplishing policy goals”, for “managing friction points between groups”, and for “adapting to an exogenous process of social change” (Stone, 1989, p. 231). The shift from “social control” to “social production” no longer sees governance as a tool of comprehensive control, but instead, an engine for assembling and optimizing strategic resources for policy initiatives.

In China’s LEIR neighborhoods, the commitment to advancing the current governance mechanism and the efforts in managing villagers’ post-resettlement urban integration have united all levels of regime partners to collaborate in the absence of an overarching command structure. When conflicts arise, regime members are ready for negotiation and reconciliation.

Figure 6-1 illustrates the “grid management system” (“*wangge guanli xitong*” in Chinese) that has been operationalized in the research area. This newly established system functions as an effective tool for refining the managerial process in dealing with community affairs. When there is an emerging issue, neighborhood “grid managers” (“*wangge gezhang*” in Chinese)—commonly RC members—assess and try to solve the issue. If grid managers cannot handle the issue, the case will be forwarded to a “Neighborhood Grid Working Station” (“*shequ wangge gongzuozhan*” in Chinese). Staff of the station manage the issue according to a list of responsibilities. If the problem still remains, the case will first be reported to and recorded by a “Street Office/Township Grid Center”, and then passed on to the corresponding township departments for another attempt at resolution. If the issue is still unresolved, the case will be submitted to and documented by a “District Grid Center”, and then sent to the district departments for further investigation.

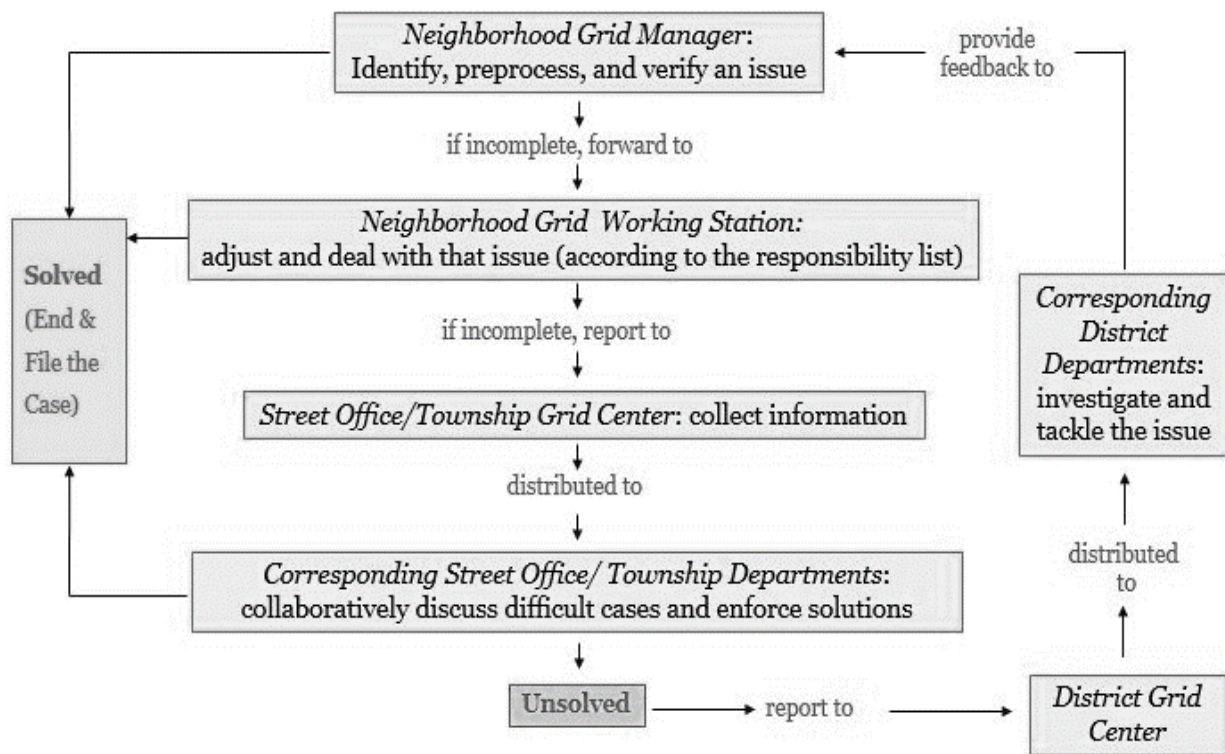


Figure 6-1: Grid Management System in Sampled Neighborhoods (Created by the Author)

At first glance, the grid management system seems to be a well-defined hierarchal network of social control. However, in the work of the neighborhood associations observed in the sampled LEIR neighborhoods, this administrative system largely facilitated cooperation among different regime partners. Such cooperation is sustained through the establishment of relations based on solidarity, trust, and mutual support, rather than simply through hierarchy or bargaining. Regime partners—neighborhood-level regulatory forces and subnational government entities—are organically united by the grid system to assemble stable and long-running coalitions through shared civic institutions, exchanges, resources, and power. This coalition is not centered on immediate fixes of issues/conflicts, but is oriented to facilitate social production and changes. One example is the treatment of a property dispute in Neighborhood Y:

There is an unsettled conflict between the developer and the government regarding the expense for building the second phase of the neighborhood. Villagers resettled during that period didn't obtain their housing property certificates, and therefore, couldn't move into their apartments. This issue was reported to the Neighborhood Grid Working Station for an investigation and then forwarded to the street office. The street office suggested an earlier check-in arrangement for families encountering the most challenges in waiting for resettlement. The residents' committee and the property management company accommodated this arrangement immediately and distributed the keys to the rest villagers in a year, with an explanation that property certificates would follow eventually. Meanwhile, the street office reported the certificate issue to the District Grid Center for investigation. When the district government acknowledged this dispute, they asked its legal department to work closely with the street office and household representatives on negotiating with the developer. The district government also offered subsidies if the property management company would reduce the service fees for resettled villagers, thus appeasing villagers' upset about the certificate issue.⁵¹

⁵¹ Interview 3_RC_Neighborhood Y and Interview 9_PMA_Neighborhood Y

In urban governance, meaningful negotiation and reconciliation are important for achieving cooperative objectives. “Transformative reconciliation”—conciliatory attempts made by different actors in restoring shared responsibilities to carry on the basic ethical relationship of mutual responsiveness—has the potential to transform “crisis-ridden” relationships and the social ramifications they cause (Tully, 2018).

