

LAND USE AND SOCIAL RIGHTS

A Boundary Perspective on the Urban Village in
Contemporary China

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Contemporary China

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Summary

This study was carried out to understand the land use practices and the social rights of individuals in the urban village. The study was conducted the fieldwork in a village called Nanjiao, which is located along the Pearl River and at the outskirts of Guangzhou City. The Guangzhou Municipal Government has encroached upon the vast rural areas while carrying out rapid city-expansion and urban construction. However, in Nanjiao, the government decided to allow the villagers to preserve their housing sites and a particular portion of collectively-owned land was allotted for the economic development and public use. Over the time, significant infrastructure has been developed, in the peripheral region of the village, along with roads and public transportation. However, since it has become an urban village, there have been little observable changes in the village, despite being surrounded by the modern transportation networks and civil constructions. Thousands of such villages could also be found in other cities throughout the country. This study focuses on the issues of land use and social rights in the urban village. The study aims to understand: 1) How the diverse land uses (inclusion and exclusion of the access to land use) are arranged by stakeholders by making the boundaries in the urban village; 2) How the stakeholders maintain the order of the status quo for the land use and the achievement of their social rights. This research also hypothesizes that land use and social rights are positively correlated through the boundary-making of stakeholders. The general theory presented in this thesis is that the boundary-making—a social construction process done by stakeholders—establishes the inclusion and exclusion factors of individuals or groups for the access to land use, which also determines their ability to achieve social rights.

This study mainly adopts the qualitative approach to show a complete story of the effects of boundary construction on land use and the individual's ability to attain their social rights in Nanjiao. This research establishes a theoretical framework, after an extensive literature review of studies pertinent to urban villages and boundary studies. The author carried out a literature review and documented the evolvement of land use practices in China as well as analyzed the first-hand data collected from participants, through observations and in-depth interviews in Nanjiao. Questionnaires were designed for each target group (stakeholder) pertinent to the land use and social rights. Instead of presenting each questionnaire and conducting quantitative analyses, the author carried out a “realist tale approach” (Neuman, 2007, p. 570) and “narrative analysis” (Neuman, 2011, p. 545) to illustrate the whole “boundary-making” process in different time periods, in Nanjiao Village. Furthermore, most of the information and findings were presented using charts, tables, figures and maps for qualitative analyses. The whole dissertation unfolded in the following way.

Chapter 1 gives an introduction to Nanjiao Village and the research work. In Chapter 2, the author begins with a recapitulation of the urban villages across China and it briefly explains the concept of “urban village” in China. In this study, the author focuses on the aspects of urban villages related to its land use, social rights, functions and interested parties. An initial extensive literature review identified that all the urban villages in China share four distinctive characteristics as follows: 1) Urban villages emerge and develop during the city's expansion and urbanization; 2) These villages preserve their collective ownerships and self-manage some of the remaining land; 3) The urban villages normally have considerable number of reconstructed houses that accommodate many migrant tenants from other places all over China; 4) These villages develop their social security and welfare system independent from the urban system, exclusive for the indigenous villages. The existing literature also tells us that the emergence and existence of urban villages, in China, is attributed to the collaboration of various interested groups.

This research focuses on theories and studies on boundary/border and establishes a theoretical framework to comprehend the land use and social rights of individuals. Boundary

studies have been mainly developed for political purposes; however, they can be extended to other fields, such as economics, culture, ethnicity and society. Essentially, scholars consider all boundaries as the products of social construction done by stakeholders, in a game in which they interact with each other. The author suggests considering this process as a “game” matrix which presents the relations between the stakeholders. And they construct the boundaries and coherent institutions with different methods. Additionally, this study stresses on the importance of these institutions, which are constituted simultaneously in the boundary construction process. In this study the terms “boundaries” and “institutions” are used interchangeably, and they form an order in the society. In such a process, as Ellickson (1991) stated, the stakeholders give an equal importance to both formal and informal norms that constitute and maintain the social control and order. The author conducts further research to present the relationship between different stakeholders in the system of social control. Furthermore, this research also considers the “social control” as a game of stakeholder’s interaction, in which socially constructed boundaries and institutions are in turn used by stakeholders. Based on the earlier researches, this research proposes two frameworks (see Table 2.2 and 2.3, in Chapter 2) and applies them to present and analyze the findings from the fieldwork in Chapter 3 and 4.

Particularly, while referring to the domain of land use, this study takes into account the situation of inclusion in and exclusion from the access to land uses which results from boundary-making by stakeholders. Having acknowledged the meaning of the social construction of boundaries in land use within a community, this research extends its idea further to social rights. In a more complex society, importantly, by boundary-making activities, the stakeholders establish their land-related identities (whether a person is a local or not). Outsiders are supposed to be recognized by the members of one community and admitted as included in or excluded from certain social affairs in a community, like land use and social rights. Based on the analysis above, the author puts forward the theoretical framework and hypothesizes that the land use and social rights are interrelated through the arrangement of inclusion and exclusion from the access to land use by the boundary-making done by stakeholders. Subsequently, this study intensively scrutinizes both state and local documents and archives of related laws, regulations, policies, directives, and studies. It shows a complete institutional context and consequence of “boundary construction” in the evolution of land reforms and how different, interested parties get involved in boundary construction of land use in urban villages in China, since the foundation of P. R. China in 1949. This study mainly focuses on the formation of an urban village, in which the government plays a dominant role by implementing the formal and legal urban planning of land requisition as well as preserving some portions of collective land, the self-management mechanism and the Hukou Policy in the village. Ultimately, these activities determine the boundaries between the village and the city. Besides the government, the existing boundaries of different land use and institutions are also deduced from the boundary-making process of other stakeholders, such as Villagers’ Committee, village households and migrant residents. These stakeholders create and regulate their relationships with each other in land use by adopting various instruments, activities and rules in formal and informal terminologies. Nevertheless, in these urban villages, villagers’ and migrant residents’ basic social rights are influenced by the institutions such as Hukou and village self-management, which are created by the stakeholders in land use. These institutional tools are believed to determine individuals’ relationships and identities in the society, thereby leading to a clear gap, between these individuals in terms of standard of living and social rights.

Analyzing from the perspective of boundary, the author considers the urban village as the result of social construction of boundary by the stakeholders involved. Although both the urban planning and design of the institutional framework of land use are still strongly controlled by the state and local government, because some institutions and boundaries are still retained in the village, villagers are “isolated” from the urban community even if their village is located within the municipal territory in the urban planning.

In Chapter 3, the author continues to discuss the journey to Nanjiao Village. The fieldwork was carried out mainly in three regions: 1) the frontiers between the village and the urban area; 2) collectively-owned land in the village; and 3) the private family houses in residential areas.

These regions consist of the boundaries of (surrounding) the village territory, boundaries of the collectively-owned land within the village and the boundaries surrounding and inside village houses, respectively; all of which constitute the boundary system of Nanjiao Village. The stakeholders in these regions, who were interviewed, were those who had certain connections to the village: the migrant residents, the village householders, the village cadre (members of the Villagers' Committee) and some members in the municipal authority, who represented the government. For each group of stakeholders in different regions, the author designed the questionnaire including questions on the types of boundaries, modes of land use, stakeholders' dedications in boundary-making and their relations with each other in land use, functions of boundaries (i.e. division, separation and connection) and their influence on residents' life in the urban village, and the status of achievement of social rights as well as questions on their attitudes to urban villages.

Before beginning the fieldwork, the author contacted the local authorities and obtained their permission to carry out the investigation in the village. The process of theoretical sampling was used to select the interviewees in the village. In order to acquire complete information, sometimes, the author acted as a "complete observer" to investigate and record the data. The author also acted as a "participant and observer" to organize the interviews and meetings, with all the focus groups. During the fieldwork, the author used the notebook, audio recorder and cameras to record the replies, answers and observations of the participants or interviewees in the village. The author interviewed: one municipal officer, two scholars from local university, two township authorities, four village cadres, eight village families, and 16 migrant families. Most of interviews were conducted in groups meetings, requesting the participants to describe and discuss the urban-village life and experiences according to the questions outlined beforehand. Moreover, the study surveyed 57 family houses and most of the public facilities and social services in the village.

Based on the data collected, the author used a realist tale approach and narrative analysis for the qualitative research, with photographs and geographic information from the field, to develop better understanding of the issues central to the boundary-making process in land use and social rights. This study then presented the constructed boundaries and associated institutions produced by stakeholders during different time periods. Some empirical results revealed the positions of different land uses in Nanjiao Village and the real socio-economic status of residents. Thereafter, this study examined whether the functions of the boundary will be satisfactorily fulfilled and presented its findings regarding how individual's lives are affected by the extant boundaries in the village. The findings further revealed that the collective land ownership and dominance of village houses can still be achieved by indigenous villagers since they are legally protected by law and supported by the government policies. Under such institutional arrangements, villagers' rights in different land use, e.g., the shared use of social services and public facilities and restricted use of a house of the individual household, were well defended. Moreover, the legal system assures the village community of stable resources to serve the social rights and welfare of all its community members. The access to the social rights is constituted partially by the village community together and partially by individual activities, based on the collective ownership, the exclusive use right of house plot, and the membership of the community (i.e. the identity)—which are clearly defined through the practice of legislation and policy-making. This helps the villagers to acquire a basic but the whole package of social rights in the village, and this distinguishes the urban-village system from the urban system. Nevertheless, the field work also discovered that all residents, businesses, some public facilities and social services in Nanjiao Village are linked with the city.

Furthermore, Nanjiao Village provides a cheaper housing option to the increasing number of migrant tenants, who are not qualified to obtain the urban housing, some public services and social security in the city. These migrant tenants are able to enjoy the same living conditions/standards and some social services in reconstructed houses by the indigenous villagers. They make a free contract with the law-protected majority in the village, even though most of the contracts are made unofficially. As the migrants were allowed into the village housing, they could be included in accessing some public facilities and social services

furnished by the individual households and the urban village. However, the availability of land use rights does not *ipso facto* mean access to some social rights, which is also underlined in the research, especially for the migrant residents. Unlike the indigenous villagers, migrants' identities of non-local Hukou have always been an obstacle, for them, to being truly included in the whole social security and welfare package of both Guangzhou city and Nanjiao Village. Moreover, these social rights obtained by the migrant tenants can be easily deprived as the direct result of reconstruction activities by other stakeholders in the future, such as the redevelopment of urban village.

Over all, the findings from the fieldwork in Nanjiao Village provides evidence to support the hypothesis that land use and social rights are interrelated and depend on the way the stakeholders establish the inclusion and exclusion criteria for the land use. On the one hand the access to land use (by boundary construction) meant access to some kinds of social rights (e.g. housing, water, food and medical care) for both villagers and migrant tenants; while on the other hand some socially constructed institutions related to land (e.g., Hukou) determine their identities and distinguishes them from each other in their society, which rules out the possibility of social rights (e.g., free education and social security) for any non-Nanjiao Village Hukou holders.

Chapter 4 continues to study the scenarios of Nanjiao Village that were to be maintained or redeveloped. The author makes some claims to predict uncertain fates of land use and social rights for stakeholders, especially the indigenous villagers and migrant tenants—from the boundary's perspective. The maintenance of the urban village includes stable status quo of boundaries, land use and the achievement of the social rights in the urban village. Also, the maintenance refers to how stakeholders can maintain this established order. From the investigation of this study, interested parties consented that current land use needed an institutional network of “social control,” which contains different interested parties and their controlling methods and instruments in the village. Furthermore this study focuses from the standpoint of the state and the government to argue why they had chosen to neglect both the incongruous landscapes between the city and the urban village and the discrimination between social rights of the inhabitants coming from different identity backgrounds. The findings indicate that the strategies of tolerance and negotiation have significantly contributed in sustaining the village community. The study for the first time possibly answered the question how the stakeholders order their relations in land use and their society (the urban village). The study also concluded that various interested parties would balance their interests and maintain relations with each other, under the facilitation of formal/informal rules, and relevant institutions in the village. The author also pointed out that this “social order” will probably exist in the long run, as long as the boundaries of land use are not altered by the stakeholders, in particular, by the municipal government and Nanjiao collective community.

Furthermore, from a developmental perspective, the urban village will not be preserved in the long run. Several kinds of redevelopment frameworks have been implemented throughout China (Lin & Hao, 2015; Lin et al., 2011; Tian, 2008; Lin et al., 2011), that alter not only the traditional landscape of urban villages (change it to an typical urban style), but also boundaries, the composition of stakeholders and their property relations and consequential modes of land use. Experiences from these cases highlight the importance of how to renovate the boundaries and rearrange the access to land use in the redevelopment of their collectively-owned land in an appropriate way. These cases also suggest that successful projects should be endorsed by the government with the participation of the investors and support from the villagers. The study considers this as a complex process of social reconstruction of boundaries of land use, consisting of diverse stakeholders, strategies, and methods they will apply to construct the urban village as it was before the redevelopment. Furthermore, we need to acknowledge that in this process, any change of the boundary represents not only the change of visible boundaries of land use but also the associated institutions.

From the interviews with different stakeholders, it is evident that the government and the village community plays a critical role in the reconstruction process of boundaries and access to

land use. We learned from the proposed project in Nanjiao Village that the redevelopment was concerned not only about how to exploit land and reconstruct buildings to protect and improve the indigenous villagers' property rights, residential environment and qualities, but also about the collective and individual economic benefits and social rights. It is obvious that Nanjiao Village can achieve these goals as long as the village will preserve their collectively-owned land, self-management regime and Nanjiao Hukou; even if the visible boundaries of land use would be altered and some constrict regulations would be established in the redevelopment. Moreover, it reveals the fact that the redevelopment project would eventually eliminate the possibility of private house construction by the individual village household, which currently accommodates so many low-income tenants from the city. This study was also concerned about the consequential change of achievement of social rights in the urban village with the renovated land use and institutions. The author studied and emphasized both positive and negative results, in terms of land rights and social rights for current residents in the urban village, brought by the redevelopment work. Additionally, the study concluded that with the newly-built boundaries (institutions) in the village, not all of the residents here will benefit from the project, especially some migrant tenants.

This study argues that Nanjiao Village would not be an absolute secure shelter for the migrant workers in the long term. On one hand, the diminishing liberty of village house owners in their owned house plot will expel the poor people from land use and even deprive them of some social rights, by strengthening the restricted use of collective land and newly constructed apartment buildings without considering the capability of vulnerable, migrant residents to afford the increasing rent of gentrified apartments. Furthermore, findings from the fieldwork showed that it is difficult to predict if the migrants would maintain the access to some social rights and the relations with the house owners and landlords. Once the access to land use is rearranged by other stakeholders, like the municipality or the village, no one would assure them the acquirable land use, housing and some social rights in the future. This is because migrants are not originally included within the urban village by formulation of collective ownership, village self-management and Hukou Policy. On the other hand, the connection between the migrants and urban villages is rather frail, because it is normally grounding on some breakable and informal contracts, as mentioned earlier. Hence, it enables the group of migrant residents and outside investors to move and inhabit at will. Evidences from the interviews suggest that leaving the urban village will be another rational choice for some of the migrant tenants.

In summary, a significant finding of this research is that the process of boundary construction in Nanjiao Village reflects a complex structure of stakeholders. The above-mentioned findings teach us that the boundary-making by stakeholders can allow land use and social rights accessible for the individual who do not own any land, but still can exclude them from the land use and social rights. As seen in Nanjiao Village, the individual use of village house enables many low-income migrants to afford the rent, but the access to shelters for the migrant tenants will be limited while taking redevelopment into consideration. There is no doubt that the secure and centralized collective land ownership can empower the indigenous villagers to improve their living conditions/standards, but it still negatively affects the rights of other stakeholders in a particular region. As a planner, with respect to basic human needs on housing and social services, what matters to these social rights is not the land itself but the individuals' relations within it (i.e. the possession of the access to the land) that are arranged and constructed by the stakeholders—as a process of boundary-making. Evidence from this thesis shows that a mix of plural property relations in land use can allow some of these rights to be available to the individuals in need. This research may inspire the planner to take into consideration the plural rationalities of land use (Davy, 2012) and diverse property relations when re-/constructing a balanced community, such as Nanjiao. The land use constitutes of various rationalities of land user rather than a single individual in Nanjiao. Each stakeholder in the village has his/her own preferences for rationality in land use and thus, varied rules and norms are used by them to control the land use and construct and maintain the social order in the village. Without any stakeholder or even whenever anyone of them changes, it will eventually break the balance of mutual relations in the land use, as well as, the status quo of social rights scheme in the village.

Abbreviation

¥	Chinese Currency RMB 1€=7.8¥(10.04.2018)
CPC	Communist Party of China
EDL	Economic Development Land
GZMG	Guangzhou Municipal Government
GZSB	Guangzhou Statistics Bureau
HCR	Household Contract Responsibility
HRR	Household Registration (Hukou) Regulation
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
LAD	Land Administration Department
LAL	Land Administration Law
LLCRA	Law of Land Contract in Rural Areas
LRL	Land Reform Law
LRM	Land Registration Method
MLR	Ministry of Land and Resources
NPC	National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China
NVC	Nanjiao Villagers' Committee
OLVC	Organic Law of the Villagers' Committees
P. R. China	People's Republic of China
RCRCL	Regulation on the Certificate of Rural Contracted Land
RILAL	Regulations on the Implementation of Land Administration Law
RRCEOGD	Regulation on the Rural Collective Economic Organization of Guangdong Province
RRPC	Regulations on the Rural People's Communes
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
URPL	Urban and Rural Planning Law

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Abstract

This thesis studies the themes of land use and social rights with special reference to the urban village, which is a special phenomenon in city-expansion in contemporary China. By conducting an extensive review of literatures on urban villages and boundary studies, the author studies land use and social rights from the perspective of boundary. The author also emphasizes boundary-making as a social construction process, which involves different stakeholders in this “game”. Further, the author reviews many historical documents and archives pertinent to land use and social rights in China and carries out a fieldwork in Nanjiao Village as a case study. Through qualitative analysis, this study answers the following research questions: 1) how are the diverse land uses arranged by boundary-making in the urban village; 2) how do the stakeholders maintain the order of the *status quo* for land use and the attained social rights in the urban village. The research found that different stakeholders are involved in the boundary-making of land use, which arranges the inclusion in and exclusion from the access to land use and the attainment of social rights in the urban village. The research concludes that through boundary-making of stakeholders, land use and social rights are inter-related and accessible for residents in the urban village. This research hopes to turn the spotlight on individuals’ social rights, when planners and interested parties make a plan of land use.

Keywords: boundary, land use, social rights, urban village

1 Nanjiao Village and the Unexpected Guests

Over the past five years, the author has visited Nanjiao Village (E 113.25; N 23.05) several times. The village is located along the Pearl River at the outskirts of Guangzhou City, which is the capital of Guangdong Province and the third largest metropolis in China (see Map 1.1 & 1.2). Out of Guangzhou City's total population of 13,501,100 (Guangzhou Statistics Bureau [GZSB], 2016), about 63% are permanent local Hukou holders¹. At the time of the first visit to this village in 2011, the author was surprised by its complex demographic composition, mixed land use, disorganized and unattractive buildings, uncultivated land and some scattered factories. This layout was quite different from that of a traditional rural Chinese village with a cluster of rural houses surrounded by green farmland. Upon investigation, it was found that these are signs of city expansion² in Guangzhou City over the past two decades (Mr. X.D.He³, Mr. C.H.He⁴, Mr. Lin⁵ & Ms. Liao⁶, personal communication, 2011, 2014 and 2015).

Land requisition⁷ for civil construction and industrial development made most of the agricultural fields and gardens disappear. Land requisition seemed to have been suspended after it was realized that most of the farmland was subsumed within the urban jungle, after which the government decided not to demolish the housing sites of the villagers in Nanjiao Village, and additionally allowed them to preserve a particular portion of collectively-owned land for commercial and industrial development and public use – namely the Economic Development Land (EDL, *Jingji Fazhang Yongdi*)⁸. Further, Nanjiao Village established a shareholding cooperative system based on its collective land and assets, as instructed by the municipal government⁹. Over time, significant infrastructure development took place in the periphery of the village with roads and public transportation was built around it (see **Figure 1.1**).

Nanjiao Village is just one example of outgrowth of the rapid city expansion and urban construction throughout China, associated with the large-scale expropriation of village land, which has been mentioned by many scholars in their studies¹⁰. Cities have encroached upon vast rural areas (mainly agricultural land), mostly achieved by transformation of collectively-owned

¹ Hukou (Household Registration) Policy is implemented to identify individuals who are local village residents and urban citizens (of Guangzhou City). This number includes both village and city Hukou holders of Guangzhou City. More information about Hukou Policy can be found in Section 2.2.4.

² Throughout the study, urban sprawl, enlargement of city area, city expansion, urban expansion and city sprawl have the same meaning.

³ Mr. X.D.He is the Deputy Head of Dongsha township government. We had interviews with him in 2011 and 2014.

⁴ Mr. C.H.He is the Deputy Head of Nanjiao Villagers' Committee. We had interviews with him in 2014 and 2015.

⁵ Mr. Lin is an official of Dongsha township government and the coordinator arranging interviews with Nanjiao Villagers' Committee.

⁶ Ms. Liao is the Director of the Planning Policy Division of Guangzhou Urban Planning Bureau. We had an interview with her in 2015.

⁷ The terms "land requisition" and "land expropriation" are synonymous in China, which means the government takes land from the village with its power of eminent domain and normally with compensation.

⁸ This so-called "EDL" consisted of the remaining collectively-owned land plus 10% of the expropriated farmland remained for the village by the municipal government, which was supported by a series of policies and directives promulgated by the state, province and municipal government e.g. Article 16 in "Regulation on land management in Guangzhou" (Guangzhou Municipal People's Congress, 1995), "Decision on deep reform of land management" (State Council, 2004), "Suggestion on resettlement of the problem of social protection and security" (Guangdong Province Government, 2007), "Management method of remaining village collective land" (Guangdong Province Government, 2009), "Suggestion on the improvement on the policies on transfer of rural residents and redevelopment of urban villages" (General office of Guangzhou Municipal Government, 2008).

⁹ See "Suggestion on System Reform in the Urban Village" (Guangzhou Municipal Government, 2002). Through this arrangement, villagers will obtain an annual dividend from businesses operated on EDL.

¹⁰ See studies by Yang, 1996; Tian, 1998; Bian & Li, 1998; Ho, 2001; Zhang, Zhao, & Tian, 2003; Lin 2007; Song, Zenou, & Ding, 2008; Tian, 2008; Zheng, Long, Fan, & Gu, 2009; He, Liu, Webster, & Wu, 2009; Zhao & Webster, 2011; Lin, Meulder, & Wang, 2011; Zhang, 2011; Hao, Hooimeijer, Sliuzas, & Geertman, 2013.

land of villages in urban fringes to state-owned land within the city area.



Map 1.1: Location of Guangzhou City

Author's contribution

GIS information based on the online resource <http://www.naturalearthdata.com/>

“China’s urbanization is characterized by the continuous outward shift of urban boundaries and the expansion of territorial jurisdictions of cities, primarily through the expropriation of surrounding rural land and its integration into urban areas” and “about 90 percent of the demand met through the expropriation of rural land” (World Bank, 2014, p.270).

Normally, confronted by expansion of the city and industrialization, a rural Chinese village would probably have evolved into one of the three forms as followed. One form is that villages are allowed to develop their farmland for industrial use. After analyzing rural industrialization in a village in Zhejiang Province in Yangtze River Delta, Mao (2000), claimed that the “communal” (公社, *gongshe*) ownership system still exists within the village industrial development initiative (collective factory and enterprises). Similar ownership system can also be found in Wuxi city in Jiangsu Province (Lin, 2007). A significant common pattern of this model is that these villages are close to the developed city area, but the urbanization, in terms of municipal constructions, laws, jurisdiction and administration, will not be reaching these areas in the coming decades. For poverty eradication, economic and social employment, the local city government allowed such villages to develop their arable land for the industrial development collectively – characterized by a dispersed rural-based industrialization and housing boom at the bottom (Lin, 2007, p.1827), as Type A shown in Figure 1.2.

When they plan to acquire land for urban construction from nearby villages, there are two general alternative strategies used by the Chinese local governments: *“one is to convert all the village land, whether farming or residential, directly into urban land (Type B in Figure 1.2); the other is to convert part of it, mainly the cultivated part, into urban land, but to leave the status of the residential land unchanged so as to reduce the compensation and time cost” (Tian, 2008, p.282; He et al., 2009, p.1931), as Type C shown in Figure 1.2.*



Figure 1.1: Change of Landscape and Land Use of Nanjiao Village in City Expansion

Top: Landscape and land use before land requisition by the municipal government

Bottom: Landscape and land use after land requisition

Author's contribution

Source: Nanjiao Villagers' Committee, 2007

GIS information based on Googlemap

These two are characterized by what Lin (2007) concluded as a city-oriented urban sprawl, with the city construction and the setting up of economic and technological development zones on farmland requisitioned from villages nearby (p.1847). The latter one was known as the urban village, which is located inside or on the outskirts of the city (see urban villages distributed in Guangzhou City territory in Map 1.2 for example). In Guangzhou, one of the most developed cities in China, there are 138 formally registered urban villages (Guangzhou Municipal Government [GZMG], 2009)¹¹ caused by urbanization, since the Economic Reform and Opening-up in the 1980's. Nanjiao Village is one of them. Thousands of such villages could be also found in other cities throughout the country, e.g. 343 in Beijing, the capital of China (Zhu Ed., 2005, p.9); 187 in Xi'an, the capital of Shanxi Province (Xi'an Municipal Government, 2009); 246 in Hangzhou, the capital of Zhejiang Province (Hangzhou Municipal CPC

¹¹ The actual number is over 138. These are only the ones formally and officially registered with Guangzhou Municipal Government.

Committee and Government, 2016); 382 in Kunming, the capital of Yunnan Province (Kunming Municipal Government, 2011).

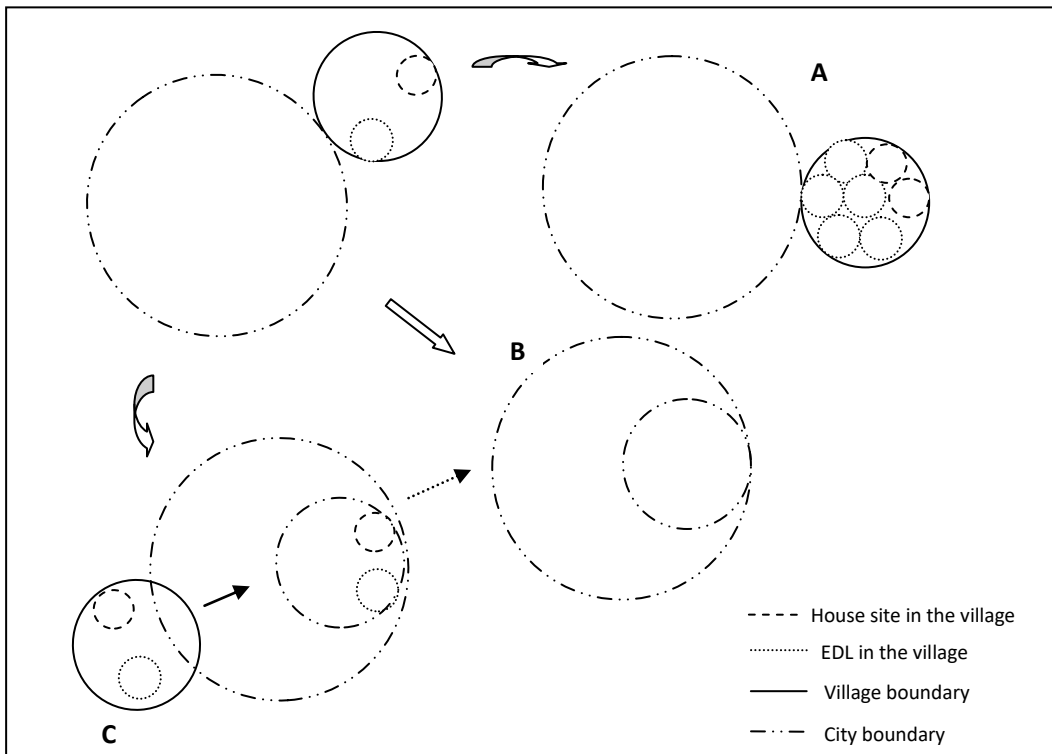
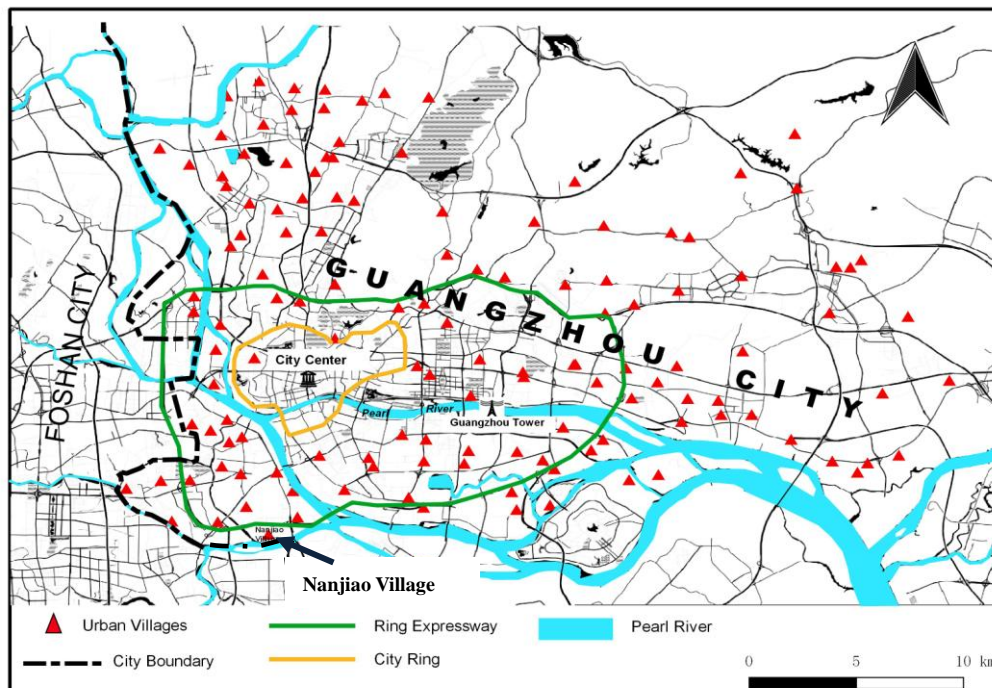


Figure 1.2: Villages in City Expansion and Urbanization

Author's contribution



Map 1.2: Distribution of Urban Villages in Guangzhou City

Author's Contribution

Village names from Guangzhou Municipal Government (2009) and online resource

<http://www.gztopwork.cn/czcd.asp>

Basic map retrieved from Open map resource. <http://maps.stamen.com/#toner/12/37.7706/-122.3782>

Relevant studies on such villages with the same patterns of development throughout the country have been conducted by scholars¹². These studies on urban villages reveal the complexity of land use (non-agricultural use) with the alteration of the original physical boundaries of the villages after land expropriation. While some urban villages have been redeveloped into gentrified communities for indigenous villagers, the others continue to remain in their original shape, size, constructions and appearance. Simultaneously, these cities have experienced an increasing influx of migrants from different parts of the country, of which the rural labours take up the lion's share. Such migration, Whiting (2011) explained, is the result of the tax burden and the relatively low profitability of household farming in the distressed parts of China (p.572). It forced peasants to abandon their land to look for a non-agricultural job in towns and cities. According to an UNDP's (2013) report, in 2010, rural migrants comprised 31.2 percent of all urban residents in China and are characterized by younger age, low-income and lack of social welfare (p.20-21). Even after such migration, the employment opportunity in cities will continue to be a tremendous source of attraction for the migrant population. As a result, the urban village is the ideal foothold for numerous floating and low-income migrants. *"In Guangzhou, for example, there are an estimated 138 urban villages covering about 20 percent of the municipality and housing around 70 percent of migrants and 40 percent of the total urban population"* (World Bank, 2014, p.148).

Confronted by the ongoing urbanization and civil construction in the surroundings of Nanjiao Village, the author once assumed that the assimilation of landscape and land use in Nanjiao into an urban style would happen shortly. In 2014 and 2015, the author returned to Nanjiao Village with his assumption. The revisiting journey began in summer 2014. This time, the author took a bus from the central train station of Guangzhou in the morning and arrived at the main entrance of Nanjiao Village after half an hour. Busy crowds were bustling in and out of the village, mostly by electric bikes and bicycles. In this chaos, some of the conversations could be followed by the researcher, which revealed a foreign accent distinct and distinguishable from the local Cantonese-speaking inhabitants.

About half an hour later, the whole village regained serenity as many residents left the village. The author hired a motorcyclist waiting for passengers by the roadside, for a tour around the entire village. After a quick tour of the village, the researcher could recognize that there had been little observable change in the village during his long absence. Boundaries (created by land requisition) between the village and city were still in existence. The original landscapes (such as the narrow and dusty roads, alleys and ragged houses with unpleasant appearances) remained unchanged, except for some newly-built factories and unfinished high-rise buildings. Almost everything including residential houses, markets, schools, clinics, restaurants, grocery stores and shops was the same as before. It seemed residents here had been having the same living standard for the past several decades. Even after being surrounded by modern transport networks and civil constructions, the location advantage of the village did not trigger any significant change in the original landscape. The crucial question which has remained unanswered in the post-agricultural era is, what contributes to the arrangement and retention of current village land use, houses and collective community? Why does urbanization in its surroundings not lead to the modernization and gentrification of the village, as in the case of some redevelopment projects carried out in other urban villages in Guangzhou? How is the real life of residents in the village, which too was perhaps beyond our expectation?

With curiosity, the author met the township authority and Nanjiao Villagers' Committee members. From the documents and archives provided by them, the author obtained preliminary answers to these doubts. The state land-use and planning laws, local policies and directives and legally approved village self-management, together gave rise to a new mode of non-farming production and at the same time, the villagers continued to live on their land and houses. Besides the collective economy (e.g. lease of EDL), there were several businesses (e.g. private

¹² see the case studied by Zhang et al. (2003), Tian (2008), Lin et al.(2011), Wong (2016) in Guangzhou; He et al. (2009) in Xi'an; Song et al. (2008), Hao et al. (2013) in Shenzhen; Zhao & Webster (2011) in Xiamen; Wu, Zhang, & Webster (2013) in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou; Po (2011) in Beijing; Song (2014) in Yinchuan.

house renting) operated by individual villagers, which had attracted a number of outsiders (the migrant residents amounted to 5755 in 2013) (Nanjiao Villager's Committee [NVC], 2013). According to the statistics from the Villagers' Committee (2013), the number of migrant residents exceeded that of the indigenous villagers (who numbered 2786 in 2013). At the end of the meeting, they presented to the researcher an explicit blueprint for Nanjiao Village: a Demolition-Redevelopment Project (NVC, 2010). They longed for the renovation of village landscape and a betterment of villagers' living standards in the future. The brief meetings with the elected members of the Villagers' Committee inspired the researcher to explore further migrant issues.

In order to obtain the first-hand information about their residing in Nanjiao Village, the author sought in-depth interviews with some households and migrant residents. With the permission of the Villagers' Committee, Mr. Yang, a middle-aged villager who is also a family leader, was assigned to accompany the author during the visit in the village. After the farming land was requisitioned and transferred to outside developers (e.g. the Guangzhou Tobacco Factory) by the government from the 1990s to 2000s, Mr. Yang started to carry out some non-farming businesses. For most indigenous villagers who were once engaged in agricultural production, leasing out reconstructed housing was the most popular business. In those years, there was a growing trend towards construction of multi-story buildings. The compensation plus some loans (from the bank and relatives) and savings enabled villagers to reconstruct their houses at the original spot. As Mr. Yang could remember, he was the organizer of the entire reconstruction project, with hired architect and engineer, construction workers and building materials. As in the case of most of his native fellows, his new building exceeded the municipal criterion, but the village and higher authority did not suspend the building construction. *"I just followed in others' footsteps. At least, this piece of land was approved by the Villagers' Committee and township. We have already got the certification of land use from the county government"*, said Mr. Yang confidently (personal communication, 2014).

As Mr. Yang emphasized, these residential plots and houses were the only place of 'living and breathing' for all villagers. In addition, apartment-leasing was universally practiced by villagers as the primary source of income in the post-agricultural era. Mr. Yang showed each floor in his house¹³. Unlike the original rural house, his building was constructed like a commercial apartment building in the town. The spatial arrangement of each floor was similar – six apartments of different floor areas equipped with a separate kitchen, bathroom, bedroom, tap water, and other living facilities. Besides his family, there were five other families and individual tenants inhabiting the house. He eventually described an ordinary day in the life of migrant tenants to me. Every workday morning, his tenants would depart for work one after another. In the evening, they would return to their homes to cook and rest. Mr. Yang's house and his tenement house was not the only one of its kind in Nanjiao Village. It was possible to find migrant tenants even in other small, crumbling bungalows. Given that there was no commercial housing developed by the municipality and the real-estate companies for the migrants in the village, they were absorbed in the housing provided by the villagers. The author stayed in Mr. Yang's house for the whole evening and talked with some tenants who had migrated from other places. They were all employed in or near the village. Compared to the housing prices in the city centre, the rent in the urban village was cheaper. Further, the village was located conveniently near the urban area, with sufficient residential space, public facilities and social services. Although the residential environment in the village was not ideal, it met the basic housing requirements of the migrants, given their limited income.

¹³ Detailed information about his building could be found in Chapter 3.



Photo by the author 2014
Top: Public sport ground in Nanjiao Village
Bottom: A community clinic in Nanjiao Village



Photo by the author 2014
Top: Reconstructed apartment buildings in Nanjiao Village
Bottom: An old village house in Nanjiao Village



Photo by the author 2014

Top: A rental apartment in an apartment building and a migrant family

Bottom: Common storage space in an apartment building

By 2013, there were over 600 apartments accommodating migrant tenants and additional spaces for their owners (NVC, 2013). Therefore, any development would eventually impact all the parties involved in the urban village. “Demolition and redevelopment project” is one such project which is bound to have affected all the residents of the urban village, by increasing real estate floor and as result, improving their housing conditions and commercial prospects (NVC, 2010). However, the municipal government had suspended the planned project. The whole village was still waiting for approval, while the Villagers’ Committee kept trying to seek more collaboration with outside investors, in the hope of launching the project in the near future. Meanwhile, villagers like Mr. Yang had still endeavoured to continue their business on their house plots.

“Hopefully, the redevelopment plan would eventually improve conditions of housing and living in the village. However, no one knows when this plan will kick off again, and we have waited for its restart for over ten years already”, Mr. Yang complained (personal communication, 2014).

He tried to prepare his apartment building well and make it a “home” for the migrants, through which he would generate more income by way of housing rentals. Therefore, his tenants became the welcome “guests” in his house, although they had not been invited intentionally. The question remains unanswered: is the rental apartment a real home for the migrant residents, or can they acquire the basic needs for their livelihood in the village?

On the surface, though it would appear that there is no difference in residential conditions between the house owner and tenants who lived under the same roof, some invisible differences still exist among them in terms of land rights and social rights. The author learned from the interviewees about a critical determinant believed to ultimately affect their rights in the inhabited place – their identities (**Household Registration/Hukou Policy**). Although both indigenous villagers and migrant residents have been living together in the village, the different ‘Hukou’ identities would eventually influence their land use, housing, and social rights respectively. The indigenous villagers are quite lucky, since they are permanent Hukou holders of Nanjiao Village¹⁴, possessing complete property rights on land collectively and self-management rights empowered by law¹⁵. Being the *de jure* owners, the villagers develop the EDL collectively, use house plots individually and enjoy all the social rights and welfare provided by the Villagers’ Committee, on the one hand. On the other hand, the migrant residents will neither have access to complete land rights, nor in terms of some particular social rights, e.g. social security, free primary education and so on, in accordance with their non-local village identities.

The indigenous villagers are obviously the biggest beneficiaries from the *status quo*. And apparently, the land and house rights of the villagers would be better protected and fostered as proposed in the redevelopment plan unapproved by the higher authority but proposed by the Villagers’ Committee. With the redevelopment plan in limbo, we do not know what will happen to the residing migrants who had conditional access to land use in the village. Will the villagers continue to care about these outsiders with whom they share the urban village? Both township and village heads confirmed that only the indigenous villagers (the owners of collective land and private houses) are the main concern (Mr. X.D.He and Mr. C.H.He, personal communication, 2014, 2015), leaving migrants with few rights and opportunities.

According to the Villagers’ Committee, in order to raise initial funds, the village would need to transfer a portion of the collective land to the municipal government (turning it into

¹⁴ After the land requisition, all villagers become holders of urban Hukou in name (see GZMG, 2002). However, they are treated as village Hukou holders as before. The municipal government allows these villagers to preserve their village houses and some collectively owned land and develop village economy and social security affairs, but still exclude them from urban social housing and social security (Mr.X.D.He & Mr.C.H.He, personal communication, 2014, 2015).

¹⁵ The description of self-management of the village will be presented in Section 2.2.2 in detail.

state-owned land) for commercial real estate development, which generates more resettlement space for the outside residents. However, these apartments are not targeted at any particular group. That means the access opportunity to these housing projects, for existing migrant inhabitants like those living in Mr. Yang's building now, is not guaranteed and will only depend on their ability and will to pay. When situations become bad for them, e.g. increase in living expenses in the village, they can only choose to accept or leave. *"It is hard to say, and it depends on whether we can afford the price in the future,"* said Mrs. Wang and her family, rural migrants from Henan Province, who run a bicycle repair garage in the village (personal communication, 2015).

They expressed their ambivalence towards their future in the urban village.

"This place is suitable for us to stay, not just for the reason of housing affordability but also of having the same accessibility to important public facilities and social services as the indigenous household. However, it is not the first time we are forced to move to another place due to the growth of rent." (Mrs. Wang, personal communication, 2015)

Similar responses were heard from other migrant residents who lived and operated small businesses in the village¹⁶. Compared to indigenous households, migrant residents are more vulnerable to be evicted from the village, since their land and related social rights in Nanjiao Village are conditional and not fully protected by current institutions (e.g. laws, regulations and other formal and informal methods)¹⁷.

The position in Nanjiao Village and the forthcoming redevelopment project have turned the spotlight on the issue of land use and social rights. The subject of this research is to study the relationship between these two themes in the urban village: whether and how the right of land use is related to the attainment of social rights by stakeholders (i.e. indigenous villagers and migrants). The general theory of this thesis is boundary-making – a social construction process which establishes the inclusion in and exclusion from the access to land use, which also determines the achievement of social rights. In this thesis, the first key question the author will address is how land use is arranged through boundary-making – a social construction process.

This research comprehends property (land and houses particularly in this thesis) as "a bundle of rights" (Commons, 1893, p.92; see also Demsetz, 1967; Honoré 1993; Alchian & Demsetz, 1973, p.17-18; Gray, 1991, p.259; Munzer, 1990, p.16-17; Po, 2011, p.512; Ostrom, 1999, p.339-340; Ekbäck, 2009, p.58) dividable and accessible to different stakeholders. In the Interpretation of Land Administration Law (LAL) of China, Bian and Li (1998) stated that the permitted and registered land use rights are referred to as "a bundle of rights", including the rights to possess, use, usufruct and dispose of land, which could be attainable by different individuals and groups (p.17-20). Land is inhabited by various interested parties who are designated with certain land rights or combination of a few or all– from "a bundle of rights."

Moreover, this study on the urban village emphasizes the "relations" characteristic of land (private or common property relations in land use) rather than its image as a thing or an object (Gray, 1991; Gray & Gray, 1998; Fisher, 1912, p.27; Munzer, 1990, p.17; Harris, 1996, p.119; Ostrom, 1999, p.339; Pottage, 1998; Davy, 2012). *"Property is not a thing but rather a relationship which one had with a thing"* (Gray & Gray, 1998, p.15). *"Property rights define actions that individuals can take in relation to other individuals regarding some 'thing'. If one individual has a right, someone else has a commensurate duty to observe that right"* (Ostrom, 1999, p.339).

"The essential nature of [land] is to be found in social relations rather than in any inherent attributes of the thing or object that we call property. Property, in other words, is not a thing, but a network of social relations that governs the conduct of people with respect to

¹⁶ See description in detail in Chapter 3.

¹⁷ For more information please check Chapter 4.

the use and disposition of things” (Hoebel, 1966, p.424).