One example of practicing such “transformative reconciliation” is observed in Neighborhood *M*. In order to manage the increasing traffic flow and parking, the property management company decided to install an electronic access control system at the entrance of the neighborhood in 2017. Once the device was in place, residents were asked to pay parking fees, or they could not access to their homes. This arrangement aroused discontent among the villagers. They were reluctant to pay the parking fees as they had sacrificed a spacious life style to support the city’s urbanization. As the property management company did not listen to their appeals, villagers destroyed the system to discontinue the project. Since the negotiation between the community regulators and the villagers could not reach a consensus, the issue was reported to the Township Grid Center, and then handed over to the township government. After two weeks of negotiation, the township government agreed to pay half of the parking fees for the villagers, accepting that a period of time might be needed for villagers to get used to paying for urban neighborhood services. During the period, the residents’ committee and the homeowners’ association made appointments and door-to-door visits with a few villagers who were strongly opposed to the access control system. Finally, villagers agreed to pay the reduced parking fees (half of the amount paid by regular apartment buyers) and permitted the operation of the system.⁵²

⁵² Interview 11_RC_Neighborhood *K*, Neighborhood *D*, Neighborhood *M* and Interview 14_PMA_Neighborhood *M*

The above cases prove that a powerful regime can effectively extend its capacity to act and accomplish non-routine goals. MacLeod and Goodwin (1999) argued that on experiencing a problematic relation to a particular scale of dependence or when certain acts are sufficiently readied and motivated, institutions will construct what Cox (1998) called “new space of engagement”. This process can be achieved by constructing networks with political or social power that lies beyond the institutions’ “scale of dependence” (Cox, 1998, p. 15). The new governance regime helps neighborhood associations extend their scale of dependence to initiate a larger space of engagement. Meanwhile, through strategic networking, the state actors are able to maintain their influences in the public sphere.

Critiques of the New Regime

Despite its strength and potential in tackling none-routine governance challenges in LEIR neighborhoods, the new regulatory regime is subject to a few shortfalls. The major concerns include: the conflicts among regime partners; the justice issue behind differentiated governance standards; and the lack of citizen connection and support.

Doubtlessly, the collaboration among the regime partners has increased governance capacity and accountability. However, the emerging conflicts among certain regime partners lead to the fragmentation of responsibility and the ineffective use of public resources (Chang et al., 2019; Gui & Ma, 2014; He, 2015; Huang, 2014).

In 2009, the Ministry of Housing and Urban-rural Development issued the *Guideline for Homeowners’ Assembly and Homeowners’ Association* to specify the role of an HOA. The

document pointed out that an HOA should support the corresponding RC and accept its guidance and supervision. One RC member from Neighborhood *Y* commented that although HOA members are supposed to represent and be responsible for the residents, they are, in practice, subordinate to residents' committees. This relationship could be problematic because in some cases, HOAs are too depending on RCs' leadership and resource allocation, thus failing to develop their own institutional capacity in reaching out to and serving residents.⁵³ In recent years, however, the power of HOAs begin to accumulate in safeguarding the rights of property owners (Heberer, 2009). Autonomous and independent HOAs come up with mandates that overlap with those of RCs, inevitably creating competition (Chang et al., 2019; Yip, 2014). Conflicts and disputes between HOAs and PMAs are more notable. China's HOAs often emerge as a counterforce to PMAs (He, 2015). During the early age of the privatization of housing services, local governments issued policies to set a low price for property management services in order to help property owners adapt to paying for property management and maintenance. But in recent years, HOAs start to scramble for short-term profits (i.e., renting parking lots to non-residents), thus intensifying their relationships with HOAs (Chen, 2014).

In LEIR neighborhoods, the conflicts between HOAs and PMAs are often caused by the use of the special fund. While HOAs are cautious about keeping a good balance in the special fund to avoid losing the trust of residents,⁵⁴ PMA staff warn that the lack of funding for timely property maintenance and repair will eventually trigger larger costs for major rehabilitation in the future.⁵⁵

⁵³ Interview 3_RC_Neighborhood *Y*

⁵⁴ Interview 10_HOA_Neighborhood *Y*, Interview 16_HOA_Neighborhood *K*, and Interview 17_HOA_Neighborhood *D*

⁵⁵ Interview 9_PMA_Neighborhood *Y*, Interview 13_PMA_Neighborhood *K*, and Interview 15_PMA_Neighborhood *M*

The regime stability is also threatened by the occurrence of injustice due to differentiated governance standards. To ease the antagonism between resettled villagers and community regulators, subsidies and compensatory methods have been widely employed in LEIR neighborhoods. Such differentiation in governance leads to the controversial coexistence of two standards being operated in one neighborhood. These two standards, according to the interviewed staff members, disrupt the balance provided by the market and cause new divisions between resettled villagers and commodity housing owners who are asked to pay much higher service fees but get far fewer “privileges” in resettlement neighborhoods.⁵⁶

In addition to its institutional immaturity, the new regulatory regime also lacks long-term governance resilience. The current regime focuses more on the capacity of governance than on the purpose of governance, leading to its weak connection with the public.

Table 6-1 demonstrates villagers’ perceptions of the institutional support received from the major neighborhood governance associations in assisting their urban integration in resettlement neighborhoods (detailed questions are provided in “**Appendix C: Survey Questionnaire**”). The largest portion of the respondents reported receiving only limited help from major neighborhood associations in adapting to urban life. Although these results do not reflect villagers’ feedback on the overall performance of each neighborhood association, the low rate of satisfaction among resettled villagers indicates regime partners’ weak connection with the community members. This finding echoes the arguments made in the previous chapters and questions the resilience and sustainability of the new regime in managing large-scale societal transformation.