In China, LAL also indicates that property rights in land are defined as a kind of social relations, instead of a natural resource only (Bian & Li, 1998, p.18). Further, the related clauses in the Chinese Constitution and LAL were amended several times to regulate the emerging human activities and relations with respect to land (Bian & Li, 1998, p.18). Davy (2012) avers that property relations establish the inclusion and exclusion in the restricted use and shared use of land, which employ a variety of boundary-making tools from formal laws to informal social practices (p.180-182).

In this research, the author first plans to survey the boundaries demarcating different land uses accessible to different individuals and groups, functions of boundary and the property relations in these land uses; and secondly, conduct a deeper research on the coherent planning and construction process that set up these boundaries – behind the social construction emphasized here. This research refers to the “social construction” of boundary as a “game”, in which stakeholders adjust or regulate actions of each other by adopting diverse kinds of tools and strategies. As Davy (2012) stated, “*social construction compromises multi-party, multi-issue interactions between stakeholders, who assume alternating role in dynamic social situation*” (p.63). This study is concerned with how the construction process of boundaries and relevant institutions are affected by their legal, political and social power. Davy (2012) argued that “*property relations often derive from law, but also flow from the local property culture or extra-legal power relationships*” (p.10).

In this research, the author thus intends to study the historical process of construction of boundaries of land use in the village, from the past (since the foundation of People’s Republic of China [P. R. China] in 1949) to the present and even into the future. Simultaneously, the research focuses on the composition of stakeholders changing from time to time in the village. During the agrarian era, the land was cultivated by villagers for agricultural production and inherited by one generation from another. Then, land was the most valuable property and dire necessity for villagers, their survival intrinsically and firmly tied-up with their land. Over the past decades, however, China has undergone massive changes in development. The state, local governments and other stakeholders have been more involved in the village land use, especially in the continuous acquisition and transfer of farmland for urban expansion. Besides, there are an increasing number of outsiders (e.g. migrants and investors) becoming the *de facto* users of village land.

In China, formal social construction of boundary in land use is directed by what Ho (2001) called the “*absolute and supreme*” state-power over land in China (p.401). One such instance is that any private transfer of land title is considered illegal and forbidden, and only the state and government are empowered by laws and regulations to acquire farmland from villages. Aided by law, the state and government have played and continue to play a decisive role in land conversion in Nanjiao Village. If the state’s absolute power directs and binds all land transactions, while ignoring informal and existing extra-legal power relations, the question is, must all these relations be legally constructed and formalized? The author suspects that in Nanjiao Village, where most of the land is exploited for commercial and economic use, with an increasing number of outsiders entering, stakeholders, the majority of whom are migrants without local Hukou, will eventually explore some informal means to create and preserve relations in land use beyond the formal institutions. These informal and extra-legal activities together constitute the institutions and boundaries in the society, which go beyond the state dictated “*absolute and supreme*” control over land. To obtain access to housing, property, and facilities, stakeholders, including migrants without Hukou, would need to reach an agreement with the indigenous population and housing market, through various formal or informal ways, which Davy (2012) termed extra-legal. These activities are reflected in land use and set up new boundaries of inclusion and exclusion among stakeholders.

After studying the boundaries and property relations in land use, this thesis turns to answer the second key question, viz., how do stakeholders in the urban village maintain their relations

and order their community. The stakeholders, according to Ellickson (1991), accord equal importance to both formal and informal norms to constitute and maintain the system of social control and order. With similar interests, this research considered boundaries as institutions (Newman & Paasi, 1998; Popescu, 2012) and *vice versa*, ordering the society. “... *Property, as a social and legal institution, controls relations between persons*” (Harris, 1996, p.119), established by stakeholders in the social construction process. This research also considers this control process as a game of stakeholders’ interaction. These socially constructed boundaries and institutions in return are used by stakeholders in this game, described as below:

“...*institutions are the rules of the game in society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction. In consequence they structure incentives in human exchange, whether political, social, or economic. . . . Conceptually, what must be clearly differentiated are the rules from the players. The purpose of the rules is to define the way the game is played. But the objective of the team within that set of rules is to win the game*” (North, 1990, p. 3–5).

Also, this research aims at testing a hypothesis, inspired by the Nanjiao Village case, that land use and social rights are inter-related through arrangement of inclusion in and exclusion from access to land use by the boundary-making of stakeholders. By conducting the fieldwork in Nanjiao Village, the author desires to ascertain how the inclusion in and exclusion from land use would influence the social rights of the two groups of inhabitants who are the *de facto* users of land and houses in the village, viz., indigenous residents and migrants. It is supposed that “boundaries” (exclusion and inclusion) established and arranged by property relations in land use simultaneously imply the institutions determining the access to social rights for stakeholders – i.e. indigenous villagers and migrant residents in the urban village. With the continuous construction and reconstruction of boundaries and inherent institutions of land use, Nanjiao Village is supposed to arrange both the land use and social rights of affected individuals and entities in the village, in particular their access to a minimum level of housing and some public facilities and social services.

Both the quantitative and qualitative approaches are popular with researchers who study the urban village in China. This study mainly adopts the qualitative approach, in order to reflect a real social circumstance of boundary construction in land use and the attainment of social rights in the urban village – by using a case study of Nanjiao Village. The author conducts a historical review of literature and documents and an analysis of the first-hand data collected through participant observation and in-depth interview in fieldwork.

“*Field research is the study of people acting in the natural courses of their daily lives... it is also seen as a method of study whose practitioners try to understand the meanings that activities observed have for those engaging in them*” (Emerson, 1983, p.1).

Through the review of literatures and documents, this research aims to establish a theoretical framework initially and apply it to the analysis of the evolvement of land use in China and the findings from fieldwork in Nanjiao Village. As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, the motivation for this research stems from the experiences in Nanjiao Village – the special landscape of boundaries, property relations, land use and the village community composed of diverse interested parties: the native villagers and the migrant tenants in particular. The research attempts to study how the access to land use of inclusion and exclusion are arranged by them in Nanjiao Village. Stakeholders have their own rationalities and preferences to act and react to each other in this process, and sometimes they are subjective participants. Hence, to understand this complex relational network and the construction work in Nanjiao Village, it is better to obtain first-hand material and information through close observation and interviews with different stakeholders. Questionnaires were designed for each target group (stakeholder), pertinent to the topic of land use and social rights (see Appendix). However, instead of presenting each interview separately and conducting the quantitative analysis, the author carried out a “realist tale approach” (Neuman, 2007, p. 570) and “narrative analysis” (Neuman, 2011, p.545) to illustrate the whole tale of “boundary-making” of land use during

different periods in Nanjiao Village. Most of raw data and material will be presented through charts, tables, figures and maps for qualitative analysis¹⁸ - an analysis of land use and social rights from the perspective of boundary.

Therefore, the research questions mentioned earlier are explored through literature review (Chapter 2) and fieldwork in Nanjiao Village as a case study (Chapter 3). This two-way collection and integration makes the data and discovered information far more reliable and valid. Through these twin strategies, this research makes not only a deduction from the general theoretical framework to a particular case of Nanjiao Village, but also an induction that confirms the general theory from the findings and facts in the fieldwork. Overall, the main body of the thesis is divided into 3 chapters. Chapter 2 includes review of literature which partially answers the first research question and proposes a hypothesis. Chapter 3 describes the methodology employed by the study, the case study of Nanjiao in detail, answering the first question and test hypothesis through a theoretical analysis. Chapter 4 addresses the second question and makes a father theoretical analysis and synthesis of the discoveries of the study, regarding land use and social rights. The following paragraphs briefly describe the contents of each chapter.

Chapter 2 starts with a recapitulation of the phenomenon of the urban village throughout China and the literature beyond Nanjiao Village. Then, the author attempts to describe the debates on boundary, land use and social rights (Marshall's proposal for citizenship in particular). Based on a review of literature, the research develops a theoretical framework by combining the concepts of boundaries, social rights and land use. The theoretical construction is used to re-analyse the evolution of land use in the village, from the foundation of P. R. China in 1949. It also describes how different stakeholders contribute to the evolution of land use and boundary construction in urban villages in different phases and the consequential achievement of social rights. The chapter ends with the definition of the urban village from the perspective of boundary. A detailed fieldwork is presented at the beginning of **Chapter 3**, including the design of the case study and the explicit process of field work in Nanjiao Village. The chapter also includes analysis of in-depth interviews with stakeholders and participants' observations. The finding of this research is distributed between the 3rd and 4th chapters and will answer the research questions and test the hypothesis. **Chapter 4** attempts to predict possible future scenarios for Nanjiao and the inhabitants. First, with the findings from the fieldwork, this research will discuss how the stakeholders maintain their relations and order the village. Secondly, the fates of villagers and migrant tenants on this land will probably be quite different as a result of the forthcoming redevelopment project. Ongoing practices in other urban villages may reveal both the advantages and disadvantages of different development strategies in urban villages. Although the study in Nanjiao Village and other urban villages has not concluded yet, the author shall make some predictions as to their uncertain fates of land use and social rights—from a boundary perspective. **Chapter 5**, the concluding chapter, is a synthesis of the finding of the research indicating new frontiers of boundary studies in land use and social rights in the urban village.

¹⁸ See Chapter 3 for more details about the field research.

2 Land Use and Social Rights in Urban Villages

The presence of urban villages is a special but common phenomenon in and around cities throughout China. The topic of this research is about the land use and social rights with special reference to urban villages. The author aims to comprehend these particular themes in urban villages from a boundary perspective. In Section 2.1 the author briefly narrates the concept of “urban village” in China with a general review of literature pertaining to it before presenting the theoretical framework and hypothesis. Then, this section concentrates on theories on boundary/border and relates it to the domains of land use and social rights. Based on analysis of existing literature, the author put forward the theoretical framework and hypothesizes that: land use and social rights are interrelated through arrangement of inclusion in and exclusion from the access to land use by the boundary-making of stakeholders. In Sections 2.2, this research intensively scrutinizes and summarizes both state and local documents and archives of related laws, regulations, policies, directives and studies in order to reflect a complete institutional context and construction process of “boundary”, which fosters the status quo of land use in urban villages. Through a historical review, the author hopes to elucidate the evolvement of land reform and how different interested parties get involved in boundary construction of land use from agricultural era to post-agricultural era in urban villages. It also discusses how social rights were formulated for residents (indigenous villagers and civil migrants) during this process. By doing so, the research offers a definition to urban villages from perspective of boundary-making regarding land use and related social rights in the last section (Section 2.3).

2.1 Urban Villages and Boundary Study

This section intends to review several literatures on urban villages and present a general impression of these so-called urban villages in sub-section 2.1.1. Instead of referring to every aspect of urban villages, the author mostly focuses on those arguments regarding its land use, social rights, functions and interested parties. Afterwards, in 2.1.2 this section reviews boundary studies and connects it with the land use and social rights. The aim of this work is to propose a new approach – the boundary study – to understand the relationship between land use and social rights in the urban village.

2.1.1 They are Called Urban Villages

Diverse Definitions

Urban village in China came about in the 1990s. A considerable number of Chinese scholars have studied this phenomenon. Nowadays, villages characterized by the preservation of some collectively owned land and residential houses, irregular constructions and land use, similar to Nanjiao Village, can be found in cities throughout the country. When these developments were taking place, the state undoubtedly played the most influential role in the process of land requisition. Such activities by the state have defined and redefined the boundaries between the cities and the urban villages. There is a broad consensus that urban villages are created by city expansion. Earlier scholars mainly described the urban village as a result of land expropriation for the sake of urban sprawl (Yang, 1996, p.30-31; Tian, 1998, p.44). Cities being “voracious eaters” swallowed up farmland from nearby villages into its territory without considering how to deal with the preserved residential land, rural houses and identity of indigenous villagers (Yang, 1996, p.30). Jing (1999) deemed that in the process of land requisition, some villages kept some collectively owned land and private houses unchanged in the urban planning area (p.8). Those village communities on such kind of land are called urban villages. Along with this basic definition, different scholars have attempted to define the urban village from other perspectives.

Lan (2001) defined the urban village as the “non-agricultural” village community in the city, which means the village does not possess any farmland and villagers are not engaged in the agricultural production any longer (p.101). From his point of view, this community could be called a “half-city and half-village” entity, in which the villagers succeeded in resisting the urbanization and organizing an independent non-agricultural community in the city (Lan & Zhang, 2005, p.68). Dai (2002) considered the urban village as a community which maintained the traditional and ethnic relations and villager’s identity within the city (p.44). Li (2002) also argued that the appearance of urban villages challenged a traditional cognition that the villagers’ identity would be terminated and urbanized with the expropriation of rural land (p.168). Urban village, as a settlement of social life and a network of rural social/ethnic relations, would not disappear easily and quickly with the termination of agricultural production. It was a big “family” combined by blood, beliefs, kin and ethnic relationship (Li, 2002, p.177).

Xie (2003) further asserted that besides the residential land and houses, urban village is a community relying on the consanguinity and regional relationship, distinguishing from the urban communities built upon the contractual relationship (p. 35-37). He also indicated that the urban village, being an isolated, exclusive and closed region, did not fully participate in the urban economics and spatial arrangement. Yan, Wei and Zhou (2004) named the urban village as the transitional rural community in the urban civilization and burgher society, which is not fully transformed to be an urban one (Yan, Wei, & Zhou, 2004, p.30). The cognition of village identity, culture and history still existed as a restricted boundary excluding all “others” (Lan, 2001, p.104-105). Liu (2003) upheld the similar idea (p.29). However, he prophesied that urban village would be fused into the urban community ultimately, although contemporarily its property (i.e. collectively owned land and individual houses), landscape, administrative body, traditional values and culture were preserved and isolated from the urban system (Liu, 2003, p.30-33).

From the purely planning and landscape viewpoint, urban village is the phenomenon that the village settlement was surrounded by civil constructions (Wu & Zhou, 2005, p.48). Moreover, Cheng (2008) stated that urban village is not merely an inhabitancy space, but also a social and economic space, where villagers have developed varied economic and social activities, such as constructing low-end rental houses, operating social welfare and security (p.76). Zheng et al. (2009) emphasized the urban village as “rural settlements that have been transformed into poor living spaces for migrant workers”(p.425). Xue and Huang (2008) suggested comprehending the urban village from the perspective of informal sectors or informal economy, e.g. the self-constructed buildings and housing rental market, some small businesses and underground trade (Xue & Huang, 2008, p.1396). They defined the urban village as a space accumulating and representing diverse informal sectors and economy in the regulatory urban system (Xue & Huang, 2008). Zhou and Yan (2009) attempted to label the urban village as a village community where the collective economy production and community administration was reproduced and reorganized and function as a “People’s Commune” as before, based on the collective land they owned (Zhou & Yan, 2009, p.628). Z.J. Chen (2010) defined the urban village as a container of diverse spaces (i.e. geographical, social, economic and cultural spaces) and stakeholders (e.g. governments, villagers and migrants) (p.123-126). He underlined that in the urban village, some spaces are open-up while some ones closed (Z.J. Chen, 2010).

To generalize the above descriptions, urban village is such a community which possesses independent economy format, culture, administration, social relationship and construction style, grounding on the remaining collective land and private houses within the urban area. Meanwhile, here accumulates individuals (i.e. migrants and indigenous villagers) with diverse backgrounds.

Patterns of the Urban Village

Although the arguments on the definition of urban villages may vary, scholars still achieve some consensus on patterns of existing urban villages (see the above research by Yang, 1996; Tian, 1998; Jing, 1999; Lan, 2001; Dai, 2002; Yan et al., 2004; Liu, 2003; Xie, 2003; Tian, 2008; Xue & Huang, 2008; Z.J. Chen, 2010) as follows. First of all is the discord village constructions

(the village houses particularly) with diverse external appearances, which were scattered pell-mell in the village. Besides, the village infrastructure and amenities were deficient and built and managed by the villages themselves, partitioned from the urban system. These consequently troubled the municipal government in the administration of public affairs, e.g. traffic, hygiene, fire safety, police and environment and so on. Secondly, urban villages dominate the land use and constructions exclusively and the state and municipal authorities and administration are inefficient in the urban village. Thirdly, public services and rental businesses (most are informal and beyond the regulation) are prosperous, whereas the revenue and income are not regulated by the urban tax system. Fourthly, the composition of population is complex and density is greater in urban villages, which accommodate considerable amount of migrants of the city. The migrant residents take up the dominant part of the local population. Fifthly, the higher crime rate, deteriorated inhabitant environment, deficient and shoddy infrastructure, discriminatory social security and ineffective law and order situation and so on are also referred as the main negative but critical characteristic of the urban village. Sixthly, as Xie (2003) indicated, villagers have strongly and exclusively physical and psychological dependence on their belonging urban villages and consider the collective land and residential houses as their core interests and major concerns. They are seldom willing to integrate outside people into their local culture, traditions and other village affairs and share profits from land and housing with them (Yan et al., 2004, p.32).

Contributing Factors and Stakeholders

With the emergence of urban village, almost all monographic studies have attribute it to the “dual-track” institutional system in land use, housing and constructions, administration and governance, and identity (Hukou) between cities and villages. The institutional ambiguity in land and property (Ho, 2001) is believed as the most critical determinant of the formation of urban villages, particularly in domains like collective land use, individual house constructions, provision of public goods, and corresponding influx of migrant residents (see Yang, 1996; Tian, 1998; Jing, 1999; Dai, 2002; Lan, 2001; He et al., 2009; Zhang et al., 2003; Song et al., 2008; Zheng et al., 2009; Zhang, 2011; Lin et al., 2011; Song & Zenou, 2012; Wu et al., 2013; Zhou, 2014; Tian, 2008; Hao et al., 2013). These studies commonly reveal that the village has the de facto absolute authority over remaining land for non-farming land use, contravening the legal requirements on constructions and land management. Besides, the village self-management on land use and constructions is rather flexible and loose, compared to the rigid system and management of state-owned land in the city. Hence, village households are able to build irregular houses and develop their remaining land at will – the informal settlements and land use for indigenous villagers and migrant residents who are excluded from urban housing and some public goods for economical and institutional (Hukou) reasons. Scholars also argued “*the vacuum of state regulation in the urban village provides a means of subsistence for landless villagers and low-cost housing for migrant*” (Liu, He, Wu, & Webster, 2010, p.143).

Many studies are conducted to explain the issue of land use and constructions in urban villages and stakeholders. On the indigenous villagers and their villages, Li (2002) emphasized the rational choice of individual villagers (p.171). The urban village (i.e. the construction of houses and other property) stemmed from their pursuit of maximum of benefits on the blooming land and housing rent market. Lan and Zhang (2005) further proposed that the survival strategy of indigenous villagers is also important for development of urban villages (p.70-72). In the face of the soaring land value, growing demand of low-rent housing, deficiency of social security and welfare granted by the municipal government, lack of access to employment, it is the inevitable choice of villagers, being a vulnerable group, to rely on their communities – urban villages to produce and survive. Besides, Lan and Guo (2006) mentioned that the indigenous villages are the vulnerable group marginalized in employment market of the city, since they are commonly less-educated persons without adequate technology and training (Lan & Guo, 2006, p.192).

Pan (2007) further underlined the social-psychological factor that determined the villager’s behaviour of house construction in urban villages. Villagers are supported and trusted by their generation nurtured social network in urban villages where reconstruction of houses is popular.

Rebuilding house (as other villagers did) is a way to strengthen their identity, loyalty, reliance and the collective power of the community, through which their common social and economic interests are combined and protected (Pan, 2007, p.171-172). Lan (2001) discussed the importance of the relationship between the native villagers and their belonging village community. "Being a solid village group" the village will make the villagers more powerful to play "games" with the municipality (Lan, 2001, p.102). For them, the collective-oriented strategy will help to strive for more living space and interests in the city (Lan, 2001, p.102). The villagers acknowledged that they need to resemble together to resist the external risks and pressures in order to keep thriving after they abandoned agricultural production (Li, 2002, p.177).

Besides of these factors, Hao et al. (2013) indicated that location and accessibility to employment are also the influential determinants encouraging the development of urban village (increase of the built intensity by indigenous villagers) (p.3394). Lan (2001) argued that these economic and geographic advantages indeed made urban villages able to amass a huge fortune to construct and maintain their communities (e.g. through providing annuity and dividend, social welfare and security and so on), which enhanced the centripetal force and dependence of indigenous villagers toward their belonging "urban villages" with the growth and distribution of collective affluence (Lan, 2001, p.102).

On the point of migrant residents accumulating in urban villages, Yan et al. (2004) argued that the growing number of civil migrants and sequentially growing demand of low-rent housing were the impulse to the creation of urban villages (p.34). This has substituted the municipal function of accommodating this group of people. The municipal government seemed to evade its responsibility in this domain intentionally since the budget is limited (Yan et al., 2004, p.30; Wei & Yan, 2005, p.11). Song et al. (2008) studied the factors that influenced migrant's choice of living in the urban village and found that they are commonly "less-educated, younger, self-employed, with a lower income and intending a shorter stay" and "rural Hukou holders" (p.314-315). Zheng et al. (2009) studied the housing consumption behaviour of migrant workers and suggested that migrant workers are willing to live in urban villages because they did not wish to be consumed by the city. The institutional separation caused by Hukou that made them unqualified and as a result reluctant to have a home in the city (Zheng et al., 2009, p.443). Lin et al. (2011) further used "economic integration" model, i.e. "market exchange, redistribution and reciprocation" to analyze the development of urban villages. They concluded that the restraint on formal market exchange and redistribution force migrant workers to seek survival opportunities of self-organization of housing, education and employment, which could be met in the urban village (p.3584). Hence, urban villages are not only the survival strategies for the indigenous villagers but also for the migrant workers in the city.

From the villagers' and migrants' standpoint, the development of urban villages would be a proper choice for both of them. Simultaneously, a great deal of research also concludes that the government choice to accept urban villages silently. Many scholars referred to and criticized government's "strategy" and attitude to the urban village in city expansion that they always chose to evade developing the entire area of the village (the residential site in particular) due to the lack of authoritative laws and regulations, deficient funds and higher compensation of relocation (see Yang, 1996, p.30-31; Jing, 1999, p.10; Z. J. Chen 2010; Yan et al., 2004, p.30; Wei & Yan, 2005, p.11; Cheng, 2008, p.69; Zheng et al., 2009, p.426; Hao et al., 2013, p.3394). Meanwhile, owing to the fuzzy property rights caused by the "dual-track" system, informal land use and constructions are allowed, whereas the provision of some public goods is neglected by the government (Liu et al., 2010, p.142). Furthermore, Lan and Zhang (2005) argued that the "dual-track" system set aside the space for the urban village to organize and reproduce in the space and the state and government should take responsibility for the creation and existence of the urban village for its omission in this space (p.73-74). Additionally, Cheng (2008) underlined the deficient public goods (i.e. housing, social security and welfare and etc.) provided by the municipal government as the main determinant of evolvement of the urban village which depend on its collective resources and advanced location to develop (p.68).

Furthermore, some scholars highlighted the joint construction of stakeholders, i.e. the state and local governments, villagers and migrants. Z.J. Chen (2010) deemed that urban village is a space full of friction between the state, governments, villagers and migrant residents, which fosters the disorders and irregularities (p.128). Within urban villages these actors pursue different their own interests. Liu et al. (2010) systematically studied the urban village from various aspects of redistribution of property rights, social relations, management and concluded that the transformation of the urban village (into a real urban community) would be a complicated mission (p.143). Zhang (2011) did the political economy analysis on how the interaction of economic interests and political considerations lead to the formation of urban village and the associated spatial informalities (p.474). He argued in this process, various social groups interpret the urban village differently and they all engage in the construction of the low-income neighbourhoods in the city (p.481). Lin, Meulder and Wang (2012) systematically examined the interplay of state, market and society and the ways in which villagers and migrants have obtained access to living resource and public services. They emphasized the collective “membership” as the determinant in these domains in the village (Lin, Meulder, & Wang, 2012, p.327). Moreover, scholars also noticed that any action conducted by an interested party in the urban village will make a converse effect on any other stakeholders. For instance, Xie (2003) pointed out that the unregulated construction of urban village (e.g. the village house in particular) with low or zero construction cost indeed expel many outside investors and the municipal government from the local low-rent housing market, whereby the urban village had mushroomed all over the city (p.38).

The researchers discussed above aimed to attribute the presence and development of urban villages, informal settlements and land use to the activities of different individuals and groups. None of their influences should be neglected in understanding the reality. Indeed, these scholars have realized that urban village is a complex situation involves diverse social groups and individuals and various socio-economic problems.

Controversies over the Existence of Urban Village

According to Article 10 of Constitution and Article 8 of LAL of P. R. China, the “*land in the cities is owned by the state*”; the evolvement of urban villages with partially retained collectively owned land located in cities has drawn attention of many scholars due to its controversial nature against the Constitution and LAL. Since, these villages have been planned into the urban area formally. Regarding the land use and rental housing in urban villages, researchers possessed various opposite viewpoints. Besides the construction discord, social problems and security risk mentioned earlier, there are other negative consequences and huge social externalities were also brought by the land use and housing in urban villages.

Wu (2016) carried out a study on the housing contract and conditions in the urban village. He concluded that the security of tenure was not guaranteed for the migrants as for the villagers, namely, the migrant tenants’ housing rights are not protected by any laws and regulations (p.868). Song and Zenou (2012) did further research on the effects that the urban village made on the housing price of nearby urban district. They found that the urban village will negatively influence on the urban housing price, although their housing and land are segregated from the urban community. Urban residents are not willing to purchase a real estate near urban villages, due to their social and environmental problems (Song & Zenou, 2012, p.505). With a case study of internet café in urban villages, Ding (2009) also revealed the proliferation of underground economy and rent-seeking behaviour among certain actors in absence of lawful public administration and lack of supervision of government (p.148).

The scholars still underline the positive meaning for both cities and villages. What benefits the villagers and migrant residents is not merely the affordable housing but also other social and economic advantages. He et al. (2009) believed that housing and land offer farmers a “second chance” to “fare better than those deprived of housing as well as farm land” through housing and land lease with outside people (p.1944-1945). Po (2011) underscored the importance of collectivization of land for villages. He considered the “sharing holding reform” which has been

implemented in some urban villages as the victory of grassroots government and effective method for property security. The research by Lin et al. (2011) also concluded that the urban village contributes to the economic integration and independence for both migrations and villagers. Meanwhile, Lan (2001) also throw lights to the “informal economy” (e.g. low-rent private housing and collective property leasing) thriving in the village, which is believed to contribute to the economic affiliation between the village and outsiders (p.103-104). Li (2002) and Cheng (2008) highlighted the social and human capitals protecting villagers’ interests, which the government could not provide.

Zhu (2016)’s empirical results also improved that albeit urban villages are segregated, they produce positive network effects and human capital externalities for the migrant workers, which could not be matched by any other urban settlements. It was aforementioned that the formation of urban villages sometime seemed an unavoidable choice of the government, for political, social and economic reason. Nevertheless, this choice somehow is doubtless intelligent and beneficial for the government. Wong (2016)’s research interpreted that the collectively owned and used land (e.g. shareholding reform) as a mechanism that helps the government to control over the activities of urban villages and maintain the local peace and stability. The government allows its existence, since it needs an institutional platform for local management. At last but not at least, many research stressed their innovative function and utility that the urban village helps the government to solve problems of employment and housing provision for the land-deprived villagers and low-paid migrant workers (Hao et al., 2013; Zhang et al., 2003; Zhang, 2011; Wu et al., 2013).

Above pieces of research present the opposite attitudes towards the urban village. The facts reveal that urban villages produce both positive and negative influence on local economy and society, which indicates a complex and difficult development in future.

Disputes over the Redevelopment

The arguments on whether the presence of urban villages is “good” or “evil” has triggered a heated dispute on if and how the urban village should be demolished and redeveloped. In earlier literature, scholars like Yang (1996), Tian (1998), Jing (1999) and Xie (2003) had very severe and negative comments on the urban village. From their point of view, the urban village is a “mistake” and “tumor” made by the government. Hence, they suggested the municipal government should demolish and redevelop the urban village (government orientation) as soon as possible and undertake the provision of basic social rights (as urban citizens) for the indigenous villages. There is no doubt the landscape and environment will be improved and gentrified with the redevelopment of the urban village. Besides, it will positively affect the local economy of urban area. Wu and Wang (2017)’s statistics showed the increase of housing price of urban communities after the redevelopment of nearby urban villages.

However, more and more scholars realized that demolishment and redevelopment goes far beyond the reconstruction of houses and landscape. It is a heedless transformation of identify from the villager to urban citizen. As Liu (2003) argued, transforming the “urban village” to be a real urban community will change the economy format, social network, traditional culture, behaviour and life-style (p.33). The government should be prudent before commencing a redevelopment project. Besides the deficient budget of the municipal government, there are deeper concerns on the function of urban village in the city (see Li, 2002; Yan et al., 2004; Wei & Yan, 2005; Lan & Zhang, 2005; Lan & Guo, 2006; Cheng, 2008).

There are two points need to be emphasized here. One is that urban village now is a functional community and the unique protection for indigenous villagers through organizing the economic production and social protection collectively, associated with the traditional social network which provides many benefits for its community members. Another point is that urban village now is the “container” of considerable migrants and one critical participant in the local low-rent housing market and urban economy. Thus, some scholars even argued that not all urban villages need redeveloping rather it is reasonable and necessary for them to exist in and around

the city (Gao, Dong, Hou, & Cheng, 2006, p.23). Zhang et al. (2003) asserted that the redevelopment policy requires “*more thoughtful and prudent consideration of migrants' demands for affordable housing*” and policies might be problematic and infeasible if they would ruin the most precious settlement of migrant residents (p.913 & 934). Liu, van Oort, Geertman and Lin (2014) referred to the migrants as the vulnerable group displaced in this redevelopment process (p.77). Song et al. (2008) also paid attention to the possible neglect of migrant’s housing rights and needs and their contributions to local economy in redevelopment program (p.315). The research by Hao, Sliuzas and Geertman (2011) referred to the potential harm for the local economy when the rural migrants were evicted by the redevelopment (p.214). Moreover, Lin et al. (2011)’s research further pointed out the negative results by the redevelopment that migrants may lose the access to the job positions, facilities and other benefits offered by the urban village or urban region nearby (p.3596). “*When urban villages are demolished, some migrants are pushed further away to other villages in the peri-urban area*” (Wu et al., 2013, p.1930) Hence, new questions were raised by scholars, such as how to substitute the income (e.g. from dividend and housing rent) for indigenous villagers and grant the migrant residents the low-rent housing after redevelopment (Yan et al., 2004).

The positive functions of urban villages make scholars and stakeholders prudent, when they plan to redevelop the urban village. The demolish-development approach will eliminate some benefits and advantages from local village society and economy, which should be neglected by the stakeholders.

Redevelopment Approach Involving multi-Stakeholders

Recently, an agreement has been reached by scholars that the redevelopment is related to various interested groups. This issue aroused scholars and researchers’ consciousness that the power relations of stakeholders in land use need to be well defined and regulated (Deininger, 2007a; Lin, 2007; Lin et al, 2012; Lin & Meulder, 2012; Lin, Hao, & Geertman, 2015). The remains unanswered is who should dominate this process? Song (2014)’s research revealed a fact that housing and construction strategies oriented by different stakeholders may lead to different outcomes in villages.

Xie (2003) once stated that the key point of redevelopment is to break off all the traditional social network and boundary of the urban village, depending on which the village economy and social protection are organized and enhanced, to integrate them in the city life, through a government-led approach (p.37-38). Cheng (2008) dissented from the Xie’s opinion (p.74-76). Cheng (2008) argued that the “government-oriented” redevelopment should not be designed to destroy current all boundaries and inherent social network of urban village, which undermined the economic and social mechanism and function of the urban village in the city. Zhu (2016) also suggested that the redevelopment should maintain the spill over effects (social network and human capitals) of urban villages, while reducing the “spatial mismatch” (p.1651). Lai and Tang (2016) examined the institutions in redevelopment of urban villages from the transaction cost perspective (p.482) and then they deemed that the sole state-led institutional arrangement cause barriers, consume a lot of time and transaction cost in the redevelopment of urban villages, which impedes the renewal work (p.489).

Lin and Meulder (2012) and Lin et al. (2015) generalized advantages and disadvantages of the redevelopment approaches – the “top-down” (government orientation) and “bottom-up” (village orientation). They concluded that a proper renewal project should include a well-balanced participation of the government, market, and society. With this, they attempted to fill the gap between “top-down” and “bottom-up” governance in redevelopment process. Li (2002) considered the government, real estate developer and villagers as the main players in the game (p.177). Cheng (2003) also concluded that unless the redevelopment would have been in accordance with the requirements and desires of all parties, it was hard to be implemented (p.58). The case study in Liede village in Guangzhou City by Li, Lin, Li and Wu (2014) embraced more the coordination with the “market force” as the new approach in the regeneration scheme which promises all parties involved. Zhou (2014) believed that the collaborative partnership of

stakeholders is the key to the successful implement of project (p.297).

Moreover, Lin (2007) related the efforts of land policy to the economic efficiency and social justice in land transfer in villages (p.1848). Pang and Wang (2006) suggested that urban villages should continue functioning for the city (p.41). Whereas Yan et al. (2004) reminded us that the redevelopment should concerns both the villagers and migrant residents (p.31). For villagers, the renewal program is supposed to provide more secure and clear rights to land, which can generate incomes (Zhao & Webster, 2011, p.549). At the same time, the redevelopment (if inevitable) should maintain the function accommodating the low-income migrant in the city. Wei and Yan (2005) argued that the redevelopment should be based on the current property relations (collectively owned land) to encourage the villagers to develop their communities without endangering the migrant's rights (p.13). Hence, they suggested reconstructing the village houses to provide more comfortable and modern accommodations for the migrants on collectively owned land. At the same time, Song et al. (2008:327) also considered rehousing current migrants to prevent their loss from the village renewal (p.327). Lin, Meulder, Cai, Hu and Lai (2014) put forward a suggestion that the provision of public rental housing can be combined with the incremental upgrading of urban villages (p.112). Chen (2010) appealed that redevelopment should take migrant's interests and rights into account, even though they possess less bargaining power than other interested parties – the government, the villagers and the real estate developers (p.53).

Learning from literature on urban villages, the urban village should never be treated as a “simple” and “normal” phenomenon in urban sprawl in China. It now becomes a complicated space contains diverse issues and triggers multidisciplinary research on property rights and land use (e.g. Zhao & Webster, 2011; World Bank, 2014), governance and politics (e.g. Po, 2011; Wong, 2016; Whiting, 2011; Zhang, 2011), urban planning (e.g. Zhu & Guo, 2014), economics (e.g. Zhang, 2011; Lin et al., 2011; Wu et al., 2013), the preservation of historical sites (e.g. Abramson, 2011), the existence and development of ethnic groups and cultures (e.g. Sun, 2003; Tian, 2007) and so on. This section conducts very limited work on the literature review of urban villages. But it intensively wants to convey a basic idea that the emergence and existence of urban villages in China is attributed to the collaboration of various interested groups. Land use and social rights (e.g. the access and rights to housing, employment, medical service and so on) are always the heated and controversial topic strongly connected with each interested party in the urban village. In this research, the author will revisit the domains of land use and social rights. Next subsection will explore a boundary study approach to understand the land use and social rights in the urban village.

2.1.2 Boundary study: to understand land use and social rights

An Interdisciplinary Subject of Human Activities

Boundary studies firstly and significantly contributed to the research on “political boundary” or “state borders/territories”, and secondly in economic, ethnic, cultural and linguistic terms. From the very beginning, the boundary or border studies are pertinent to the surface of earth – a geographical idea. Scholars started to connect it with other domains. Semple (1911) conducted systematic studies on the geographical boundaries and the influence from the external natural forces. Besides the natural forces, she also indicated that the “*boundaries of race and state which are subjected to greatest fluctuations are those determined by the resistance of other peoples*” (Semple, 1911, p.209). She also noticed the human activities affecting the evolution of racial, linguistic and cultural boundaries (p.211, p.229) and economic factors altering the frontier (p.212) in a country. Furthermore, she considered natural boundaries as the bases of political and ethnic boundaries (p.215) and gave some examples where boundary and frontier were created for the sake of politics and protection of different states.

“By the beginning of the nineteenth century, rulership and ground had become fused in a peculiarly modern form—the territorial state” (Biggs, 1999, p.374). According to their common usage and essential meaning, boundaries related to the political and sovereign territories are based on natural and geographical one. “For as long as the study of boundaries was synonymous with the lines separating the sovereign territory of states in the international system, the focus of research was geographical” (Newman, 2003, p.16). The “political boundary” or “state territory” still existed on current earth. Prescott (1987) argued “*political frontiers and boundaries separate areas subject to different political control or sovereignty*” (p.1). This state border/territory is “*implying that its interior is a homogeneous space, traversed evenly by state sovereignty*” (Biggs, 1999, p.374). More than that, scholars proposed that there must be complex political stages and procedures through which the boundaries would be created between states (Prescott, 1987; Jones, 1943). Based on attributions of many political geographers, Prescott (1987) generalized “the terminology of land boundaries”, such as boundaries, frontiers and borders and interpret the meaning of “allocation”, “delimitation” and “demarcation” of boundary-making (p.13-14) as what Jones (1943) described.

Taking forward the sovereign issue, Holdich (1916a) asserted that “*boundaries are the inevitable product of advancing civilization; they are human inventions not necessarily supported by nature's dispositions*” (p. 2). Beyond the study on geographical information, more political and social implications and meanings were attached to these natural boundaries (e.g. seas, lakes, rivers or mountain) between neighbouring countries and individuals. In his time, although the decision of boundaries was mostly influenced by both geographical and ethnographical consideration, Holdich (1916b) referred to other critical parameters of boundary-making e.g. military, political and commercial interests and motives of humankind (p.422). Besides natural boundaries, many artificial ones e.g. rampart, trench and walls are created as the political and military consequence. Accordingly, “*frontiers, and the boundaries which define the frontiers, may be classed under two heads natural and artificial*” (Holdich, 1916a, p.147; Holdich, 1916c, p.502) or “natural or non-natural” (van Houtum, 2005, p.675).

Hartshorne (1936) and Lössch (1954) started the journey with the development of the definition and classification of boundaries. Hartshorne (1936) defined the boundaries according to the population, culture landscape and political development, not merely based on the division by the natural features (p.56-57). Lössch (1954) in depth outlined the relation between “economics” of location” and political boundaries and had in-depth discussion on their influences on boundaries of goods and markets areas. They both developed a much softer concept of boundary than the physical (in terms of natural and artificial) ones used for political and military purpose. Political boundary is relatively solid and “*necessarily cuts through the regular networks of market areas unless it happens to coincide with an economic boundary*” (Lössch, 1954, p.203). Minghi (1963) labelled Lössch as the “location economist” (p.409); however, his contribution further widened the spectrum of boundary study beyond the ones merely in political sense. Albeit state territory still function to figure and delimit the society, in the phase of globalization, “*the increasing transnational flows of capital, goods, services, labour and information have generated a growing need for border-crossing mechanisms and institutions of governance*” (Anderson & O’Dowd, 1999, p.602). Prescott (1987) also emphasized the opportunities for co-operation on other social and economic aspects, cutting through the line of physical barriers, especially between the states having the common borders¹⁹.

Furthermore, Spykman (1942) proposed a new angle that the boundary would be the index to the power relations on each side of the boundary. He asserted that “*stability of the line suggests an approximation to balanced power, and shifts indicate changes in the relative strength of the neighbours*” (Spykman, 1942, p.437). In depth, he summarized the method through which the boundary would be kept in security. In summary, it is the balancing powers through the “individual action”, “bilateral cooperation” and “community/collective security” (Spykman, 1942, p.437). His study grounded the boundary studies more on a “social

¹⁹ This idea has gained further importance in the boundary studies (see Minghi, 1991; van der Veen, 1994; van der Veen & Boot, 1995; Smith, 1995; Anderson & O’Dowd, 1999).

construction” consideration. This idea of social construction encouraged other researchers to pay more attention to how the boundary/border collaborates *with “social power”* in diverse social practices and discourses.

The discussions did not end here, while referring to the determinants in boundary-making, Fischer (1949) could not agree with the overemphasis on the easy shift and change of boundary under the political or economic pressure and factors (p.221-222). He rather focussed on those other factors stabilizing the boundaries, namely, the physiographic and historical factors which foster the social connection, economic activities, religious and linguistic affiliation and public education. He argued *“such anthropogeographic traits ... are able to survive a vanished boundary for a very long time”* (Fischer, 1949, p.222). All factors working for change or for persistence should be treated equally and function all together in boundary-making process.

Minghi (1963) attempted to categorize the boundary studies in different terms, e.g. the effect of boundary change, natural resources and internal boundaries and so on. By doing so, he concluded that, *“one can see a trend away from the earlier thought- restricting boundary concepts, such as that based on the artificial-vs.-natural dichotomy, toward more function-oriented studies”* (p.427-428). Moreover, he emphasized the importance of the survey on the *“spatial patterns of social behaviour”* in social, economic and cultural fields which are believed play a more significant role in *“determining the impact of a boundary and its viability as a national separator”* (Minghi, 1963, p.428) Beyond focusing on international boundaries, Minghi (1963) and many other scholars started to conduct the study at the intra-nation level, namely between regions, cities and villages, which has gradually become one fruitful area in following decades.

With the evolution of boundaries studies, more specific topics are added to the discussion on boundary studies. Barth (1969) conducted a monographic research on ethnic groups and boundaries, in detail, the construction of ethnic groups and the nature of boundaries between them (p.9). From his standpoint, the ethnic distinctions *“do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation”* (Barth, 1969, p.10). He set out to highlight the “process” that generate and maintain the ethnic groups and the relevant boundaries. Furthermore, Barth (1969) dispelled a traditional idea that boundary maintenance depend on the isolation of an ethnic group (p.11). Instead, he further emphasized the identity as social boundaries of an ethnic group and the maintenance of such identity *“entails criteria for determining membership and ways of signaling membership and exclusion”* and *“the ethnic boundary canalizes social life.”* (Barth, 1969, p.15) Those ethnic and group identities or boundaries at regional or local level are more diverse than the national identity in the world system (Newman, 2000, p.314). Newman (2007, p.133) deemed that many boundaries which determine the outer extent of the social contours of the group in terms of religion, nationality, culture, economic or any other are more difficult to actually define. Alvarez (1995) reviewed the re-territorialisation of the community and cultural area crossing the border (between Mexico and U.S.) and emphasized the “borderlands” as “a region” and set of practices, which *“characterized by conflict and contradiction, material and ideational”* (pp.447-448). It is for us to understand the differences, conflicts and contrasts rather than the harmony and similarity merely, in order to help us to identify the multiplex and constantly hybridized behaviour of people in the global political economy. (Alvarez, 1995, p.462)

Another instance was that with the trend of openness of boundaries on social and economic area globally, more attention was put on the movement of people crossing territorial states – the immigration, which raised critical questions pertaining to the economic growth, labour market, citizenship, welfare state and social rights (see Peters & Davis, 1986; Freeman, 1979, 1986; Brubaker, 1989; Bauboeck, 1992; Castles, de Haas and Miller, 2014). When discussing the “immigration and boundaries of citizenship”, Bauboeck (1992) dispelled a widespread idea that freedom and citizenship are spatially limited within the boundary of political and territorial entities subjecting to the sovereignty (p.1-2), similarly as described by Arendt (1963). Although the borders are more open to migrants, the “welfare state” still policed and restrained the access to its ground and citizen rights. As a kind of boundary, citizenship possesses the nature of

inclusion and exclusion and performs, “an allocative function within these boundaries (constructed within the nation-state) in that it controls access to scarce resources” (Kabeer, 2002, p.3). “The logic of the welfare state implies the existence of boundaries that distinguish those who are members of a community from those who are not” and “cannot coexist with the free movement of labour”, Freeman (1986) concluded (1986, p.51). “Policy developments since the last century show a long-term trend of restricting immigration rights, parallel to the expansion of international migration” (Bauboeck, 1992, p.117) . From Bauboeck’s point of view, states seemed to set up “boundaries” for preventing the migrants or excluding ones settled from full-citizenship, for the sake of cultural compartment, political instability, economic scarcity, ecology deterioration and social rights or welfare limitation – a tension between the nationalism and citizenship (Bauboeck, 1992, p.118-122).

The boundary study concerns both natural and artificial boundaries. And the study has developed from a political theme to other themes regarding economics, culture, ethnic and society. Most importantly, scholars consider all these boundaries as the result of human activities. “All boundaries are artificial” (Boggs, 1940, p.25) and “subject to change” (Davy, 2012, p.122; Haggett, 2001). This research underlines this essence of boundaries and place more importance on its use in social context.

Boundary Study in Social Context: social construction, institutions and identity

Newman and Paasi noticed the renewed concept of boundary and boundary studies in the new discourse. They marked that,

“geographers have sought to place the notions of boundary within other social theoretical constructs, while other social scientists have attempted to understand the role of space and, in some cases, territory in their understanding of personal, group, and national boundaries and identities” (Newman & Paasi, 1998, p.186).

Later, Paasi (2005) further marked that geography itself was discussed by political, economic, cultural and regional geographers (p.667). Accordingly, the traditional meanings of boundaries are evolved and employed in broader social contexts (Paasi, 2005, p.669). The geographer realized that the “attention should be paid to boundary-producing practices and questions of identity... all boundaries are socially constructed.” (Newman & Paasi, 1998, p.188; see also van Houtum, 2005, p.676). In similar spirit, Van Houtum remarked,

“the attention has moved away from the study of the evolution and changes of the territorial line to the border ... border studies can now dominantly be characterized as the study of human practices that constitute and represent differences in space ” (van Houtum, 2005, p.672).

“Borders are a social construction” (Davy, 2012, p.182). *“Borders are complex social constructions, which are comprised of four overlapping sets of different types of boundaries: geopolitical, socio-cultural, economic and biophysical”* (Haselsberger, 2014, p.508) which demarcated different kinds of spaces coexisting in parallel. In order to investigate how boundaries were constructed, we need to understand that “borders are not just “visible lines” in space or on a map; on the contrary they are complex social constructions, with many different meanings and functions imposed on them” (Haselsberger, 2014, p.507). Through this social construction process, “the landscape is not limited to border areas, but extends into society and its social and cultural practices, wherever it is produced and reproduced” (Paasi, 1998, p.84).

Van Houtum & van Naerssen (2002) further developed the terminology of “bordering” which creates the difference in space and identity (p.126). “Like mapping, b/ordering creates and represents an exclusive knowledge” (Van Houtum, Zierhofer, & Kramsch, 2005, p.3). “Bordering” developed the notion of boundary to a more abstract and complex way which take into account not only the location of the land and map, but also the construction of inclusion and

exclusion, identity and the way of communication and so on (Van Houtum et al., 2005, p.3). Newman also considered this “bounding” or “bordering” as a process to understand the boundaries fully, which should integrate the practice of construction of “identity” or “inclusion or exclusion” in diverse dimensions and scales from the nations to the neighbourhoods, from natural and physical boundaries to other spatial ones (Newman, 2007, p.134; see also 2003, p.13)

Moreover, Newman and Paasi generalized the contexts and socio-spatial scales where boundary may exist and function, from different scale of territories and regions to groups and individuals (1998, p.191, 197). Scholars advocated applying the boundary/border study to more micro areas such as regions, cities or even neighbourhoods (Van Houtum et al., 2005, p.674), where “*strongly segregated and separate group identities are maintained*” (Newman, 2006b, p.179; see also Sibley, 1995; Newman, 2007, p.130). The recent focus on the notion of boundary has shifted to the ones that “*separate, enclose, and exclude*” at different spatial and social level (Newman, 2007, p.124). He further asserted that boundaries at the municipal and neighbourhood level which are believed to be more effective and influential in individual’s everyday life (Newman, 2007, p.128-130).

Meanwhile, when discussing the nature of boundaries, Newman and Paasi (1998) stressed the boundaries as institutions which contain “*implicit or explicit norms and values and, therefore, legal and moral codes*” (p.194). Mach (1993) labelled the boundaries as the provider of regulations, directions and rules for the interactions between members of social groups. Also, Paasi (1999) suggests that “*boundaries are institutions, but they exist simultaneously on various spatial scales in a myriad of practices and discourses included in culture, politics, economics, administration or education*”(p.73) and “*a boundary does not exist only in the border area, but it manifests itself in many institutions*”(p.76)

“Institutions are the humanly devised constraints that structure human interaction. They are made up of formal constraints (e.g., rules, laws, constitutions), informal constraints (e.g., norms of behavior, conventions, self-imposed codes of conduct), and their enforcement characteristics” (North, 1994, p.360).

Simmons (2005) defined institutions as “*sets of rules, compliance procedures, and moral and ethical behavioural norms designed to constrain behaviour*” (p.827). And Hodgson (2006) asserted that “*we may define institutions as systems of established and prevalent social rules that structure social interactions*” (p.2) and “*rules include norms of behavior and social conventions as well as legal rules*” (p.3). Furthermore, North (1990) points out that not all institutions, (especially those informal constraints connected with the customs, traditions and so on) could be easily transformed by the formal judicial and political power. But, all of them are perpetually changing and being altered (Paasi, 1999). Those transformative actions by judicial, political and local power and practices should be considered as the social construction process.

With the socially constructed institutions, “*borders have traditionally served the role of ordering society*” (Popescu, 2012, p.8). Many of boundaries are invisible, but they order our lives (Newman, 2006b, p.172). And many border or boundary institutions now are treated equally as boundaries are actually ordering the society. Newman (2003) argued, “*border institutions govern the extent of inclusion and exclusion, the degree of permeability, the laws governing trans-boundary movement—exit from one side of the border and entry into the other side*” (p.14).

Ellickson (1991) attaches more importance on the social control system combining various institutions and parties within a framework (see Table 2.1), which orders the society and economy (see Table 2.3 for the author’s reengineering of this table). These institutions would be composed of formal rules and informal cultures and traditions.

Controller	Rules	Sanction	Combined System
1. First-Party Control Actor	personal ethics	self-sanction	self-control
2. Second-Party Control Persons Acted Upon	contracts	personal self-help	promise-enforced contracts
3. Third-Party Control Social Forces	norms	vicarious self-help	informal control
Organization	organization rules	organization enforcement	organization control
Government	law	state enforcement	legal system

Table 2.1: Elements of a Comprehensive System of Social Control

Developed by Ellickson (1991)

A well-known instance of border “institutions” referring to in literature was the border control and boundary management mechanism implemented by the state government – the territoriality (Taylor, 1994, p.151; Haekli, 2001, p.412; Sack, 1986, p.19). Besides the hard state borders, the boundary management also existed in the internal social groups and communities. Take the basic rights of citizenship for the migrants as an instance. Newman (2003) linked the management process of boundary to the “nature of inclusion and exclusion” (p.132). He (2003) underlined that both formalities (by the state and government) and informalities (cooperation between residents) implemented in the boundary management procedure to keep its “order” – the difference (i.e. inclusion and exclusion) created by the bordering process between social groups (p.18). The idea of the social construction or “bordering” process of boundaries demands that we develop a criteria to determine where and how the border is to be constructed in society and/or space, and reflects the political, economic or institutional interests of societal managers (Newman, 2006b, p.175-176).

A preliminary review of boundary or border studies above reveal a fact that, the idea of boundary is not limited in natural or physical terms on the earth and not merely pertaining to the politics and geography disinclines, but more forms like social, cultural and economic area. More and more studies were concerned with the boundary issue at a regional or local level and between different social groups. Two points emphasized in research were the importance of “identity” in studying social groups and the “bordering” (i.e. boundary-making) process that create differences and exclusion in space – the product of “social construction”

Boundaries Serve some Functions

In very early years, various scholars started to discuss the function and the role of boundaries. The debate on the function, what boundaries should serve differed from the prevention of “unauthorized expansion and trespass” to the social “interchange” and promotions of human assimilation (Holdich, 1916b, p.421-422). Throughout his work, Holdich gave more emphasized the defensive role or function of all boundaries (1916a, b, c). Echoing the same, Lyde (1915) said that all natural and man-made boundaries serve to protect their land (p.126). However, Lyde (1915) preferred to the positive influence brought by the boundary-making i.e. “the peaceful meeting of nations”, rather than stressing the protective role eliminating conflicts and wars between neighbouring states (p.128). A boundary should serve the assimilation of different civilizations (Minghi, 1963, p.408). Brigham (1919, p.204, 217) hold the similar viewpoint of Lyde that civilization is a “*progress in the art of living together*”(Lyde, 1915, p.128). This kind of idea still influenced the scholars in 1990s (like Newman & Paasi, 1998; Minghi, 1991; Smith, 1995; van der Veen & Boot, 1995), who embraced the “peace”, “cooperation” and “harmony” on both international and local space.

Johnson (1917) reviewed the two opposing arguments by Holdich and Lyde and stated that

each of them alone could not represent the nature of boundary adequately, even invalid under some circumstance (p.208-210); whereas Boggs (1932) proposed a more practical and constructive idea that it is useless to generalize the universal principles of boundary-making and function of boundaries since they are not static and uniform (p.48-49). Spykman (1942) shared a similar insight that no boundary is permanently impassable and stable. “A good boundary is one which serves the purposes for which it is designed, with a maximum of efficiency and a minimum of friction”(Boggs, 1932, p.48). More importantly, Boggs possessed prospective insight that “boundary problems which cause friction and endanger peace may be solved better by a revision of the functions which are assigned to them than by modifications of the boundaries themselves” (Boggs, 1932, p.49). This understanding of role and function of boundary (Boggs 1932), along with the earlier works (Brigham 1919 and Lyde 1915), further enlightened the research on the term of “boundary change” in 1990s, when the European Union was approaching to more cooperation on social and economic area without the change of boundaries and location of its member states (see Minghi, 1991; van der Veen & Boot, 1995; Smith, 1995; Anderson & O’Dowd, 1999).

The evolving consensus was that, “boundaries not only separate groups and communities from each other but also mediate contacts between them” (Newman & Paasi, 1998, p.194). Boundaries not just create the separation but also the connection in the space (Davy, 2012; Paasi, 1999). Davy argued “a boundary is liminally functional if...the social practice of boundary making establishes a satisfying level of division, separation and connection”(2004, p.68;2012, p.123) (see Figure 2.1). He also underlines the need that in each boundary system the three functions must perform simultaneously, which define the inside and outside of an object and the proximity between objects (Davy, 2012, p.123). From his point of view, a whole space would be well-organized if its boundary system could function in such way. Furthermore, Davy also related this “liminal functionality” of boundaries to the study of “property relations of exclusion and inclusion” (Davy, 2012, p.183), which determines the access to land use.

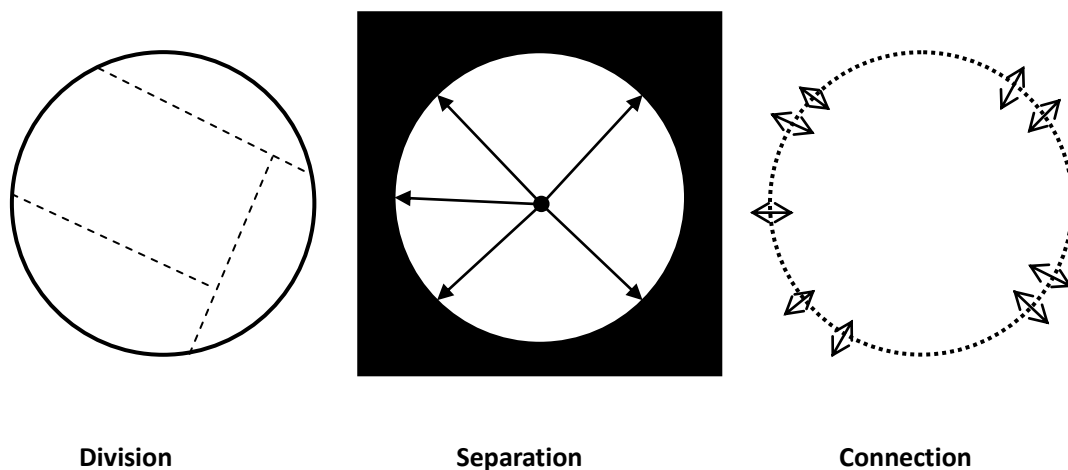


Figure 2.1: Boundary Functions
 Developed by Davy (2012, p.123)

In summary, boundary study is an interdisciplinary issue. Boundaries are related to a land or a territory and various aspects of life discussed earlier. They are a man-made phenomenon, no matter what kind of boundaries they are. Furthermore, a boundary serves several functions at different level. This research concentrates more on the social construction process as indicated earlier. The investigation into the boundaries of land use aims to understand the social construction process by stakeholders. Meanwhile, this research also stresses the importance of these institutions provided by the boundary and created by stakeholders, which are constituted

simultaneously in the boundary construction process. Unlike geographic boundaries detectable clearly on the ground, most of institutions in the background are not very easy to recognise but embodied in land use and other social aspects and order the society.

Social Construction and Land Use

The boundary study has natural connections with land or property. This boundary is not always constructed by natural laws or natural conditions even though extreme natural condition on earth such as mountains, deep sea/ river controls human movement. Nevertheless, throughout history, human being migrated from over country to another, one continent to another and brokers all imaginable natural boundaries on the surface. The limits of human movement were more controlled when boundaries were socially constructed. According to Rousseau, when humankind started to cultivate on the earth, the idea of property gradually developed to create most of the boundaries we know off.

“The cultivation of the earth necessarily brought about its distribution ... the distribution of lands had produced a new kind of right: that is to say, the right of property, which is different from the right deducible from the law of nature” (Rousseau, 1754, pp.216-217).

From the perspective of social construction, Hacking (1999) suggests that various things, either in the form of an “idea” or an “object”, could be socially constructed. Property is such a synthetic thing containing different understandings (p.21). Property is not only related to a tangible or intangible thing but also considered as a “bundles of rights” (Commons, 1893, p.92; see also Demsetz, 1967; Honoré 1993; Alchian & Demsetz, 1973, p.17-18; Gray, 1991, p.259; Munzer, 1990, p.16-17; Po, 2011, p.512; Ostrom, 1999, p.339-340; Ekbäck, 2009, p.58; Penner, 1996, p.714; Klein 2011, p.193) that could be owned, possessed and used by person. And it potentially contains some kinds of relationship among individuals – “usually legal relations among persons and other entities with respect to things” (Munzer, 1990, p.17). If a property like the land is referred to as a thing comprising “bundle of rights” and relationships with individuals, these “things” like human activities, relations, material objectives, the homes and rent, are subjects requiring human practices to be produced and sustained (Hacking, 1999, p.22). Therefore, the “property is not merely a legal concept. property is a social construction” (Davy, 2012, p.10).

Hacking (1999), Haslanger (2003), Malon (2007) and Diaz-Leon (2015) consider the social construction as a constitutive matter. They suspected that individuals and their property relations may not exist without certain social practices and legal arrangement. From this perspective, “it is part of the nature of the property that someone must stand in certain relations to certain social practices and arrangements, in order to instantiate the property” (Diaz-Leon, 2015, p.1148). Diaz-Leon (2015) further asserted that

“any property that is constitutively socially constructed will be relational, not intrinsic, given that by definition, what makes a property constitutively socially constructed is the fact that something satisfies the property only if it bears a relation to certain social practices and communities” (p.1147).

Moreover, scholars emphasize the “relations” characteristic of land rather than a thing or an object (Gray 1991; Gray & Gray 1998; Fisher, 1912, p.27; Munzer, 1990, p.17; Harris, 1996, p.119; Ostrom, 1999, p.339; Pottage, 1998; Davy, 2012). “Property is not thing but rather a relationship which one had with a thing” (Gray & Gray, 1998, p.15). “Property rights define actions that individuals can take in relation to other individuals regarding some ‘thing’. If one individual has a right, someone else has a commensurate duty to observe that right” (Ostrom, 1999, p.339).

“The essential nature of [land] is to be found in social relations rather than in any inherent attributes of the thing or object that we call property. Property, in other words, is not a

thing, but a network of social relations that governs the conduct of people with respect to the use and disposition of things” (Hoebel, 1966, p.424).

Davy (2012) further specified the “common property relations” and “private property relations” which establish the inclusion and exclusion, reflecting a process of social construction (p.10 & 142). In most cases, the property relations originate from the state legislation and government policy-making. Besides, it somehow simultaneously has intrinsic connections with the “*local property culture or extra-legal power relationships*” (Davy, 2012, p.10). “*Property relations determine who controls the access over land use*” (Davy, 2012, p.10), which endue individuals and entities with an identity or qualification in land use. Moreover, Davy (2012) detailed the restricted land use and shared land use based on the common property relations and private property relations, accessible for different individuals and entities. This research also adopts the two concept of land use and considers the situation of inclusion in and exclude from the access to such kind of land uses as the result of boundary-making and social construction. More details will be presented in following paragraphs later.

Identity and Social Rights

Having acknowledged the meaning of the social construction of boundaries and land use within a community, this research extends its theme further to social rights. The land/property rights and social rights are suspected to be interrelated. Land use (as kind of property rights) and social rights are initiated from the debate of “citizenship” in the ancient Greece and Rome, and are considered as a foundation of “*the legal and social framework for individual autonomy and political democracy*” in the Western countries (Shafir, 1998 p.2). Marshall (1950) categorized the three dimensions of the citizenship as civil, political and social rights (p.10). From Marshall’s point of view, owning thing (i.e. ownership) is referred to as one aspect of civil rights. “*The civil element is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom –... the right to own property....*” (Marshall, 1950, p.10) On the other hand, social rights here are referred to as another critical element of citizenship. Marshall (1950) interprets the “*social element*” as

“the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society. The institutions most closely connected with it are the education system and the social services” (p.11).

The state should implement a universal framework for all citizens to eliminate social inequality in a community through guarantee of

“a minimum supply of certain essential goods and service (such as medical attention and supplies, shelter, and education) or a minimum money income available to be spent on essentials-as in the case of Old Age Pensions, insurance benefits, and family allowances” (Marshall, 1950, p.54).

Taking citizenship further, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (1948) claims,

“everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control” (Article 25, UDHR).

And also the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (1966) requires the States Parties to recognize:

“...the right of everyone to social security, including social insurance” (Article 9,

ICESCR);

“...the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions” (Para.1, Article 11, ICESCR);

“...the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health” (Para. 1, Article 12, ICESCR);

“...the right of everyone to education” (Para.1, Article 13, ICESCR) and the *“Primary education shall be compulsory and available free to all”* (Para.2, Article 13, ICESCR).

Furthermore, Marshall (1950) argued that the provision of social services would establish the equal social status that facilitates the enrichment of the whole society. When discussing the relationship with the land use (kind of property rights), Fraser and Gordon (1992) suspected that social rights (enforced by the state power) would violate the property-centred civil rights, as the property rights (in this thesis it refers to the land use) is constructed through free contract formed based on fair exchange, self-interests, and rationality. Fraser and Gordon (1992) stated that, we are tasked with the reconciliation of the two forms of citizenship – the social rights and the property rights (in terms of land use) which is contracted and protected by law and restricted to individuals (p.65). Tushnet (1992, p.1208) argued that the distinctions between the civil rights (including property rights) and social rights were mutable. He believed that it would be possible to integrate social and economic rights into civil and political rights through legal means. Davy (2012) is also interested in the relationship between property and citizenship – *“can everyone, who does not own private property, still enjoy full citizenship?”* (p.181)

Therefore, the attempt to connect property rights (e.g. land use) with social rights is not a fresh idea at all. Land is a primary resource for a family or a community, since necessities (such as food, housing and social services.) are acquired through land use, especially in rural villages (Mao, 2002; Fraser & Gordon, 1992). And this land rights are usually inherited through the kinship and membership of the family and the community, which is responsible for providing those social rights for its members. The social rights are also related to land rights from the perspective of boundary. Boundaries are construction of identities (Mach 1993).

“Boundaries which people build to separate themselves from other people are also mainly of symbolic nature, although they may have and often do have material components. Symbolic actions constitute communication between groups and give meaning to their mutual relations and through such actions identification is carried out and models of identity are created and adjusted” (Mach, 1993, p.20).

As presented in preceding paragraphs, identity is considered as an outcome of boundary-making and itself creates boundaries within a region. *“Boundaries both create identities and are created through identity”* (Newman & Paasi, 1998, p.194). When studying the land use and social rights, it is important to understand how identities of individuals and entities are formed by the social construction and influence their acquisition of land use and social rights. The process of identity construction helps involve any single individual or collective social entity

“in temporal and spatial relationship to other events and connect parts to a constructed configuration or a social network of relationships (however incoherent or unrealizable) composed of symbolic, institutional, and material practices” (Somers, 1994, p.616).

Such social settings and networks sculpt individual's or group's identities constituted by

“a person's temporally and spatially variable place in culturally constructed stories” which are *“composed of (breakable) rules, (variable) practices, binding (and unbinding)*

institutions, and the multiple plots of family, nation, or economic life” (Somers, 1994, p.625).

Community members who possess such identity share “*the common language, religion, history, and story and as such; as the member of a polity to participate in the political life; and as beings with privileges and access to social rights*” (Benhabid, 2010, p.675).

In a more complex society, more importantly, the social construction establish the land-related identities (whether you are local person or not), which is supposed to reflect the status of outsiders on whether they are recognized by the group members and admitted to be included in or excluded from certain social affairs in a community, like land use and social rights.

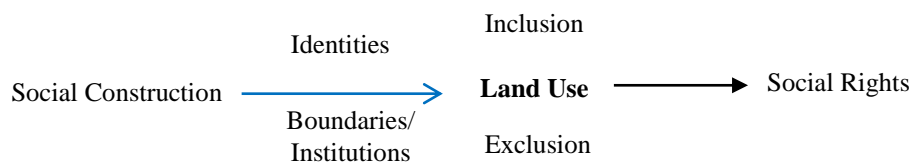


Figure 2.2: A Theoretical Framework
Author’s contribution

In a conclusion, the key notions of boundaries and land use imply a social construction process within a relational social network. Property relations is such a relational network symbolize the identity of individuals and furthermore determine the access to land use for individuals. This is a consequence of social construction which constructs the boundaries, identities and institutions in the background and further establishes the inclusion in and exclusion from the access to land use and social rights (see Figure 2.2). This thesis highlights the social construction process which involves different stakeholders within a relational social network. Davy (2012) stated that “*social construction comprises multi-party, multi-issue interactions between stakeholders, who assume alternating role in dynamic social situation*” (p.63). Thus, this author suggests considering this process as a “game” matrix which presents the relations among stakeholders and combines their strategies and methods in the construction of boundaries (see Table 2.2). On each column of the matrix, stakeholders adopt their strategies and methods to act with each other. What needs emphasizing is that those strategies and methods are not fixed. In different period, stakeholders construct the boundaries and coherent institutions by different means. Moreover, to deeply comprehend the social construction and boundaries (institutions) of land use, it is meaningful to understand that land use represents not only a single rationality of one stakeholder, but a combination of diverse rationalities (i.e. individualist, egalitarian, hierarchical and fatalistic and so) of different stakeholders (Davy, 2012, p.246) in boundary construction of land use.

	Party A (e.g. individuals)	Party B (e.g. entities)	Party C (e.g. governments)
Party A (e.g. individuals)			
Party B (e.g. entities)			
Party C (e.g. governments)			

Table 2.2: Network of Social Construction of Boundaries by Stakeholders
Author’s contribution

When referring to boundaries, it has to emphasize its characters as institutions ordering the society, and vice versa. “*As institutions, they [boundaries] embody implicit or explicit norms and values and legal and moral codes*”, as Paasi (1999, p.82) argued. Several institutions in both formal and informal terms are produced simultaneously by the social construction. They are also boundaries embedded in land use and other socio-economic aspects. This research anticipates

that the society may achieve certain order based on socially constructed boundaries and coherent institutions in land use. Both legal and other institutions have equally important position, function and meaning in achieving the social order. Ellickson (1991) considers the “social order” as result of a game in which the individual stakeholder adopts different tools and means (such as the state legislations, government regulations, local conventions and other methods,) to communicate with each other, so that they would reach a compromise and agreement. He also emphasizes that stakeholders usually use the informal methods rather than formal rules and laws to solve disputes and sustain the “orders” in society. Having realized the involvement of different interested parties in such a system, the author conducts further work to present the interrelationship and interaction between different stakeholders in the system of social control. Therefore, this research reshapes Ellickson system further (Table 2.3). On each line, certain institutional instruments are utilized by interested parties interact with each other.

The two frameworks (Table 2.2 and 2.3) above will be applied to present and analyze findings from the fieldwork in Chapter 3 and 4. Beginning with the study on boundaries, this research also attempts to progressively investigate how various kinds of boundaries are produced in urban villages. This research considers the process of boundary construction as the combination of interactions between different stakeholders by utilizing different strategies and tools. Furthermore, based on the socially constructed boundaries and institutions, it is going to study how stakeholders sustain the social order (i.e. their property relations, accessible land use and related social rights). Furthermore, this research concerns another critical question that how to examine the function of a boundary constructed by stakeholders and property relations for the control and management of land use in the space. With the analysis of findings from the fieldwork, this research will test the hypothesis that land use and social rights are interrelated, since the socially constructed boundaries determine the acquisition of social rights through arranging inclusion and exclusion of access to land use.

	First Actor	Second Actor	Organization	Government
First Actor	Self regulation	Promise-enforced contracts	Obedient to organization rules	Obedient to law
Second Actor	Promise-enforced contracts	Self regulation	Obedient to organization rules	Obedient to law
Organization	Regulations enforcement upon	Regulations enforcement upon	Regulations maker	Obedient to law
Government	Law enforcement upon	Law enforcement upon	Law enforcement upon	Law maker

Table 2.3: Interrelationship between Stakeholders in a Social Control System

Author’s contribution

2.2 Stakeholders and Boundary-making: land use and social rights in China

Section 2.1 briefly summarized the studies and augmentations on the urban village with special reference to its land rights, social rights and the stakeholders getting involved. Meanwhile, it also reviewed some works on boundary studies and abstracted a theoretical framework to understand the land use and social rights – a process of social construction by interested parties. Therefore, this research suggested that urban villages not merely present the visible alteration of

boundaries of different land use, but also the associated formal and informal institutions constructed by stakeholders.

The land use has been a controversial issue since the evolvement of urban villages in urbanizing China. Like other scholars whose studies concern the land use of urban village²⁰, this author plans to revisit this issue – a story pertaining to the innovated land use and the practice of interested individuals and groups in boundary-making process of including or excluding stakeholders in or from the access to land use. Section 2.2 is organized as follows: In Section 2.2.1, the author presents the institutional context and framework (i.e. state and local laws, policies and directives) which led to the evolvement of land use in villages of China – the construction practice of the state and governments. Section 2.2.2 discusses about constrictions of village communities with the institutional change in land use and how indigenous villagers organize their productions and maintain stable relations on their collective land retained in the village. The third part (Section 2.2.3) focuses on the subsequent influx of outside investors and rural migrants who acquire the access to land use through both formal and informal means in the village. The last part (Section 2.2.4) will discuss the relationship between land use and social rights in the Chinese context.

2.2.1 State Legislation and Government Policies

With the state and regional legislation and policy-making power, governments (at both the central and local level) play a crucial role in the process of creating and altering institutional regime of land use. In a socialistic (or communist) country, any form of private ownership is strictly prohibited by law. After several amendments of the Chinese Constitution, land laws and regulations since the foundation of P. R. China in 1949, this principle has remained unchanged. Under this principle, individual's land rights are established and adjusted continuously by formalization in the Chinese Constitution and laws or by the formulation of executive regulations and directives by governments. According to the report on China's policy framework of land reform published by World Bank and the State Council of China, the Chinese government makes great effort to "*embody policies into laws to achieve a comprehensive legal and institutional framework for land*" (World Bank, 2014, p.264). This report highlights a special phenomenon that government's executive regulations and decisions have a dominant influence on legislation process of land ownership and property rights.

The formalization and alteration of certain land rights by laws always come after policies, directives or decisions implemented by the Chinese government and Communist Party of China (CPC). For example, the ownership of village land had been collectively controlled by People's Commune since 1960s, which organized the agricultural production, and provided and protected peasants' living resources, housing and social services and welfare. This system was not formalized in the Chinese Constitution until 1975 when is nearly 20 years after its implementation by the government since 1958. Figure 2.3 depicts a time line that how land ownership and land rights in rural area was formalized and amended in the Chinese Constitution, relevant laws and regulations. It shows that the CPC government's decisions or executive orders always took the lead in proposing and enforcing the policies and strategies of land reform. Those hierarchical activities established and modified the institutional framework of land use in rural areas of China constantly.

²⁰ Zhang et al. 2003; Tian, 2008; Song et al., 2008; Song, 2014; He et al., 2009; Po, 2011; Lin et al., 2011, 2012, 2014; Lin & Meulder, 2012; Lin et al., 2015; Zhao & Webster, 2011; Wong, 2016; Wu et al., 2013; Zhu & Guo, 2014 and etc.

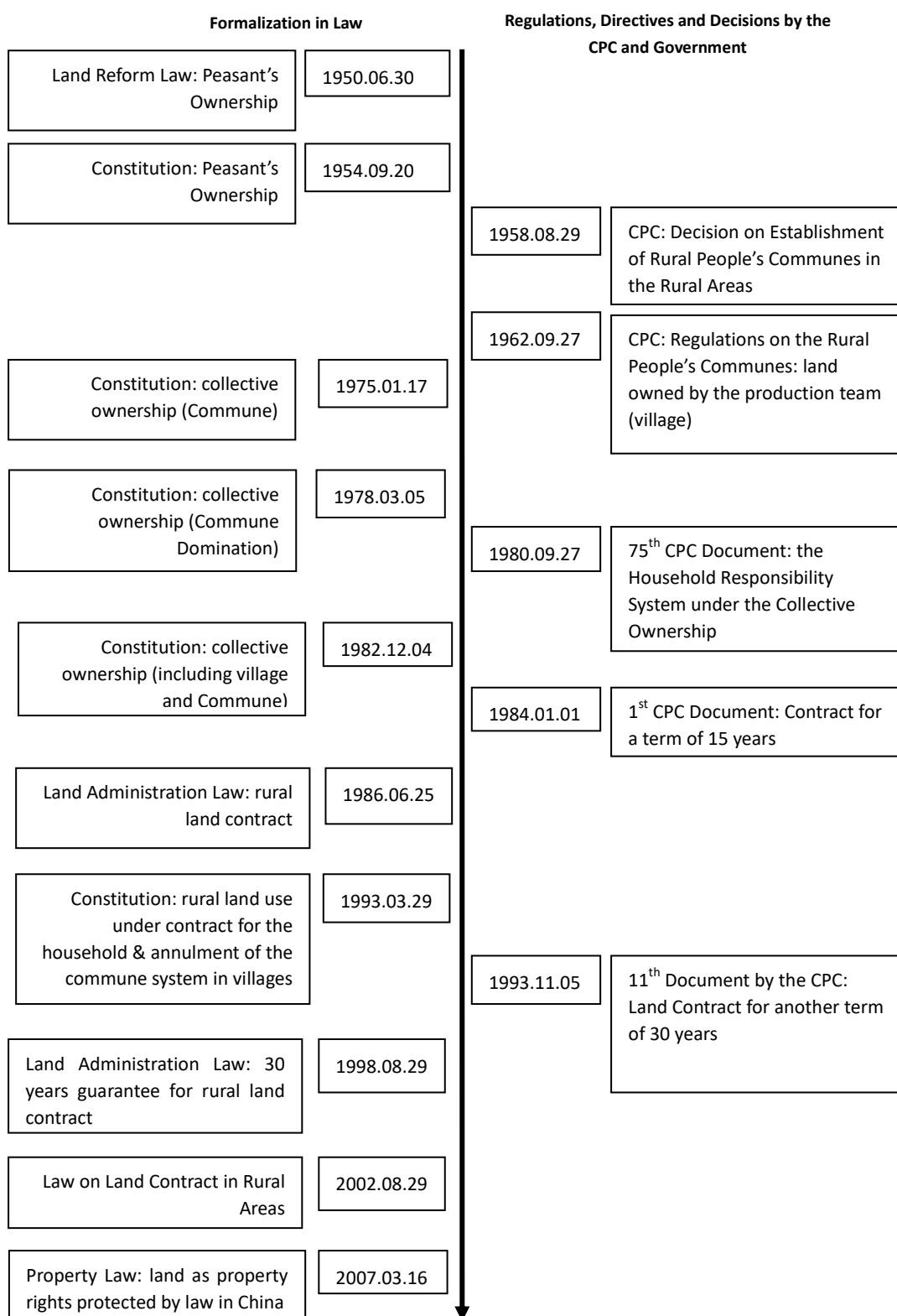


Figure 2.3: Formalization of Collective Ownership of Rural Land

Author's contribution

After the establishment of P.R. China in 1949, the first law governing land ownership in rural villages was the Land Reform Law (LRL) on June 30, 1950, and it stated that “*land is owned by peasants*” (Article 1, LRL, 1950). It did not specify the exact meaning of “peasants”, i.e. whether it referred to a group or as an individual. However, individual peasants were allowed to use their farmland for private production. In 1954, this farmers’ ownership was written in the 1954 Constitution of China (Article 8, 1954) which contained the similar principles for protection of peasants’ land rights and provisions encouraging cooperative production in villages (Article 7 & 8, 1954). The People’s Commune system stemmed from cooperative production on rural land. It was formally implemented with the enactment of Regulations on the Rural People’s Communes (RRPC) by the CPC government in 1962²¹. For the first time, this regulation stated that land in a rural village was owned by the production team collectively (Article 21, RRPC, 1962). Furthermore, it stipulated the collective ownership and group production as the sole and dominant mode of rural land use in China and prohibited almost any private production on farmland. Although the commune system widespread on rural land of China very quickly, its formalization in the Constitution had postponed until 1975.

A big turnaround was made in 1978 when the CPC and Chinese government has decided to carry out the Economic Reform. Subsequently, the Household Contract Responsibility (HCR) system was introduced in 1980. Even though “*virtually all arable land had been allocated to rural households*” by 1983 (World Bank, 2014, p.264), the commune system had existed in the Constitution until 1993. Although the People’s Commune was still prescribed in the 1982 Constitution (Article 8, 1982), the clause emphasizing its dominant role in rural villages was removed. Moreover, the Constitution stated clearly for the first time,

“Land in the cities is owned by the State. Land in the rural and suburban areas is owned by collectives except for those portions which belong to the State as prescribed by law; house sites and privately farmed plots of cropland and hilly land are also owned by collectives”(**Article 10, 1982**).

In 1984, the central government formally “*established the foundation of the present Chinese rural land right system and clarified the separation of ownership from individual land use rights*” (World Bank, 2014, p.264) in the 1st Document (1984), in which a 15-year contract period for rural land use was prescribed.

In 1986, the Land Administration Law (LAL) entered into force, which enhances the use right of rural land of individual households under the land contracts. In the meantime, it still emphasized the dominant standing of collective’s ownership and administration of rural land (Article 6, 8 & 12, LAL 1986)²². In 1993, the duration of the land contract was extended to 30 years (11th Document of CPC, 1993) and the first paragraph of Article 8 of the Constitution was officially amended to apply the land contract system and to abolish the People’s Commune system universally in China (Article 8, 1993). Moreover, the amendment of the LAL also added the term of the land contract of 30 years in its clauses (Article 14, LAL, 1998), which has provide village households the legal basis for contracted use right of farmland in rural areas for the first time (Ho, 2001, p.395). The Interpretation of LAL (Bian & Li, 1998, p.65) states that the owner of collective land refers to the administrative village (composed of some natural villages) rather than the natural village in most cases. Furthermore, the law enforced the land registration system by stating that the registered ownership and use right of collective farmland are protected by law (Article 11 & 13, LAL, 1998, 2004; Bian & Li, 1998, p.73). Regarding the registration system of land use, Palomar (2002) underlined it as the backbone of the *in rem* right of land use and generate interest for stakeholders (p.19). Until the latest amendment to the

²¹ The actual time of establishment of People’s Commune is 1958 when the CPC passed the “Decision on Establishment of Rural People’s Communes in the Rural Area” in August 1958.

²² In more detail in rural villages, “*land owned by peasant collectives that belongs lawfully to peasant collectives of a village shall be operated and managed by collective economic organizations of the village or by Village Committee; land already owned by different peasant collectives that belong to two or more different collective economic organizations in the village shall be operated and managed by the rural collective economic organizations in the village or by villagers’ groups; land already owned by a peasant collective of a township (town) shall be operated and managed by the rural collective economic organization of the township (town)*” (Article 10, LAL, 1986, 2004).

Constitution and LAL in 2004, the collective ownership of rural land and the land contract of households become a permanent policy that regulates the basic institutional regime of land utilization in villages nowadays.

In 2002, a special law regarding the land contract, Law of Land Contract in Rural Areas (LLCRA), was adopted to strengthen this system in rural villages: “*the State applies the contractual management system in respect of land in the countryside. The land contract in rural areas shall take the form of household contract*” (Article 3, LLCRA, 2002). Also, “*the right of a peasant to operate land under a contract shall be protected by law*” (Article 14, LAL, 1998, 2004; Article 9, LLCRA, 2002). Figure 2.4 depicts a legal procedure through which village households obtain the contractual use right to collective farmland, the rights of possession, production, disposition, subcontract, lease, exchange, transfer, and so on (Article 14, 32, LLCRA, 2002). Deininger (2007a) put the emphasis on the importance of enactment of the LLCRA, since it contains a host of measures and means to increase the security of contractual rights on farmland (p.2). Those enable the villagers to launch appeals against the violation of their property rights and more importantly to restrict the condition of raising compensation for land requisition and to prevent the arbitrary transfer of land by the government (Deininger, 2007a, p.2).

Step by step, the ownership and other property rights of collective land in the village are formalized through the state legislation and government policy-making. In 2007, the Property Law took effect. It prescribes that the ownership of collective land (Article 58, Property Law, 2007), the use right of residential land for peasants (Article 152, Property Law, 2007), the contractual right of collective land (Chapter 11, Property Law, 2007) are protected by law. Simultaneously, many directives and regulations were carried out by the central government to strengthen and protect peasants’ property rights on the collective land. From 2010 onwards, the annual 1st Document of CPC²³ put the emphasis on the establishment of a more secure registration and certification system of land and housing for villagers, including opening up of land market for villages gradually, prohibition of land expropriation by any illegal process, reasonable compensation for land expropriation, and protection and restoration of villagers’ living standards, etc. As a result, the gradual strengthened land ownership and property rights empowered by the state legislation and governmental policies have enhanced the security of villagers’ property right and made the land requisition from villages more complicated and arduous for the government compared with decades ago.

Nowadays, the collective ownership is still the principle of land use in China, under which the household contract prevails in rural areas. Rather than the constrained group agricultural production in the commune age, more economic activities run by individual villagers or the collective village are permitted on collective land. The Household Contract assures the village household of “a bundle of rights” of managing and dealing with the contracted rural land in agreement with laws and relevant rules and policies as shown in Chart 2.1. One point needs emphasizing here. The agricultural land takes up the dominant portion of the village territory, and normally the “*contractor shall be peasant household of the collective economic organization concerned*” (Article 15, LLCRA, 2002, 2009). This consequently excludes most individuals outside the village from land use, except for those whose project is consented “*by not less than two-thirds of the members of the villagers assembly, or of the villagers’ representatives, of the collective economic organization concerned*”, and is “*submitted to the township (town) people’s government for approval*”(Article 48, LLCRA, 2002, 2009). Chart 2.1 also summarizes the sort of rights that are possibly accessible for the outside individuals and entities, which are formalized and prescribed in laws and regulations of the state and government. However, most of the collective land is still inaccessible for individuals and entities outside the village in most cases. Only such land as “*barren mountains, gullies, hills, and beaches, which are not suited to the form of household contract, may be contracted in such forms as bid invitation, auction and public consultation*” (Article 3, 44-48, LLCRA 2002, 2009), in which the outsiders may obtain very limited use rights of rural land in villages.

²³ Each year, the first government file is always about the agriculture, village and villagers.

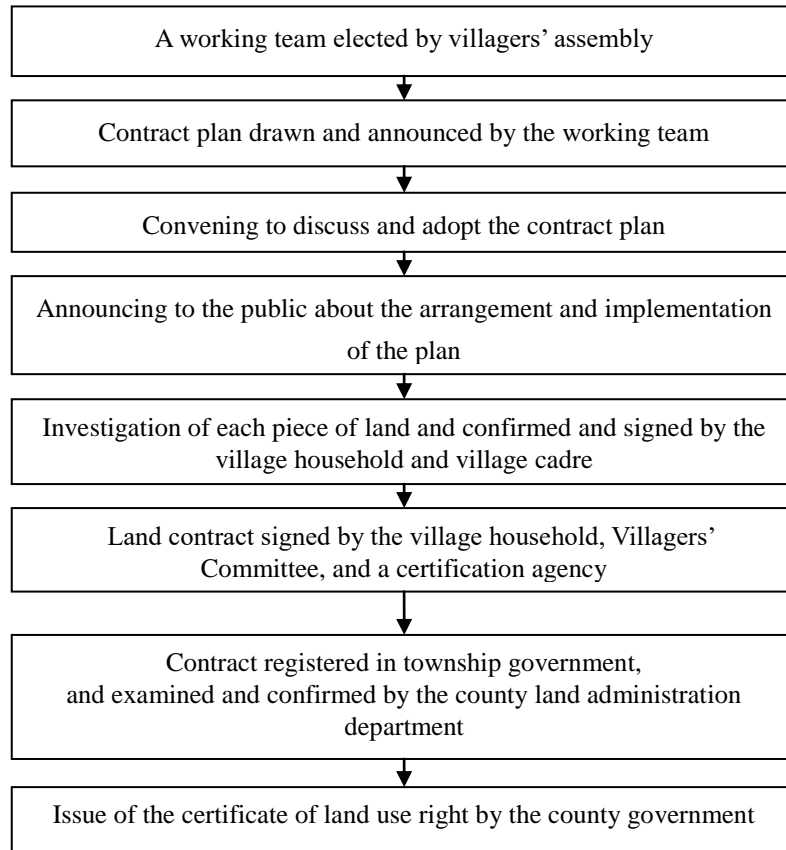


Figure 2.4: Procedure of Establishment of the Land Contract in Rural Villages

Author's contribution

Source: Article 19, LLCRA, 2002 and Land Laws and Regulations (edited) (2015, p. 600)

Varied range of human activities may trigger the change of land use (Heilig, 1994, p.833). Widespread research is pertinent to the convention of farmland for non-agricultural use with the growth of population and extension of city area (Seto & Kaufmann, 2003; Seto, Kaufmann, & Woodcock et al., 2000; Naab, Dinye & Kasanga, 2013; Phuc, van Westen, & Zoomers, 2014; Azadi, Ho, & Hasfiati, 2010). China has converted about 4.3 million hectares of farmland to nonfarm use from 1988 to 2008 (World Bank, 2014, p.352-353). From 2001 to 2011, the urban construction land increased by a total of 17,600 square kilometres and 1,600 square kilometres per year, of which 90 percent was met through rural land requisition (World Bank, 2014, p.370-371). The World Bank labelled the rural land requisition in China as being “*inefficient*” and “*driven by administrative decisions rather than market demand*” (World Bank, 2014, p.10). In China, rural land titles are transferred to urban land in case of urban expansion mainly through an official planning (Article 44, LAL, 1998, 2004). Instead of presenting the entire planning process of land use and building construction in cities and rural villages, this part reveals the typical planning process (see Figure 2.5) of converting rural land to urban land (owned by the state) and pertinent state laws and government policies, under which the urban villages were developed in China. In principle, when land is needed from the rural village for city construction, conversion of land title and land use must be completed in compliance with LAL (1998, 2004) and Urban and Rural Planning Law (URPL) (URPL, 2007).

required to put forward proper policies and establish functional mechanisms to provide vocational training and adequate social security and welfare to the land requisitioned villagers.