⁵⁶ Interview 11_RC_Neighborhood K, D, & M and Interview14_PMA_Neighborhood M

Table 6-1: Villagers’ Perceptions on Institutional Help for Their Urban Integration

		Mono LEIR Neighborhood (N=250)		Mixed LEIR Neighborhood (N=203)		Total (N=453)	
RC	<i>Limited help</i>	128	51.2 %	142	67.0 %	270	59.6 %
	<i>Some help</i>	91	36.4 %	55	27.1 %	146	32.2 %
	<i>Great help</i>	31	12.4 %	6	3.0 %	37	8.2 %
HOA	<i>Limited help</i>	115	46.0 %	136	67.0 %	251	55.4 %
	<i>Some help</i>	106	42.4 %	64	31.5 %	170	37.53 %
	<i>Great help</i>	29	11.6 %	3	1.5 %	32	7.1 %
PMA	<i>Limited help</i>	62	24.8 %	99	48.8 %	161	35.5 %
	<i>Some help</i>	154	61.6 %	98	48.3 %	252	55.6 %
	<i>Great help</i>	34	13.6 %	6	3.0 %	40	8.8 %

Regime theory views power as structured to “gain certain kinds of outcomes within particular fields of governmental endeavour” (Stocker, 1995, p. 60). The focus of the regime is, therefore, centered on “the internal politics of coalition building” (Stone, 1989, p. 178). If capacity to govern is achieved, then the power of the regime is successfully exercised, and whether the public fully agree or appreciate the policy initiatives does not warrant a second thought. Due to the problematic nature, and even danger perhaps, of the ongoing regime building, short-term governance visions often surpass long-term resilience pursuits.

Conclusions

In the context of worldwide state territorial restructuring and an increasing level of social complexity and institutional interdependence, new regulatory coalitions have begun to emerge. Through regime theory, this chapter conceptualizes the new regulatory coalition in governing China's LEIR neighborhoods.

Applying strategic networking and long-term collaborations, the new regime has been able to extend its partners' governing capacity, facilitate social production, and fulfill non-routine administrative and service goals. The coalition is maintained through the establishment of stable relationships that focus more on solidarity, coordination, and mutual support more so than hierarchical power seeking to intensify social control from below. Accordingly, governmental authorities and grassroots community associations share resources, blend capacities, and extend institutional embeddedness with each other.

However, the new regime has not reached its full potential due to its internal instabilities and lack of connections with the mass society. Without more attention being paid to the coalition sustainability and villagers' socio-cultural needs, the new regime cannot create local structures that are robust and flexible enough to solve non-routine governance challenges associated with villagers' life transformation.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusions and Reflections

Prologue

In an overview of China's two decades of rural reform, Qi (1999) argued that, "throughout the PRC's 50 years, agriculture and peasants have paid for the regime's ambitious program of industrialization, as the price scissors consistently favored the urban over the rural producers" (p. 616). The massive land expropriation-induced resettlement practices have not reduced the de facto urban-rural disparity in contemporary China, but rather created a new round of socio-cultural ramifications and administrative challenges by moving villagers from spacious rural habitats to compact urban resettlement neighborhoods.

When asked to comment on China's land expropriation-induced rural-to-urban resettlement, one young interviewee emotionally described a frustrated feeling of losing his homeland and a sense of community:

Due to the land expropriation and resettlement, we no longer have a hometown to go back to. I remember that in front of our old rural house, there were endless rice lands. Behind our backyard, there was a creek passing through a bamboo forest. Our footprints spread all over the village as we had so many fun things to do. We caught fish, loaches, and lobsters in the streams. We helped the elders feed pigs, chicken, ducks, geese, goats, and rabbits. We made traps to capture sparrows in the rice field. With no air conditioners or refrigerators in summer, children shouted for joy when their parents brought back ice cream after work. We celebrated festivals with traditional food, folk performances, and numerous fireworks. Everyone knew each other and neighbors took care of each other. In the last two decades prior to the resettlement, our village witnessed an outflow

of young people who were attracted by better education and job opportunities. Nevertheless, these young people, later along with their children, came back to the village on a regular basis to accompany their parents and enjoy the relaxing countryside life. The excitement for going home ceased in 2009 when a mega project launched its construction in the village. Within a couple of years, we were asked to be resettled to dense resettlement neighborhoods. Our homeland was transformed to serve as a major urban transportation corridor. Watching our rural homes being ripped down, we realized that we were permanently uprooted and detached from our beloved homeland. When the scrap vendors brutally dragged our old furniture and belongings down the stairs, we had to accept an unprepared farewell to our old way of life. This year, we celebrated the Chinese New Year in this resettlement neighborhood for the first time. Due to the space constraint, we had a simple dinner and ended our gathering much earlier than we commonly did. We all missed the bustling festive atmosphere and traditional activities that we experienced in our previous village.

Land expropriation-induced resettlement (LEIR) practice has largely changed villagers' lives. What they lost is not just a rural residence, but rather a focus where they experience meaningful events of their existence and a secure point from which they can look out on the world.

In LEIR practices, there is a constant, and perhaps in-built, tension between meeting the demands of continued economic growth and protecting the rights, traditional ways of life, and livelihood of affected rural inhabitants. This thesis looks into the process of villagers' cultural dimensional urban integration and further examines how that societal transformation is managed by community regulators, assisted by the state and local governments, in the micro environment of LEIR neighborhoods. The following sections articulate the theoretical contribution of the study, summarize the research findings, and provide reflections on villagers' urban integration and the management of that integration. Areas requiring future research are also identified.

Villagers' Urban Integration: Cultural Dimensional Life Transformation

In **Chapter One**, I argue that the assessment of China's urbanization should consider the phase of urban integration. While urbanization is a complex socio-economic process that transforms the built environment and shifts the spatial distribution of a population from rural to urban areas, the process triggers changes in dominant lifestyles, culture practices, and social structures. This thesis unpacks the process of urban integration in China through documenting resettled villagers' cultural dimensional life transformation in LEIR neighborhoods.

Theoretical Contribution of Studying Villagers' Cultural Dimensional Urban Integration

This thesis sheds light on a particular important, but insufficiently discussed, phase of urbanization—the phase of rural populations' urban integration. Specifically, the research unpacks the process of Chinese villagers' post-resettlement urban integration in LEIR neighborhoods. While the discussion of villagers' urban integration in resettlement neighborhoods has covered a wide range of perspectives, very few studies have analyzed this process through a cultural angle. There is even less research systematically examining if individual differences and situational factors affect villagers' cultural inclinations and urban integration. This study have addressed these issues by documenting villagers' cultural dimensional life transformation in LEIR neighborhoods. Two hypotheses were developed before the field work took place: (1) villagers' cultural inclinations have largely affected their stages of urban integration; and (2) villagers' life transformation and urban integration trajectories vary by their socio-demographic attributes and situational factors such as pre-resettlement conditions and neighborhood characteristics.