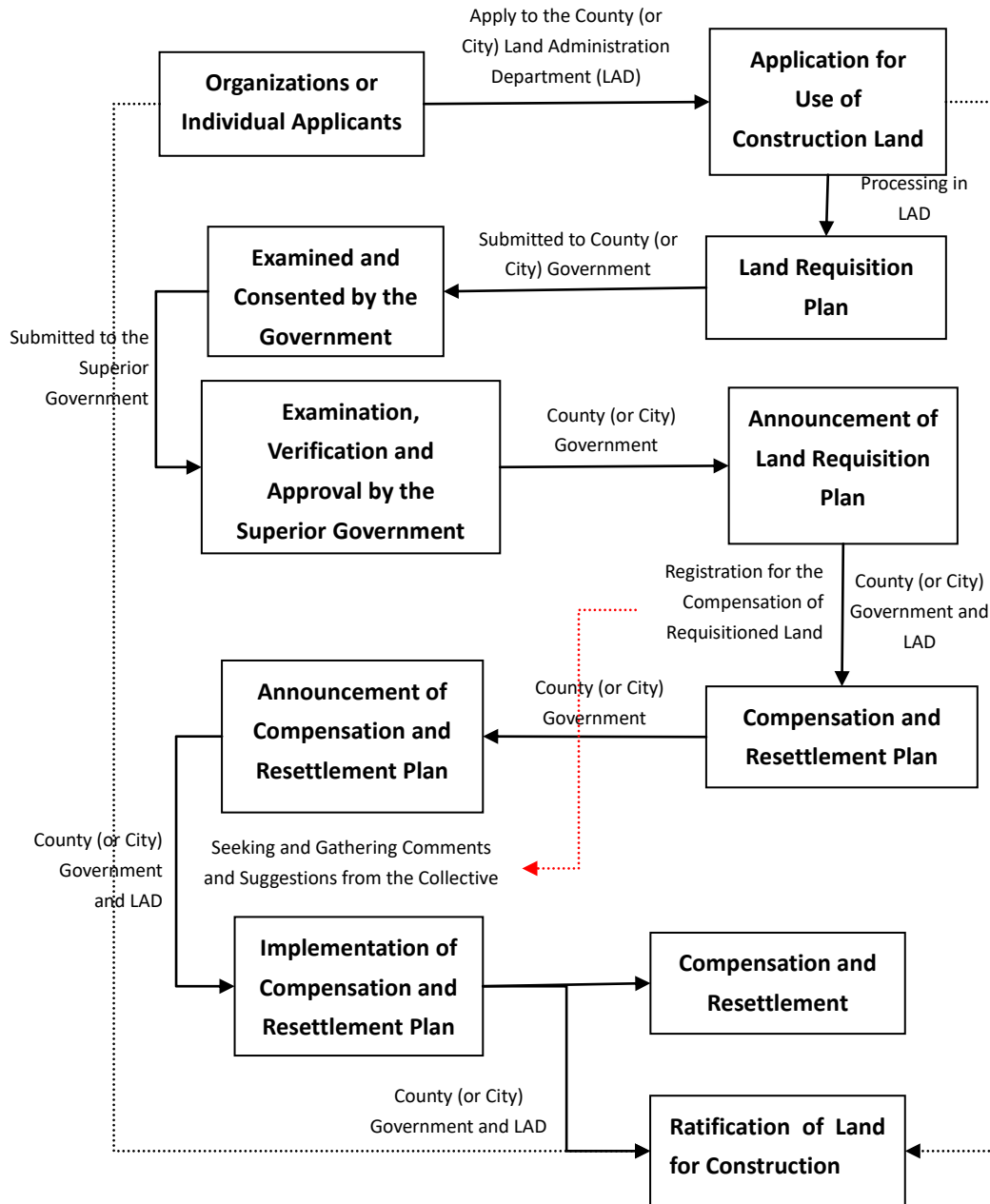


Figure 2.5: Rural Land Requisition under the Annual Plan of Land Utilization

Author's translation and interpretation

Source: Land Laws and Regulations (Ed.) (2015, p.599)

Unlike in the past when the urbanization plan turned the entire collective land to be state-owned and all members of village communities became urban citizens (the change of Hukou title) (e.g. Article 2 Regulations on the Implementation of Land Administration Law (RILAL), 1998, 2014), the Legislative Affairs Office of State Council promulgated an explanation document to this article in 2005 that the conversion in such context must not be a

compulsory requirement (36th, 2005). It even suggests preserving some collective land for farmers who are forced to adopt urban Hukou and situated in the city territory. Therefore, the state government possesses its decisive role in land conversion while leaving room for local governments to support those land- expropriated villagers.

In Guangdong Province where Nanjiao Village is located, after legal expropriation of rural land for urban construction, about 10%-15% of expropriated land is returned to villagers for public use and economic development as compensations plus their residential plots. According to the Regulation on the Rural Collective Economic Organization of Guangdong Province (RRCEOGD), these villages could retain and manage their remaining land autonomously (Article 25, RRCEOGD, 2006) as before; however, they are still not allowed to sell or trade those lands in the market. As a result of land expropriation in urban expansion, the urban villages were well-known for their retention of a certain portion of collective land with nearly all village houses surrounded by skyscrapers and overpasses, such as Nanjiao Village in Guangzhou City. Indeed, whether this part of land shall also be requisitioned by the government as the other agricultural land as before is not clearly defined by land and planning laws. Instead, the state admitted it as a sort of compensation for land requisition (480th, 1999, MLR; 96th, 2010, MLR; Tian, 2008, p.286).

2.2.2 Collective Ownership and Household Possession in the Village

The previous paragraphs illustrate how the state and governments, empowered by the Chinese Constitution, relevant land and planning laws and local regulations and so on, have altered land use in rural areas since 1949. Till now, governments still dominate transfer of rural land for urban construction. In this process, some villages have experienced the statutory and compulsory requisition of large areas of their farmland on the one hand, while being allowed to retain certain portion of land for housing and development on the other hand. The state and local governments undoubtedly play the most influential role in delineating the current boundaries between the cities and these so called “urban villages”. Besides, a particular institutional mechanism established and preserved by the state and governments for these villages – the village self-management. Although these villages are located in the urban territory, the collective autonomy in rural villages as prescribed in the Organic Law of the Villagers’ Committees (OLVC) still applies to the administrative system on their remaining collective land in urban villages.

“This Law is enacted in accordance with the Constitution with a view to ensuring self-government by the villagers in the countryside, who will administer their own affairs according to law, developing democracy at the grassroots level in the countryside, and promoting the building of a socialist countryside which is materially and ethically advanced.” (Article 1, OLVC, 1998, 2010).

The self-management regime of the villages (in general) is a legal/formal institutional arrangement by the state and government. The administrative organ and governance at village level are isolated from the urban regime to encourage villagers to self-develop the remaining collective land through starting the enterprises, developing businesses and managing social affairs and so on as described in LAL (Article 50 1998, 2004) and other land-related governmental documents. Unlike the three levels of government body (provinces, counties, and townships) organized and regulated by the Organic Law of the Local People's Congresses and Local People's Governments (OLLPC&LPG) (Article 1, OLLPC&LPG 1979, 2015) and supervised by the central government (State Council), the village corporations (i.e. Villagers’ Committees) are elected by villagers directly (Article 11, OLVC 1998, 2010). Being the administrative organs, this leading group representing their communities to own all land and manage the ground except the residential plot. In most cases, an “administrative village” is the

de jure body owning collective land and represented by the Villagers' Committee which is selected by the villagers (Article 10, LAL, 1998, 2004; Bian & Li, 1998, p.65). Also, Chinese land laws stipulate that the leading groups or the committees at the level of township government, administrative villages or natural villages could be the *de facto* bodies to own land²⁶. In some cases, the village establishes a special and professional corporation to own and manage its common land with formal registration in its belonging county government (Article 11, LAL, 1998, 2004), whereas land and property laws also admit the Villagers' Committee as the owner and manager of its collective land (Article 10, LAL, 1998, 2004; Article 60, Property Law, 2007). Aligning with the concept of *collectivity* at the village level, it is strictly required by the law that the common land must be collectively owned by villages instead of owned by any other individuals or entities. Obviously, urban villages must comply with the same institutional requirements of land administration.

Under the collective ownership and legally established administrative regime, autonomy or self-management is referring to different things for entire village community and individual households. In respect of the village as a whole, self-management refers to almost all activities on the common land (Article 2 & 8, OLVC, 1998, 2010). Article 19 of OLVC itemizes the affairs and events that must be decided by the villager's assembly through discussions. Most of them are related to the collective land and property, e.g. construction of collective enterprise and business and public infrastructures, managing land contract and agricultural production, use of house plot, and other matters concerning villagers' benefits and interests, such as utilization and distribution of profits gained from collective economy, operating public services and facilities and social welfare. The Interpretation of OLVC (Zhang, 1999, p.6) further specified the public services that Villagers' Committee should provide for the villagers, including construction of public infrastructure, opening crèche and nursing homes, developing education and public health, and so on. The villages (represented by their Villagers' Committees) are empowered to decide how to arrange their agriculture production and non-agricultural activities. This mode of operation on collective land has continued even after the evolvement of urban villages. The autonomous power continues to function in land use and launch various activities in villages, mostly by means of establishing a particular collective economic organization or a shares-holding cooperation company²⁷ to operate various kinds of businesses and constructions on collective land. This method is implemented not only for maximizing profits from the land for villagers, but also for preventing local government from expropriating land at a low cost in the future (Tian, 2008, p.295).

The relationship between individual village households and collectively owned land reveal a separation of co-ownership of land from land use rights. As aforementioned, the Villagers' Committee representing the whole community is the *de facto* owner of the collective land, whose "*major concern...is the powerful control of the lessor over land rights [and] ... appropriate and redistribute leased land whenever deemed necessary*" (Ho, 2001, p.397). In the agricultural era, the legally contractual use right of farmland (see Figure 2.2) and residential plot brings the individual households with autonomous and secure power on agricultural production (Article 14 & 62, LAL, 1998, 2004; Article 125 & 152, Property Law, 2007; Article 26 & 35, LLCRA) and construction activities. Even though individual households do not own the land title, this mechanism helps them avoid illegal damage and trespasses by others. After the emergence of urban villages, villagers have established closer connections with outsiders and the city in their everyday life, especially on the residential site where they are officially authorized to possess and construct their own houses exclusively (Article 152, Property Law, 2007). With the rise of abundant reconstructed multi-storey buildings (due to the increasing land value, the lenient punishment and supervision), non-farming land market and businesses ventures (i.e. the dispersed grocers, hostels and restaurant) have been proliferated in urban villages. From the point of view of He et al., all these activities carried out on housing land are probably the second opportunity for the landless villagers to survive and develop (He et al., 2009, p.1945).

²⁶ In the commune era, the township government named people's commune, the administrative village named production brigade, the natural village named production team.

²⁷ This method is popular in Guangzhou city as required by the municipal government.

Paragraphs above illustrate a fact that the collectively owned land and relevant administrative organs in the villages are independent of the municipal system. Till today, the Chinese government persists in a dual-track system of the planning processes of constructions and land management in China, which have split into two relatively separate parts between cities and villages. “*China’s dual-track tenure system still separates collectively owned rural land and state owned urban land, which are governed by separate regulations and institutions*” (World Bank, 2014, p.266).

Table 2.4 depicts the institutions managing and regulating land ownership, land use and the construction of urban and rural area respectively. Compulsory registrations of land and buildings in both urban and rural areas are required but operated by different government departments at different levels. The owner of collective land (i.e. an administrative village) needs to make claim for its ownership of rural land to the county government. The users of common land and the owners of buildings need to declare their rights to relevant government departments. However, in comparison with the stringent transfer of land use rights of state-owned land and construction of buildings in the city with the requirement by planning and building code like URPL 2007, regulations on the land use for village householders are relatively weak. Especially when involving constructions on collective land, the village has the autonomy to make its own plan and applications can be approved easily at lower hierarchical level. Normally, they are not subject to city’s master plan but only subject to approval of villagers collectively and town government. According to Article 43 of LAL, when indigenous villagers need land to build village houses, public constructions and township and village enterprise on their land, they need not to seek approval from county government or above like what other individuals and entities do on the state-owned land in the city. These factors indeed allow villages to sustain their land-use and construction independence from urban land use system.

Urban villages seem to continue this institutional arrangement, which was highlighted in a list of monographic literature pertinent to urban villages²⁸. As a result, many discordant and non-planned houses and constructions were built in urban villages, which are not constrained by requirements, criteria and procedures of the municipal system (including heights of the buildings, floor area ratios, corridor width, existence of stairways and exits, proportion of public space and distances between buildings for public safety concern). Yet, Tian (2008) stated optimistically that this institutional arrangement of land administration allows more room for regional experimentation (p.284). Ho (2001) considered this “institutional indeterminacy” partly as “*the result of efforts by the central leadership to create leeway for reacting to societal developments*” (p.400). He (2001) also asserted that the unconsolidated ownership of urban and rural land stems from the fear of disputes arising from land issues and social conflicts (p.407). The management of collectively owned land (even in the urban area like the urban village) is segregated from the municipal system, whereby local townships and village communities are given autonomous power to manage issues and activities related to land. The Interpretation of OLVC (Zhang, 1999) described this as a necessary and appropriate mechanism to address complicated situations in Chinese rural villages. He et al. (2009) even asserted that this “ambiguity” can also lead to villagers’ enrichment, through their non-farming business (e.g. housing rent to migrants) on collectively shared land (p.1945).

²⁸ see He et al., 2009; Zhang et al., 2003; Song et al., 2008; Zhang, 2011; Song & Zenou, 2012; Zhou, 2014; Tian, 2008; Hao et al., 2013.

	Urban Area	Rural Area		
Land Ownership	State-owned land by the government	Collectively-owned by the village Registered by the county government (Art. 11, LAL)		
Land Use and Plan (Land Resources Bureau)	Registered and issue of certification by the government at the county level or above (Art.3, LRM, 2007)	Cultivation land (contracted) Apply to and registered at the township level and issued certification at county level or above (Art.4 &7, RCRCL, 2003; Art. 127, Property Law; Art. 23, LLCRA; Art. 14, LAL)	Construction land Apply to and approved by the government at county level or above (Art. 60, LAL) Registered, issue of certification by the government at county level. (Art.4, RILAL; Art. 3, LRM)	Resettlement plot Apply to and examined by the township government and approved by the government at the county level (Art. 62 LAL) Registered and issue of certification by the government at county level or above (Art.3 LRM)
Plan and Construction/ Buildings (Construction Department)	Plan approved by the municipal government (Art. 14, URPL) Construction: approved county planning department or above (Art. 40, URPL)	Township Plan: approved by the county government or above (Art. 15, URPL) Village Plan: agreed by the village and approved by the county government (Art. 22, URPL) Construction in Town: approved by township government (Art. 40, URPL) Construction in the Village: apply to township government and approved by the county planning department or above. (Art. 41, URPL)		

Table 2.4: Land Use and Construction Planning on Urban and Rural Area

Author's contribution

The above studies concluded that the state and government play a dominant role in the land evolution in China. Meanwhile, the historical review reveals that normally the land evolution in China has strengthened the land security and power of self-development of rural collectives. The characteristics of land use in rural villages are:

- 1) more secure land and property rights;
- 2) independent governance on collective land and all community affairs;
- 3) separation of land management and construction from the urban system.

Nevertheless, these “privileges” did not protect rural villages from land requisition for urban construction supported by the land laws and the Constitution of the state. In many Chinese cities, the state and the government allow some villages to retain certain amounts of land and their house plots, own and manage them exclusively in the city. Urban village is thus, a result of such purposeful arrangement by the government – through construction of boundaries and institutions deliberately. The question is if the retained collective land still comforts to the original institution – the self-management of land use and planning of rural villages, even though the name was changed from “rural village” to the “urban village”? The answer is yes. This mode still lasts in the era of urban village, which to a large extent preserves the villagers’ decisive role in land use in their plot. Many study results (e.g. Tian, 2008; He et al., 2009; Wong, 2016) revealed that setting aside a certain amount of land and retaining the house site for villages will empower them to generate some income for livelihood, compared to other urban regions where people are forced to be dispossessed and relocated without any compensation. The self-management of land use makes sense in pro-poor policy-making and development after land requisition, through developing diverse economic and social activities in villages with minimal level of government intervention. Meanwhile, the self-management policy allows indigenous villagers to establish relationships with outsiders on their retained land through self-developed businesses in urban villages. In the next section, the relations of urban villagers with outsiders will be discussed in more detail, which seems to become more complex after land expropriation.

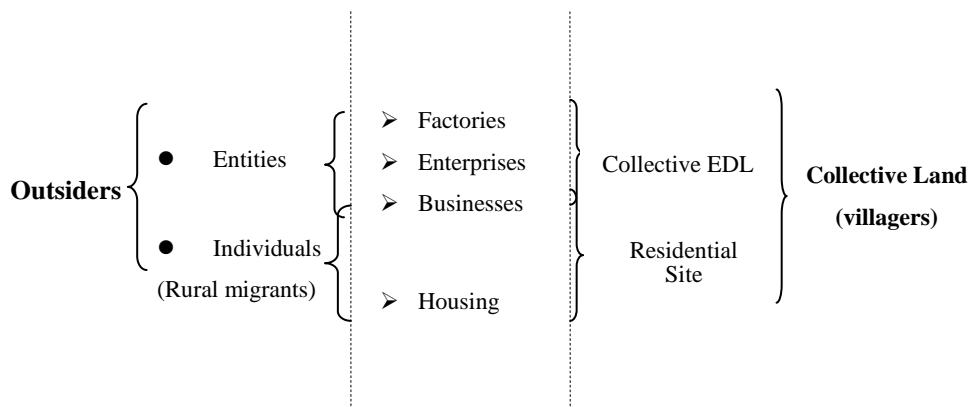


Figure 2.6: Connections between Outsiders and Villagers in Urban Villages

Author's contribution

Many migrants are under pressure of high housing price and forced to live in urban villages and additionally the institutional instrument (Hukou) is designed to limit the access to urban social housing and public services. The urban villages offer affordable housing to those disadvantaged migrants and local villagers in urban villages, notwithstanding its excessive building density, narrow living space and poorer living conditions and environment. There are fewer restrictions on tenants' identities. Also, the legally occupancy of resettlement plots allows indigenous villagers to create adequate floors for the outside tenants. In the rental housing market of urban villages, the households rely on free negotiation to achieve agreements/contracts with tenants. Rights and duties of housing use are negotiated deliberately and transparently, and thereafter each party comes to a consensus in terms of formal written contract or informal bilateral (written or verbal) agreements. Hence, a parallel complimentary housing rental market has been flourishing in urban villages. The free market provides the opportunities for individuals and social entities to make a land use contract, establishing the property rights protected by law (Heller, 1999; Ball., 2006). Besides, Urban village is not merely the "supplier" of primary and affordable accommodations, but also the container of some social services and public facilities accessible for migrant residents, which make them feel little different to live in urban villages as in the city.

Another critical factor impelling migrants to settle down in an urban village is its convenient location close to the city area and municipal infrastructures (as mentioned by Hao *et al.* 2013: 3407-3408; Tian 2008:290). These observations reveal that migrant residents to some extent can easily grant access to many civil facilities and social services on this piece of collective land, such as public transport, electricity, drain water, job, food, and health care, etc. These "rights" are partially gained from the rental contract with the village households and partially acquired from the city area nearby. With the influx of migrants, the village has evolved into a space that provides a wide range of neighbourhood facilities such as supermarkets, restaurants, grocery shops and barbershops and so on (He et al., 2009. p.1942). Hence, the outsiders gain the rights to housing, some living necessities and services on the collective land rather than in the urban area due to the free land given and housing market developed in urban villages. Moreover, the migrants even can operate particular businesses and services, e.g. schools, which the urban villages and municipal governments are reluctant to provide for them. For example, "*migrants are pushed into self-service, running licensed or unlicensed private migrant schools with little or no public funding, with ViCs (villages in the city) providing cheap and affordable land for them.*" (Lin et al., 2011, p.3596)

The land lease and building constructions for industrial and commercial use are operated by the Villagers' Committee. Urban villages need to rely on other industries as the backbone for survival and development after land requisition. Almost all urban villages will handle this issue

in the following ways: one way is to start enterprises and factories, and operate public affairs themselves; another way is to lease the land or finished real estate for financial returns to sustain self-management of the villages. Unlike the residential land occupied and managed by the household at will, the development of the commercial and industrial land must be subject to the rules of LAL (Article 60, 1998, 2014), Property Law (Article 59, 2007), and OLVC (Article 24, 1998, 2010). These rules regulate that the disposition of EDL and any construction project must be determined through discussion in villagers' assemblies. Commonly, a formal and official origination is built to manage the commercial and industrial land in the village – an economic entity or a share-holding company. Moreover, in some cities like Guangzhou, the municipal government and Villagers' Committee have co-built a formal transaction system (三资交易中心)²⁹ of land use rights to ensure an accountable and transparent trading process. Also, the approved land use plan and project contracts shall be officially registered in the county or higher-level government. These policies enhance the security of land rent for both the land tenants and landlords, which are concerned by the investors since they need “*the development plans (to) comply with all laws, land use plans and regulations that affect the property*” (Palomar, 2002, p.25).

The conversion of land use rights from villagers to outsiders was permitted after the enactment of the amended LAL (Article 15 & 60) in 1998. However, it is not a dominant mode in the village in agricultural age. After the land requisition, the remaining land (if any) mostly will not be used for agricultural production anymore. Hence, running other businesses and industries become the popular means of survival and development for the village. Persons outside of the village and entities have been involved in the land use of urban villages without transfer of land ownership in several ways. Both the individual households and the collective village (represented by the Villagers' Committee) can negotiate and make a contract with the migrants on the land legally occupied by them respectively. The power of self-management and free village economy support the free contracts by individuals and entities to regulate the transfer of property rights among individuals. As a result, these activities support the economic integration and independence of urban villages. In most cases, such activities are tacitly endorsed by the government.

Paragraphs above narrate the evolution of land use from a rural village to an urban village which get different stakeholders involved. In this process, the importance of their roles and impact in this process may vary from time to time. Through state legislation and government policy-making, only the state-owned and collectively-owned land are legally admitted, which draw “*a line between urban land and collective land and has created a dual land management system. The double-track land use system is uniformly implemented all over the country*” (Tian, 2008, p.284). Meanwhile, the state, local government, and the village had co-built a self-management and self-governance system of land use and constructions in the village, which is distinct from that of the urban area. The land requisition for urban expansion is considered as a remarkable turnaround of land use in a village. The city-based (state-orientated) land requisition (see Lin, 2007) initiates and dominates the process of delimitating the original boundaries and space of the village.

In China, the state and government dominate the land requisition in urbanization and delineate the boundary of land use, land-related rights and activities between cities and villages. Although regional land policies differ from one place to another, most of them are supported and accepted by laws and regulations. The state and government inevitably have to communicate and negotiate with villagers and other individuals and entities, although the situation was disappointing whenever land requisition occurred. In some cities, some policies are implemented to resolve issues regarding housing, social security, public welfare and constructions, local economic development and so on. The formation of urban villages, regarding the land requisition and retention of common land and collective self-management system in the villages, is required by laws, regulations and other political and economic

²⁹ Source: the office website of the transaction system
<http://218.19.252.130:8080/default/sites/lwsanzi/index/index.html>. Accessed on 17. 08. 2015

strategies respectively. Meanwhile, through formal and informal mechanisms, the village and villagers start collective and individual non-farming businesses together with various outsiders to foster their economic development and livelihood. The “rights” of the collective land now is accessible to different stakeholders. Hence, transforming a rural village into an urban village is a multi-stakeholder construction process. The next section will address issues of achievement of social rights associated with land use constructed by boundary-making activities.

2.2.4 Land-related Social Rights in Urban Villages

This thesis reveals the historical process of creating and altering boundaries (institutions) of land use and stakeholders’ activities and relations in different time period, which favoured the transition of a rural village to be an urban village. Urban villages share many features of land use in common within themselves, for example, the compulsory transfer of most collective land title into the state-owned, retention of some portion of common land and their house sites, the permitted self-governance and self-management of land use. These above characteristics are attributed to actions of the state and governments empowered by laws, regulations and policies. Meanwhile, villagers are able to include the outsiders in land use by either formal or informal means, depending on their property relations. Based on the diverse land use co-built by stakeholders, the research pays attention to the basic social rights for the villagers and the migrant residents: how the situation of accessing the basic social rights is in the urban village. It also raises a question that whether and how the change of access to land use (a status quo established by boundary construction and property relations) will affect their ability to gain access to social rights.

As discussed in earlier sub-section (2.2.3), both villagers and migrants have available land use to a certain extent, which are presumably determined by social construction of stakeholders involved in the land utilization in the villages. This thesis also emphasizes identities and the social construction behind. Many studies (e.g. World Bank, 2014; UNDP, 2013) underlined the Hukou Policy as an invisible wall and institutional instrument formed as a result of laws and relevant governmental policies.

Implemented since 1950s, the dual-track system of urban-village population administration (i.e. Household Registration (Hukou) Regulation (HRR) (HRR, 1958)) inevitably divides population into different categories in terms of social rights designated according to the locations of their registered land (i.e. in the cities or the villages). It affects the differential of access to land use by villagers, migrant residents and urban citizens, which might has an impact on the degree of acquiring social rights in urban villages. Following narration focus on the practice (the implementation of Hukou and other relative institutions) segregates the social groups in urban villages. It firstly reveals how resident’s identities are related to land by Hukou Policy in China since its enactment and secondly discusses how Hukou accompanied with other institutions and boundaries constructed and arranged by stakeholders influences social rights of different groups in urban villages.

Household Registration (Hukou) System is implemented to regulate the civil population migration and residential permission in China. This policy was intended to monitor and prevent the possible social issues and crises brought by free movement of rural residents into the cities, such as shortage of housing, education, employment, food and so on, which are primarily due to the limited supply of public goods by the socialist planned economy (Cheng & Selden, 1994) before the economic reform in 1980s. In the draft of HRR (HRR, 1958) reported to the National Congress of China (NCC), this policy was considered as an essential means to stabilize the society and prevent those foreseeable problems. According to this regulation, the rural residents were not allowed to leave their registered places of origin and move into the city (Article 10, HRR) unless they got official permissions to work, study and service in the city. From another

perspective, the regulation also leads to segregation of city territories³⁰. In both situations, it was impossible for unauthorized migrants to register in another place of origin and enjoy the local public services and social welfare. Figure 2.7 depicts the segregation caused by Hukou Policy in China. Cheng and Selden (1994), Chan and Zhang (1999), Fan (2008) summarized the two kinds of separation caused by Hukou system: the intra-regional separation between villages and the city within a municipal territory, and the inter-regional separation between different cities. The former one represents the distinct identities of local villagers and urban citizens within a city territory, which depends on the state and collectively-owned land. The latter one represents the distinction between the local (urban and rural) residents and the domestic (urban or rural) migrants according to their registered place of origin. In the urban villages, residents with the two identities are co-existing.

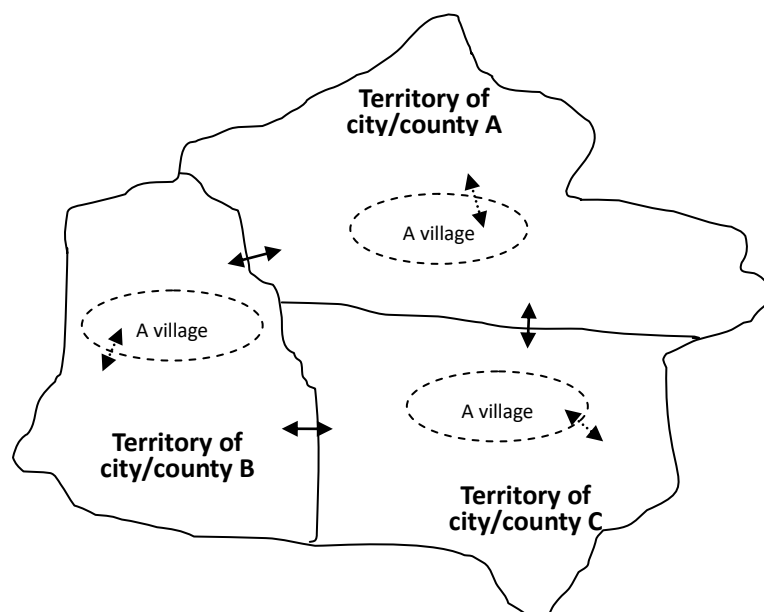


Figure 2.7: Segregation by Hukou (Household Registration) in China

Author's Contribution

Preceding paragraphs elucidated briefly the Hukou Policy implemented by the central government for “social control”. Many researchers and organizations, such as Cheng and Selden (1994), Chan and Zhang (1999), Fan (2008), UNDP (2013) and World Bank (2014), reiterated the slight change of separation between the city, village and migrants caused by Hukou Policy from time to time. This separation is actually caused by the difference in land ownership. Chan (1994, 2009) named Hukou as one of the invisible walls in cities, which separates and controls the society with other administrative mechanisms. Scholars like Fu and Ren (2010), Afridi, Li and Ren (2015) highlight the relationship between the role of urban-rural divide (social identity) under Hukou system and the inequality in the society, such as education, labour-market and economic performance.. After discussing the land-related identity (i.e. Hukou) in China, in the next paragraphs, this thesis will explore how the social rights are related to land use in urban villages. The two streams of boundaries will be discussed soon, which are: (1) the boundaries of city-village land use within a municipal territory and (2) the boundaries of migrant-local residents in terms of land use and other social aspects (including social identity (Hukou) in particular).

³⁰ In the Chinese governmental regime, a city territory consists of several counties, towns and villages. However, the village is an autonomous place, out of the city administration.

City-village Differentials within a Municipal Territory

During land requisitions/urban expansion, the village areas are commonly shrunken by more than a half of their original area. From the aspects of law and planning, urban expansion creates a new line/border between the city and the village in both tangible and intangible form, cutting off almost all the villagers' connections with their farming land and destroying their common property relations on this land. Observations from local landscape of urban villages illustrate that the link between cities and villages are no longer the farming field, but the built-up urban area with skyscrapers, factories, buildings, and expressways and so on. Nearly all research shows that boundaries of residential land, collective development land and public land remain almost the same inside the village (on the remaining collective land). Concurrently, the village inherited the former collective administrative systems and the operating mechanism of land use, which led to "*the coexistence of the urban and rural administration in built-up areas of the city*" (Tian, 2008, p.287). Based on this, the accessible land use leads to more connections with the outside world and persons.

Nevertheless, from the standpoint of Cheng and Selden (1994), the state and local governments intend to sustain the priority of urban and industrial development by restricting a massive amount of peasants from accessing urban amenities with this social control instrument (i.e. Hukou system). The "*urban-rural household registration system (Hukou) has resulted in an urban-rural dichotomy and uneven development*" (He et al., 2009, p.1925). Before the economic reform of the late 1980s, policies of planned economy only provided living necessities for registered residents in the city (local urban Hukou holders), which makes these resources untouchable for rural peasants. "*In many other ways, ranging from retirement to health care to education to subsidized housing, the state assumed responsibility for the livelihood of urban workers, particularly state sector employees, while enjoining rural people to practice collective self-reliance*" (Cheng & Selden, 1994, p.658). Self-reliance means the peasants should rely on self-development to acquire their social rights, as the mechanism of self-governance and self-management of village land use stated earlier. Land exclusively owned and managed by villagers is their primary resources to achieve this goal. Based on places of origin and birth, the state government implements Hukou Policy, which assigns individuals with either urban or rural resident titles, to regulate their access to respective social benefits and determine their eligibility for land ownership (i.e. cities vs. villages). Furthermore, Cheng and Selden (1994) indicate that this policy has not been abolished even after the collapse of the earlier planed economy and the increasing number of rural migrants moving to the cities since the 1980s. However, it "*continues to differentiate opportunity structures for the entire population on the basis of position within a clearly defined, if once again partially permeable, spatial hierarchy*" (Cheng & Selden, 1994, p.668).

The social and economic identity of indigenous villagers is not merely affected by the preserved boundaries on remaining collective land, as it is differentiated from that of urban and migrant residents by the boundary of Hukou (Li, 2002; Tian, 2008). Although the social identities of indigenous villagers have not been converted into a real non-agricultural one (i.e. urban citizens), they are allowed to have "*certain privileges such as zhajidi land and two children. Therefore, they are reluctant to be converted into urban residents*" (Tian, 2008, p.287). In principle, the indigenous villagers' access to land use (absolutely independent management mechanism of collective land) and the invisible boundaries (such as Hukou) between the villagers and outsiders are not altered by the land requisition. On the contrary, the preserved separation implies a remaining urban-rural dichotomy and uneven development, including the unbalanced distribution of public and social resources and goods within the municipal region (He et al., 2009; UNDP, 2013; World Bank, 2014). The land requisition policies of the state emphasize the self-development of villagers on their remaining collective land; however, they do not enforce mandatory inclusion and integration of villages into urban public service and social protection system. It is a common transitional phenomenon that the urban villagers still can grant the self-developed social rights on their collective land after land requisition and

before redevelopment.

Locale Priority and Regional Discrimination in Villages

In rural villages, land and the related social rights are still the special privileges for local residents only, which are restricted from being access by any outsiders (i.e. both the urban citizens and other rural migrants). The literature and studies presented previously show that the land requisitions by city plans did not change the titles of all collective farming land into state-owned land in urban villages. Moreover, urban villages still preserve their autonomy of land use to develop different kinds of properties, social services and public amenities. Hence, the retention of self-reliance for urban villages implies that the collective communities need to survive on their own under policies of self-governance of socio-economic affairs and self-management of land use as before. In order to compensate the decrease of living standards of peasants after land requisition, the central government encourages local governments to enhance social protections of the villagers (Article 8, 29th Document, 2006, State Council). Nevertheless, local governments have a hard time to erect a universal system feasible in all cities. As described before, the property management and all community affairs in urban villages are organized through establishment of sharing holding corporations or other forms of collective entities with certain identity instruments (Wong, 2016) on the basis of collective ownership. The collective ownership (common use of collective) reserved for the urban villages continually functions as a means to distinguish urban villagers from outsiders in every aspect of social and economic life.

However, the Chinese Hukou system designates the social rights of Chinese citizens not on the basis that it is state's responsibility of providing basic social rights for all citizens (as argued by Marshall (1950)), but according to their geographic location (i.e. place of origin and birth). Chan and Buckingham (2008) also reckoned that *"hukou system [is] an institution with the power to restrict population mobility and access to state-sponsored benefits for the majority of China's rural population"* (p.582). The locale-priority reflects on every respect of social life either in the cities or rural areas throughout the whole country. Although the rural-urban migrants are no longer strictly confined to their registered place of origin (village), most of them are still marked with the rural resident identities according to their original birth place. For the migrants who have not registered in local place, Hukou still functions as a boundary restricting their access to most urban facilities and social services due to the lack of social reform in the city, especially in the aspects of urban public housing system and social security. Sadly, they dominate the poor population in the cities (Wang, 2000) As a result, they are forced to find suitable accommodations in the urban villages, where Hukou system is no longer a barrier preventing them from accessing the cheaper housing in redeveloped villages as it is tacitly accepted by law and local policies.

Migrant residents could gain some basic social rights, such as access to housing, public infrastructures and social services on collective land if they got the access to land use from the Villagers' Committee or individual households by various means in urban villages. However, granting certain social rights does not imply a real integration of the migrant residents into the urban village. They will never be identified as the indigenous villagers of that urban village. As discussed in preceding parts, the collective land ownership is still used by the village as a criterion to distinguish the urban village and its indigenous villagers from outsiders including the rural-urban migrants. The self-management of land use and the powerful Hukou system enhance the dominant role of indigenous villagers in deciding to what extent the migrants could be included in the land use, such as housing rent and property leasing for commercial and industrial use. Besides, several public services and social welfare and security can be accessed by the local population exclusively. Thus, scholars points out that migrants are forced to run some self-services like the private school themselves with scarce resources and support from the government, due to lack of provision from local cities and villages (Lin, 2011). Fortunately, the access to affordable land supplied by the urban villages makes the self-services of migrants feasible. Nevertheless, the real integration of diverse groups in the village and a more open access to land use and related social rights are still not yet attainable.

In a conclusion, preceding paragraphs of this section narrate how land use in villages has evolved since the foundation of P. R. China in 1949 and prove that the process of constructing an urban village involves several stakeholders. What the social construction brought to the urban village is not only the alteration of land use but also several institutions established by stakeholders, such as the exclusive ownership of collective land, Hukou system, self-management of land use and so on. These institutions determined the access to land use and social rights in the urban village on one hand, and isolate the village from the urban system and sustain its existence on the other hand. Although the state and the government still fully control the urban planning and design the institutional framework of land ownership and land use through laws and regulations, a tendency to protect the land and property rights to ensure villagers' living standard and benefits was revealed in different government proposals over the past decades. The evolvement of urban villages is an outcome of those considerations. Yet, as long as some collective land and autonomous power are retained in a village, villagers are "isolated" from urban community even if their village is located within the municipal territory in the urban planning.

2.3 A Definition of the Urban Village: from a perspective of boundary

From the perspective of property rights, the land of urban villages located inside state-owned territory is actually under collective ownership; the collective land reserved for absolute exclusive use by villagers can now be used by the whole population of the city. From the perspective of urban landscape, the urban village is a piece of collective land composed of rural house sites and constructions and surrounded by urban architectures and facilities. From the perspective of social classes, the urban villagers possessing rural collective identity are living in the space of urban area. From the perspective of institutional regime, the urban village is a self-organized institution under the centralized municipality. Urban villages result from the intentional design, planning and construction of the state and government, in which stakeholders set up the boundaries and institutions in land use and social rights.

The following paragraphs summarize the "boundaries" related to land use and social rights in the urban village and define the urban village from a perspective of boundary-making – a social construction process. When land is defined as the property associated with a "bundle of rights" (Commons, 1892; Ho, 2003; Gray, 1991) and "relations among people and entities" (Munzer, 1990), it inevitably draws interests and involvement of diverse individuals and groups. He et al. (2009) stated that the rights of any physical resources like the land are usually "*separated and assigned to different parties*" (p.127) When rights can be separated and fragmented among various stakeholders like the state, governments, private individuals and entities, property in land signifies not only the ownership but also other rights, such as rights associated with possession, usufruct, lease, mortgage, etc. In the urban village, the stakeholders, based on their relations with each other, might possess certain access to land use, obtain certain property rights. Although it is impossible for any of them to acquire the entire categories of rights in land, gaining access to some rights in land use is meaningful for their livings and development, particularly for those who are relatively poor in the urban village.

The stakeholders' property relations in land use in the urban village can be learned from current boundaries of land use constructed by the stakeholders after land requisition. This research argues that the stakeholders (i.e. the state, governments, the village collective, individual villagers and migrant residents) adopt certain mechanisms to establish and maintain this status quo as discussed in detail previously. The "ambiguous" institutional framework of land ownership and land use, as stated by Ho (2001), He et al. (2009) and other scholars, can be a double-edged sword: it violates villagers' rights in the land requisition on one hand, and it also leads to leakage allowing the urban village to pursue power and support for their rights on the other hand. In the process of constructing an urban village, as many scholars (Paasi, 1999, p. 69;

Smith, 1996; Shapiro & Alker, 1996) point out, the state plays a dominant role in building territory and boundaries between the city and village area with their power of politics, laws, and administrations and governance and so on. Meanwhile, several institutions associated with the boundary construction in land use do make great the effort to protect villagers' property rights in land use.

Clearly defining collective land titles in the dual ownership system will enhance the security and efficiency in land use (Prosterman, Ping, & Zhu, 2006; Deininger, 2007a; Palomar, 2002) in certain societal conditions and circumstances. In China, the dual ownership system of land grants "native villagers' free access to land use" and self-management gives the local governments more flexibility in implementing strategies to address social issues and conflicts arisen from land requisition and urbanization (Song et al., 2008: 316; Ho, 2001; Tian, 2008; and etc). These facts results in the retention of some collective land and self-management of land use and property in the urban villages. Moreover, the regulations of the collective land use for the collective and individual householders are more elastic and loose in urban villages than in the cities, which to a great extent result in the villagers' decisive role in land use on their plots (Song et al., 2008) and allow the village cadres to achieve socio-economic development (Ho, 2001). Furthermore, the nexus between the urban village and the city support the collectively self-developed businesses and property in the municipal governance network. For instance, the official land registration system and co-built land trading platform to a certain extent help fulfil and secure property rights for the villagers. Therefore, the village and individual households are able to establish certain relationship with the outside people in term of land use. Those relations imply that they can get involved in land use in some extent.

In urban villages, land-related identifies (i.e. villagers or urban citizens) assigned according to their registered places of origin act as the boundary on accessing land use and social rights. Hukou empowered by the state and enhanced by local government marks the belonging places of the populace and is an expression of the legal "territory" of partitioned social identities and status. There are two streams of separations by this "boundary" discussed earlier. One is the separation within a municipal territory where the land is divided into the state-owned city area and collectively-owned urban village area. Another one is the separation between the indigenous villagers and the migrants in the urban village. On the first aspect, most local governments failed to unify the social rights of their population under the divergent land use and Hukou title due to their distinctive identities registered as urban citizen or villagers. The village self-management and kinship network in the villages still assist the indigenous villagers to pursue the protection and security for their social rights. Kabeer (2002) argues that "*where the state is weak and social economic rights are either missing, or fail to reach major sections of society, kinship and community relations remain the primary "anchor of security" for individuals*"(p.16) One popular mechanism used by self-governed urban villages is the land share-holding company which not only designates collective land for industrial and commercial and residential use, but also organizes the public affairs and social security of the villagers in the urban village (Tian, 2008).

As to the second aspect, the consciousness of belonging is strengthened by the local kin and social network, which exclude migrants from free access to most collective land use and some social rights, like the free primary education, social security and so on. Former sections concern about the social and economic boundaries formed by intentional construction of divergent identities, self-management and the "unruly practices" that other stakeholders are not in control of (Kabeer, 2002, p.9; Shklar, 1991, p.55), as some of these practices are officially recognized and some are tacitly accepted in the context of China. However, under the particular institutional arrangement, the urban village yields several mechanisms to govern and regulate human activities in land use through unofficial/official contracts and agreements. These activities provide the outsiders with limited open access to land resources and property rights which are not well-defined by law (Tian, 2008). Moreover, through some "unruly practices" (e.g. the unsupervised standard of building design, construction and village planning (Song et al., 2008), and the unimpeded access to some public amenities and services), both villagers and

migrants can obtain some social protection and access to housing and public facilities to fulfill their basic social rights in urban villages.

This research stresses the “social construction” in boundary-making in urban villages. In the context of urban village, this process will be also presented as a “game” (see Table 2.4) in which different stakeholders, i.e. the state, governments, villages, villagers and migrant tenants and so on, interact with each other with their own strategies and means. Their activities contribute to the formation of boundaries and institutions in urban villages. And from the agricultural time to the time of urban village, the composition of stakeholders and their strategies varied from time to time. Accordingly, the boundaries and institutions change in the village in different ages. As mentioned earlier, like research Ellickson (1992) conducted, the author combines these institutions and stakeholders within a relational framework, which contains different norms and rules of each stakeholder (see Table 2.3), namely social control system. In Chapter 3 and 4 will elucidate more in detail with case study in Nanjiao Village. Besides, this research concentrates more on the interrelationships and interactions between stakeholders in such a “social control” system. This research proposes that it is also a game that stakeholders need to participate in and interact with each other to sustain the order of the system and the society. Furthermore, another important work is to check whether the functions of boundary (see Figure 2.1) are well-fulfilled to organize and control the social order in the urban village.

In conclusion, we found that the boundaries (institutions) and stakeholders could have reciprocal causation. The boundary is the result of the social construction led by different stakeholders’ activities, which reflects the social power relations on the one hand; and on the other hand, boundary limits the behaviours and activities of stakeholders who construct it. In other words, stakeholders set up the boundaries governing and regulating land use and their community. In this process, their identities (one kind of institution) are formed and represent their relations in the community and the status of land use. Then, if this relation authorizes an individual with a certain identity, they may be able to gain some social rights in the community to some extent, or be excluded from the social rights furnished by the community. For the stakeholders in the urban village, the boundaries in land use are identified not solely according to its geographic aspect. The boundaries expressed their relations in land use, from which their social identities and characteristics can be determined. These elements are related to the achievement of social rights. In a word, the boundary distinguishing different individuals in the aspects of social identity and social rights is not only in a social-economic form but also is related to the land with tangible boundary. Hence, with the land use well arranged by the boundary-making and person’s property relations, it is supposed that certain social rights can also be well organized in the urban village during this process. The urban village, in its “boundary” meaning, is the result of social construction, based on their property relations that reshapes “boundary” of the collective land of a rural village, through which land use and social rights for stakeholders are arranged.

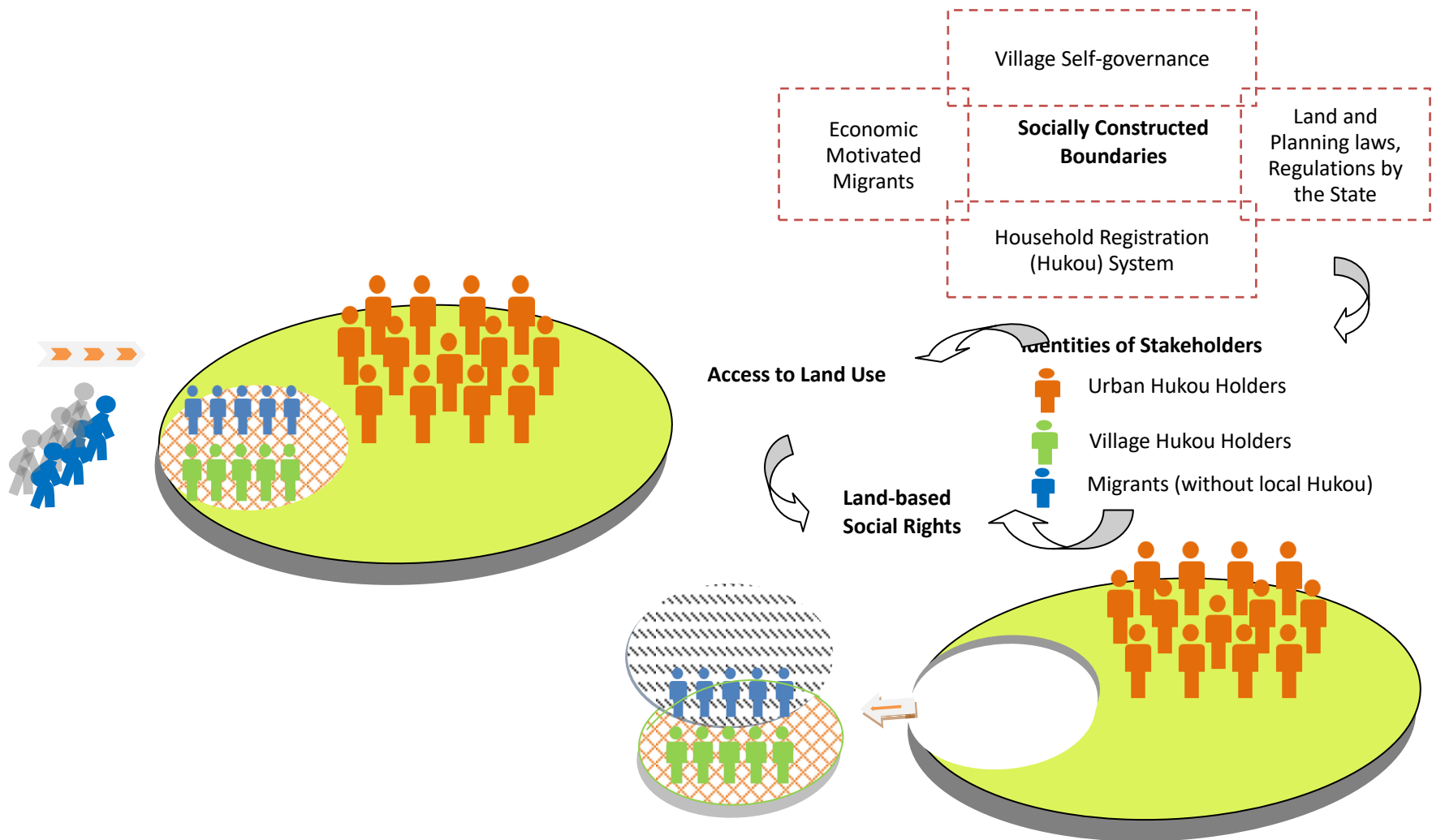


Figure 2.8: The Relationship between Boundaries, Land Use and Social Rights in the Urban Village
 Author's contribution

3 Boundary-making: combining land use with social rights – a case study

The earlier chapter has developed an understanding of land use and social rights in urban villages through boundary's perspective. It also narrates the evolvement of land use, construction activities of stakeholders and their relations in land use, from the age of the rural village to that of the urban village, since the foundation of P. R. China in 1949. Changes in land use can be detected and comprehended through the observation of the visible boundaries clearly demarcating land use, and the associated institutions constructed by the stakeholders, to regulate their relationship in land use in the village. Beyond this, the research also considers this process of boundary construction as a “game”, in which the interested parties adopt various strategies and methods (e.g. law-making and policy-making through state power and governmental enforcement, negotiation and contract-making between individuals and entities and so on) to create “boundaries” in land use. The author also hypothesises that in urban villages, social rights and land use are interrelated. When a person have certain relation to the land, it is possible for him to obtain access to some social rights to a certain degree, including housing, public facilities and social services. This is because these socially constituted boundaries and the institutions in the background determine individuals' social status and identities relating to a particular piece of land and somehow determine their attainment of certain social rights.

With the introductory visit to the two groups of residents– villagers and migrant residents--residing together in a house in Nanjiao Village narrated in Chapter 1, we can briefly learn from their experience of achieving the access to land use and some social rights. Chapter 3 will continue the research journey to Nanjiao Village, to discover the diverse boundaries of land use, to investigate individual's relations in land use and to analyse the stakeholders' dedication to boundary (institution) construction and sequent access to land use. Based on this, this research is going to ascertain their ability to achieve some related social rights. This chapter will unfold with the introduction of fieldwork design in an urban village (Section 3.1) and a brief historical review of land use and social rights in the time of People's Commune and HCR, through the analysis and synthesis of documents and first-hand material from interviews and observations (Section 3.2). Thereafter, it focuses on the study of the period when Nanjiao Village was transformed from a rural village to an urban village (Section 3.3). In the last section (Section 3.4), it presents the status quo of achievement of social rights and analyzes the relationship between the land use and social rights. In each section, the author will present the main findings from the fieldwork, with the observation results, transcription of interviews with stakeholders and second-hand materials and data. Then, the research will make a theoretical analysis and synthesis regarding land use and social rights during different time.

3.1 An Instructive Journey to Nanjiao Village

In 2014 and 2015, the author conducted fieldwork in Nanjiao Village, starting with the investigation of boundaries, between the village and the city, within the village and inside a house (Figure 3.1). The fieldwork was carried out mainly in three contexts (Figure 3.1): the frontiers between the village and the urban area, collective land in the village and the private

family house on residential area. They consist of the boundaries of (surrounding) the village territory, boundaries on collective land within the village and boundaries inside a village house respectively, all of which constitute the boundary system of Nanjiao Village. The interviewed stakeholders in these contexts are those who have certain connections to the village: the migrant residents who live or work in the village, the village householders who are *de jure* owners of collective land, the village cadre (members of the Villagers' Committee representing villagers, owning and managing collective land) and the municipal authorities who represent the state, the government. For each group of stakeholders in different contexts, the research designed the questionnaire concerning questions on types of boundaries, modes of land use, individual's relations in land use, functions of boundaries (i.e. division, separation and connection) and their influence on resident's life in the urban village, and the status of achievement of social rights, their attitudes to urban villages.

Before entering into the field, the author contacted the local authorities and acquired their permission to carry out the investigation in the village. The theoretical sampling was utilized to select the interviewees in the village. Some of the interviewees are introduced by the Villagers' Committee and those first few interviewees referred me to the next potential ones. This is following snowball sampling method. However, some of the interviewees were chosen randomly (not based on random number table but haphazardly). In order to acquire complete information, sometimes, the author act as a "complete observer" to investigate and record, for example, the appearance and condition of houses and boundaries, the situation of land use, individuals' activities in the village, and so on. In most cases, the author acts as a "participant and observer" to organize the interviews and meetings with individuals, families and other focus groups (such as the township leaders and Villagers' Committee). In the fieldwork, the author use the notebook, audio recorder and cameras to record replies, answers and observation in the village

The author interviewed 1 municipal officer, 2 scholars from local university, 2 township authorities and 4 village cadres, 8 village families and 16 migrants' families. Most of interviews were carried out through groups meeting. Normally, at the beginning of an interview or a group meeting, the researcher requested the participants to describe and discuss the urban village life and experiences. Then, each target group or individual is required to respond to the similar questions regarding the land use and house construction, building condition and living standards, the accessibility to land use, public facilities and social services, and on various themes this research wants to explore. Based on the collected data, this research makes a synthesis of responses by using the framework developed in Chapter 2 and tests the theories and hypothesis central to this research. This chapter also uses a realist tale approach and narrative analysis for the qualitative research, with utilizing the photos, figures, charts and geographic information to develop better understanding of boundary-making in land use and the achievement of social rights in the urban village. This kind of qualitative research will present a story that contains many "*interrelations and connections in a complex social context*" (like the boundary-making) which involves several "*groups and individuals engaging in action and make choice*" (Neuman, 2011, p.525).

In the first context (see Figure 3.1), the field work was expected to discover the nexus between the village and the city: how resident's individual lives, businesses, public facilities and social services in Nanjiao Village link it with the city. The research discusses those boundaries/institutions set up by the stakeholders between the city and the village. The author interviewed officials from the Guangzhou Municipal Government and experts from local universities, and gathered relevant archives and materials. Several migrant residents and village households were also interviewed by the author, to understand how their life in the urban village is connected to the urban area. After the investigation, this research analyzes how boundaries function (separation, division and connection) in the space and the *status quo* of property relations among stakeholders.

In the second context (see Figure 3.1), the investigation focuses on the whole area of Nanjiao Village, to ascertain how different parts of collective land connect with each other in the village. Through the observation of 57 family houses and most of the public facilities and social services in the village and interviews with stakeholders, the research gathered the first-hand and second-hand materials. This research reveals how different terms of collective land use were arranged in Nanjiao Village through the boundary construction by stakeholders, how stakeholders attained access to land use and whether migrants and villagers were able to obtain adequate food, clothing, basic education, medical care, social security and other welfare measures in the village.

In the third context (see Figure 3.1), during the research, the author stayed in the village and commenced the investigation with visits to village houses, where the author conducted in-depth interviews and group meetings with village families and migrant families, to find out how boundaries inside their houses were constructed, function and erect the access to adequate housing and living facilities for both village house owners and migrant tenants. The investigated contents include the arrangement of space through “boundary construction” by stakeholders, conditions of their residential space, their reciprocal communications and activities in daily life, and their attitudes to each other in the urban village.

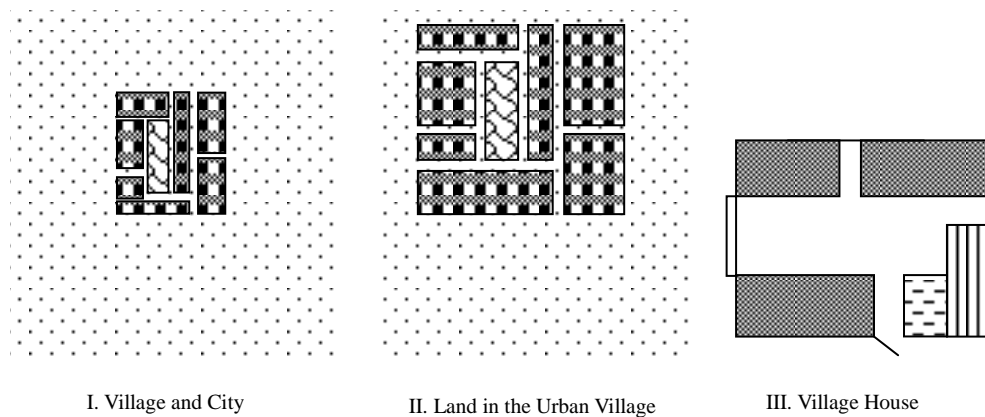


Figure 3.1: Fields of Research in Nanjiao Village

Author's contributions

The brief roadmap of implementing the fieldwork is as follows: depending on the participants' observation and in-depth interviews, to discover the boundaries and institutions visible and invisible in the village, to find out how they are constructed by the stakeholders, function and determine the exclusion and inclusion of land use and achievement of social rights (Figure 3.2).

As aforementioned, these concepts of land use, social rights, property relation and social construction mostly reflect individual's subjective attitudes and activities towards land, local community, and human beings. Hence, the qualitative study approach would be applied to narrate and analyze the findings from the fieldwork and test the hypotheses proposed in Chapter 2. Through fieldwork it is envisaged that each boundary of land use in different time would imply certain construction work by the different interested parties. Based on this, a deeper analysis is required relating to their activities and practices constituting these boundaries (institutions), which form a network combining the strategies and methods adopted by stakeholders, as proposed in Chapter 2 (see Table 2.2). As a result, the fieldwork will present the constructed boundaries and associated institutions and analyze the functions of boundaries and property relations during different periods. Meanwhile, based on official statistics and archives on land use obtained from Nanjiao Village and the municipality, some empirical results will be utilized to reveal the real socio-economic status and position of land use in Nanjiao Village. Thereafter, this study will examine whether the functions of the boundary will be well-fulfilled

and present the findings regarding how individual's life is affected by the extant boundaries in the village. Thereafter this study will examine whether and how those land-related boundaries (institutions) influence residents' ability to achieve social rights in Nanjiao Village. However, the availability of land use rights does not *ipso facto* mean access to some social rights, which will also be underlined in the research. Hence, the research will reveal those institutions which obstruct the ability to achieve some social rights. Then, with these results, this research test whether the boundary-making, by the social construction of including/excluding individual residents in/ from the access to land use, will fulfil attainment of social rights in the urban village.

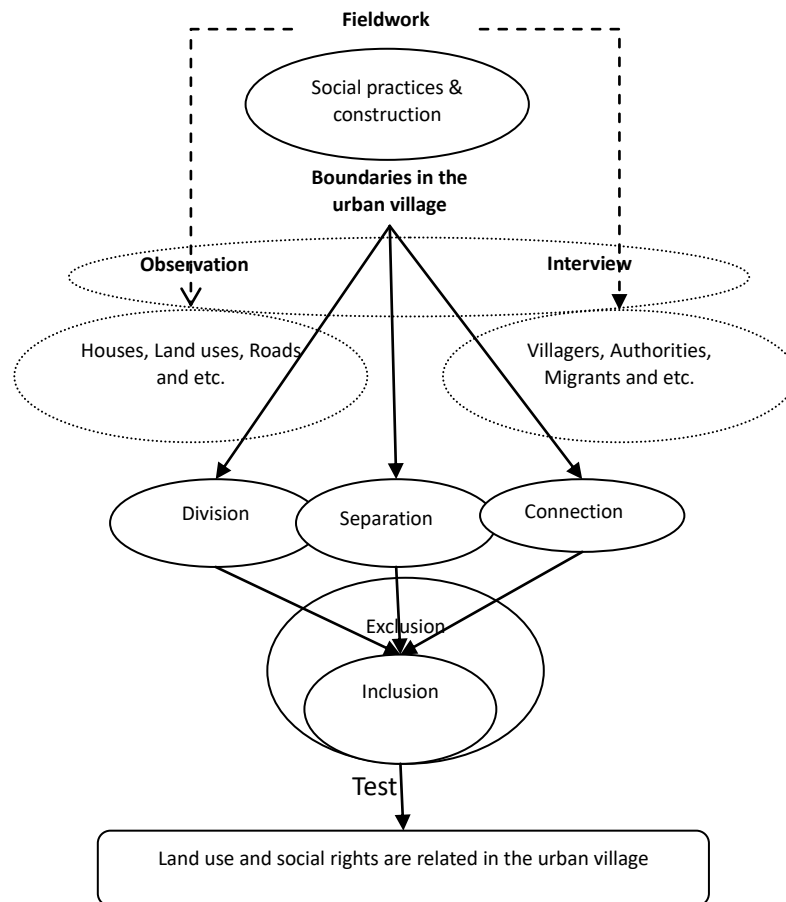


Figure 3.2: Roadmap of the Investigation Journey
Author's contribution

3.2 Learning Boundaries in People's Commune and Household Contract Era

The Nanjiao villagers' ancestors settled down there during the Ming Dynasty rule in the 15th century. Particularly, almost all the indigenous villagers belonged to the three clans – Liang, He and Chen. They were engaged in agriculture and passed on the land from generation to generation. At that time, the land ownership was highly concentrated in the hands of a small group of landlords and rich households. Land-less peasants had to cultivate farmlands owned by the landlords and earned some grains or a bit of cash for their livelihoods. Besides, they relied on their families and clans to handle personal and family businesses, like marriage, wedding and

funeral. People placed their family and clan on an important position and each year they celebrated important festivals in the ancestral temple to show their respect and safeguard their loyalty to the clan. Today, the ancestral temples still stands on the remaining collective land in Nanjiao Village and indigenous villagers continue holding ceremonies every year. After the foundation of P. R. China, the new law system had led to some changes in the land use. This research scrutinizes the boundaries of land use and property relations of stakeholders in People’s Commune and Household Contract era to test if social rights would be accessed in Nanjiao Village in that agricultural age.

3.2.1 People’s Commune – an isolated paradise?

In the early years of P. R. China, the collective farmland in the village was distributed to rural families. Soon thereafter, the People’s Commune was established to own all village land collectively and to guarantee equal land use right to all peasants in the village. In 1958, the People’s Commune replaced the township government and the usage right of farmland was re-taken and centralized by the village, putting an end to private agricultural production by the individual households. Villagers congregated to work on the farmland, instead. In Nanjiao Village, the production brigade became the administrative organ managing the collective farmland, which consisted of 10 production teams (Figure 3.3). Meanwhile, the “Household Registration” (Hukou) policy compelled peasants with Nanjiao Hukou to live and work as a team in the village. The interviewed village cadres (members of Villagers’ Committee) mentioned that free movement, settlement and employment were impossible for villagers at that time (personal communication, 2014). Working outside the village must be organized and approved by the villagers’ representative assembly or the administrative committee of the Nanjiao production brigade. In everyday life, they mostly contacted with their village neighbours, working, studying, entertaining and eating with together. Outsiders were rare in the village and villagers seldom travelled to the other places. Besides, villagers can also found the obstacles in other aspects. For instance, the free exchange of goods and private business are extremely forbidden at that time and thus villagers were unable to develop the mutual economic connection with the outsiders. By these restrictions implemented by the state and governments, Nanjiao villagers were almost segregated from the outside world during the period of communes. In the meantime, boundaries of land use remained almost unchanged, with villagers being limited within the village territory and their relations in land use stable.

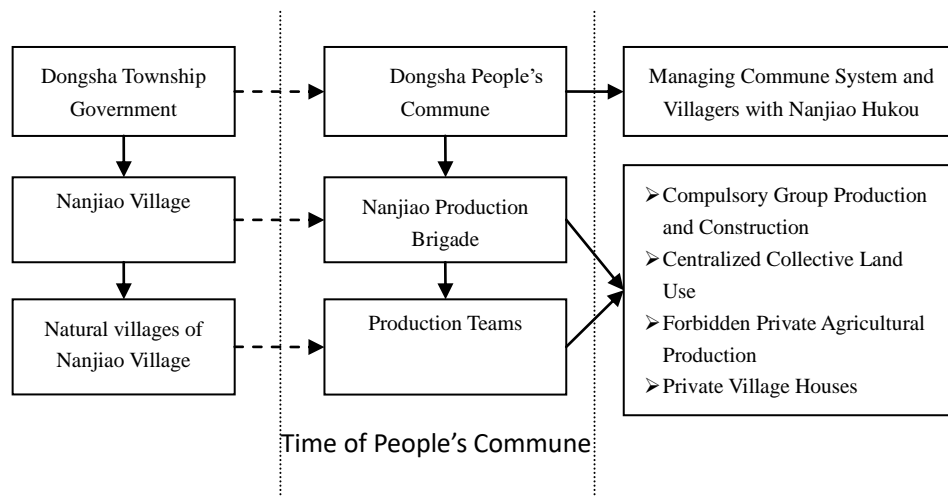


Figure 3.3: Administrative Structure of Nanjiao Village in the People’s Commune Era
Author’s contribution

In the era of the People's Commune, the dominant part of farmland, which occupied more than 60% of the total area of the village, was to be cultivated by the villagers collectively (See Image 3.1). The remaining part was developed for public uses, residential sites and private plots³¹. Although the land was owned by different production teams in Nanjiao Village, most of the production activities and public projects were organized and managed by the Nanjiao production brigade (now renamed as the Villagers' Committee). At that time, a 3,540 meter-long road was built by the production brigade to connect each part of the village. Meanwhile, a collective farm with a total area of 133.87 hectares was established; electricity lines totalled 4920 meters; 12 irrigation canals extended to 6,600 meters (See Image 3.3 & 3.4). Rural family houses were clumped together along the Nanjiao Chung (River) and formed the residential area, of which the edge (marked in red) distinguished it from the other parts of the village (see Image 3.1). The legal construction of the People's Commune by the state and the local social and economic practices sculptured the landscape of the village, which remained almost unchanged till the end of the 20th century (see Image 3.2). In addition to these practices, which helped to shape the boundaries in Nanjiao Village, other factors, such as the slow urbanization and the planned economy system, might have restricted the land utilization at that time.

“As part of the national economic system, the village took the responsibility of food provision for the urban citizen at that time. The government requires us to produce the grains and submit some portion of them to the city”, said Mr. C. H. He (personal communication, 2014).

However, he explained that for most of the villagers, who did not have title to any land and worked for the landlords in the village before the P. R. China, the collective ownership and equal group work seemed more attractive. Therefore, the commune system was easily accepted by the villagers, who had great faith in this new communist country and collective production.

There is no doubt that in the beginning years of P. R. China, the state and government wielded their dominant power over the construction of boundaries and coherent institutions of land use (see **Table 3.1**) in Nanjiao Village. In this process, the villagers obeyed the government passively on nearly every aspect of their everyday life, including agricultural production and the construction of public amenities and services. The village brigade took the responsibility of organizing the group production and turned over the products to the city government, constructing village infrastructures and public facilities, supervising the village house, providing living necessities for the villagers and so on. The villagers adhered to the arrangement of production and construction by the village brigade and built their own private houses. **Table 3.2** combines the strategies and instruments used by different stakeholders into a network, illustrating the interactions between stakeholders, contributing to the formation of boundaries in Nanjiao Village during the time of the People's Commune. Migrants were rather rare at that time due to the population control regulated by Hukou system. Thus, the network took no account of the migrants.

³¹ Except the collective production on farmland, a rural family was allowed to have a small piece of land to grow vegetables and husband animals. Article 40 of the Regulations on the Rural People's Communes states: *“the total area of private plots shall take up 5% - 7% of the farmland in the village.”*



Image 3.1: Land Uses Nanjiao Village from 1950s to 1970s

Source: Nanjiao Villagers Committee (2007)



Image 3.2: Satellite Picture of Landscape in Nanjiao Village in 2000s

Source: Nanjiao Villagers' Committee (2007)

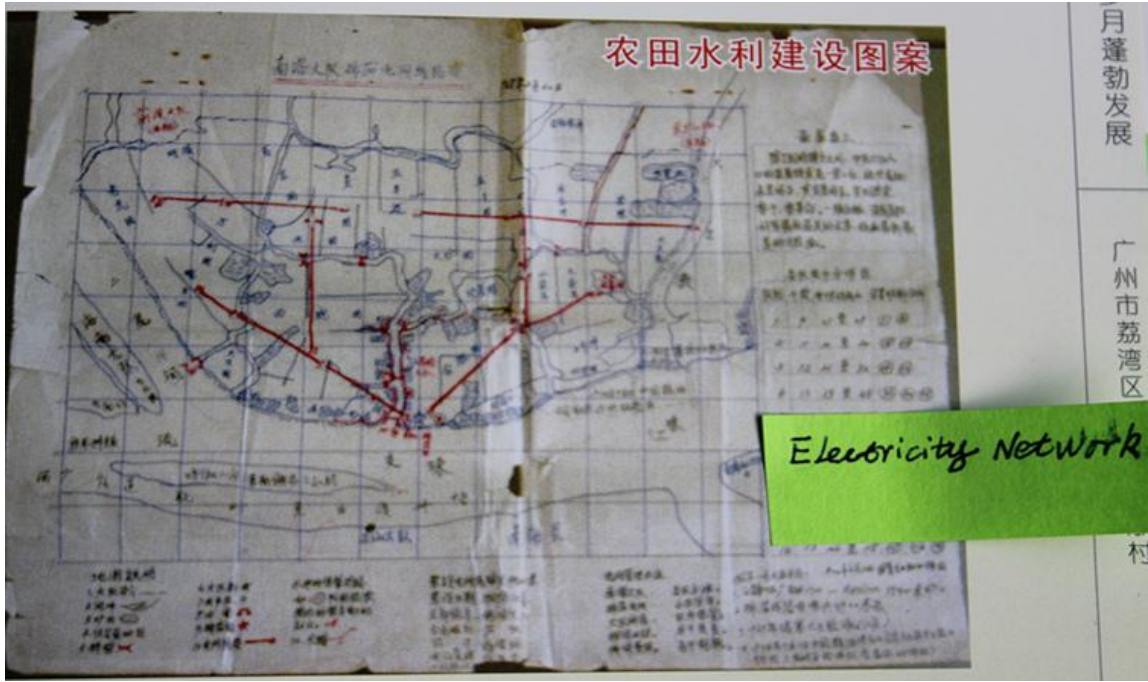


Image 3.3: Electricity Lines in Nanjiao Village from 1950s to 1970s (red lines)
 Source: Nanjiao Villagers' Committee (2007)

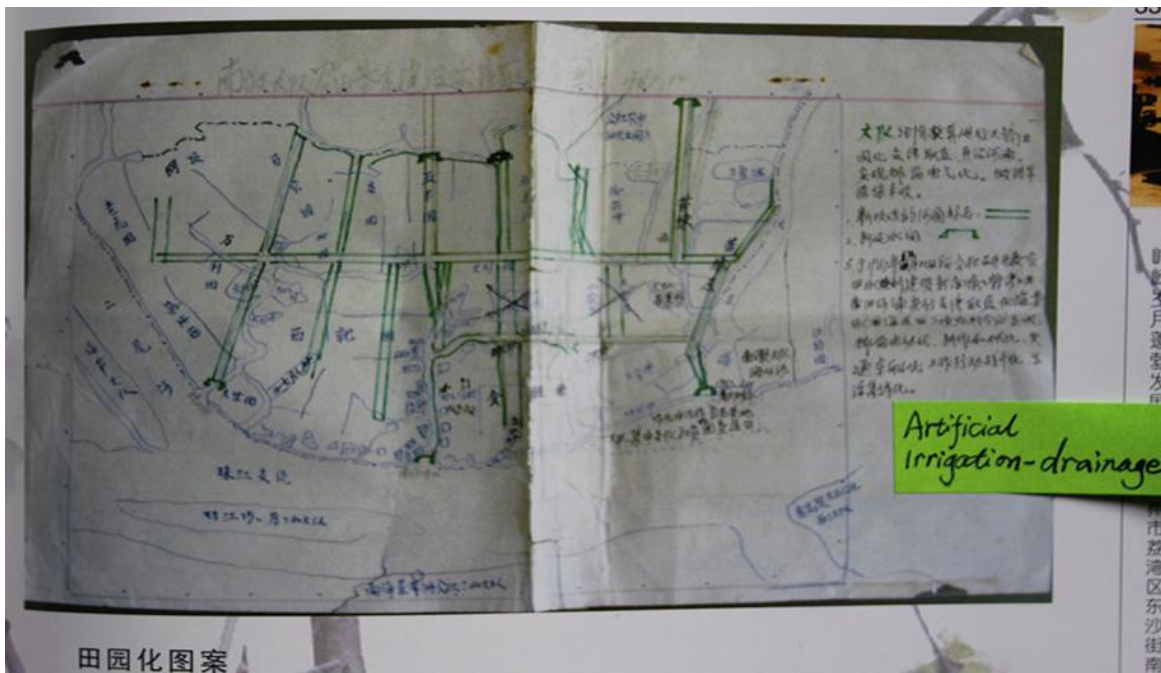


Image 3.4: Irrigation Canals in Nanjiao Village from 1950s to 70s (green lines)
 Source: Nanjiao Villagers' Committee (2007)

Visible boundaries	Invisible boundaries	Institutions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Boundaries of different land use within the village: centralized farmland, residential land and public land ➤ Boundaries between the village and other parts of the city 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Impermeable social and economic boundaries ➤ Forbidden private predication, business and movement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Commune system ➤ Hukou Policy ➤ Centralized land use collectively ➤ Planned economy ➤ Other laws, regulations, and traditions

Table: 3.1 Boundaries in People’s Commune Time

Author’s contribution

→	State and government	Village production brigade	Villagers
State and government	Judicial and political power to make laws and regulations on collective ownership and land use, planned economy, commune system and Hukou Policy	Enforcing laws, regulations, directives on agricultural production and commune	Restricting the free movement by Hukou Policy
Village production brigade	Obedying the Laws, regulations, directives on collectively agricultural production and on land for construction use	Mediator between the government and the villagers. Self-management in land use and all village affairs	Organizing the collective production
Villagers	Obedying the rules of commune system and Hukou Policy	Obedying the collective production and construction activities	Constructing own village houses

Table 3.2: Network of Boundary Construction in People’s Commune Time

Author’s contribution

The boundaries of land use in Nanjiao Village seemed quite simple in the time of the People’s Commune under the powerful governmental authority. In such circumstances, would the functions of boundary be fulfilled in the village? By using Davy (2004, p. 68; 2012, p.12)’s liminal functionality, I try to answer this question as followed.

Division: At that time, collective land in Nanjiao Village was divided into four parts: farmland for the collective agricultural production, public land for the infrastructures and public utilities, residential land for house building, and a little private plot area for households, of which the farmland took up the dominant part of the village area (over 60%). Each divided part of the collective land was limited to a specific use and controlled by individuals or groups. On the farmland, each production team took charge of a specified area. The farmland must be utilized for the joint agricultural production, which was planned and organized by the production team or the production brigade. Private cultivation was forbidden. Besides the collective work on farmland, villagers were assembled to construct public utilities and infrastructures by themselves. On the residential land, each rural family was allotted a plot of land and the attached private house. The family had the exclusive right of using its territory and house, which could not be trespassed upon or utilized by anyone else without permission. In addition, the family could husband animals and grow vegetables on its private plot.

Separation: 1) Boundaries of Nanjiao Village territory remained unchanged throughout the duration of the People’s Commune. Even though there were no obvious physical barriers (i.e. walls and rivers), the whole village was separated from the outside places by its geographic boundary. Meanwhile, as aforementioned, with institutions such as collective land ownership, centralized land use, Hukou Policy and planed economy, the land use in the village was also independent from the city and other rural villages. Population flow was practically nil at that time, since both the indigenious villagers and civil migrants were not allowed to move and work in other villages and cities, which were strictly constrained by the Hukou system. 2) Boundaries within the village also played the role of separation. For instance, on residential plots, land was

divided into pieces for each village family. The boundary of the whole plot separated itself from the other parts of collective land in the village. Another example is the boundary of the land of a village house and private plot. Inside the house, space was divided for different uses (e.g. living room, sleeping room, kitchen, toilet, etc.). The boundary of each house and private plot separated it from other village houses and private plots. Each rural family had the exclusive right of usage of its territory and house, which could not be trespassed upon or utilized by anyone else without permission.

Connection: 1) Within the village, boundaries connect each part of the land for specific use. New electricity lines and irrigation canals were constructed to link up each part of the farmland as a whole. Moreover, the committee of the production brigade arranged for the villagers to build a new road 3,540 meters long to connect different parts of the village, which facilitated villager's farming work and daily life. Boundaries among different divisions of collective land did not prevent anyone from entering into their working grounds and private homes. Indeed, the group production on farmland offered more opportunities to residents to communicate with their neighbours. Furthermore, on residential sites, there were no clear physical obstacles (e. g. walls and defences) and other institutions, impeding communication between the neighbouring households in the village. 2) Boundaries of the village territory connected the village with other places without any obstructive physical barrier. However, as mentioned before, several institutions existed to obstruct the exchange and flow of labour, products and capital between villages and cities, in the time of the People's Commune.

Based on the land use under the commune system, did villagers have access to adequate standards of living in the Nanjiao production brigade? Here are some findings from the fieldwork. The village houses were almost exclusively used by the indigenous villagers and not by any migrants who did not possess Nanjiao Hukou at that time. Information from the investigation revealed that the condition of the houses was poor – normally they were one-floor flats made of bricks and timber. Nevertheless, the ground space of each house was around 40-80 square meters (personal communication with Villager's Committee, 2014), accommodating 3-5 persons on an average (See Chart 3.1). The average living area per capita in Nanjiao Village was larger than that of urban residents in Guangzhou City, which was less than 5 square meters at that time (See Chart 3.2).

Forbidding of private production did not mean that the villagers would be excluded from the social and economic benefits produced from the collective farmland, even though the state and governments would request some amount of grains from the village to support the city. The urban citizen relied on the distribution of grains and foods to survive under the socialist planned economy. Indeed, the villager's identity under the Hukou system guaranteed them some amount of distribution paid in cash, as long as they worked on the farmland (See Chart 3.3). Considering the limitations on income from other production activities, it is estimated that this sum of money was their only source of income. Statistics show that from 1956 to 1971, the yearly income in cash per villager (less than ¥180) in Nanjiao Village was far below (see Chart 3.3 and Chart 3.4) the average level of wages in the city (over ¥500).

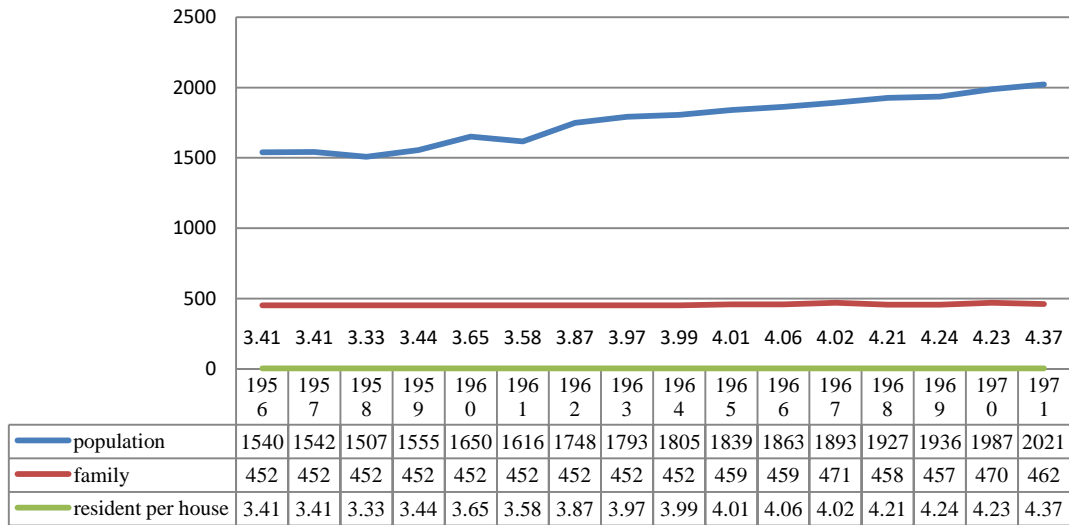


Chart 3.1: Number of Population and Family in Nanjiao Village (1956-1971)

Author's calculation
Source: Nanjiao Villagers' Committee (2007)

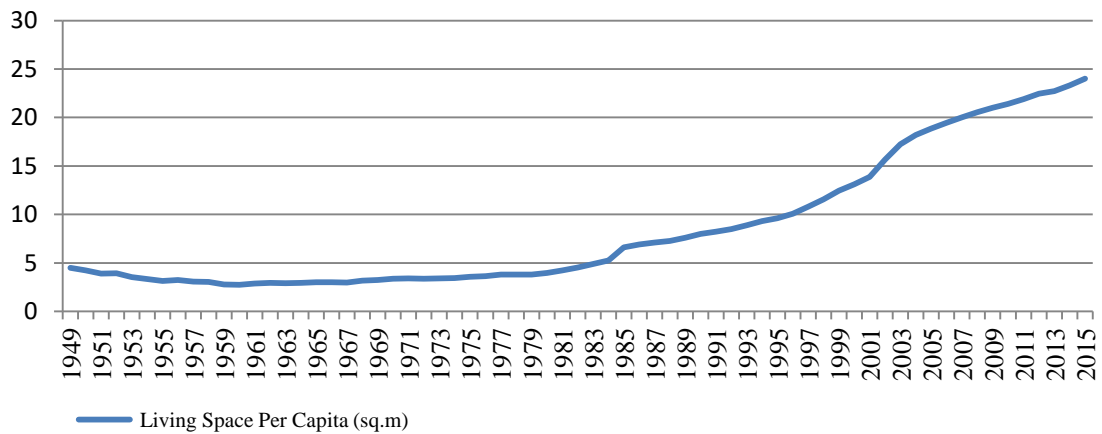


Chart 3.2: Per Capita- Living Space(sq.m) of Urban Citizens in Guangzhou

Author's calculation
Source: Guangzhou Statistics Bureau

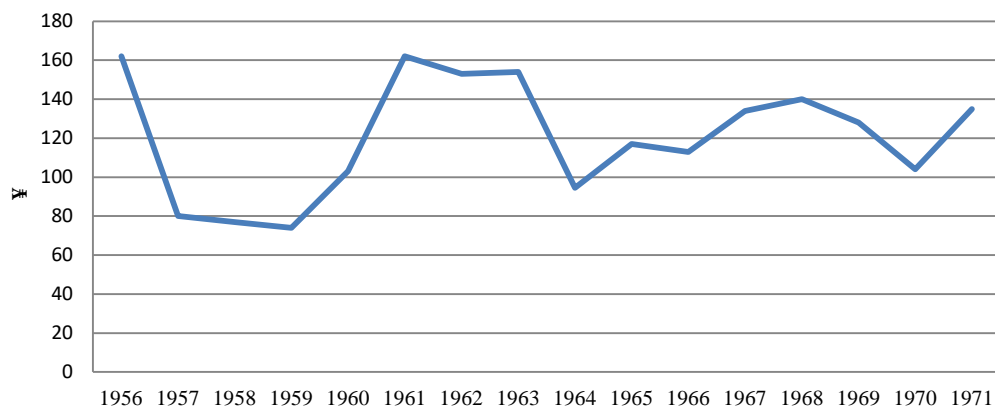


Chart 3.3 : Average Yearly Cash Distribution in Nanjiao Village(1956 - 1971)

Author's Calculation
Source: Nanjing Villagers' Committee (2007)

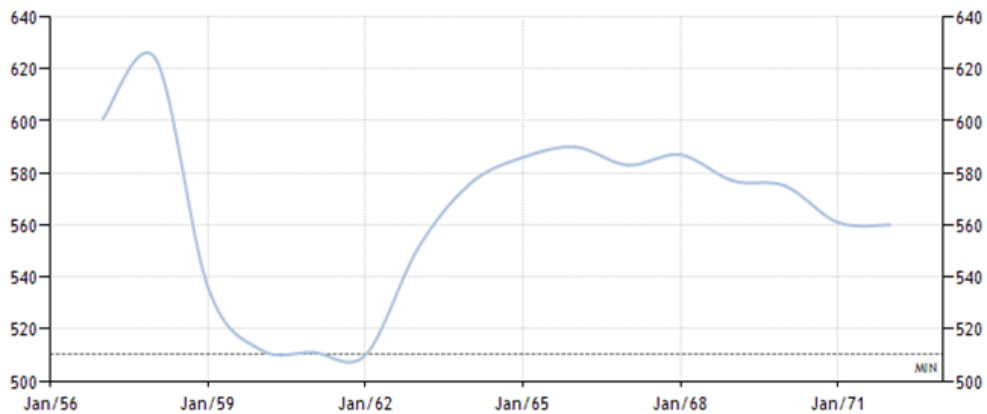


Chart 3.4: China Average Yearly Wages of Urban Citizens (1956-1971)

Source: www.tradingeconomics.com | MOHRSS, China

Would the villagers be able to afford an adequate living with the meagre income? Indigenous villagers told us that group production could supply the primary amount of food (e.g. rice, meat, and vegetables).

“During the time of the commune, except the agricultural tax paid in grain required by the state and municipal government³², most agriculture products were consumed together by the villagers” and “there was a big canteen inside the village. Villagers had three meals a day in the canteen”, said Mr. C.H. He and other committee members (personal communication, 2014).

This method mostly met the demand for food in the village. Additionally, the little private plot cultivated by individual householders became another source for obtaining some kinds of food like meat, eggs, and vegetables and so on. Meanwhile, the villagers still needed to purchase some food and other living necessities in the market, with the small cash income from collective agricultural production. *“Because of the lower economic development in the rural area, villagers were penurious in those years”,* said Mr. C.H. He (personal communication, 2014). Statistics bear out the fact that the expenditure on food took up the major portion of the total consumption of rural villagers in Guangzhou in the time of the People’s Commune (See Chart 3.5). Besides the food supply and cash distribution, some public facilities and social services were set up by the production brigade on the public land. A primary school was started in 1957 and a kindergarten in 1958, assuring the village youth of primary education. The production brigade paid the operating expenses. Besides, in order to reduce the illiteracy rate of 61% in 1954, the village opened an evening school, offering free education to the illiterate villagers. Also, a public clinic was set up in 1968 to provide basic medical care and service for all villagers.

³² *“The average level of national agricultural tax ratio is 15.5%”* (Article 10) and *“paid in grain”* (Article 6) in the “Agricultural tax regulations of the PRC” adopted in the ninety-sixth session of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress on June 3, 1958)

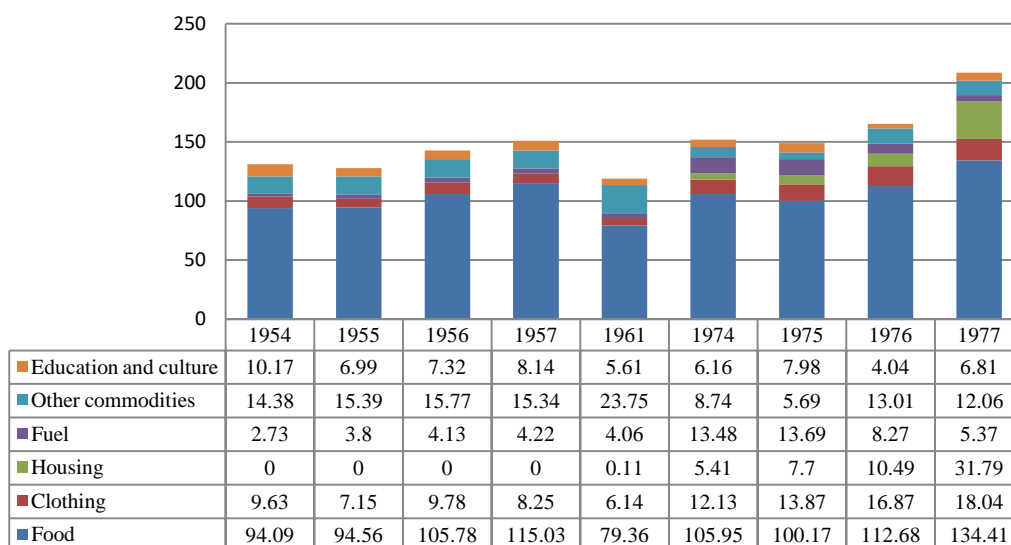


Chart 3.5: Consumptions of Rural Villagers in Guangzhou in Some Years (¥)

Author's calculation
Source: Guangzhou Statistics Bureau

To sum up, in the commune era, boundaries and institutions were erected to regulate land uses in Nanjiao Village. At that time, the state legislation and governmental policies were very powerful in the rural area, such that the village and individual villagers needed to comply with the production method and plan as laid down by the government. Consequently, modes of land use were uncomplicated under the collective ownership in the village. Based on the collective land use and Nanjiao Hukou, the production brigade guaranteed the villagers some income distribution and most of the food supply. Besides, every Nanjiao Villager was included in the access to the local social services and public facilities. Through the arrangement of inclusion and exclusion (see Table 3.3), the boundary-making could help them to achieve a minimum standard of living (e.g. housing, food, clothing, education, medical care, etc.) in the village at that time, on the shared use of collective land and restricted use of residential land and village houses. Figure 3.4 illustrates the relationship among stakeholders, land use and social rights, such that on different parts of land, stakeholders possessed different relations and access to social rights. Moreover, according to the strict Hukou Policy controlling the movement of residents in that era, outsiders lacked the opportunity of access to land use, housing and work in the village, without the permission of the government and the village, not to mention the public services and social security provided by the village community.