Research Findings Regarding Villagers' Cultural Dimensional Urban Integration

The analysis of villagers' cultural dimensional life transformation and urban integration in LEIR neighborhoods is developed based on acculturation theory—a theory interpreting the adaption of new values, attitudes, ways of behaviors, and other cultural domains. The results presented in **Chapter Four** prove that villagers' cultural inclinations affect how well they become a part of the urban community and society. Villagers' group acculturation patterns indicate their general stronger inclination toward rural village culture than urban neighborhood culture. Villagers' urban integration is not a smooth process. For resettled villagers, membership in resettlement neighborhoods leads to changed expectations in terms of social identities, places to go, procedures to follow, and behaviors to be accepted. Villagers' practices of certain habits seem reasonable in rural communities but are not tolerated by urban residents. The continuation of such cultural behaviors creates 'disorder' and uncertainty in resettlement neighborhoods, which are planned to be uniform and standardized.

Social demographic attributes affect villagers' cultural inclinations and urban integration (**Table 4-7**). Older villagers are more likely to maintain rural village culture; villagers with higher education levels better adapt to urban neighborhood culture; multi-generation living benefits intercultural learning and exchange. Conditions prior to resettlement influence villagers' acculturation and urban integration. Villagers visiting urban areas on a more frequent basis before resettlement are more prepared for the process of urban integration in resettlement neighborhoods. Post-resettlement situations also matter to villagers' urban integration. The comparison of the two samples sets shows that socio-spatial mixture and diversity facilitates villagers' urban integration in resettlement neighborhoods.

To conclude, the conditions for villagers to truly become members of urban communities and societies cannot be settled within a short time frame. Villagers who are older, less educated, separated from their children, limitedly exposed to urban life prior to resettlement arrangements, and more isolated from urban residents in their new settlements tend to be the most passive participants in integrating to urban environments and societies. Unfortunately, a large portion of China's resettled villagers fit this group, which indicates the requirement of government support for conditioning and facilitating villagers' cultural dimensional life transformation and urban integration. However, the discussion in **Chapter Five** uncovers the tension between resettled villagers and community regulators due to their different cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioral inclinations towards the culture of governance in urban resettlement neighborhoods.

While China's rural society is maintained by traditions, rituals, and customs, its urban society is restrained by laws and regulations (Fei, 1947 [1992]). It should thus not be surprising that it takes time for resettled villagers to fully adapt to the current culture of governance that is centered on standardization, normalizations, and rationalization. Many resettled villagers criticize this urban governance culture for being rigid, inflexible, and alienating. As a result, they are reluctant to follow community pledges or covenants, and even challenge the legitimacy of grassroots neighborhood authorities through taking uncooperative or extreme reactions. For community regulators, their relationships with resettled villagers are negatively affected by culturally driven mistrust and lack of respect. Confronted with villagers' misunderstandings, complaints, and even hostilities towards precise and standardized urban neighborhood governance, community regulators are prone to lose their passion, patience, and perseverance in serving and assisting villagers' urban integration. This culturally-driven tension questions the capacity of community governance in directing and managing post-resettlement societal transformation.

Managing Villagers' Urban Integration: A Community Governance Perspective

Another major issue regarding urban integration is how to manage or govern this societal transformation from the regulators' perspective. This thesis pays particular attention to community-level governance and unpacks the roles of multiple-level regulators, including those providing public and private goods and services to communities (the neighborhood associations in this study), and groups functioning at other levels of governance to whom the community is accountable (the central state and local governments in this study).

Theoretical Contribution of Studying the Community-based Management of Urban Integration

In recent years, community governance has provided a strategic grassroots alternative to the government's top-down administration and planning (Smith et al., 2019). The development of community governance empowers the public and fosters the local democratization of governance (Clarke & Stewart, 1992). The discussion of community governance in China has increasingly gained its momentum since the shift of the burden of public goods and services from SOEs to community-based institutions. However, very little research has investigated how community governance functions to restructure the political and social landscapes in China's LEIR neighborhoods. Even fewer studies have thoroughly explored the impacts and implications of community governance on villagers' urban integration. This research closes a portion of these gaps by unpacking the existing mechanism and new regulatory coalition of community governance in LEIR neighborhoods, specifically in the perspectives of service provision, regulation enforcement, conflict mediation, and the overall management of villagers' urban integration.

Research Findings Regarding the Management of Villagers' Urban Integration

In **Chapter Five**, the existing community governance mechanism is analyzed through three conceptual narratives: (1) bottom-up democratization consolidation through base-level social management; (2) top-down state control through deeper reach into grassroots governance; and (3) cultural interpenetration in social relations and political practices. The overarching research questions are: What are the features of the existing community governance mechanism? How do the mechanism function in managing villagers' post-resettlement urban integration?

The first narrative, base-level democratization, is analyzed through theories of civil society and civic engagement. This research identifies three areas of challenges experienced by community regulators in leading the civil society in LEIR neighborhoods: (1) lack of legitimacy and executive power for enforcing policies and regulations; (2) a severe shortage of staff for completing heavy workloads; and (3) tension in their relationship with resettled villagers. Meanwhile, villagers' civic engagement in LEIR neighborhoods has not thrived as those in conventional neighborhoods, largely due to the lack of meaningful citizen participation that is centered on public issues and resident involvement in decision-making processes.

The second narrative, top-down state control, is assessed through the concepts of "state-building" and "institutional embeddedness". Although the central state has been aware of the practical significance of relying on base-level administrative systems, the government attention to communities focuses on reinforcing administrative power at grassroots levels and achieving societal absorption from below (Li, 2012). However, the state-building in LEIR neighborhoods through party-building and ideological absorption barely achieves its full potential, either due to

villagers' limited education or their lack of interest. The state's institutional embeddedness is also challenged by its rigidity in resource mobilization, conflict mediation, and paternalistic scientism.

The third narrative, cultural interpenetration, echoes villagers' life transformation. Resettled villagers in LEIR neighborhoods expect to be granted some space and freedom for maintaining certain rural ways of life. Although villagers crave opportunities to become true members of urban communities, institutional approaches to serving their socio-cultural needs have yet to be fully settled. Despite endeavors made by neighborhood associations to form engaging, flexible, and inclusive community environments, structural governance changes are absent. Weak civic foundation and the state's close control over grassroots society have combined to prevent systematic changes in community governance. This institutional stagnancy further limits the capacity of culture in coordinating social relationships and political practices.

In addition to examining the features of the community governance in providing public services, enforcing regulations, and accommodating villagers' urban integration, this research also underlines the impacts and implications of the new regulatory coalition—the central state, local government entities, and community regulators—in advancing the existing community governance mechanism and navigating villagers' post-resettlement urban integration. Through the conceptual lens of regime theory, **Chapter Six** demonstrates how formal governmental entities (the central state and subnational governments) and grassroots community regulators (residents' committees, homeowners' associations, and property management agents) work across boundaries to form a new regime in order to tackle the complex and non-routine governance challenges manifested in LEIR neighborhoods. The formation of such governing coalition is achieved through strategic networks, information exchange, resource sharing, and long-term collaborations. The new regime focuses more on solidarity, coordination, and mutual support to accomplish the goals

for social production and change than on hierarchical power leverage that aims to intensify social control from below. However, without drawing considerable attention to its internal stabilities and villagers' adaptive resilience and long-term livelihoods, the new regime can't sustain its capacity in governing LEIR neighborhoods and assisting villagers' post-resettlement urban integration.

Reflections on Villagers' Urban Integration and the Management of the Integration

Villagers' cultural embeddedness into urban society is an incremental process that will need long-term continuous governance guidance and support. The following sections address my reflections on villagers' post-resettlement urban integration and the management of that societal transformation by different regulatory actors in LEIR neighborhoods.

Urban Integration: The Tendency of Cultural Homogenization

The Industrial Revolution, urban transformation, and economic globalization have combined to modernize the world. Modernity is an ensemble of socio-cultural norms, attitudes and practices that has increased rationalization and bureaucratization of social life in all spheres (Thompson, 1997). Standing in a subway or walking in a shopping mall, it can be hard to distinguish the differences between New York City, London, Singapore, Tokyo, Seoul, or Shanghai. Today's modern cities are becoming more and more similar in look and nature. In the book, *Worlding cities: Asian experiments and the art of being global*, Ong (2011) argues that Asian metropolitan transformation falls into three distinctive styles—modeling, inter-referencing, and

association. These three transformation trajectories all point to the tendency of cultural homogenization—“a loss of cultural diversity” (Barker, 2008, p. 159).

The pursuit of urbanization discourages informality and local variety. While cities are transformed to accommodate the car, large-scale suburban development and commercialized central CBDs, the peace of the countryside has been interrupted by the diminishment of its land and cultures. The urban encroachment into rural lands and cultures symbolizes a new phase of cultural homogenization. In every corner of the world, rural culture and ways of life are penetrated by urban values, norms, and other cultural domains. In the name of prosperity, rural lands are updated to standardized development zones. Willingly or reluctantly, villagers are detached from their land and reconstituted as urbanites. In China, fast-paced urbanization motivates local governments to demolish villages—often portrayed as chaotic, dirty, and hard to control—to make room for large-scale commercial property projects or for urban infrastructural development. Along with landscape changes goes the transformation of social fabric and cultural hybridity.

Essentially, cultural homogenization as a potential consequence of urban integration comes at a cost. A street that accommodates walking is very different from a street that prioritizes traffic or forced circulation. Also, buildings that can be anthropomorphized are very different from purely figural or sculptural ones (Jackson, 2003). King (2004) highlighted the historical and analytically feeble nature of homogenized global cities and called for the protection of distinctive cultural forms and characteristics. It is time to reflect on the perilous path of cultural homogenization tendency in the process of urban integration to avoid the loss of many treasures that nourish social plurality and cultural diversity.

When discussing the acculturation process and the corresponding assistance provided by community governance associations in facilitating villagers' urban integration in China, there is a tendency to overlook how the endorsement of urban cultures in resettlement neighborhoods causes the loss of rural culture, traditions, and ways of life. The less tangible human loss in state-initiated LEIR practices has been easily forsaken by the state, subnational governments, and community regulators who adopt standardized and rationalized approaches of governance in the processes of land expropriation, resettlement arrangement, and managing urban integration. Indeed, it is dangerous to undervalue the irreplaceable cultural services and amenities that once secured by the operation of rural society. We, therefore, should be cautious about the occurrence of homogenization rather than diversification of culture in the process of post-resettlement urban integration in LEIR neighborhoods.

Getting Hold of Culture in Managing Urban Integration

Like other conventional urban neighborhoods, China's LEIR neighborhoods have witnessed their community governance mechanism being influenced by the base-level social management initiatives and the top-down state's infiltration into grassroots communities. However, the characteristics, capacities, and consequences of these two influences differentiate community governance in LEIR neighborhoods from other conventional urban neighborhoods. Resident composition in LEIR neighborhoods is distinguished from that in conventional urban commodity neighborhoods. Villagers' urban integration—especially in terms of their adaptation to urban rules, norms, traditions, values, and other cultural domains—significantly impacts the governance performance in resettlement neighborhoods. Limited civic engagement and ineffective state-

building in resettlement neighborhoods are largely due to the influences of a wide range of cultural constructs arising from villagers' life transformation. Misunderstandings and conflicts between resettled villagers and community regulators are caused by a combination of institutional, social, and cultural factors. This research adds the cultural dimension when analyzing the community governance in LEIR neighborhoods. The discussion beyond the two fundamental narratives—base-level democratization and top-down state control—offers insights on the power dynamics, executive capacity issues, and cultural assumptions that shape governance in LEIR neighborhoods.

Perri 6 (1997) reiterates the importance of considering culture as a constitutive force in tackling today's worldwide governance challenges:

When we are faced with large social problems, we expect government to make every effort to change the behavior or beliefs of those people involved either in creating or in solving those problems. Put simply, we usually expect government to try to change people's culture...Culture is now the centre of the agenda for government reform, because we now know from the findings of a wide range of recent research that culture is perhaps the most important determinant of a combination of long-run economic success and social cohesion (p. 260 & p. 272).