	Shared land use		Restricted land use	
	Collective farmland	Public land	Residential land /Family house	Private plot
Inclusion	➢ Collective production and profits distribution among Nanjiao Village Hukou holders	➢ Social services and public utilities accessible for Nanjiao Village Hukou holders	➢ Each household with Nanjiao Village Hukou	➢ Each household with Nanjiao Village Hukou
Exclusion	➢ Anyone else	➢ Anyone else	➢ Anyone else	➢ Anyone else
Social rights for villagers	➢ Food ➢ Income for clothing, fuel, electricity power, etc	➢ Education ➢ Medical care	➢ Housing ➢ Water	➢ Some income ➢ Meat and vegetables.

Table 3.3: Land Use and Social Rights in Nanjiao Village in People's Commune Era

Author's contribution

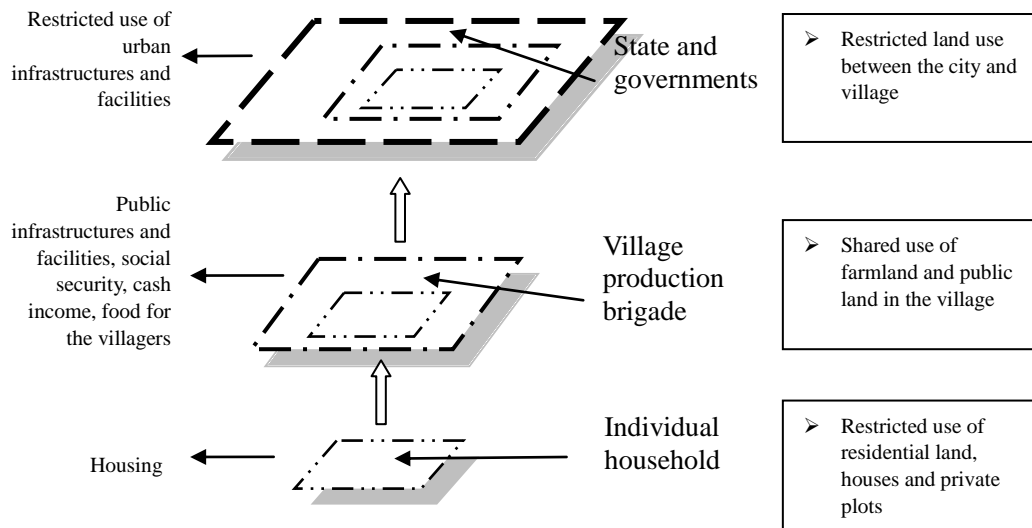


Figure 3.4: Social Rights on the Land in People's Commune Era
Author's contribution

3.2.2 Contractual Land Use

Boundaries of land use changed with the collapse of the People's Communes and the establishment of the HCR system in rural villages, since the early 1980s. In the initial years of the implementation of this system in Nanjiao Village, each household (rural family) was vested with the usage right³³ of a particular area of the cultivated farmland, by signing the land contract with the Villagers' Committee (the administrative body which replaced the village production brigade in 1984) (Figure 3.5). This policy completely demolished the group production on farmland during the period of the People's Commune. Private production regained its popularity in the village. The household formally regained the usage right of contractual farmland. Meanwhile, individual household still possessed his residential land and private houses and some private plot as well. Private (family) production was encouraged, and the products from the farmland were no longer collected by the village authorities and distributed among all the villagers. Meanwhile, with the abrogation of the planned economy, the city governments gradually ceased the grain requisition from the village and the food provision for urban citizens. As a result, the village household could obtain all agricultural products. The investigation in Nanjiao Village informed us that due to the autonomy over their contractual farmland, some villagers engaged in the cultivation of high value-added crops, aquatic products and animal husbandry.

Except the farmland distributed to rural families, the Villagers' Committee still preserved some non-agricultural land for economic development and public use. The village started to exploit some land for the non-farm economy, i.e., opening village enterprises or leasing land out with the approval of the municipality. In 1981, Nanjiao Village started to lease land to developers, for industrial and commercial development. In 1988, 1991 and 2002, three pieces of land (totalling about 6.779 hectares) (see land marked in red in Image 3.5) were approved by the Guangzhou Municipal Government. No one (including the villagers) could have the usage right of these lands without paying. The villagers shared the resulting revenues from these lands. As mentioned in Chapter 2, in rural villages, outsiders were able to obtain the usage right of

³³ See Article 4 of the LLCRA: "After the land in rural areas is contracted, the nature of ownership of the land shall remain unchanged", which means the collective ownership can never be changed in accordance with the current laws.

collective land, by signing a contract with the Villagers' Committee (see Figure 3.5). We learn that in the process of making such a land contract, both the Villagers' Committee and the villagers (representatives' assembly) have impact on the decision-making, but the villagers' opinion is decisive.

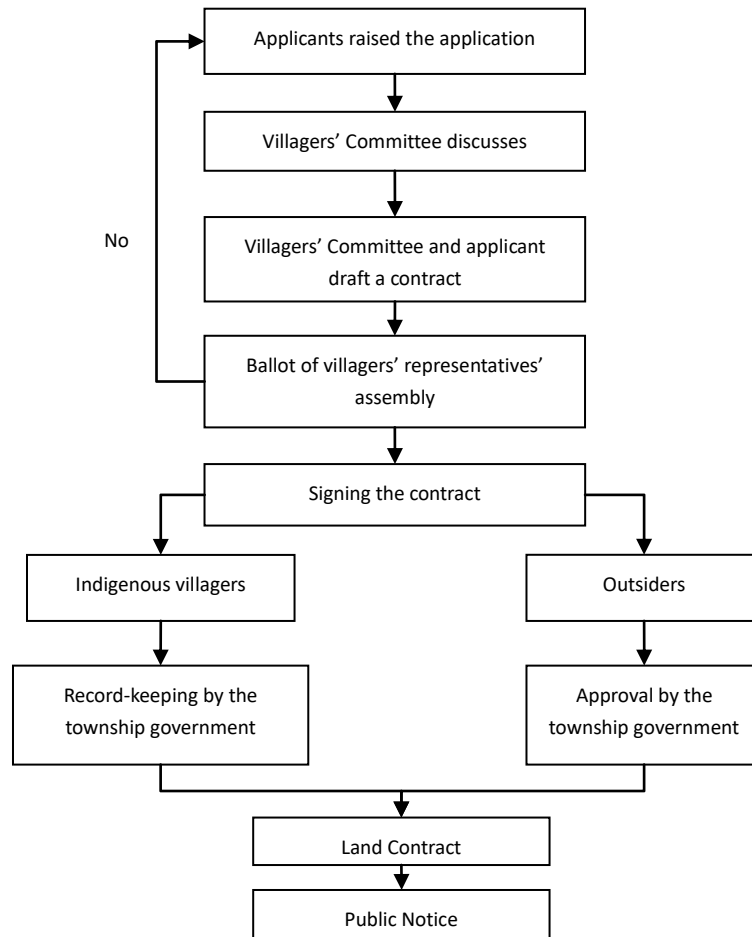


Figure 3.5: Contract of Land Use in Nanjiao Village

Author's contribution

Adapted from online resource: <http://www.cwgk.gz.gov.cn>

Admittedly, there is a trend of diversification of land use in Nanjiao. The mode of land use started to become more diverse than in the People's Commune time, associated with the limited amount of collective land leased to outsiders and the transfer of farmland for construction. However, these activities were restrained by the government and did not change the landscape of Nanjiao too much. Land for economic development took up only a small percentage of the collective land. Moreover, agricultural production still dominated the farmland, which was not distinct from that in the era of the People's Commune. The residential area is still circled by green farmland. Furthermore, the household preserved the formalized and exclusive usage right of his residential land and private houses.



Image 3.5: Earlier Land Conversion in Nanjiao Village since 1980s

Source: Nanjiao Villagers' Committee (2007)

Table 3.4 summarizes the boundaries constructed by the stakeholders in Nanjiao Village after the People's Commune time. Although no obvious changes in landscape could be observed, the new institution i.e. Household Contract indeed broke the former boundary of collectively cultivated land and built new boundaries of contracted land for each rural family. Another slight but noticeable change was made in the Hukou Policy that villagers were no longer imprisoned in the territory of the village. The strict constrain on movement and settlement become looser. However, that did not lead villagers to move out of the village. A notable finding from the investigation is that villagers' thought idea has gradually changed with the economic reform. Moreover, the author learns from the meeting with the Villagers' Committee that some villagers started to do other private businesses, like building industry, catering industry and wholesale and retail trades, not only in the village but also in outside places. As a result, they became very wealthy and purchased real estate in cities. These activities proved that some economic connections had been built between the village and other places. Labours, capital and goods could flow freely into the village without any barrier, which was once strictly controlled by the higher authorities in the People's Commune Era. The village started to open its boundaries to the outsiders.

Table 3.5 presents the network consisting of different stakeholders and their activities in the construction process of boundaries after commune time. It needs pointing out that the activities and behaviours of both the village and its villagers were under government's direction. This research also underlines that during that period, the outsiders and individual villagers had no direct interactions with each other, since institutions (e.g. collective ownership, HCR system, Hukou Policy and other laws and regulations) restrained the participation of outsiders in local agricultural production and development of other industries and businesses.

Regarding functions of boundary, a significant change is apparent in the boundaries between the village and outside places. More social and economic connections were established between the two sides. Boundaries became more permeable. As to the boundaries within the village, new boundaries were set up to divide farmland to each household. These boundaries separated one piece of contracted land from another and prevent the trespass of other people. However, no physical barriers were constructed to hinder the connection between different divisions of land. People could communicate on both side of the boundary.

Visible boundaries	Invisible boundaries	Institutions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Boundaries of different land use: dispersed farmland cultivated by individual household, residential land and public land. ➤ Boundaries between the village and other parts of the city 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Permeable social and economic boundaries ➤ Free private production, private businesses and movement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Collective ownership ➤ Self-management of land ➤ HCR System ➤ Hukou Policy ➤ Other laws and regulations

Table 3.4: Boundaries in post-Commune Time before City Expansion
Author's contribution

→	State and government	Villagers' Committee	Villagers	Outsiders
State and government	Judicial and political power to make laws and regulations on land use, Household Contract and Hukou Policy, etc	Abandoning People's Commune, enforcing the Household Contract and allowing other businesses	Abandoning collective production and encouraging household production	Limiting the free movement, settlement and participation in the village
Villagers' Committee	Obedying the Laws, regulations, directives on household production and land use for development	Mediator between the government and the villagers. Self-management on village affairs	Allotting the farmland to village households and regulating the house construction	Signing the land use contract for non-agricultural use
Villagers	Obedying the Laws, regulations, directives on household production and houses construction.	Obedying the collective rules and regulations. Supervising village self-management	Constructing own village houses and cultivating the contractual farmland	Approving and monitoring the land use contract
Outsiders	Limited land use in the village	Signing the land use contract	No direct interaction	_____

Table 3.5: Network of Boundary Construction in post-Commune Time before City Expansion
Author's contribution

The land use reform, i.e. the implementation of HCR system, led to the changes in boundaries, especially on farmland. Will the activities of boundary construction mentioned above affected the achievement of land use and the attainment of social rights? Learning from the village archives and interview with committee members, the research draws some conclusions as followed. First of all, the farmland was divided into pieces and each piece was cultivated by an assigned household separately and exclusively. The shared use of farmland and collective production were abandoned. The agriculture products (i.e. grains, vegetables and economic crops) were consumed by the household individually, or they trade them for the income expended on food, clothing, electricity power and other living necessities. Secondly, each piece of residential plot, family house and private plot were still posses and used by its belonging household, which furnished them with the basic housing, some meat and vegetables. This part of land functioned as the same as before. Thirdly, all the social services and public utilities were still operated and organized by the Villagers' Committee and accessible for all Nanjiao Hukou holders in the village. Table 3.6 summarizes the status of land use and the associated social rights achieved in Nanjiao Village, if the stakeholder is included in such kind of land use. Considering there were few migrant residents in the agriculture time, the access to both land use and social rights only take account of the villagers.

Shared land use		Restricted land use		
	Public land	Farmland	Residential land /Family house	Private plot
Inclusion	➢ Some social services and public utilities accessible for Nanjiao Village Hukou holders	➢ Individual household with Nanjiao Village Hukou	➢ Each household with Nanjiao Village Hukou	➢ Each household with Nanjiao Village Hukou
Exclusion	➢ Anyone else	➢ Anyone else	➢ Anyone else	➢ Anyone else
Social rights for villagers	➢ Education ➢ Medical care	➢ Food ➢ Income for living necessities	➢ Housing ➢ Water	➢ Some income ➢ Meat and vegetables

Table 3.6: Land Use & Social Rights in post-Commune Time before City Expansion

Author's contribution

3.3 Diverse Boundaries in Land Use in Nanjiao Village in Urban Village Era

A couple of years later, with the rapid urban expansion in Guangzhou City, most of the farmland cultivated by rural villagers and some other collective land have been converted gradually into state-owned land for urban construction, through the city plan. Some collective land and most of the residential houses in Nanjiao Village have been preserved, after the majority of farmland was transferred to the state by Guangzhou City until 2006.. The village nowadays contains diverse boundaries and consequential land use, similar to other urban villages. This section also categories the boundary in to three dimensions: boundaries between the city, Nanjiao Village and other rural areas, boundaries of collective land within Nanjiao Village and boundaries inside a village house.

3.3.1 Nexus between the City, the Urban Village and Rural Land

In 1990s and 2000s, Nanjiao Village was confronted with the effects of city expansion and urbanization. The change of boundary of land use and land title was mainly initiated and carried out by the state and the government through official municipal plans, empowered by the land and planning laws. Before 2000, three pieces of land were requisitioned by Guangzhou Municipal Government for industrial development (see the land marked in yellow in Image 3.5 above): 1.287 hectares for Guangzhou Grease Company in 1988; 2.07 hectares for Guangzhou Municipal Bureau of Grain in 1992; 4.668 hectares for Guangzhou Cereals, Oils and Foodstuffs Import and Export Corporation in 1996. With the continuing land requisitions year after year, a total area of 133.64 hectares collective land had been transferred to the state for industrial development and urban construction till 2006, most of which was farmland cultivated by villagers previously (see Chart 3.6 and area marked in yellow in Image 3.6).

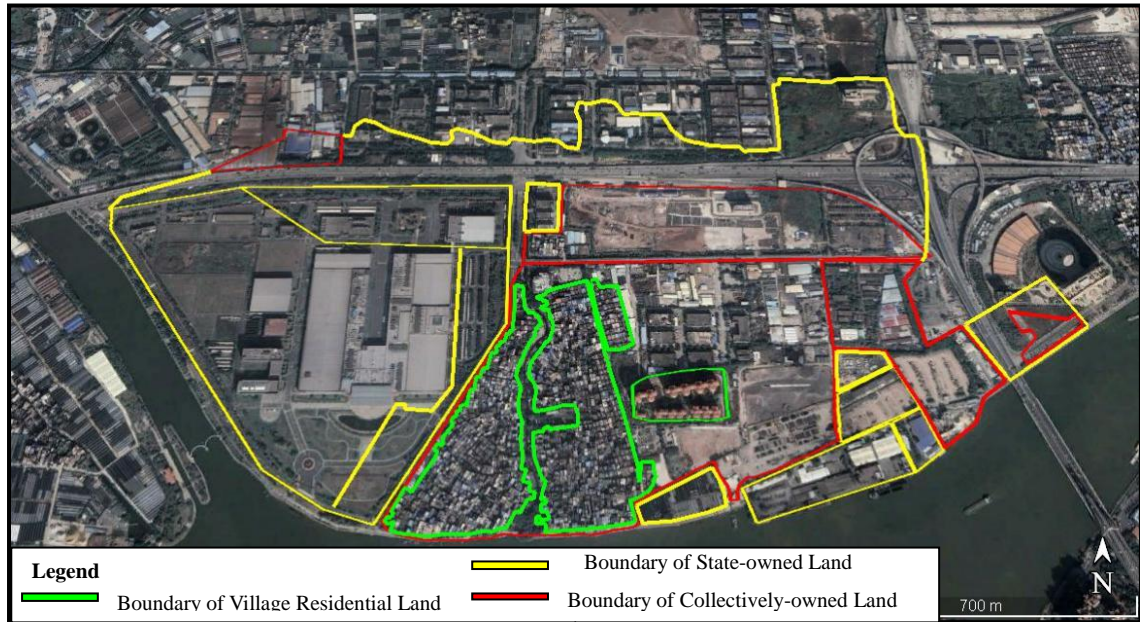


Image 3.6: Current Land Uses in Nanjiao Village

Author's contribution
 Source: Nanjiao Villagers' Committee (2010)
 GIS information based on Googlemap

The process of the land requisition was rather arbitrary in that period. Normally, the Guangzhou Municipal Government drew up the master plan of land use. According to the master plan of land use Guangzhou City (1997-2010), Nanjiao Village was categorized as one part of urbanization area. When investors required land from the village, they would request the municipality to formulate a land use plan to transfer the land in the village to the state and apply for the land use right from the government. For instance, in 2004 and 2005, through the land conversion by the government, China Tobacco Guangdong Industrial Group and Guangzhou Expressway Group obtained the usage rights of land of 69.85 hectare for putting up factories, while similar rights for 17.48 hectares were acquired for high-way construction. The only thing the Villagers' Committee could do was to persuade the villagers to accept the compensation in cash and abandon their contractual rights on the farmland. In the process of land requisition in Nanjiao Village, as shown in Figure 3.6, the Villagers' Committee had to organize a serial of meetings with the representatives of villagers and households to negotiate the amount of compensation and persuade them to accept the land expropriation.

Mr. C.H. He stated: *“it was a tough experience of communicating to each household and making them abandon their contractual land rights”* (personal communication, 2014). Usually, the village cadre had to visit the household several times to obtain the agreement on compensation. *“After 2006, with payment of such compensation, villagers did not own any land for agricultural production”* said Mr. C.H. He and *“all social and economic profits generated from these lands belong not to the village and the villagers, but to the state and the investors”* (personal communication, 2014).

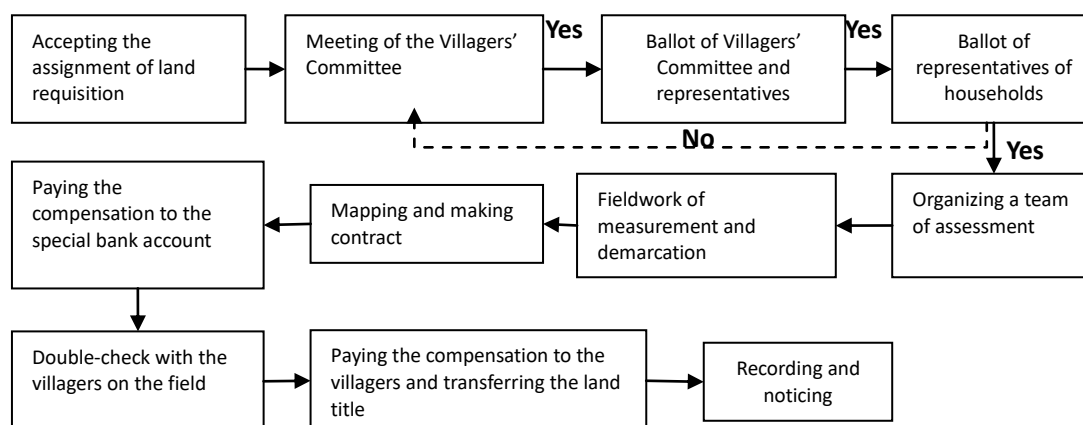


Figure 3.6: Process of Land Requisition in Nanjiao Village

Author's contribution

Adapted from online resource: <http://www.cwgk.gz.gov.cn> accessed on 17.08.2015

For the land requisition, the village acquired compensation from the government. The dominant part of this money is allotted to villagers and the remaining part was used for village construction and development. The village archive show that in 2006, the village obtained a compensation of ¥220 million, of which about ¥145 million was distributed among villagers, ¥50,270 per person.

“With this sum of money, many villagers commenced to build new houses on their residential plot. Some villagers started to run non-farming businesses...And, with the remaining money, the village develop the collective land for economic development and construction...We constructed new real estate and rent them out to outside investors... we also construct public facilities for our villagers” (personal communication with the Villager’ Committee, 2014)

Indeed, the municipality did not take all their collective land. About 40 percentage of the original collectively-owned land was preserved for the village, including the residential plots, some collective construction land and 10% of the requisitioned land returned by the government as part of the compensation to the village, for economic development and public uses. Most of the remaining land in Nanjiao Village was managed by the Villagers’ Committee, except the residential sites occupied and utilized by the private village households. In 2002, the Villagers’ Committee had established the “Nanjiao Economic Association”, which represents all the villagers and operates as a stock company³⁴. Both the organizations have the same elected leading group³⁵. All villagers became the “stockholders” and shared the revenue from the rental business of collective land and property, although the usage right of these lands may belong to outsiders who made the contract with the Villagers’ Committee.

To sum up, the consequences of the land conversion in Nanjiao Village are: more than half the former collective land has become state-owned land (see Chart 3.6 & lands within the yellow boundary in Image 3.6) some parts of the remainder are used for economic development and public uses, controlled by the Villagers’ Committee (Nanjiao Economic Association) (see Chart 3.6 & lands within in the red boundary in Image 3.6); and the other parts comprise the residential land which remains almost unchanged (see Chart 3.6 & lands within the green

³⁴ The detailed distribution policy is that since 1995/1996, through the shareholding reform of land, a villager under age of 15 (including 15) got 1 portion for every 3 years, a villager above 15 got 1 portion for each year. The highest number of portion is 28. After 2002, the portions of shareholdings are fixed.

³⁵ In this dissertation, the author uses the term “Villagers’ Committee” to represent the two organizations.

boundary in Image 3.6), developed and used by the indigenous villagers as their dwelling area.

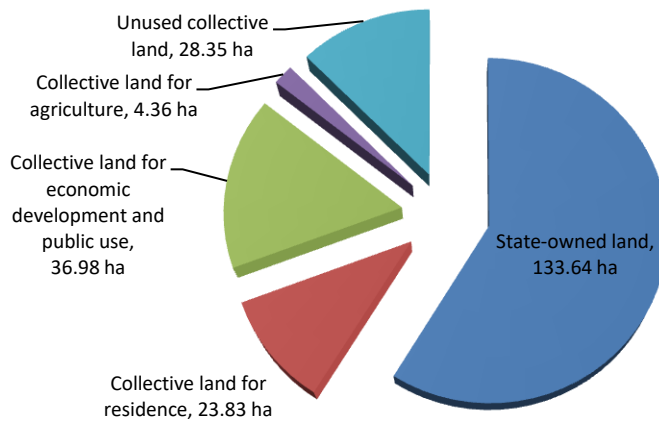


Chart 3.6: Land Ownership and Land Uses after Land Conversion

Author's contribution

Source: Nanjiao Villagers' Committee (2010)

The paragraphs above have narrated a process vesting most of the collective land of Nanjiao Village in the Guangzhou municipality. Consequently, the exterior landscape of the village was transformed gradually from green farmland to urban construction area. Meanwhile, the territory of the village shrank, the boundaries of different land uses changed and the surrounding farmland disappeared. As the result of the city expansion, the relative location of Nanjiao Village with the rural and city area changed significantly. Generally speaking, the location of the urban village can be categorized into three kinds, according to the grounds surrounding the boundary of urban village territory (See Figure 3.7). The red circled area represents the urban area and state-owned land, within which several small circles show the area of urban villages. The remainder within the yellow rectangle is rural land. The black coloured area represents all collective land of the urban village surrounded by state-owned lands. The blue one indicates an urban village having connections with other collective lands (of another urban village) and state-owned land but no connection with rural land (of a rural village). Green is located on the peripheral area of the city and has borders with state-owned land, rural villages, or perhaps other urban villages.

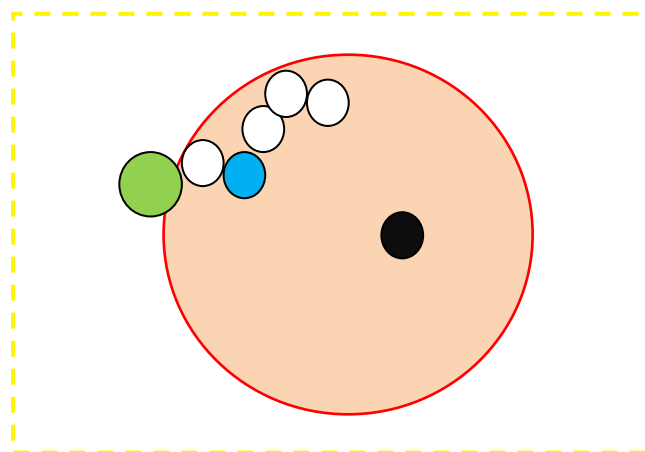
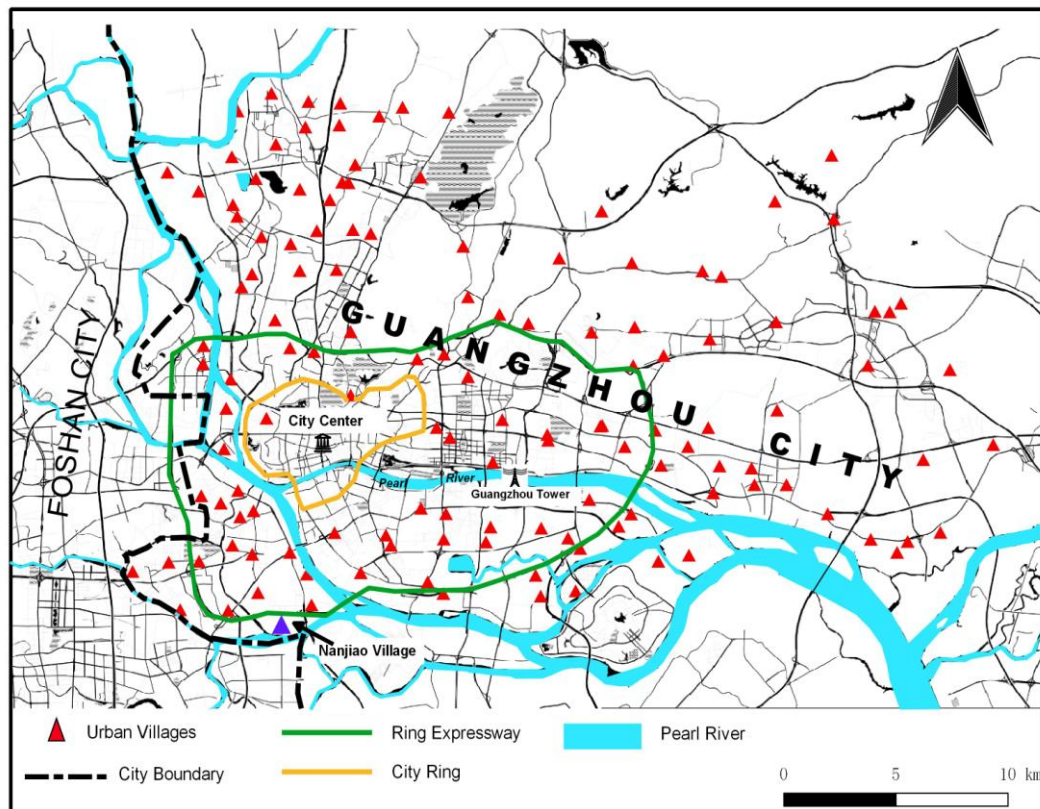


Figure 3.7: Locations of Urban Villages in the City

Author's contribution

Map 3.1 shows the relative geographic locations of urban villages declared by the Guangzhou government. Some urban villages are in the middle of the city, surrounded by the urban space only. Nanjiao Village is located on the outskirts of the city, surrounded by several urban infrastructures and factory buildings. In most cases of Guangzhou City, the original collective farmland as the natural boundary between rural villages has been partially or entirely replaced by the state-owned land. In the case of Nanjiao, the urban area functions as a boundary, cutting off the direct connection between Nanjiao Village and other urban villages. Observations from the fieldwork confirm that there is no farmland around the village, which only shares a border with state-owned land taken from other urban villages. After most of the farmland was taken for urban construction, many factories, civil transports, highways and urban buildings are situated on state-owned land between Nanjiao Village and other urban villages (see photos below, some civil constructions around Nanjiao Village).



Map 3.1: Distribution of Urban Villages and Location of Nanjiao Village in Guangzhou City

Author's contribution

Sources from Guangzhou Municipal Government (2009) and online resource <http://www.gztopwork.cn/czcda.asp>

Basic map from Open map resource. <http://maps.stamen.com/#toner/12/37.7706/-122.3782>

The village underwent the great land conversion as part of the city expansion. The preceding narration illustrates some results of land conversion through a lawful city plan by the state and government. They endorsed the preservation of some collective land for the village for economic development and residential houses for the villagers. Figure 3.8 briefly elucidates the status quo of usage of state land and collective land brought about by the new boundary construction in urban sprawl, which we learn from the investigation. The HCR system was eliminated from the village with the disappearance of most of the collective farmland. The collective land

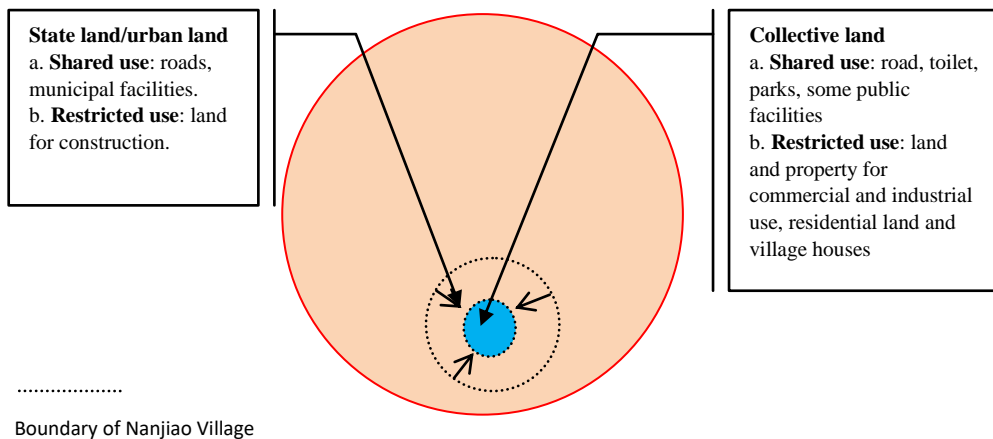


Figure 3.8: Boundaries and Use of Urban Land and Collective Land
Author's contribution

narrowed to the area of the blue round. The deprived collective land, which was once exclusively used by the villagers of Nanjiao Village before, is now state-owned and thus individuals must be qualified to get access to the usage right of the new state-owned land normally through bidding, except for the part reserved for public use, municipal facilities and amenities. For Nanjiao Village, although the new boundary does not limit the free movement and connection with the outside world, the village households have lost the free access to what was farming land originally, once issued by the HCR system, but now controlled by the municipal government. In the village, land is strictly used by the individual household or the qualified person, except the land for public use.

Regarding current boundary arrangement and land use in the village, the interviewed stakeholders narrate some influences brought about by the city expansion and urbanization. The interview with the Villagers' Committee has informed us that various non-farming constructions and businesses were taken by the villagers and the city government on both sides of current boundary between the village and the city respectively. Most of these activities are across the natural boundary and more connections are built between local social and economic life and the city.

The investigation reveals that Nanjiao Village and the Guangzhou City share various public facilities and municipal infrastructures: the water pipes, the drainage system, the electricity network and so on. The municipal government is responsible for laying water pipes and electricity lines to the front of each family house without charge. The village cadre told me that there is no difference in the price of water and electric power between the city and the village (personal communication 2014). Roads in the village can connect to the urban highway network, and there is a bus terminal at the entrance to the village (see Map 3.2). An interesting observation in this village is that besides the bus lines run by the municipality, there are many electric tricycles and motorbikes operated by some migrants and villagers, as an informal transport tool connecting the village with the highway entrance and urban streets.



Photo by the Author 2014

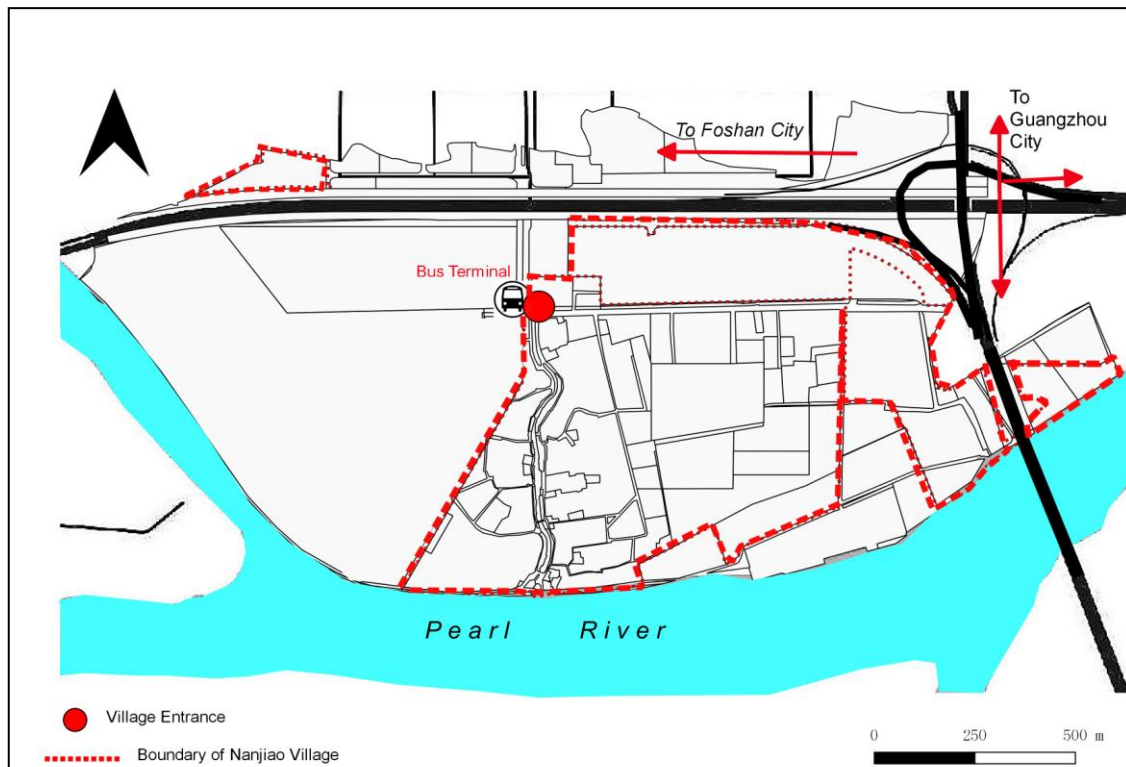
Upper left: Street and Tobacco Factory

Lower left: Bridge and Real Estate

Upper right: Medicine Trade Center

Lower right: Flyover

The findings from the fieldwork also illustrate that Nanjiao Village has many connections with the factories and businesses on the state-owned land, which employ skilled and professional workers from indigenous villagers and migrants in the village. In the investigation, we found that some of the interviewed migrant tenants were employed by manufactories and businesses nearby. Mr. Huang, who works in the tobacco factory bordering upon the village, lived in a rental apartment with his wife. He told us that *“both of us graduated from a university and now we are doing our Master’s degree now. We choose Nanjiao Village because the house here is close to my work place and it is easy to visit the city centre... besides the public transport, there are some private cars and motorbikes taking me to other places”* (personal communication, 2014). But, those big companies who possess the usage right of state-owned land (e.g. China Tobacco Guangzhou Group) have strict recruitment requirements, employing only well-educated and skilled persons (personal communication with the Villagers’ Committee, 2014). Mr. Lin, who runs a restaurant in the village, confirmed that *“it is hard for us who with a high school diploma to find a job in the factory. Thus I open a restaurant, but many of customers are from the factories nearby”* (personal communication, 2014). Like Mr. Lin, many of the small businesses are operated by the migrant residents. Both the villagers’ houses and the collective land for commercial and industrial use are open to individuals who are willing to pay. It was found in the interview with the Villagers’ Committee that 80-90 percent of the small businesses in the village are run by the migrant residents (personal communication, 2014).



Map 3.2: Public Transport in Nanjiao Village

Author's contribution

Basic map from open map resource. <http://maps.stamen.com/#toner/12/37.7706/-122.3782>

From the description of some villagers and migrant residents, the author learns that their everyday life is also more or less connected to the urban area. All of them have experience of travelling outside the village and contacting with people from the outside places. Mr. Lai and his wife come from Heiyuan city. They have resided here for about 10 years and run a small shoe-repair and key store. They described to me that *“after land acquisition and setting up the tobacco factory, the public transport and facilities were improved and convenient...We do businesses mainly with the outsiders”* (personal, communication 2015). Mr. Hu and his family, who run a small restaurant, responded similarly that *“the majority of our customers are outside people. We choose to live here because the transport is convenient, with road and omnibus connecting to other palaces. And we can buy some cheap goods and commodities outside the village”* (personal, communication 2015). Mr. A. Chen, a local villager, who works in a local factory and moonlights as a driver, told us that *“I drive people between the village entrance and other places nearby and the bus station on the entrance of flyover”* (personal communication, 2015). Some responders also mentioned their businesses outside the village. Mr. Yang, the village house-owner also informed us that *“I actually do other businesses with my friends outside the village, besides the apartment rent”* (personal communication, 2015). Most of interviewees also referred to their experiences of obtaining living necessities and commodities from the urban area. Ms. Chen, a local villager, said *“usually my family purchase food, clothing and other living commodities in our village. But, we also travel outside the village to buy clothing, since the price is much lower than in the village”* (personal communication, 2014). Mr. Wu, a migrant tenant from Hunan province, also mentioned that *“we would like to purchase clothing outside because there are more choices than in this village”* (personal communication, 2014)

The earlier paragraph present about how everyday life of residents is more or less connected with the urban area – the state-owned land. New boundaries were built between the city and village area. Table 3.7 categorizes current boundaries between the city and the village into visible and invisible term. On these newly-built “boundaries”, we witness many

connections established between the village and the city. In the meeting with the Villagers' Committee, we also discussed institutions retained to regulate individuals' relations and land use in Nanjiao Village. Besides the land laws that regulate the access to the urban land and collective land in city and the village, institutions like the lawfully recognized Hukou and village self-management also perform as boundaries in their social and economic life, the aspect of social rights in particular (discussed in detail in section 3.4). Mr. C.H.He and other committee members highlighted that: *"although our village is situated on the urban planed area and villagers got the "urban residents" in name, we mainly depend on our land rent to develop. The municipal government seemed forget us"* (personal communication, 2014).

Visible boundaries (physical barriers)	Invisible boundaries	Institutions
Boundaries of different land use:	➤ More permeable social and economic boundaries	➤ Laws and regulations on state-owned land
➤ State land for urban construction,	➤ More economic activities and connections with the outside place	➤ Collective ownership and self-management of remaining land
➤ Collective land for economic development and public use		➤ Hukou Policy
➤ Collective land for residence		➤ Other laws and regulations on village houses and village affairs

Table 3.7: Boundaries in Nanjiao Village after City Expansion (I)

Author's contribution

Following paragraphs will analyze how the new boundaries between the collective land of Nanjiao Village and state-owned land in Guangzhou City, associated with property relations of stakeholders, function and arrange plural land uses in practice.

Division: The former division of land use in Nanjiao Village has been rearranged by constructing new boundaries, which ceded a significant part of the land to the state and the municipality. Regarding the land ownership, this piece of land was divided into state-owned land and collectively-owned land. From the perspective of property relations, there are both private and common property relations on both sides. Hence, at present, the division of the original area of Nanjiao Village contains four main parts. Through the land conversion, the municipal government legally obtains the ownership of some collective land from the village (133.64 hectares), which is either exclusively used by qualified users or developed for public use. The remaining part (93.52 hectares) was owned by the villagers collectively, of which 23.83 hectares represents the area of residential land possessed and used by the rural family exclusively. The other part of 93.52 hectares (69.69 hectares) is managed by the Villagers' Committee for economic development (used by the qualified users) and public use (shared among all residents).

Separation: Through boundary-making, a large part of the collective land has been separated from Nanjiao Village. The current boundary between the village and urban areas prevents the villagers from freely accessing the state-owned land (originally owned and used by the village). People have to pay to obtain the usage right of state-owned land from Guangzhou Municipal Government. Few villagers can afford this, so that they are not able to seek usufruct from these lands anymore. In return, boundaries still separate the remaining collective land from the urban area. Only the house owner can absolutely enjoy the use rights of its residential plot and house and he determine who can access the land use and house. Meanwhile, the villagers collectively (represented by the Villagers' Committee) decide who will be the user of their collective land for economic development. And the collective land for public use allows all residents to enter in.

Connection: The boundary-making converted a large area of collective land in Nanjiao Village into state-owned land of Guangzhou City. The new boundaries serve connection between the two areas in several ways. Generally speaking, there are no absolute restraints on the flows of labours, goods and services between the city and village. The boundaries permit the free across between the two spaces.

The paragraphs above narrate how boundaries of land use were altered and reshaped by urban expansion and how they function between Nanjiao Village and urban area. Table 3.8 below establish a network combining their activities - how the stakeholders act and react with each other in the construction of boundary between the two spaces. Since the interactions between the Villagers' Committee, villagers and migrants mainly occur within the village, these activities will be referred to in the following parts. Here this thesis mainly presents the interplay between the government and other interested groups. In this process, the state and Guangzhou Municipal Government dominated the construction process of the current boundary between Nanjiao Village and urban area, through lawful activities, on the one hand; and on the other hand, some collective land and critical institutions (i.e. village self-management, Hukou Policy, etc.) were preserved for the village by Guangzhou City government. The village showed very weak power in this process. Like presented earlier, they just obeyed the government's directives and persuaded the villagers to accept the land expropriation.

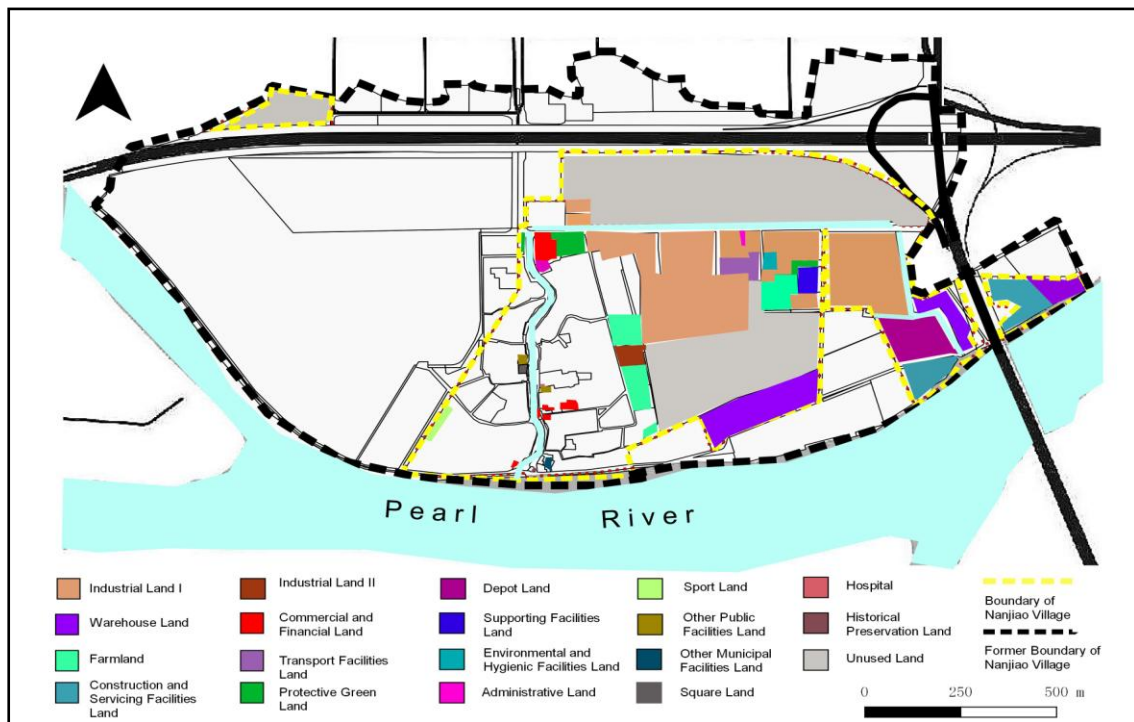
→	State and government	Villagers' Committee	Villagers	Outsiders/Migrants
State and government	Judicial and political power to make a land use plan and launch the land expropriation	Enforcing laws, regulations and directives on land expropriation and allowing some collective land village-self management and Hukou	Allowing the free movement and own village houses	Allowing the free movement and conditional land use rights of state land
Villagers' Committee	Obeying the laws, regulations and directives on land expropriation, village-self management	Mediator between the government and the villagers. Self-management on land use and village affairs	Negotiating and persuading the villagers	_____
Villagers	Obeying the laws, regulations and directives on land expropriation, village self-management and land use	Negotiating, monitoring village self-management	_____	_____
Outsiders /Migrants	Self choice and obeying the rules on conditional use of state land	_____	_____	_____

Table 3.8: Network of Boundary Construction between the City and Nanjiao Village
Author's contribution

3.3.2 Collective-used and Household-used Land

This part mainly concerns the boundaries and the coherent institutions of land use within Nanjiao Village territory: how they are constructed and function in the village. As mentioned earlier, the land requisition was carried out until 2006, which to a great extent deprived the village of the majority of farmland, developing them for the industrial use and urban construction. Hitherto, most of the remaining collectively owned land within the Nanjiao Village territory was managed by the Villagers' Committee for economic development and public use,

while the residential plots were still occupied and used by the village households, which almost remains unchanged (23.83 ha). Chart 3.6, indicates that only 4.36 ha of land³⁶ was left for agricultural production in the village, which just takes up a small portion of the remaining collective land (93.52 ha). The land use map (Map 3.3) enumerates the detailed land use (except the residential site uncoloured) within the current territory of Nanjiao Village, shown in different colours. It presents the current boundaries demarcating different types of land use after in the village. On the retained area of the village, the boundary between the residential land and other collective land remained almost the same as before. However, the other part of the collective land was allotted for different development purpose. At present, it needs to be emphasized that on the collective land controlled by the Villagers' Committee for development (69.69 ha), each piece of land is assigned to a particular use, with a fixed ground area and boundary, as listed in Table 3.9. A significant finding was that the unused land and the industrial land comprise the major part of the development land. Comparatively, the land for public use (marked *) is less than 10 percent. Moreover, there are some specific findings from the field research, discussed in following paragraphs.