As our conduct and actions are shaped, influenced, and regulated by a wide range of cultural meanings, policy makers and reformers should “get hold of culture” (Hall, 1997, p.232).

In her work “Towards a Planning Imagination for the 21st Century”, Sandercock (2004) raised a very important question: how can planners, in association with citizens and government entities, strive for cultural diversity in today's globalizing world? From pioneer social scientists to active practitioners, the significance of cultural inputs in sustaining social order and governing capacity is evident. Including a cultural dimension in discourse analysis enables scholars and

practitioners to understand the less tangible but highly constitutive forces that are embedded and embodied in different scales of governance practices.

To condition and advance the current community governance mechanism in navigating villagers' urban integration in resettlement neighborhoods, we need to come back to the cultural focus, as "culture, in the sense of the public, standardized values of a community, mediates the experience of individuals" (Douglas, 1966, p.38). Getting hold of culture in the context of LEIR practices requires a deeper understanding of villagers' less tangible cultural needs and expectations for community service and administration. For neighborhood institutions and their supervisors, cultural insight can be utilized to tackle particular governance challenges associated with villagers' life transformation; elevate the endorsement and effectiveness of existing community governance mechanism; and strengthen the social cohesion among resettled villagers, local urban residents, and all levels of regulators.

Getting Hold of People in Managing Urban Integration

Scholars have widely identified the huge potential of base-level governance in instilling humanist principles (Bowles & Gintis, 2002; Li, 2012; Read, 2012; Smith et al., 2019). In China, community as the basic unit of the state has provided the most important platform of distributing public goods and social governances in the course of its transformation from receiving the overflowed social welfare from the work unit system ("dan-wei-zhi" in Chinese) to the basis of providing urban social security and public service. Today, Chinese communities are capable of taking responsibility for the increasingly diversified and individualized needs of their residents.

Nevertheless, in addition to providing venues for democratization, collaboration and mutual support, communities are also places full of fragmentation, conflicts, and injustice.

A thriving community, as a complex and vibrant micro-environment, is centered on its resilience and capacity in serving its members. Community resilience and community capacity are important criteria for evaluating the social sustainability of a community. Community resilience is “the existence, development, and engagement of community resources by community members to thrive in an environment characterized by change, uncertainty, unpredictability, and surprise” (Magis, 2010, p, 401). Community capacity is “the interaction of human capital, organizational resources, and social capital existing within a given community that can be leveraged to solve collective problems and improve or maintain the wellbeing of a given community” (Chaskin et al., 2001, p. 7)”. The spectrum and strength of community resilience and community capacity highly depend on whether the residents and regulators can be united to share commonalities and pursue meaningful collaborations.

The research findings presented in **Chapter Five** indicate a low level of democratization consolidation and state’s grassroots infiltration in the sampled LEIR neighborhoods. This is largely due to the lack of engaging and meaningful institutional tools to motivate and mobilize resettled villagers in the cause of community construction. Civil society in a community gains its strength when residents and regulators can be linked together in ways that foster “collective goals, cross-society coalitions, mutual accountabilities and shared reflection” (Edward, 2004, p.32). The divide between villagers and regulators—caused by a wide array of social, cultural, and institutional barriers—has prevented the formation of sustainable social relations, thus weakening the existing mechanism in fulfilling its institutional objectives and improving state-society interactions.

In **Chapter Six**, I uncover that the new regime in governing LEIR neighborhoods is unsustainable because it is concerned more with the process of interest group mediation among regime members than with the wider relationship between regulators and citizens. Although governmental authorities and grassroots community associations share resources, blend capacities, and extend institutional embeddedness to advance the performance of community governance, the new regulatory coalition does not truly engage villagers in decision-making processes.

In recent years, the narrative of “taking people as the root” (“yi-ren-wei-ben”) has been frequently quoted in China’s government policies and regulations. We should, however, be mindful of the use of this narrative. Is the idea used as empty rhetoric to repackage development initiatives or as a constructive framework to empower the general public? Unless efforts being made by all levels of regulators to mend and improve their relations with the grassroots—getting hold of people—their management of villagers’ urban integration in LEIR neighborhoods will be continually challenged by ignorance, discontent, and resistance.

Areas for Future Research

Future research on villagers’ cultural dimensional urban integration can be conducted in three directions. First, as villagers’ cultural inclinations may vary between affluent areas and less developed regions, case studies can be situated in a broader geographic context that enables regional comparison. Second, an in-depth investigation of the acculturative stress perceived by resettled villagers in their interactions with the dominant cultural group is critical for explaining the large society influence. Finally, as time and context are crucial components for mapping and measuring acculturation process (Cabassa, 2003), longitudinal studies will be important to expand

the scope of the discussion by tracing the dynamics and evolution of this massive societal transformation caused by state-led land expropriation and resettlement practices.

Future research on the management of villagers' post-resettlement urban integration in LEIR neighborhoods can be conducted in two areas. First, extensive research can be done to explore the potential of applying, reviving, and restoring the knowledge, worldview, and experiences of resettled villagers in governing LEIR neighborhoods and managing post-resettlement urban integration. Insights from resettled villagers are valuable for generating solutions to strengthen the community resilience and community capacity in LEIR neighborhoods. Second, the role of the market in managing villagers' post-resettlement urban integration deserves further investigation. In China, the state and the market have exerted simultaneous effect on the country's urbanization. Including the market influences into the discussion will largely extend the scope of this current research.

Epilogue

In a conversation with a humble indigenous man, Benedict (1934) was deeply touched by his metaphorical statement: "God gave to every people a cup, a cup of clay, and from this cup they drank their life...They all dipped in the water, but their cups were different...Our cup is broken now. It has passed away" (p.21). That conversation made Benedict think deeply about the significance of culture to the life of human being:

Our cup is broken. Those things that had given significance to the life of his people, the domestic rituals of eating, the obligations of the economic system, the succession of ceremonials in the villages, position in the bear dance, their standards of right and

wrong—these were gone, and with them the shape and meaning of their life. The old man was still vigorous and a leader in relationships with the whites. He did not mean that there was any question of the extinction of his people. But he had in mind the loss of something that had value equal to that of life itself. There were other cups of living left, and they held perhaps the same water, but the loss was irreparable (p.22).

Thinking about my conversations with the resettled villagers, I can't help paralleling them to the indigenous people met by Benedict. Situated inside the flow of urbanization, their cups may break.

To have roots is to have “secure point[s]” from which we can “look out on the world” (Relph, 1976, p.38). Beholding those secure points gives us senses of purpose. The roots of resettled villagers are bound with their rural habitats. Compared with villagers' pre-resettlement rural habitats, the sampled LEIR neighborhoods are featured with limited open space and scarce green areas. The rural-to-urban resettlement also means a transition from living in an intimate society of acquaintance towards surviving in a highly ordered and institutionalized neighborhood society. Forced or involuntary resettlement makes it difficult to avoid “deterritorialization” (Hsing, 2010, p. 17). For many villagers, living in resettlement neighborhoods is living nowhere.

Displacement causes “emotional, economic, and social dislocations” as people are “uprooted, some unnecessarily and violently, from their homes, refuges imbued with family history and community memory (Shao, 2013, p. 2)” Villagers' cultural embeddedness into the urban society is often full of stress, frustration, and a sense of being lost. Leaving their former communities and attempting to truly become urban citizens can be traumatic for resettled villagers, especially the elders. Essentially, the potential socio-cultural cost for massive rural-to-urban LEIR practices are far beyond what we could have speculated.

Villagers' post-resettlement urban integration is an incremental process that needs continuous institutional support, including adaptation assistance and consultation services, fundamental education of neighborhood norms and regulations, and engaging platforms for intercultural learning and exchange. Community planning is not merely concrete and glass. People's perceptions—their fears, dreams, memories, aspirations, ambition, setbacks, and potential—are very important for planners and policy makers to manage societal transformation in the micro-environment of urban communities.

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Appendix A: Agenda for the Interviews with Neighborhood Association Representatives

ID	Neighborhood Type	Targeting Neighborhood(s)	Association Type	Position	Date of Interview
1	Mono	Y	RC	Secretary	8/8/2017
2	Mono	Y	RC	Chairman	7/30/2017
3	Mono	Y	RC	Vice Chairman	8/6/2017
4	Mono	Y	RC	Member	8/12/2017
5	Mono	Y	RC	Member	8/8/2017
6	Mono	Y	RC	Member	8/8/2017
7	Mono	Y	RC	Member	8/11/2017
8	Mono	Y	RC	Adjunct Member	8/7/2017
9	Mono	Y	PMA	Manager	8/10/2017
10	Mono	Y	HOA	Director	8/5/2017
11	Mix	K; D; M	RC	Secretary & Chairman	8/17/2017
12	Mix	K; D; M	RC	Member	8/17/2017
13	Mix	K; D	PMA	Manager	8/17/2017
14	Mix	M	PMA	Staff	9/14/2017
15	Mix	M	PMA	Manager	9/15/2017
16	Mix	K	HOA	Member	8/28/2017
17	Mix	D	HOA	Director	8/31/2017
18	Mix	M	HOA	Member	9/14/2017

Note: *Interviewee 1, 2, and 11* are RC association leaders. *Interviewee 3* is responsible for RC affairs in civil administration, social assistance, and resettlement; *Interviewee 4* is responsible for RC affairs in agriculture and union. *Interviewee 5* is responsible for RC affairs regarding neighborhood order. *Interviewee 6* is responsible for RC affairs regarding militia and youth organizations. *Interviewee 7* is responsible for RC affairs regarding cares for women, birth control, and finance. *Interviewee 8* is responsible for RC affairs in employment assistance. *Interviewee 12* is responsible for RC affairs in administration.

Appendix B: Socio-demographic Information of the Interviewed Villagers

ID Attributes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Associate Neighborhood	Y	Y	Y	Y	K	K	D	M	M	M
Gender	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age	26	73	55	33	76	76	83	72	50	43
Employment Status	Full-time	Retired	Full-time	Full-time	Retired	Retired	Retired	Retired	Full-time	Unemployed
Education Level	University	Illiterate	Middle School	College	Primary School	High School	Primary School	Primary School	Middle School	Middle School
Marital Status	Single	Married	Married	Married	Married	Married	Married	Married	Married	Married
Housing Condition	36.7	30.5	38	43.33	60	60	51.5	47.5	63	33.5
Generation(s) Living Together	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Monthly Income (RMB)	Around 5,000	Around 2,000	Around 2,000	Above 5,000	Around 2,000	Around 2,000	Around 2,000	Around 2,000	Around 4,000	Around 1,000
Length of Residence	5	1	3	3	9	9	7	3	4	4
Urban Exposure before Resettlement	Daily	Monthly	Weekly	Daily	Daily	Daily	Daily	Daily	Daily	Daily
Date of Interview	6/15/2017	7/1/2017	8/1/2017	8/3/2017	8/21/2017	9/23/2017	8/25/2017	9/10/2017	9/13/2017	9/15/2017

Note: Interviewee 10's family were the Three Gorges immigrants from Chongqing. In 2001, arranged by the central government, they moved to a village in Shanghai. In 2014, the village underwent land expropriation. Along with other villagers, they were resettled to M neighborhood.