Map 3.3: Detailed Land Uses in Nanjiao Village

Author's contribution

Adapted from the Nanjiao Redevelopment Plan (2010)

Basic map from Open map resource. <http://maps.stamen.com/#toner/12/37.7706/-122.3782>

³⁶ This piece of land probably refers to the part used by village households as the small farm gardens in the village according to the observation by the author.

Items of Utilization	Plot Area (ha)	Items of Utilization	Plot Area (ha)	Items of Utilization	Plot Area (ha)
Unused Land	28.35	Protective Green Land	0.82	Administrative Land	0.19
Industrial Land I	17.86	Commercial and Financial Land	0.7	*Other Public Facilities Land	0.09
* Road and Street	5.44	Transport Facility	0.68	*Square Land	0.05
Warehouse Land	4.84	Supporting Facilities Land	0.47	*Other Municipal Facilities Land	0.05
Farmland	4.36	Industrial Land II	0.42	*Historical Preservation Land	0.02
Construction and Servicing Facilities Land	2.51	*Environmental and Hygienic Facilities Land	0.39	*Hospital	0.01
Depot Land	2.25	*Sport Land	0.19	Total	69.69

Table 3.9: Types of Land Use (exp. residential site) in Nanjiao Village

Source: Nanjiao Villagers' Committee. Nanjiao Redevelopment Plan (2010)

Collective-used Land vs. Household-used Land

Within Nanjiao Village, as in most urban villages, boundaries between collectively used land and household-used land are clearly defined by laws and regulations that distinguish one from the other. The residential sites can be easily differentiated from the other parts of the collective land. Each residential plot was assigned to one individual household who are Nanjiao Village Hukou holders. Within the village area, the Land Administration Law and other relevant laws and regulations also lay down that both the land allocation and the building construction must be approved by the villagers' assembly and approved by the township and county government. Figure 3.9 presents a regular process of application for house construction that the village households should follow, that we learn from the interview with the Villagers' Committee. Normally, when villagers are allotted a plot of land for house building, they build houses for residence and lease, which is protected and accepted by the government. Usually, the village household builds or rebuilds his house at will, as long as he possesses the land and does not wait for the construction approval. Because, "*it takes a long time to get the permission and we cannot wait for such a long time,*" said Mr. Yang (personal communication, 2014). Ms. Liao and committee members also confirmed to me that "*it is embarrassing, as the municipal land and planning departments do not have adequate human resources to deal with the applications in the whole city*" (personal communication 2015). Hence, some villagers risked the punishment and commenced the construction and reconstruction project without prior approval. This was naturally followed by other villagers

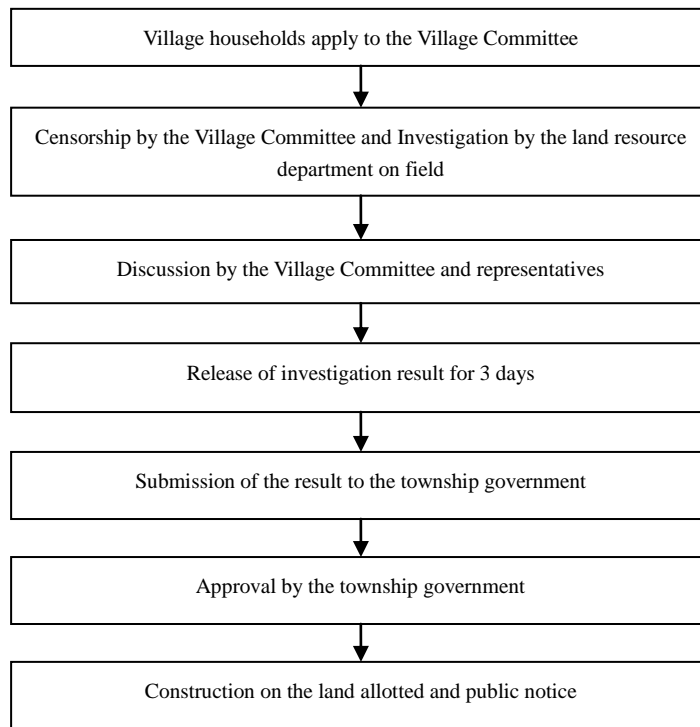


Figure 3.9: Process of Application for House Construction in Nanjiao Village

Author's contribution

Online resource <http://www.cwgk.gz.gov.cn>

The most impressive feature of the Nanjiao Village is the numerous self-built buildings, creating quite a lot of confusion in a compact area. In the village, narrow lanes, diverse modes of buildings, uncovered electricity wires, water and drain pipes can be observed everywhere. The investigation of the number of floors of each village house, conducted in Nanjiao Village (NVC, 2010), reveals that most village houses have one to four floors. However, there are some houses with five or more floors, which seriously exceed the national standard of building construction in the village (on more than 80 square meters of ground area and 260 square meters). In the fieldwork, this author investigated 57 houses along one side of the Nanjiao river and found that the number of floors of each building ranged from 1 to 5 (Chart 3.7). Besides, some households (30 out of 57) set aside a certain space, normally on the ground floor, for small businesses run by themselves or the migrant tenants (e.g. grocery store, barbershop, restaurant, repair garage, etc.) Also, we noticed that only 14 houses have yards. Normally, boundaries between two houses consist of an open space, e.g. a narrow lane in most cases. The building itself is the boundary separating one household from another. Some households used to mark and defend their property by building walls (only 12 of them do so) or anti-burglary grille on windows, which convey the message “private property and no trespass” and distinguish them from other village houses. Besides the diverse floor numbers, the investigation also discovers that electricity cables and water pipes are available in all houses. All electricity cables and nearly half of the drain pipes are uncovered. A few (seven) houses are equipped with cameras and monitors for safety reason, most of which are shop owners.

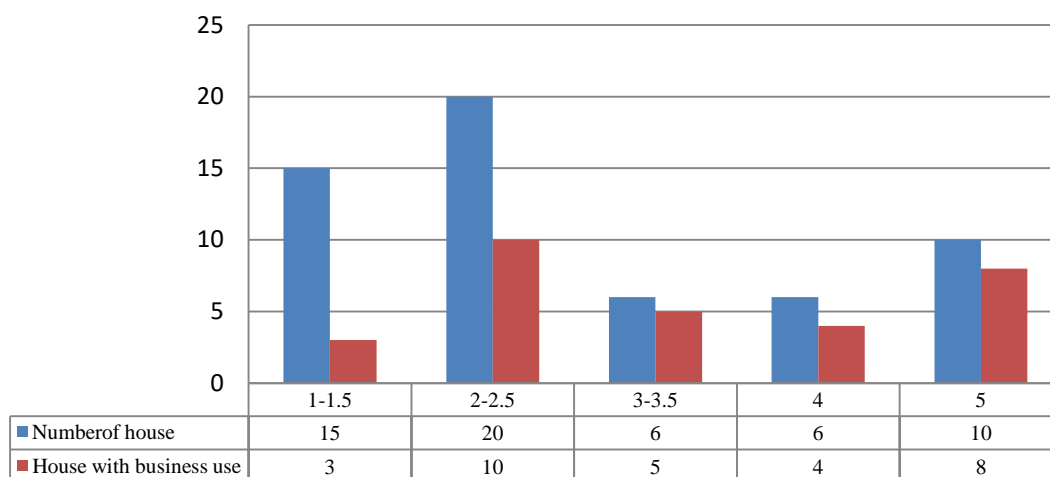


Chart 3.7: Number of Floors of Residential House in Nanjiao Village

Author's contribution

As aforementioned, laws and regulations stipulate the construction requirements, especially on the house plot area and the number of floors in the building (e.g. GZMG, 2000, 2001a & 2001b). However, came to understand fact that the construction of village houses in Nanjiao Village lacks government's supervision. Take another example although the "Standard for Planning of Town" stipulates the minimum width of a lane – 3.5 meters, this regulation is just applicable to the road of a town but not a village. In fact, villagers seldom noticed this requirement when they constructed houses. The public space and road between most of the buildings is rather narrow, as the household opts for additional construction area to accommodate rental business. The explanation from the villagers and the Villagers' Committee for this phenomenon is that villagers have the complete possession and control over their residential plots and private houses.

'In the early period, when the regulations on the construction had not been enacted, some wealthy house owners organized the whole project themselves and rebuilt their buildings which exceeded the standard. Afterwards, others took the excuse of following the precedent, and it is hard to punish them' discussed by Mr Lin and Mr. C. H. He (personal communication, 2014).

Some interviewed village households also informed us that they know the limitations on the height and area of construction. However, nobody was punished by the municipality, even if they did not comply with the law. "Till now, few of them were punished by the government, and the Villagers' Committee is not the executive body to enforce the law" explained Mr. C.H. He (personal communication, 2014). Ms. Liao mentioned that the municipality allows the collective to manage village affairs by themselves, but the village itself has no strict regulations and punishment over these informal constructions, since the village authorities know it will arouse widespread discontent and conflicts among villagers (personal communication, 2015). This explains why unplanned and disorderly development of buildings became popular and prosperous in the village.



Photo by the author 2014
 Upper left: An motorbike repair garage
 Lower left: Car parks

Upper right: A cleaner on the street in the village
 Lower right: A barbershop

“However, it is unnecessary for the government and the Villagers’ Committee to worry about the uncontrolled and unplanned house construction, since the amount of compensation for redevelopment (if possible) must be in accordance with the law” (personal communication with the Villagers’ Committee 2014).

Nevertheless, the interviewed households indicated that they constructed these buildings not for a higher compensation in future, but for the considerable income from housing lease business, which is not forbidden by laws and municipal regulations at present (personal communication, 2014). From the interview with the Villagers’ Committee, we learned that rather than impeding the house construction, the government and the Villagers’ Committee lay down many regulations to manage the rental market and allow migrant residents to reside in the urban village, which are not constrained by Hukou Policy any longer (personal communication, 2014)..

During the investigation, the researcher notices the village houses for commercial use. Most of the interviewed shop owners come from other different places. These self-employed residents and their families depend on the businesses, like grocery store, barbershop, restaurant, repair garage, to support their live. Ms. Wang and her family, from Henan Province, lived here for more than ten years and have a bicycle repair store.

She narrated her story: “we come from a rural village of Henan Province. We do not work in a factory since we have no skills. We always travel from one place to another to do business with different people. The only thing we can do is repairing the bicycle, very easy to learn. But, the income becomes less and less since less people are riding bikes now. And the living cost is growing. So, we started to learn repairing electric-bike and motorbikes

which are very popular among people. Here you can rent a low-priced lodge and even you do not have to apply to the government and submit the tax” (personal communication 2015).

Other interviewed shop owners also have similar experiences. Most of them come from other rural villages and have travelled and run businesses in different cities throughout the country. For them, small business is a proper choice, given their less-educated background. Also, the tremendous low-end prices houses are furnished in Nanjiao Village.

Regarding the collective land controlled by the Villagers’ Committee, individuals and social entities are required to apply for the permission for use of commercial and industrial land from the Villagers’ Committee, which is supervised by the Guangzhou government as well. In earlier sections, it referred to a platform co-built by the village and municipal government to manage the transaction of land usage right between the applicants and the village. The whole process is sketched out in Figure 3.10. From the interview with Villagers’ Committee, we know that although it representing all villagers manages the whole procedure with the government, the villagers still have considerable influence on the land use transfer, through voting. In the village, every project on the collective land needs to be discussed and decided by the villager’s assembly at first (personal communication 2014). It reflects the self-management of land use in the village, distinct from the urban system, where the application for land use and construction projects is considered and approved by the government only.

However, the municipal government still holds some administrative power over the village land use. Each adopted project in the village must be monitored and endorsed by the superior authority, through the official platform. Hence, the villagers, the Villagers’ Committee and the government contribute to collective land use collaboratively, which might involve other stakeholders (outsiders). The developer (individual or entity) will launch the project as soon as they obtain the land usage right and the permission for construction from the Villagers’ Committee and the government jointly. The developers usually build walls and other physical barriers to mark their specific property rights on this land. Unlike the village household, on collective land managed by the Villagers’ Committee, the stakeholders must obey the sanctions and standards on land use and construction, under the extant laws and regulations. Based on this mode of land use, the village acquires some land rent, partially apportioned among villagers and partially used in village affairs. Mr. C.H. He told us that *“the annual distribution per person is around ¥5000 Yuan. But we still have a large amount of land unused. We hope we can find more developers and tenants as soon as possible”* (personal communication, 2014).

And last but not the least, on collective land for public use, buildings and amenities, constructed and developed by the Villagers’ Committee, are free to be used, but no one can monopolize the usufructs. All interviewed villagers and migrants have used these public facilities and social services at least once. But they also tell some different experiences with them. Ms. Liang and her husband run a barbershop and live in the village, they told us that: *“we can use some of the public facilities and social services as freely as the local villagers. However, we are required to pay some “donations”, when we intend to send our son to the village primary school”* (personal communication, 2015). Regarding the “donation”, Mr. C.H Chen explained that it is required by the city government that all children without local Hukou need pay extra tuition. Ms. Wang told another story about the village clinic and hospital. She complained that *“for us, the medical expense is expensive here. The worse thing is that we cannot use the health insurance of our hometown in Nanjiao Village since we are not Nanjiao Hukou holders and we cannot have local health insurance”* (personal communication, 2015).

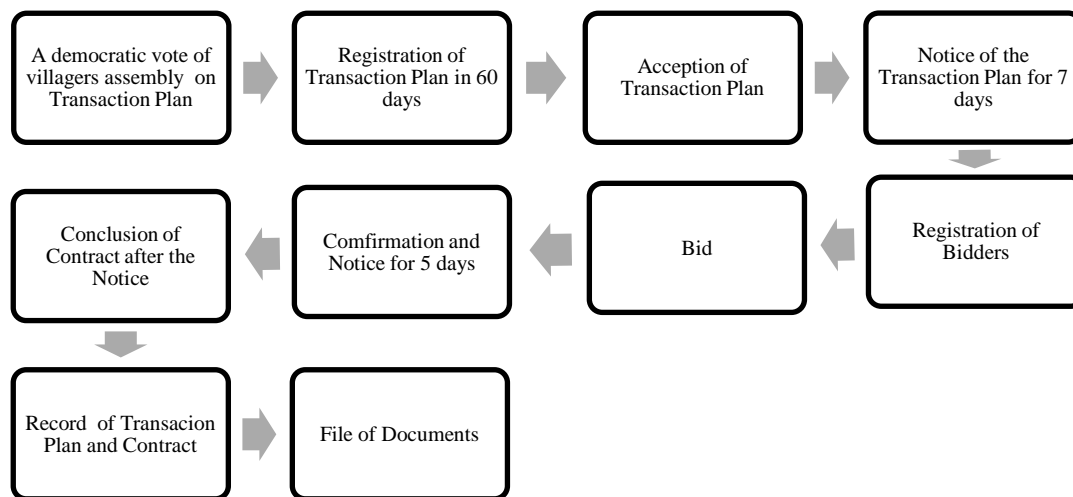


Figure 3.10: Transaction of Land Use Rights in Nanjiao Village

Author's contribution

Adapted from the Methods and Regulations on Land Transaction of Villages (Guangzhou, 2015)

On the aspect of village administration, Nanjiao Villagers' Committee (i.e. Economic Association) is still a self-managed organization, of which all the committee members are elected by the indigenous villagers directly. The committee pays the staff salary and takes charge of all village public affairs (e.g. public sanitation, public safety, construction and repair of public utilities and infrastructure, and so on). No interviewee complained about the safety issue in the village. The Villagers' Committee organized a professional security team to take responsibility for public safety. And the committee hires cleaners to collect garbage and sweep the public area. The researcher interviewed a cleaner in the village and she told that *"I work from very early morning and I need to clean the street at least twice a day"* (personal communication, 2015). From Mr. C.H. He's point, the committee made a great effort to organize the village affairs. Unlike in the city, where the municipal budget covers all expenses on these items, *"the village has to set aside about 60% of its income from the land lease for most of these expenses each year"* said Mr. C.H. He (personal communication, 2014).

The paragraphs above narrate how the stakeholders act in the construction of boundaries of different land use on the remaining collective land within Nanjiao Village. The research highlights the fact that on the land controlled and managed by the village householders (residential land) and the Villagers' Committee separately, relevant boundaries and coherent institutions are established or preserved by the respective stakeholders, as summarized in Table 3.10. This research illustrates that based on current land use within Nanjiao Village, more social and economic connections were built among the village (represented by the Villagers' Committee), villagers, and migrant residents, through the boundary construction of including or excluding them in or from the access to land use.

Visible boundaries	Invisible boundaries	Institutions/
Boundaries of different land use: ➤ Collective land for economic development ➤ Collective land for public use ➤ Collective land for residence	Social and Economic boundary permeable ➤ between the local villagers and migrants on residential land ➤ between the village the outsiders (including migrant residents) on collective land for economic development	➤ Collective ownership and self-management of remaining land ➤ Official platform on land use transaction and construction ➤ Hukou Policy ➤ Laws and regulations on village houses.

Table 3.10: Boundaries within Nanjiao Village after City Expansion (II)

Author's contribution

Stakeholders' access to land use in Nanjiao Village are arranged and arrived at by their property relations and boundary-making in Figure 3.11. In general, there exist two types of restricted land use based on the private property relations, including only the qualified stakeholders: one is the residential land (red round area) occupied and utilized by the tenants and householders who have the absolute power over their plot and private houses; the other part is the land for commercial and industrial use managed by the Villagers' Committee and allotted to the stakeholder who wins the bid and obtains the land use right through the transaction platform. For all the interested groups in the village, only the land for public use managed by the Villagers' Committee is free for entry and use. As for the boundaries inside a village house on the residential land, the next part will give more detailed information on the process of boundary construction and property relations of the stakeholders.

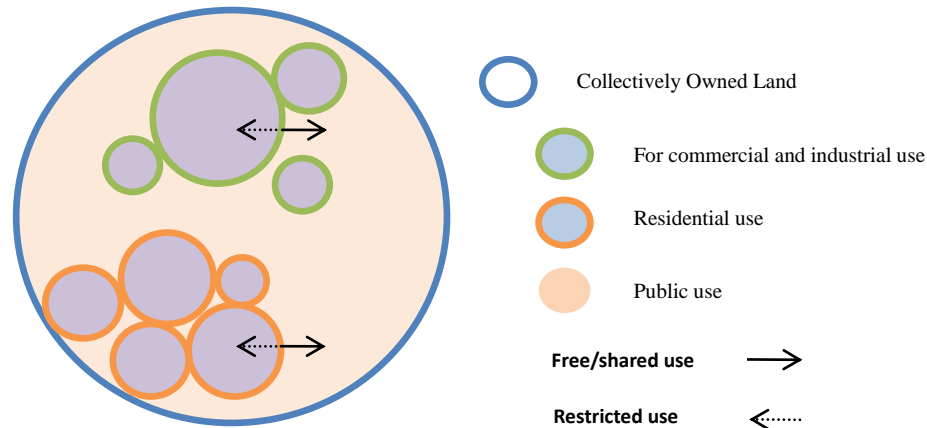


Figure 3.11: Boundaries and Use of Collective Land in Nanjiao Village
Author's contribution

Following paragraphs will analyze how the new boundaries within Nanjiao Village and property relations of stakeholders function and arrange plural land uses in practice.

Division: At present, the remaining collective land in Nanjiao Village is divided into three main parts by the boundary. The village households possess 23.83 hectares of residential land used by the tenants and the rural families (who have Nanjiao Village Hukou) individually. The remainder out of 93.52 hectares (69.69 hectares) is managed by the Villagers' Committee (Nanjiao Economic Association) for commercial and industrial development exclusively used by qualified stakeholders only; and for public use commonly used by all residents.

Separation: certain kind of land use inside the village is also separated from other kinds of land use by their boundaries, which include/exclude different individuals and groups in/from land use respectively. Firstly, the land for commercial and industrial use is controlled by the Villagers' Committee and utilized by individuals and entities who are willing to pay the land rent exclusively. Villagers are unable to gain the usage right freely, even though they are the *de jure* owners and beneficiaries of these lands, who can affect the transaction of land use and receive the apportionment of land revenue (land rent). Secondly, the boundary of the whole residential area separates this part of land from the other parts of the village. On residential land, the usage right of each house plot is exclusive for one house owner and the tenants, who obtain the usage right of a divided space inside the apartment building with the agreement of the household. And it prevents other individuals or entities from access to use of this land and these village houses, with both physical barriers and applicable laws and regulations. Thirdly, there is one portion of land reserved for public uses. The boundaries also separate it from other kinds of land use. Nevertheless, the Villagers' Committee operates the public land and the relative social

services and public facilities, which are shared by all the residents (i.e. migrants and villagers) in the village.

Connection: The current boundaries of land use in Nanjiao Village establish new connections between different types of land use and interested groups in space. The appearance of the connection between the village houses seems unseemly, since the unapproved construction creates some environmental problems in space. However, this does not restrict the connection between different village houses and that between the residential area and other parts of the village. Within the village territory, the access to collective land use and village houses is not restricted under certain conditions. Individual residents who utilize the collective land (i.e. land for commercial and industrial use, residential land and private houses) can also have access to other parts of the village, especially the public facilities and social services on public land. Boundaries connect the restrictively-used collective land and residential land with public land within the territory of Nanjiao.

→	State and government	Villagers' Committee	Villagers	Outsiders/Migrants
State and government	Establishing the land use transaction platform by judicial and political power	Laws, regulations, directives on preserving village-self management and monitoring the land transaction	Allowing the free movement and preservation of own village houses, loose regulation on construction	Allowing the free movement and settlement
Villagers' Committee	Obedying the laws, regulations, directives on village-self management, and land transaction.	Representing the villagers, managing village affairs, and organizing the land transaction .	Organizing the villagers assembly for land use transaction and other village affairs.	Requiring them obeying the rule of land use transaction, negotiating, signing the contract
Villagers	Violating the laws, regulations on village house construction	Decision-making and monitoring the land use transaction and other village affairs.	Organizing house construction, out of control of other stakeholders	_____
Outsiders /Migrants	Free movement and settlement	Obedying the rule of land use transaction, negotiating and signing the contract	_____	Choosing a place to stay and develop

Table 3.11: Network of Boundary Construction by Stakeholders within Nanjiao Village
Author's contribution

The paragraphs above narrate how boundaries of land use were altered and reshaped by stakeholders and how they function within the Nanjiao Village. Table 3.11 presents a network that combines stakeholders and their practice and interactive activities with one another, in the process of boundary making on the remaining collective land in the village. Compared to the boundary construction between the city and the village, the boundary construction within the village territory involves different strategies and methods adopted by the stakeholders. Under the village self-management, villagers show more collective discourse power on the remaining collective land use and their own village houses. Regarding the interactions between the village householders and migrants, the next part will discuss this in detail.

3.3.3 Boundaries inside a Village House

Precious parts have revealed several construction activities of stakeholders and the consequential arrangement of boundaries in land use in Nanjiao Village. This part mainly focuses on the boundary construction of a village house in the Village. The interview with the Villagers' Committee discovers that since 2006, the pace of rebuilding of village houses has accelerated in the village, when villagers received compensation for the land requisition. The number of apartments for lease has increased with the growing number of migrants in Nanjiao Village (see Chart 3.11). As mentioned earlier, the exclusive usage right of residential land regulated by law empowers the rural family to redevelop its house at will, which causes the diversity in the house appearances in the village, apart from the lack of supervision by the municipal government and Villagers' Committee and an apparently tacit approval of villagers' activities on their residential land (i.e. house construction, house rent and other small businesses).

Besides this, the arrangement of the internal boundary of a village house is also determined by the household itself. This author visited one big apartment building with 5 floors, located at 189# Julong Fang, and the house owner Mr. Yang informed that each floor in his building was about 150 square meters, and the total floor area was about 750 square meters. In this 5-floor apartment building owned by Mr. Yang, there are six apartments on each floor – two single-room flats, two double-room flats, and two 3-room flats. Each flat has specified space for kitchen, toilet, bathroom and bedroom (see Figure 3.12). The tenant will use own flat exclusively and all residents including Mr. Yang share some common spaces like the front door, stairs, basement and lobby. The house owner told us that this spatial arrangement is mostly due to the different demands from migrant tenants in the rental market (personal communication, 2014).

“Different people have different demands. I will post the rent information on the front door and the advertising wall in the village. Then people will contact me if they need. Usually, I do not care their background but they need pay deposit...The apartment rent is from 300 to ¥500. It can accommodate 50 tenants...electricity power and water tap are available in all rooms and most of room have furniture”, said Mr. Yang (personal communication, 2014).

And Mr. B. Chen, an owner of a 4-floor apartment building added *“for the safety and habits, it is really necessary to construct the apartments with separate toilet, bathroom, kitchen and living room. And I prefer to renting it to couples and families”* (personal communication, 2014).

However, in the village, a considerable number of village houses (usually with one floor or two floors) in the village have not been reconstructed yet and the living condition is relatively poor. Normally, the tenant will rent the whole house, like Mr. Ma and his family (from Hubei province) who reside in a two-floor house. *“This is an old house and all furniture is very ancient. But I pay only ¥500 for the whole house. And I do not even pay the deposit”,* said Mr. Ma (personal communication, 2014). From the investigation, the research also finds that migrants also rent the room on the ground floor for business use (mentioned before).



Figure 3.12: Boundaries inside a House in Nanjiao Village
 Author's contribution

Nearly all interviewed village households and migrant tenants (who rent the apartment for living and business use) said that they do not have a rent contract and they feel it unnecessary. *“Usually a verbal bilateral agreement is enough. No one will care about this. The Residents’ Committee only requires a formal registration of migrant tenants but does not care whether you have a contract or not”*, said Mr. Yang (personal communication, 2014). But, village household, like Mr. Yang and Mr. B. Chen, told us that if the tenant wants a contract they will make one by themselves. Hence, there are no specific rules on paper to regulate their behaviour in the rental business. Self-discipline and self-control are quiet important to maintain their relationships inside the house. Moreover, the researcher finds that the householders are tolerant of free move of migrants. They only need to notice the house owner one month ahead of time if they want to leave.

Few responders complain about their neighbours. *“My tenants are kind and polite. They never maliciously default the rent. We seldom have unpleasant moments”*, said Mr. Yang (personal communication, 2014). Also, most interviewed migrant tenants get along with their landlord well and feel comfortable in the house. But unpleasant voice can be still heard in the village. Mr. C. Chen, a local villager, said very frankly *“I like quiet life, but they make my life noisy”* (personal communication, 2015).

There is another interesting finding that although both sides feel comfortable with each other, separation exists nearly on every aspect of their daily life (e.g. working, eating, shopping, and travelling and so on). The interviewed villagers and migrants indicated that they seldom communicate with each other or have joint activities, due to the differences in the language spoken, costumes and cultural background. Even in some festivals, most of interviewees stated that they never celebrate with neighbouring tenants and landlord.

The rental business is prosperous in Nanjiao Village. For this business, stakeholders, especially some village households have done much work to reconstruct its buildings and set up some formal and informal rules to regulate their business with migrant residents. Based on the mutual agreement and promise, relationships were built between the two groups of residents. Table 3.12 lists the boundaries and coherent institutions established by the village household and migrant tenant in the rental house on residential land in Nanjiao Village.

Visible boundaries	invisible boundaries	Institutions
Boundaries: ➤ Boundaries between village houses ➤ Boundaries between different apartments and common space in the house	Permeable economic boundary ➤ Integration of residents based on rental business ➤ Free settlement and movement ➤ Social and cultural boundaries ➤ Few communication in social and culture life	➤ Self-construction and use of private village houses under the weak control of the government and Villagers' Committee ➤ Hukou Policy ➤ Bilateral contract or agreement in formal/informal form between villagers and migrants ➤ Self-discipline and self-regulation

Table 3.12: Boundaries Constructed in Village Houses in Nanjiao Village

Author's contribution

At present, migrants are able to obtain the usage right of residential land and village house, through the institutions constructed by the stakeholders (particularly the village household in such a context). These boundaries function in the space and regulate the village houses. The boundaries inside the village house normally regulate spaces of the house and activities of the house owners and the tenants.

Division: The boundary divides the restricted use of a village house for the house owner and its tenants from other part of the village, where the land are used commonly by all residents or exclusively by the qualified stakeholders. In the meantime, we can learn from the observation that house owners divide the space of each floor into several apartments, used by the individual tenants exclusively. Some common spaces are commonly used by all residents inside the house.

Separation: Separations exist in the two cases. 1) The one is, the building of the village house itself is the boundary separating one house from another and the other parts of the village. No one is allowed to enter into the house without permission. 2) The other one is, inside the village house which consists of several separate apartments, the boundary (i.e. walls) separates one apartment from the other. The tenant has the exclusive usage right of his apartment and the facilities, and they share the right of usage of some common spaces, such as the staircase and lobby, based on a bilateral promise and agreement between the household and the migrant tenants.

Connection: 1) Although there exist physical barriers (i.e. walls and doors) marking the exclusive usage rights of householders and migrant tenants in different flats in the house, the free movement and communication with the outside places (e.g. other village houses, public land and city area) are not limited by any laws and regulations or bilateral requirements. The household and tenants share the same front door contacting the outside space 2) The boundaries inside a village house connect the separate spaces of each flat, lobby, staircase and stairs and so

on. By this arrangement, the tenants are able to use their private rooms exclusively on the one hand, and on the other hand, there is no obstacle to the tenants utilizing the public space and living facilities and communicating with each other (if necessary) inside the house.

The paragraphs above narrate how boundaries of a village house were constructed by stakeholders and how they function in the house. Table 3.13 presents a network that combines stakeholders and their practice with one another, in the process of boundary-making inside a village house on residential land in Nanjiao Village. Compared to the boundary construction between the city and the village and on the other part of the village, the boundary construction in a village house involves different strategies and methods, including the formal ones, by the stakeholders. Under the village self-management system and absolute usage right of residential land, villagers dominate the process completely. Both the government and the Villagers' Committee seldom intervene in the activities of village households and migrant tenants in the village houses, including house construction, entering into rental contracts, operating small businesses and so on.

In a nutshell, this section elucidates the process of boundary construction and the consequential arrangement of land use by the stakeholders since the foundation of P. R. China, through the case study in Nanjiao Village. In this process, the relationship between the stakeholders is reciprocal. They make the both the boundaries and institutions of land use through various methods and strategies, which determine the obtainment of land use. At different times, they would engage in different activities to construct/reconstruct the boundaries and alter the access to land use. The urban village is an appropriate example to understand this process. During the time of the People's Commune, Household Contract and Urban Village, the role and influence of stakeholders on boundary-making was different. From the city frontier to the village territory and village houses (the three dimensions) in the urban village, stakeholders played different roles in the construction process. But they all together produced and sustained the boundaries of land use.

	State and government	Villagers' Committee	Villagers	Outsiders/Migrants
State and government	Lack of executive resources	_____	Weak regulations and supervisions on the construction of village house	Allowing free movement and settlement
Villagers' Committee	_____	Lack of executive resources and power.	Acquiescence in the self-built houses and no punishment	Requiring them to register
Villagers	Not obeying the laws and regulations on village houses construction	Not obeying the laws and regulations on village house construction	Self-organized house construction, out of control of other stakeholders	Negotiating and making a liberal bilateral contract in formal/informal form
Outsiders /Migrants	_____	Registering in the village	Negotiating and making a liberal bilateral contract in formal/informal form	Rational choice on village houses

Table 3.13: Network of Boundary Construction in Village Houses in Nanjiao Village

Author's contribution

From the investigation of recent boundaries and relevant institutions in Nanjiao Village, some notable findings emerged. First of all, the boundary between collective land and state-owned land has been altered greatly, in which the state and the government plays a

dominant role in conducting the land requisition, enforced by relevant land and planning laws and regulations. As the result, a large part of the collective land was transferred to the city with the construction of new boundaries, on the one hand; and, more direct connections between Nanjiao Village and the urban area are generated in this social construction process, on the other hand. The state and governments have the exclusive impact on the state-owned land transferred from the urban village, but their influence on the remaining collective land use is relatively weak.

Secondly, on the remaining collective land owned by the village, the public land and commercial and industrial land were managed by the Villagers' Committee, under the village self-management system prescribed by law. The outsiders/migrants can be engaged in land use through an official transaction platform co-built by the village and the municipal government, based on the consent of the villagers' assembly. At this level, the Villagers' Committee representing all villagers directly manage the collective land under the supervision of the superior government and villagers.

At last, the boundary delineating the area of house plots (residential land) was preserved in the village, which also implies the exclusive possession of this part of land by the individual village householders (who hold Nanjiao Hukou). Many migrant tenants were residing in a separate space inside the village house, with the consent of the village household. The individual household dominates the use of residential land and private house. The influence of the governments and the Villagers' Committee is rather limited on this part of the land. Indeed, native villagers (as an individual household or a collective entity) are the most active actors influence the boundary construction of different types of land use in Nanjiao Village, mostly through the officially recognized village self-management, the individual self-development of village household and Hukou Policy. At each level, property relations and these artificial boundaries serve to divide, separate and connect each kind of land use. Furthermore, as argued earlier, they imply institutions co-built by the power of state legislation, governmental administration, and village traditions and cultural, which eventually function as the boundary to determine who would be included in or excluded from the land use (Figure 3.13 and Table 3.14).

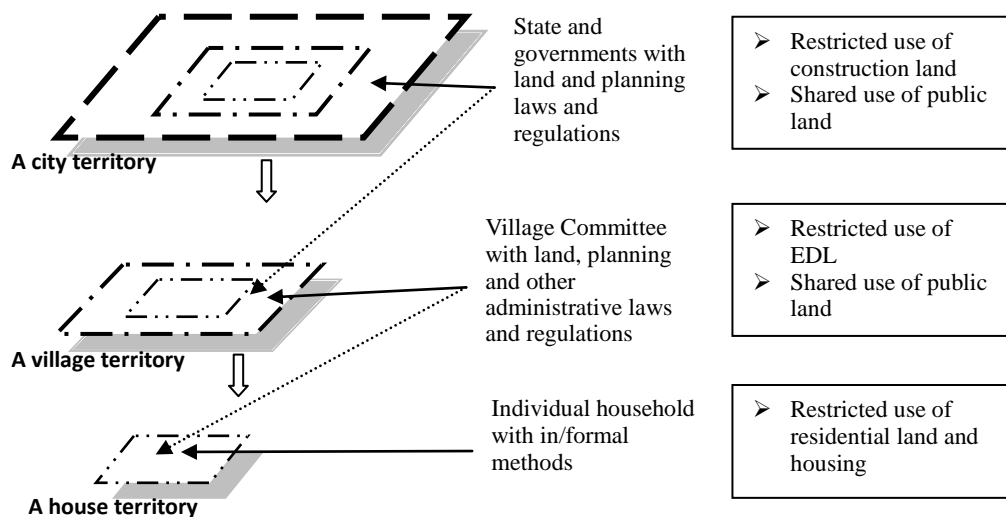


Figure 3.13: Boundary-making, Stakeholders and Land Use in the Urban Village
Author's contribution

	Shared use		Restricted use		
	Urban land for public use	Some collective land for public use	Collective land for commercial and industrial use	Collective residential land /family houses	Urban land for construction
Inclusion	➤ All individuals	All individuals	➤ person who can afford	➤ Nanjiao Hukou holders and tenants	➤ person who can afford
Exclusion			➤ Anyone else	➤ Anyone else	➤ Anyone else

Table 3.14: Inclusion and Exclusion & Land Use in Nanjiao Village after City Expansion

Author's contribution

3.4 The Pursuit of Social Rights in Nanjiao Village

Based on observations of boundaries and institutions, this research draws a preliminary conclusion that diverse land use are arranged by the boundaries/institutions produced or preserved by stakeholders in Nanjiao Village. In the following pages, the research turns to present and discusses the *status quo* of social rights of the stakeholders (the native villagers – Nanjiao Village Hukou holders and migrant tenants in particular). It analyzes in detail the link between the social rights and land use, which is demarcated by the boundaries and institutions in the background constructed by stakeholders, based on their property relations. The author attempts to argue that it is these boundaries created or preserved in land use which indeed shape persons' social identities, which in turn affects their access to social rights. This section will study the influences of construction of different boundaries and institutions on the access to social rights.

3.4.1 Indigenous Villagers: land-related social rights

For the native villagers, different land use within Nanjiao Village implies their property relations, which determine how they can achieve social rights in the village. Following paragraphs summarize some finds regarding their social rights in the village.

Above all, from the fieldwork, the researcher discovered that the legal possession of residential land and the Nanjiao Hukou title means that they can maintain or reconstruct buildings for the requisite housing and other living facilities. According to the data from the Villagers' Committee, the average floor area per capita in Nanjiao was 59.85 square meters in 2009 (NVC, 2010), which is much higher than that of an urban citizen in Guangzhou City (see Chart 3.2), regardless of the poorer living environment and conditions of the village house. Till now, the villagers continue constructing new apartment buildings in the village. The village house also fosters the housing rental market and tremendous small businesses in the village.

Secondly, Nanjiao Village and Guangzhou City share some public facilities and infrastructures. The municipal government is responsible for laying water pipes and electricity lines to the front of each family house without charge. There is no difference in the price of water and electric power between the city and the village. Hence, on their house site, villagers can obtain these living necessities. Moreover, official statistics also indicated that the construction quality of most village houses is good and safe for the residents (marked in red in Map 3.4).

Thirdly, the transfer of a great deal of collective land from the village to the city deprived the villagers of the restricted right to this piece of land. Some findings from the fieldwork illustrate that Nanjiao Village has built several connections with industries and economics in the urban area, which employ qualified and skilled workers, including indigenous villagers and migrants of Nanjiao Village. However, the state-owned company (e.g. China Tobacco Guangdong Group) has a very strict recruitment standard and procedure, which employs person with good educational and professional background. This poses challenges for most of the indigenous villagers and migrant tenants in the village. However, most of villagers are self-employed by operating housing rent and other businesses.



Map 3.4: Construction Quality of Village Houses in Nanjiao Village

Source: Nanjiao Villagers' Committee. Nanjiao Redevelopment Plan (2010)

Fourthly, roads in Nanjiao Village can connect to the urban transportation network, and there is a bus terminal at the entrance to the village. An interesting observation in this village is that, besides the bus lines, there are many electric tricycles operated by some migrants and villagers, as an ordinary method of transport connecting the village and the urban highway network. With these transport tools and facilities, residents here can visit downtown Guangzhou City – a trip of 1-2 hours.

And last but not the least, as the *de jure* owners of the remaining collective land, social service and public facilities developed by the Villagers' Committee are accessible for all villagers without any barrier. Meanwhile, by foot or by bicycle through the paths, alleys, and roads in the village, all residents can reach the market to purchase living necessities like food and clothes (nearly all interviewed residents did so), and access the public facilities and social services such as public primary school, kindergarten, garbage station, public toilet and village clinic.

Here are some privileges exclusively for the villagers. Primary education is free for the villagers since they were born here and registered as the Nanjiao Hukou. Besides, village social security, including basic medical insurance and pension, also covers all villagers exclusively, which will be discussed in more detail in the following paragraphs. Moreover, although villagers do not directly participate in the development of commercial and industrial land managed by the

Villagers' Committee and operated by the outside developers, they receive the profit apportionment from the business of leasing the collective land (the average amount of distribution was ¥6865 per capita in 2009)³⁷. To summarize, the boundary construction on the public land, commercial and industrial land and residential land in Nanjiao Village and the frontier between the village and the city determine the stakeholders' relation in land use. Based on this, the village and indigenous villagers manage their land for development and housing at will and achieve some social rights on this land (as shown in Table 3.15). Several land related institutions like the village self-management, Hukou Policy and so on still function on the aspects of social rights and economic welfare for villagers.

	Shared uses			Restricted uses	
	Collective Land Ownership	Collective/Urban Land for Public Use	Collective Land for Commercial and Industrial Use	Urban Land for Development	Family Houses
Inclusion or Exclusion?	➤ Inclusion	➤ inclusion	➤ Indirect inclusion	➤ Conditional inclusion	➤ Inclusion
Social rights and economic welfare	➤ Village social security ➤ Education, Medical, Food, Drinking water and etc.	➤ Public infrastructures and facilities	➤ Job opportunities ➤ Profits distribution	➤ Job opportunities	➤ Adequate housing ➤ Clean water, electricity, and other facilities. ➤ Some income
Boundaries /institutions	➤ Hukou Policy ➤ Village self-management	➤ Hukou Policy ➤ Village self-management	➤ Hukou Policy ➤ Village self-management	➤ Higher requirements and thresholds on employment	➤ Hukou Policy ➤ Village self-management

Table 3.15: Inclusion and Exclusion, Land Use and Social Rights for Villagers

Author's contribution

Urban Citizens and Villagers Stratified in Social Security

As mentioned before, the access to land use implies that the villagers would be able to avail some social rights (e.g. housing, free education, food, medical care) and economic welfare in the Village. There is no doubt that under the institutions of village self-management and Hukou Policy on collective land, social security (e.g. pension, medical insurance, etc.) is also accessible for indigenous villagers. The author learns from the fieldwork that since 2007, the village has assisted the villagers in participating in the rural social security system, including pension and medical care insurance. Villagers are partially subsidized by the village with the income mostly from the land lease business. The Villagers' Committee plays the role of the manager of a stock company, who is responsible for the villagers' interests. In the village, it is reasonable for the Villagers' Committee to provide social security to all villagers exclusively, since collective land is their common asset. The interview with the committee members informs us that although social security covers all villagers, it significantly differs from the one in urban areas (personal communication, 2014). In other words, the villagers do not enjoy the same social security as that of urban citizens, although they are "urban residents" in name and possess the unhampered access to some public facilities and infrastructures in the urban area.

³⁷ The detailed distribution policy is that since 1995/1996, through the shareholding reform of land, a villager under age of 15 (including 15) got 1 portion of every 3 years, a villager above 15 got 1 portion of each year. The highest number of portion is 28. After 2002, the portions of shareholdings are fixed (interviews with village committee, personal communication, 2014).