Appendix C: Survey Questionnaire



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Investigator: Shuping Zhang
Participants : Resettled Villagers

Section 1: Socio-demographic Information

1. Gender	2. Age	3. Employment Status	4. Education Level	5. Marital Status
1 = male 2 = female 3 = other	1 = 18 - 29 2 = 30 - 39 3 = 40 - 49 4 = 50 - 59 5 = 60 - 69 6 = 70 & above	1 = unemployed 2 = part time 3 = full time 4 = retired 5 = other	1 = illiterate 2 = primary school 3 = middle school 4 = high school 5 = college 6 = university & above	1 = single 2 = married 3 = divorced 4 = widowed 5 = other

6. Housing Conditions	7. Generation (s) Living Together	8. Monthly Income (RMB)	9. Length of Residence in LEIR Neighborhood	10. Urban Exposure before Resettlement
1) size of apartment : _____ (m ²) 2) number of person living in one unit: _____	1 = one 2 = two 3 = three & above	1 = around 1000 & below 2 = around 2000 3 = around 3000 4 = around 4000 5 = around 5000 & above	1 = 1 - 3 years 2 = 4 - 6 years 3 = 7 - 9 years 4 = 10 years & above	1 = never 2 = yearly 3 = every half year 4 = monthly 5 = weekly 6 = daily

Section 2: Cultural Inclination and Living Preference

Please rank the following statements by tick appropriate box:

	<i>Level 1 - never</i>	<i>Level 2 - seldom</i>	<i>Level 3 - sometimes</i>	<i>Level 4 - often</i>	<i>Level 5 - always</i>
• Frequency of speaking local dialect:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Frequency of speaking mandarin:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Frequency of interacting and socializing with people having rural background or life experiences:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Frequency of interacting and socializing with urban residents:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Frequency of dropping in neighbors' homes and chatting:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Frequency of practicing recycling and garbage sorting:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Frequency of conducting farm work, planting vegetable, or raising poultry during leisure time:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Note: For the frequency of “language use”, “Level 1-never” means no practice at all; “Level 3-sometimes” means half of the time in verbal expression; “Level 5-always” means all the time in verbal expression; “Level 2-seldom” represents the frequency between “Level 1-never” and “Level 3-sometimes”; and “Level 4-often” represents the frequency between “Level 3-sometimes” and “Level 5-always”. For the frequency of other activities, “Level 1-never” means no practice at all; “Level 3-sometimes” means 3 to 4 times a week; “Level 5-always” means all the time or on a daily basis; “Level 2-seldom” represents the frequency between “Level 1-never” and “Level 3-sometimes”; and “Level 4-often” represents the frequency between “Level 3-sometimes” and “Level 5-always”.

	<i>Level 1 - completely disagree</i>	<i>Level 2 - mostly disagree</i>	<i>Level 3 - moderate or neutral</i>	<i>Level 4 - mostly agree</i>	<i>Level 5 - completely agree</i>
• I feel comfortable when speaking local dialect.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I feel comfortable when speaking mandarin.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I like interacting and socializing with people having rural background or life experiences.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

• I like interacting and socializing with urban residents.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• We maintain rural living habits/customs at home (e.g., preparing traditional food, worshipping ancestors, and maintaining rural norms/ customs).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• We have the same living habits/customs as urbanites.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• In a cultural sense, I currently consider myself as a rural people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• In a cultural sense, I currently consider myself as an urban people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I enjoy living in rural village.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I enjoy living in current resettlement neighborhood.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	<i>Option 1 - rural village</i>	<i>Option 2 - LEIR neighborhood</i>	<i>Option 3 - no particular preference</i>
• I currently prefer to live in:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Section 3: Comments on Community Governance Performance

Please rank the following statements by tick appropriate box:

	<i>Option 1 - no/limited helps</i>	<i>Option 2 - some helps</i>	<i>Option 3- great helps</i>
• The help I received from the residents' committee (RC) in facilitating my urban integration in this LEIR neighborhood:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• The help I received from the homeowners' association (HOA) in facilitating my urban integration in this LEIR neighborhood:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• The help I received from the property management agent (PMA) in facilitating my urban integration in this LEIR neighborhood:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix D: Interview Protocol (I)



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Investigator: Shuping Zhang

Participants : Association Representatives

Section 1: Administration and Services

- What is the administrative and/or service role played by your institution in this neighborhood?
- Can you describe regular administrative and service tasks assigned to you and your colleagues?

Section 2: Impacts of Villagers' Urban Integration on Community Governance

- As a community regulator and/or service provider, how do you view villagers' urban integration?
- Based on your working experiences, what are the factors hindering villagers' urban integration?
- How has villagers' urban integration impacted the governing performance and/or service provision of your institution?

Section 3: Capacity of Community Governance in Facilitating Villagers' Urban Integration

- Based on your working experiences, to what degree has your institution helped resettled villagers in adapting to urban neighborhood life?
- Can you describe the strengths and drawbacks of your institution in conditioning, guiding, and facilitating villagers' post-resettlement urban integration?

Section 4: Interactions with other Associations and Formal Government Entities

- Can you provide examples for the collaborations and conflicts between your institution and other regulatory actors/partners when providing administration and/or services in this neighborhood?
- What is the direct superior/employer of your institution? Has your institution received helps, guidance, or supervision from formal government entities in completing administrative and service tasks, especially in conditioning and facilitating villagers' urban integration? If so, how do you evaluate these interventions?

Section 5: Comments on Community Governance Performance

- How will you evaluate the community governance and/or services provided by your institution?
- How will you evaluate the community governance and/or services provided by other associations?

Appendix E: Interview Protocol (II)



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Investigator: Shuping Zhang
Participants : Resettled Villagers

Section 1: Urban Integration in LEIR Neighborhoods

- Based on your life experiences, what are the differences between living in a rural village and living in an urban resettlement neighborhood?
- Could you provide some examples to illustrate the process of your urban integration in this resettlement neighborhood?

Section 2: Life Experiences in LEIR Neighborhoods

- Are you a member of any neighborhood groups and/or associations? Have you participated in any community activities during your leisure time? If so, could you provide more details about your engagement, and if not, could you explain why?
- How do you deal with existing neighborhood rules, regulations, and covenants? Could you further explain the reasons for such reaction?
- Could you describe your social interaction experiences and networking initiatives after being resettled to this neighborhood?

Section 3: Comments on Community Governance Performance

- Have you received any help from the neighborhood associations (residents' committees, homeowners' associations, and property management agents) after being resettled to this neighborhood? If so, could you provide more information about these help and if not, could you indicate the reasons for such limited assistance?
- Have you received any help from the neighborhood associations (residents' committees, homeowners' associations, and property management agents) particularly in facilitating your urban integration in this neighborhood? If so, could you provide more details about your experiences and if not, have you thought about some of the possible barriers for the delivery of such institutional support?
- How will you evaluate the works (e.g., service delivery, regulation enforcement, civic engagement, conflict management, and assistance in villagers' urban integration) of the residents' committee, homeowners' association, and property management agent in your neighborhood?