Here are the differences between the two modes of social security for the urban citizens and villagers in detail that this research finds from the fieldwork. The urban social security package comprises five types of insurance plus the housing fund, while the village has just two: pension and medical care insurance (see Figure 3.14). The village social security assures the villagers aged above 60 of a monthly income of about ¥600, which is nearly the same as the minimum subsistence allowances of urban citizens in Guangzhou City, where the average pension of a retired worker was about ¥3091 monthly in 2014³⁸. The difference in the social security system makes the remaining collective land more valuable and crucial for the dispossessed villagers in the city. Indeed, the access to the social security system is determined by difference in land ownership and relevant Hukou divergence between the village and the city. On a city map, the boundaries between Nanjiao and Guangzhou City are clearly drawn, which implies their different relations on the two pieces of land – their Hukou identities. Meanwhile, As a result, the collective land ownership and Hukou jointly relates all villagers to Nanjiao Village. This legally constructed identity status on this land (Hukou title) decides that the villagers’ access to social rights will be limited to the village’s territory and they join the social security applicable to the local community only. This situation proves what has been stated earlier: that both socially constructed physical boundaries of land use and the institutions in the background produce the divergence between the urban village and the city in many socio-economic aspects – social security for instance. The detailed discussion on why the stakeholders, especially the government and the village, would consent to preserve this discrepancy and current boundaries will be covered in the next chapter.

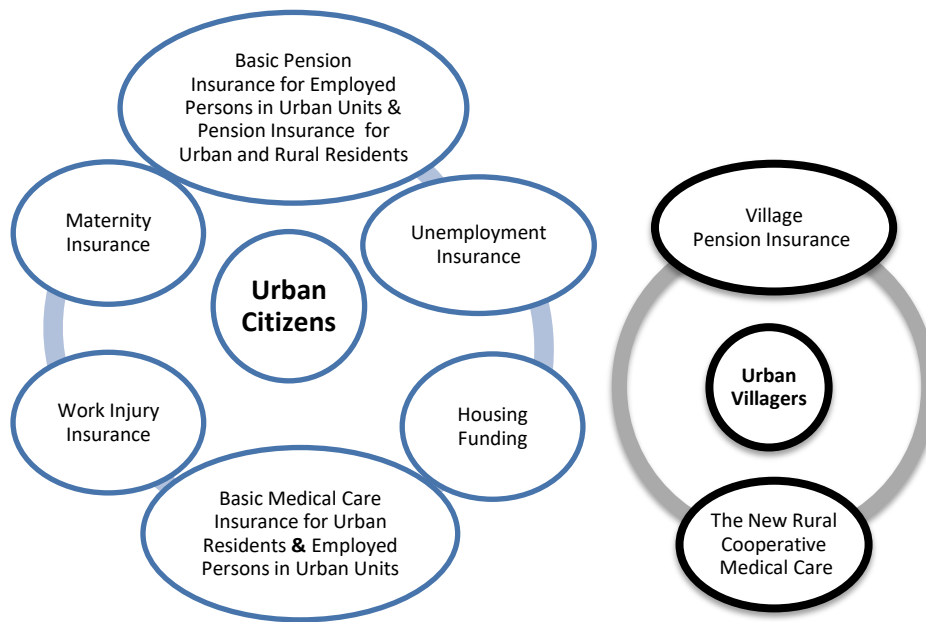


Figure 3.14: Urban Social Security System and Rural Social Security System in Guangzhou
 Author's contribution

³⁸ Source from the Guangzhou Municipal Human Resources and Social Security Bureau. Revised from http://www.hrsgz.gov.cn/gzdt/shbz/201404/t20140418_212472.html. Accessed on 17.08. 2015

3.4.2 Migrants: limited social rights based on land use

The socially constructed boundaries of land use by stakeholders have partially reformed the land use in Nanjiao Village, which has been proved to be the basis of achieving social rights for the indigenous villagers. Meanwhile, as discussed earlier, the speedy city sprawl and urbanization attracts plenty of peasants seeking jobs (who are not willing to work on farm land), to become new residents in eastern developed metro cities such as Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou (Whiting, 2011). The legal enforcement power relating to land requisition exercised by the state and municipal governments and local practices of the Villagers' Committee and the villagers, help to modify boundaries and institutions in village land use that originally rejected migrants. From 2005 to 2015, the number of civil migrants (who are not permanent of Guangzhou Hukou) increased by 132%, and the proportion of migrants to the total population also went up from 21% to 36.7% in Guangzhou City in 2015 (see Chart 3.8). The proportion of migrants in the local population is even greater in Nanjiao Village, and by far exceeds the number of indigenous villagers. Statistics show that the number of migrants in Nanjiao Village was more than twice that of indigenous villagers in 2013. Therefore, it is evident that the migrants have become the majority in the local population. Migrants settle in the rental apartments developed by villagers. In 2013, the number of apartments in Nanjiao Village increased to 600 accordingly (Chart 3.9). A possible explanation of this phenomenon is that apartment houses are continuously constructed by villager households to meet the needs of migrant residents. The house rent is much cheaper in the village than in the city. The average rent is ¥ 15-19 per square meter per month, which is below the level of most houses in Guangzhou City³⁹.

Based on the earlier discussion on how boundary construction determine the migrants' attainment of land use, this researcher analyzes how the migrants' social rights relate to the land use and whether their social rights are similar to or different from those of the indigenous villagers and local urban citizens.

Migrants have the access to obtain adequate housing in Nanjiao Village. The rental information is available from the poster on the wall of some buildings in the village. Their usage right of house and living facilities are recorded in the contract on paper or agreed verbally with the house owner, who has the complete right to lease the house and seeks usufructs from the house. By these activities, tenants are engaged in a divided space (apartment) within boundaries inside a village house, set up by the household. Normally, as stated before, both the house owners and migrant tenants reside together in the house. From observation, it was found that the basic living facilities and equipment are the same inside the house. Similar to the house owner, migrants too can obtain a separate space with a kitchen, a toilet and a bedroom. Clean water, electric power and windows are also available in each room. Tenants have the restricted usage right of the apartment and the shared usage right of common space such as the staircase and store room. Although the migrants do not communicate with their neighbours too much, there is no specific barrier to limit their interaction with one another. Migrants' residence right in the house is also permitted and regulated by "Residential Registration Policy" of Guangzhou Municipal Government, which to a great degree relaxes the constraint of free movement and residence, regulated by Hukou Policy since 1949.

³⁹ According to the statistics of house rent in Guangzhou city from Guangzhou Housing and Urban-rural Construction Committee. Revised from <http://www.gzcc.gov.cn/Item/65008.aspx>

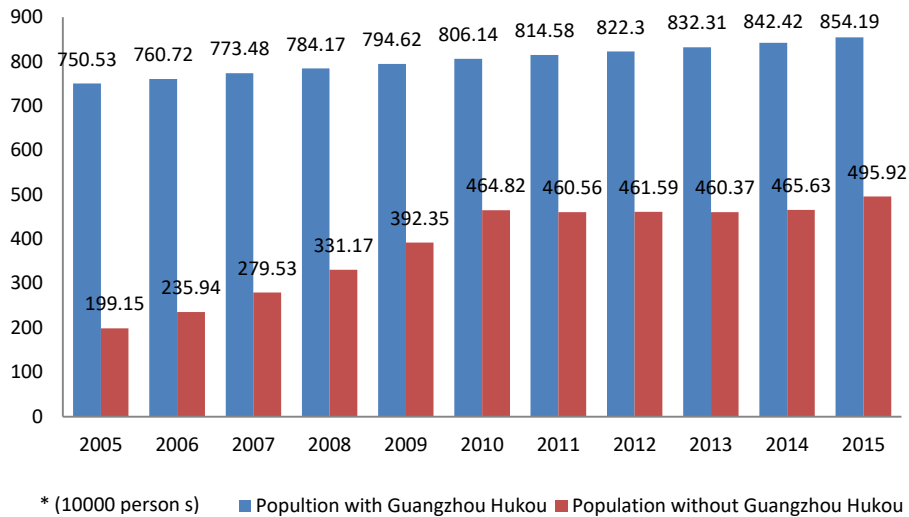


Chart 3.8: Population at Year-end of Guangzhou City (2005-2015)*

Author's contribution
Source: Guangzhou Statistics Bureau

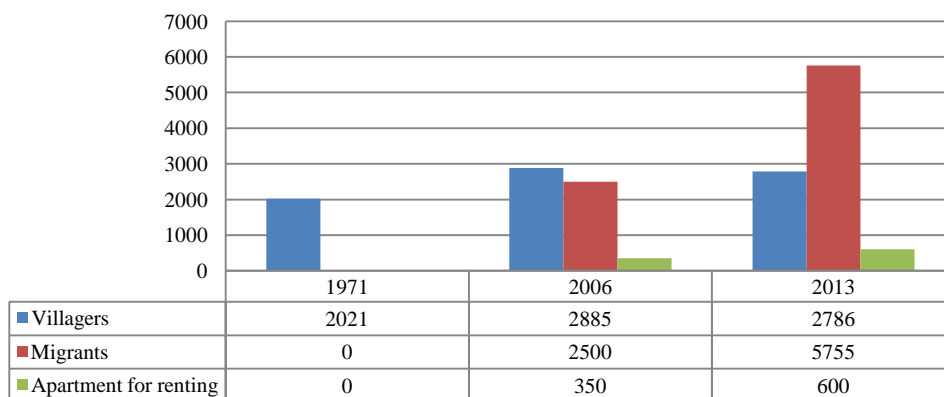


Chart 3.9: Population and Residential Apartments in Nanjiao Village

Author's contribution
Source: Nanjiao Villagers' Committee (2007)

Surrounding the village houses is the open space linked to the other parts of the village and city area. The collective ownership and possession of residential land and village house of village households does not become an obstacle for migrant tenants in obtaining access to housing and living necessities in the village or from the urban area nearby. The committee members also indicated that as long as the migrants “check in” (formal registration) in the rented houses with the household, they have the right to live, work and to use most of the public facilities and social services in the village (see Table 3.16 and Map 3.5) (personal communication, 2014), similar to the indigenous villagers. There are no physical borders or special policies to prevent any resident from using them. In this aspect, they are treated on an equal footing with the indigenous villagers, without any discrimination. Besides, in the investigation, the author discovered that nearly all the interviewed migrants work in the factories nearby. Even the factories and industries in the urban area can offer suitable positions for the qualified migrant residents in Nanjiao Village. However, like indigenous villagers, migrant residents also face stringent requirements as to professional and educational background set by the users of state-owned land, especially the state-owned companies and factories. Hence,

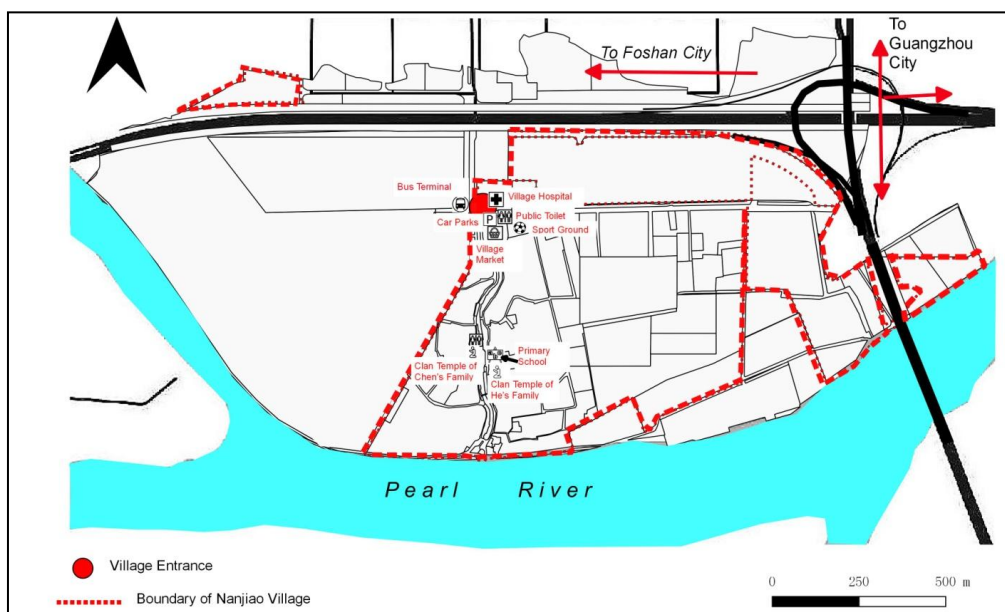
employment in a small business has gained popularity in the village. The interview with the Villagers' Committee illustrated that nearly 80-90 percent of the small businesses in the village are run by the migrant residents, as mentioned earlier.

Public facilities and social services	Number /Area	Location	Operated by	Accessibility
Primary school	1	Julong Fang	Villagers' Committee	Free for the villagers; migrants need to pay
Kindergarten	1	Julong Fang	Villagers' Committee	Free for the villagers; migrants need to pay
Public Clinic	1	Julong Fang	Villagers' Committee	All need to pay
Public Service Centre	1	Huilong Fang	Villagers' Committee	Free
Garbage Compaction Station	1	Huancui Road	Villagers' Committee	Free
Public Toilet.	1	Eastern the new market	Villagers' Committee	Free
	1	Eastern the old market	Villagers' Committee	Free
	1	Chongkou Park	Villagers' Committee	Free
	1	Chenjia Ci	Villagers' Committee	Free
Bus Terminal	1	Bus line 64	Villagers' Committee	Free
Village Market	2	Huilong Fang	Villagers' Committee	Free
Culture Centre	1	Huilong Fang	Villagers' Committee	Free
Sport ground	1	Huilong Fang	Villagers' Committee	Free
Green Land	1.15 ha		Villagers' Committee	Free

Table 3.16: Public Facilities and Social Services on Collective Land in Nanjiao Village

Author's contribution

However, there are some exceptions caused by boundary construction. One is the conditional use of commercial and industrial land managed by the Villagers' Committee. The migrants have to comply with the regulations relating to land transaction, to obtain the restricted usage right. Meanwhile, on certain aspects of social rights, like free education and social security, the migrants are also rejected by the village (and Guangzhou City), which is also determined by the land-related institutions constructed by the stakeholders, viz., the absolute village self-management and Hukou Policy determining the social identity of migrant residents. For example, the free primary education is prior for villagers as far as it is concerned. Being outsiders, the migrants need to pay for their kids to study in the village school. Hence, some migrants chose to let their kids have the free education in their originally registered (Hukou) places, viz., their hometowns. Nevertheless, the committee members confirmed that some migrant parents also opted to send their children to the village primary school (personal communication, 2014). Rural social security is the privilege of villagers too, although it differs from the urban social security, as we have discussed in the previous paragraphs. The access to participation in the social security of the local village is in accordance with the identity (i.e. Nanjiao Villager) based on the ownership of collective land. However, it is not the decisive factor that makes social security inaccessible for migrant residents. Some investigated migrants do get involved in the social security for urban residents, if their employers are willing to offer a long-term working contract and pay the insurance premium.



Map 3.5: Some Public Facilities in Nanjiao Village

Author's contribution

Basic map from open map resource <http://maps.stamen.com/#toner/12/37.7706/-122.3782>

In summary, the access to land use right and house does not mean the fulfilment of all social rights for migrant residents in the urban village (see Table 3.17). The divergence in some aspects (i.e. social security and free education) is related to institutions (related to land) set up by the stakeholders. From visible boundaries of land use, it is hard to tell the difference in these aspects. However, with the careful scrutiny of the construction process of boundary (in both visible and invisible form) and institution in Nanjiao Village, this research proves that some institutions stemming from land form individual's identities in the local village society. This institutional instrument is actually based on different land ownership that different person belong to between different cities and villages, which vest interest groups with specific identities and legal status. In return, this arrangement regulates individual's access to some social rights.

	Shared uses			Restricted uses	
	Collective land ownership	Public land	Collective land for commercial and industrial use	State-owned land	Family houses
Inclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Villagers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ villagers and migrants Most public services and utilities accessible for both 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Developer who paid the rent 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Developer who paid the rent ➢ Workers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ For each rural family only ➢ Migrant tenant
Exclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Anyone else 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Free education and rural social security not for residents who are not registered in Nanjiao Village 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Anyone else 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Anyone else 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Anyone else
Social rights for all dwellers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Cash income for villagers ➢ Social security for villagers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Education ➢ Medical care ➢ Food ➢ Drinking ➢ Clothing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Job opportunities ➢ Wages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Job opportunities ➢ Wages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➢ Adequate housing ➢ Clean water, electricity, and other facilities. ➢ Some income for the house owner

Table 3.17: Land Use & Social Rights in Nanjiao Village

Author's contribution

A conclusion

Boundaries of land use serve to divide, separate and connect different parts of the space (Davy, 2012). Institutions such as state laws and rules, governmental policies and local cultures and customs also serve as the boundary. More importantly, these boundaries imply the construction practices by interested parties. The case study in Nanjiao shows the process of boundary construction by stakeholders with various strategies and methods, with changing roles and influences, from time to time. In the urban village, the formation of boundaries is the result of statutory construction (e.g. the amendment of Constitution and relevant land, planning and administration laws) and several economic and social practices (e.g. house rebuilding, setting up factories and enterprises, land conversion, urban planning, etc.). Through the boundary (institutions) construction, the stakeholders are included in and excluded from the access to the “bundle of land rights” of land and the access to basic necessities of life. The investigation results from the fieldwork in Nanjiao Village provide the evidences to conclude that with the accessible right of land usage in the village, all residents can have access to some social rights such as housing, food, education, clothing, employment and social security (for certain groups). Because, associated with geographical boundaries in land use, the stakeholders have simultaneously created some institutions which function as a boundary to regulate individual’s relation in land use and more importantly to some social rights. For instance, being an institutional instrument of population control, Hukou is also an institutional tool which creates and is created by stakeholders in boundary construction of land use in China. And it represents individual’s identities and limits access to land and social rights. Figure 3.15 presents the social rights that could be achieved if the residents can obtain access to land use in the urban village. It also illustrates that, in different dimensions and contexts, residents will achieve different terms of social rights. It needs to be emphasized here that although the residents can obtain access to the housing on residential land, it is still impossible for them to achieve several social rights in the village.

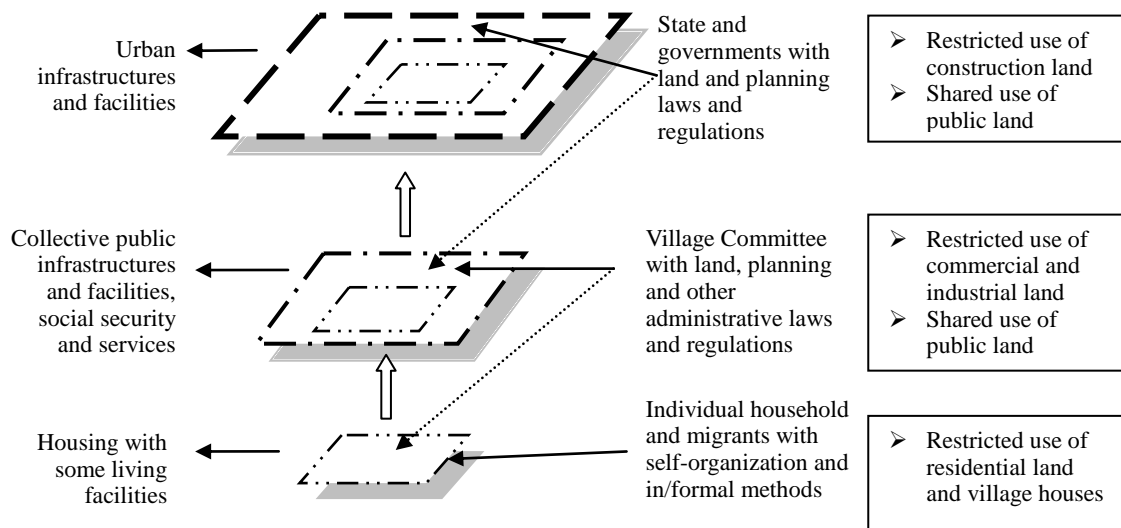


Figure 3.15: Social Rights on the Land in the Urban Village

Author's contribution

4 Scenarios of Land Use and Social Rights in the Urban Village

When starting the visit to Nanjiao Village, the author once suspected that this village would be redeveloped shortly – the buildings and landscape will be transformed into the urban style and the indigenous villagers will be involved in the urban social system and treated as a real urban citizen. Scholars and interviewed government authorities deemed that the urban village is a transitional phenomenon in the process of city expansion and urbanization in China. Some of them have been redeveloped into landscapes and constructions of urban style through the project cooperated by the village, government and the outside individuals and group. Take Guangzhou City for example. In Guangzhou City, a few (like Liede Village and Luogang Village) have been redeveloped to be the landscape of urban characteristics with gentrified living area, commercial real estates, high-end apartment buildings, broaden roads and modern urban amenities and facilities, replacing the defective low-end buildings and high population density – reconstruction of boundaries of land use. In this process, researchers have a common sense that the local policy and development mode differs from one urban village to another, in accordance with different local contexts (Tian, 2008; Po, 2011; Zhao & Webster, 2011; Wu et al., 2013).

In most cases, the interested groups have new weights in this renovation process. Researchers have underlined the current constraints on the expropriation of land and property after the enactment of relevant land, planning and property laws (Deininger, 2007a; Palomar 2002; Bian & Li 1998). In most situations, land in the urban village could not be required by the state and government as arbitrarily as before. The LAL regulates that land could not be requisitioned without proper compensation (Article 2 & 47, LAL). Moreover, compared to the farmland requisition before, of which the amount of compensation is based on the value of annual agricultural production, the demolition of house site and building up area (including the public land and construction land) in the urban village requires much higher compensation, if the government intends to transfer them all. Hence, urban villages like Nanjiao Village are allowed to preserve its house site and some collective land since the government has realized that the compensation would be an astronomical price (personal communication with Ms. Liao, 2015). Facing the intricate situation, the local government has become prudent to participate in the redevelopment project in the urban village, most probably for the reason of the astronomical compensation and time for both the government and the investors to negotiate with local villagers and sign the bilateral agreement (personal communication with Ms. Liao and Prof. Sun, 2015). Meanwhile, local policies as that promulgated by Guangdong Province further enhance the collective bargaining power to determine redevelopment plan in the urban village. Normally, the development project on the preserved land of urban village requires the agreement of more than two-thirds of the villagers (Guangzhou 2009), which consequently leads to the difficulty of reaching a compromise and consensus among stakeholders indeed.

Nevertheless, the appeal for the redevelopment is still continuously heard from some interested groups in Nanjiao Village, especially the municipal government and the indigenous villagers. As Ms. Liao and some interviewed Nanjiao villagers indicate, they have been concerned about the redevelopment project for decades (personal communication, 2014, 2015). As mentioned at the very beginning, the project proposed in 2010 suggested the direct cooperation between the investors and the villagers. The village needed to sacrifice the title of

some collective land for the procurement of initial capital to start the project. However, it had to be postponed since the villager found it hard to reach a compromise on some critical aspects such as the amount of compensation and the mode of construction in particular (personal communication, 2015). Hence, the question whether to redevelop or not is still controversial. Some fieldwork on the village also illustrates the status quo of the severe disputes over the two opposite opinions. After all, the redevelopment affects not only the change of existing arrangement of boundaries of land use and institutions but also the stakeholder's interests. As in the formation process of the urban villages before, the stakeholders may still have effects on and been affected by the reconstruction of boundaries in the redevelopment procedure.

Furthermore, considering the urban village's function to provide the basic social protection to villagers and the low-priced shelters for low-paid rural migrants in the city, it is necessary to concern the unforeseen influence on social rights brought by the change of property relations and the consequential land use. Land use and social rights are supposed to be interrelated in this research. In most redevelopment cases in the urban villages, the protection of vulnerable groups, namely the rural migrants in particular, are underlined by scholars (e.g. Zhang et al., 2003; Tian, 2008). As the indigenous villagers who were most likely to be hurt decades ago, rural migrants recently are considered as the weakest party in the urban village. Moreover, several institutions coherent with boundary construction now become the positive factors for the indigenous villagers but not for the rural migrants. As proved in the preceding parts, the land-based Hukou identity, self-management of collective land, self-development of social affairs and the relatively elastic and loosen regulations on the land use for householders, result in the villagers' prior status on their ground to a large extent (Song et al., 2008; Deininger, 2007a). Many accomplished redevelopment projects showed a common phenomenon that they emphasized the protection of collective ownership and the betterment of social welfare and benefits for the indigenous villagers, namely, the *de jure* collective land owners only. Moreover, as narrated before, that some informal methods in land use are considered and involved in land use in the urban village, especially between the village household and migrant tenants, depending on their property relations on residential land. Considerable amount of housing leasing operated by village households and small businesses and services operated by migrant residents are organized in such way. These informal institutions are supported and trusted by different parties in the urban village. One question will be put forward that whether the redevelopment means the disappearance of those informal institutions created by stakeholders to maintain their property relations and the consequential land use in the urban village. This research concerns: will the migrant residents and their livelihoods and businesses be eliminated from the village, with the construction of well-equipped and advanced community?

This chapter suspects two possibilities for the urban village in the future: the maintenance or the redevelopment in terms of land use and social rights. On one side, the maintenance of the urban village represents stable property relations and unchangeable status quo of boundaries, land use and social rights in the urban village. It refers to how stakeholders maintain this established order by using different instruments and methods they established. On the other side, from a development perspective, the urban village will not be preserved for a long run. With the studies of the redevelopment projects of some gentrified villages, several kinds of redevelopment framework have been adopted throughout China (e.g. Lin et al., 2015; Lin et al. 2011; Lin et al., 2012; Yuan, 2013; Zhao & Webster, 2011; Wu et al., 2013). Those projects have altered not only the landscape of villages into an urban style, but also boundaries, the composition of stakeholders and their property relations and consequential land use. Successful projects should be endorsed by the government, participated by the investors and supported by the villagers. Experiences from these cases highlight the importance of how to renovate the boundaries and rearrange the access to land use in the redevelopment of their collective land. This research still considers this as a process of social reconstruction of boundaries of land use by the stakeholders, in which they action to regulate and adjust their behaviour with each other, as they construct the urban village before.

In Section 4.1, the author is going to discuss how an urban village can be preserved, on the basis of literature review and the field research in Nanjiao Village. It unfolds the co-contributions of different stakeholders to the maintenance of extant property relations and boundaries in the urban village and that inclusion/exclude them in/from the access to land use and the achievement of social rights. Section 4.1.1 further discusses how the self-management of collectively-owned land regulates the land use in the urban village, under current property relations of stakeholders. Section 4.1.2 focuses more on the standpoint of the state and the government to argue why they “neglect” the distinction of landscapes between city and urban village within the municipal territory and the divergent social rights between habitants with different identity background. Section 4.1.3 synthesizes the norms and methods used by stakeholders to interact with each other, which is believed to support the existing boundaries of land use and attainment of social rights in the urban village and argue that tolerance and negotiation between stakeholders makes significant sense in the village. Section 4.2 presents an opposite vista of the urban village in future. Combining with the accomplished and undergoing redevelopment projects, the research predicates how boundaries will be reconstructed to rearrange land use and the access to use it by stakeholders (4.2.1) and how vulnerable groups will suffer from the loss of a minimum of social rights or livelihoods in the urban village (4.2.2). Moreover, the author intends to argue if the redevelopment of urban village will better all and suggests that we should understand boundary re-/construction influence not only land use but also in terms of social rights as a citizen in the context of China.

4.1 Maintenance of the Urban Village

The maintenance of the urban village means not only the preservation of the existing territory and boundaries of diverse land use but also the coherent institutions, such as the village self-management and Hukou built by the state and the government’s laws and policies, and the formal and informal mechanisms established by the Villagers’ Committee, villagers and migrants. Those are believed to influence the access to land use and social rights for villagers and rural migrants in the urban village. Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 concern a lot on the historical process producing this status quo in the urban village. Besides, those activities constructing boundaries and institutions in the background underlay the basic livelihoods and some social rights for villagers and migrant residents in Nanjiao Village as have been presented in Chapter 3. And it is evident that at different times, stakeholders adopted different strategies and methods to handle the issues on land use as presented in early chapters. Like other urban villages, Nanjiao Village has abandoned traditional farming production since 2000’s. Compared to the single agricultural economy before, various kinds of businesses and economies have been generated on this land delineated by the stakeholders, based upon their property relations.

In this part, this research conducts more detailed discovery on the stakeholders’ attitudes and activities to their current status and the way they sustain it. The stakeholders have realized the importance of the maintenance of current property relations and existing orders they should obey to defend their land rights and social rights, so that the way of keeping this institutional framework functioning is also assumed to be retained for a long term. As argued before, the stakeholders may have several interactions with each other. For the municipality, there exists a puzzle that if it is still interested in the remaining collective land in the urban village as the plenty of farming land deprived decades ago. The above consideration agrees to the status quo of the urban village – including the delineated boundaries and coherent institutions like village self-management and Hukou. In other words, for the urban village, what can the self-management of land use in the urban village bring about? Moreover, despite the formal institutions, the author suspects that some informal factors help to support the current land use framework in Nanjiao. Those informalities are based on the mutual tolerance and credibility between different stakeholders and set aside acceptable living conditions for each other.

4.1.1 Self-management on Collective Land: a Real Hero for the Urban Village?

Self-management refers to the restricted use of residential land and collective land for commercial and industrial use and shared use of public land, which are based on the private property relations and common property relations of stakeholders. These property relations have controlled the access to land use for individuals in the village. The self-management of land use and village affairs in Nanjiao was considered as the formal institution inherited from the agricultural time. The state laws and government regulations, village convention and regulations on collective land use and village affairs and the self-organized and self-operated private houses by villagers consist part of the self-management scheme in the village (see Figure 4.1). From a rural village to an urban village, the mechanism of village self-management plays a more and more important role in governing the village affairs, especially when it is related to land use and social rights. As mentioned earlier, as one pattern of the urban village, the preserved self-management system distinguishes the urban village from many other villages where all collective lands are converted to be the state-owned and all public affairs related to the villagers are governed by the municipal government directly. This author deemed that the preservation of self-management reflects the interactions between stakeholders, aiming to sustain the status quo in the urban village.

From the government's stand point, study results from the fieldwork show that local municipal governments are willing to leave self-management for the urban village for different purposes. As summarized by Song et al. (2008) and Tian (2008), the factors contributing to the self-management mechanism include the costly access to land and housing projects in the city, the avoidance of the massive monetary compensation to the village shelters and relocation by the municipality, the lack of financial capacity for housing construction for self-use demanded by rural migrants and so on. Those reasons enhance the government's consideration on preserving self-management framework in the urban village. Hence, the self-management of collective land now represents the clear line (limit) both in tangible and intangible terms between the state-owned land on the urban area and the collectively-owned land of the urban village.

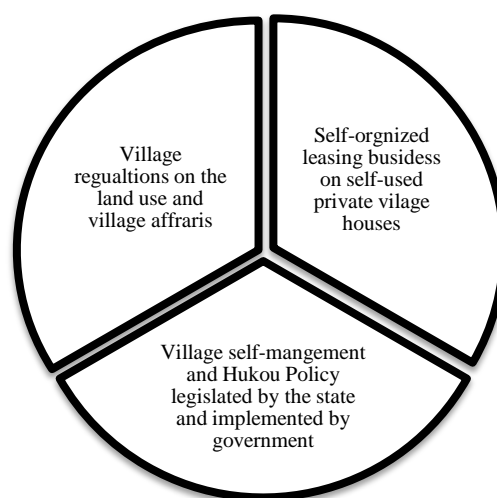


Figure 4.1: Institutions of Self-management in the Urban Village
Author's contribution

For the urban village, the village self-management makes the urban villager unwilling to hand over their remaining land and private houses and to be the real urban citizens. Since the collective self-management can bring them some exclusive rights and privileges on their land and private houses, the potential increasing amount of land rent in the future, and the social protection and services. From Tian (2008)'s point of view, this is one dynamic of the maintenance of the administrative and operating mechanism of land use and the unchanged boundaries between the urban and rural area. Despite the villagers in Nanjiao have to endure a poorer and less-developed living condition and social security than that for the urban citizen, it is still hard to persuade them to disclaim their collective property rights to obtain the urban social protection and gentrified community. Interviewed Villagers' Committee and individual villagers believe that they need this framework to support and protect their interests and benefits on the collective land and the private living houses. It is a consensus among villagers now that self-management of their land is the baseline, even though they endure the unpleasant circumstance and poor quality of constructions in the village (personal communication, 2014, 2015). As Mr. C. H. He and other committee members stated, villagers now become more intelligent as they know that land would bring a great deal of fortune to them since the village is situated in a good location in the city (personal communication, 2014). They realized the importance and advantages of self-management of land use and village affairs. Thus, the speed of renovation of land use and construction is out of control by the municipal government, which indeed would maintain the current mode of land use and social status for residents in Nanjiao Village for a long run.

Certainly, the juridical power of self-management of commonly used land fosters the existing land use in Nanjiao Village. Without it, the collectively owned land will lose its legal and formal basis established by the state and governments, and the villagers' voice of claiming property rights will become fragile and powerless. This is why commonly villagers from different urban villages are able to preserve some land collectively which avoid the arbitrary requirement by the municipal government. Regarding Nanjiao Village, the township authorities (Mr. X. D. He and Mr. Lin) and the Villagers' Committee also admit that the official and legal self-management on collective land ensure their collective land ownership and rights that have kept the boundaries between the urban and village territories stable. Now it is not easy for the municipality to invade into their collective land and change the urban-village boundaries as before (personal communication, 2014, 2015). The latest geographic picture (see Image 3.6 in last chapter) shows little change of boundaries distinguishing the pieces of land for housing site, public construction and factories and other kinds of land use.

The self-management has been applied to manage diverse modes of land use in Nanjiao Village presently, which get increasing numbers of groups of stakeholders engaged in. Mr. C.H. He introduced me the new missions and functions of their administrative organ under the village self-management regime since Nanjiao became an urban village decades ago. Presently the Villagers' Committee takes more responsibilities for developing their commercial and industrial land. The village cadre as the representatives owning the land has to learn how to manage the land on the free market with the outsiders. Now, with the assistance of the municipality, the official platform of land use transaction has been built, through which the village has absorbed a growth of investors from the outside places. The encouragement and endorsement of the municipality help them to set up a free and transparent trade channel for the stakeholders under the self-management framework of land use (personal communication, 2014, 2015). The village cadre also indicates another positive aspect that the self-management brings the stakeholders who get involved in land use inside Nanjiao Village with a certain degree of social rights. The villagers may continue to provide housing and commercial real estate for the migrant dwellers and themselves. Under the collective ownership (common property relations) and self-management, if the mode of land use will not change, the village will function as an organization to bear the responsibilities for helping both the villagers and migrant residents (partially) to achieve those social rights, as presented in Chapter 3.

Nevertheless, on negative aspect, the divergent development on land use is clearly shown between the two sides of the village-urban boundary, brought by the separation of land management between cities and villages. On the side of the urban village, under the collective ownership and self-management, the disordered, unplanned and somehow aboriginal style of village landscape and construction has been kept for decades, since the village decides whom it wants to be included and to what extent. Obviously, from the fieldwork we know that both the government and the demolition is not their first choice at the moment. On the other side of the boundary, under the state-ownership, the former farming land has been developed and gentrified into the urban landscape or modern industrial area. The distinctions between the urban village and the city are enlarging.

Furthermore, many urban villages like Nanjiao Village are not included in the municipal urban planning and fiscal budget system. Even if Ms. Liao believed that the civil construction around the village would promote the living standards and facilitate the economic development of Nanjiao, the self-managed urban village would not have produced adequate financial resources to improve their housing conditions and living environment, as Mr. Lin, Mr.C.H.He and other committee members complained (personal communication, 2014, 2015). Although the land rent for the non-farm economy may generate more revenue on land than before, the Nanjiao Villagers' Committee has pessimistic attitudes towards the current land rent. The statistic data from the transaction market (based on the aforementioned transaction platform jointly built by the village and municipal government) points out that a considerable portion of collective land is still unexplored. From their point of view, the sole dependence on current land rent and land use will make the village pinch its pennies to make ends meet. It is tough for a single village to raise a huge host of funds needed to trigger the further redevelopment to promote the land use and living environment (personal communication, 2014, 2015).

Furthermore, as Mr.C.H.He complained about,, the strong awareness of collective property rights and overemphasis on the collective decision-making indeed makes villagers difficult to come to a consensus on how to redevelop their land in the future (personal communication, 2014). That is why the redevelopment project was still controversial and postponed without a definite timetable. In this meaning, the dilemma of Nanjiao Village now is an unavoidable result of the maintenance of boundaries (institutions) of land use, the self-management of the village in particular, under current property relations of stakeholders. Meanwhile, the exclusive rights on collective land come with the exclusive responsibilities for the social security and social protection for indigenous villagers. From this perspective, the leading group of Nanjiao Village also does not consider self-management optimistic for the villagers. The maintenance of the boundaries of land use under collective ownership means the community needs to bear relatively more burdens on the social affairs with shrunken amount of land and properties since the land requisition. *"The Guangzhou municipality took most of our land, but it requires us to shoulder all the public and social affairs as before"* Mr. He stated (personal communication, 2014). With the limited land resources, the village community and individual villagers have to address their basic social demands on housing, primary education, general medical care, and a minimum of income and social security and so on. As aforementioned, it seems that the municipality doesn't want to deprive all the land title from Nanjiao Village and avoid being engaged in those affairs on purpose. This implies that, as long as the urban village does not forego its land title and the self-management power, it has to govern and operate everything themselves.

To make a short conclusion, the maintenance of the boundaries of land use means to retain its internal institutions of land use as well. The self-management is such a critical institution established by the stakeholders, based on their property relations in the village. And it is itself a critical instrument implemented by both of the state and the village on purpose to construct and stabilize the current land use in the urban village and further manages the village affairs and the social rights in particular. Based on this, the village bears the entire burden to provide public

goods and social welfares and so on for the indigenous villagers and even for the migrant residents to some extent. Residents here have both positive and negative arguments on the self-management and attribute this institutional framework to the stakeholder's bilateral performance and construction activities under their property relations in the village. Without it, current order in the village would have collapsed and the access to land use and social rights would have become vague for all residents.

4.1.2 Arguments over the State's Responsibility for Social Rights

The section above emphasizes the influential role of self-management of the urban village under stakeholders' property relations in managing the collective land and governing the village affairs, in both positive and negative aspects. This institution is considered as the cornerstone if the villagers want to keep the current urban-village boundaries and modes of land use unchanged in Nanjiao Village. We learn from the villagers, the Villagers' Committee and even the higher authorities that self-management still functions and gets improved after Nanjiao became an urban village. Being similar to other experiences throughout China, this mechanism is indispensable to prop up the urban village so far. It puts forward a further question that if with this setting of boundaries, the urban village will substitute some municipal functions and responsibilities for the provision of social rights for the two groups of residents in the village, distinguished by their identity status – Hukou. Besides the village self-management just discussed, the research emphasizes the social status or identities – Hukou of the villagers and migrant residents, which is socially constructed by the stakeholders, based on their property relations in land use. The identities function as invisible wall (an institutional instrument) to make the divergence in social rights in two layers as presented earlier: the one between the indigenous villagers and local urban citizens and the one between the migrant residents and local residents (here local residents means both the local villagers and urban citizens within the same city or provincial territory). This chapter discusses in more detail regarding social rights on the two aspects, with the findings from the fieldwork.

Let us begin with the first one – the city-village “boundary”. A deep impression of the separation between the state-owned and collectively-owned land within a city territory is that the state and municipality seem to support this arrangement regulated by laws and policies. As aforementioned the self-management on collective land still functions as the same as on a rural village, which replaces all the municipal responsibilities for providing the social rights (basic housing and the social security in particular) to villagers. This situation in the urban village has lasted for a certain long run and is not easy to be removed for the following reasons, which also reflects stakeholder's interactions. Take Nanjiao Village for example. On the one hand, the municipality seems not to be willing to take over this job. According to the information obtained from Ms. Liao who assumes full charge of the Planning Policy Department of Urban Planning Bureau of Guangzhou, the establishment of a universal social security system has been written in the city plan for next decades, whereas the city government lacks the financial ability to achieve this goal for all local residents, not even mention the migrant residents (personal communication, 2015). Mr. C.H. He also proved that the urban social housing now is still inaccessible for villagers who possess the residential land and village houses and villagers are nominal urban residents only, excluded from the urban social system (personal communication, 2014, 2015). On this issue, the municipality shows an inclination to preserve the boundaries and separation of urban-village land ownership and the coherent institutions – Hukou and self-management. As Ms. Liao responded, the Guangzhou municipality is glad to see if the urban village can redevelop and promote the residential environment and qualities itself, cooperating with other stakeholders (personal communication, 2015). From her point of view,

what can be done by the government for the village is not to bear the financial burden of housing, education, pension, medical care and other social welfare, like for other urban citizens, but to help them to build a self-managed community to carry out these affairs.

On the other hand, even if Nanjiao Village will not destroy current boundaries of land use and the coherent institutions, they are more or less able to meet the ends of minimum basic social rights for local villagers. Hence, it is hard to judge if the villagers are willing to hand over their land for the urban social security and other social rights from the municipal government in this regard. At least in Nanjiao, villagers would prefer preserving their collective territory and property relations and relying on their ability and experience to operate a minimum of social rights as they conducted in the agricultural era. Therefore, under current institutional arrangement, urban villagers are not converted into real urban citizens, namely they are not endowed with the legal identity of urban citizens by the state, as long as they hold the Nanjiao Village Hukou and their exclusive relations on collective land. These imply the continuous separation of social rights between the urban citizen and urban villagers.

Now, let us turn to the second layer: boundaries inside the village. The status quo of property relations of stakeholder and the consequential boundary arrangement inside Nanjiao Village has lasted for decades. The village has accommodated plenty of migrant residents and provided them with basic social requisites to some extent. Will Guangzhou municipality also take over the job of providing fundamental accommodation and social security for migrant residents? The answer is still ambiguous. Many studies have revealed (see Section 2.1.1) the existence of the urban village reflects the consideration of the municipality to provide cheap and adequate shelters for the low-income group of people migrating into local area. Till now, the number of migrant residents living in Nanjiao has far exceeded that of indigenous villagers. As long as the current property relations and the arranged boundaries of land use remain unchanged, it is suspected whether Nanjiao is able to solve the housing problems for such amount of migrant tenants and continues to fill in the gap that the government is not able or reluctant to do in the nearly future. The data from Villagers' Committee suggests that with the current floor area of residential buildings of 369,200 square meters constructed by the indigenous villagers, the village can accommodate even more migrants (NVC 2010). Moreover, we can learn the attitudes of Guangzhou municipality towards migrant residents in the urban village from Ms. Liao that it does not consider the provision of public and social housing for migrant residents without local (Guangzhou) Hukou as its prior mission (personal communication, 2014). The government acknowledges the disordered landscape and poorer living conditions and standard and less-developed social rights in the urban villages. Yet, the village can bring the government more social benefits, saving the government a considerable amount of public expenditure on housing and other social services for the migrants. There is no obvious evidence from the field research that the municipality means to make the urban village function as the pool of the urban poor, replacing the municipal responsibility for providing a universal system of social rights for all residents. Nevertheless, over the past two decades, the urban village indeed has functioned in such way.

Meanwhile, the interviewed indigenous villagers and Villager's Committee informed us that they do not seriously consider there is a deal with the municipality to shoulder the responsibility of helping the migrant residents to obtain their social rights, but a substitutive way for the villagers' livelihoods after the land requisition (personal communication, 2014). In other words, for them, the status quo of property relations and consequential land use which gets many outsiders involved in is a way of creating income for their living necessities. The fieldwork findings indicate that their housing and land are open for the participation of whoever can afford. To be frank, the Villagers' Committee and interviewed villagers gave their common opinions that "*as long as the collective land will generate revenue for Nanjiao Village and the individual households, it does not matter whoever will stay or leave and however the land will be developed*" (personal communication, 2014, 2015). From this point, the research would

consider the maintenance of Nanjiao Village as some certainty – no guaranteed housing and land use for the migrant workers. However, we can be informed from the interviews that the villagers also show their dispassionate attitudes towards the migrant residents, particularly on the issue of providing the equal social security and public education to the migrant residents as the same as the local villagers.

4.1.3 Balancing Diverse Interests: strategies in boundary maintenance

For decades, property relations and boundary arrangement in land use almost remain unchanged in Nanjiao Village. It is hard to point out when this status quo will conclude. Someone may probably hopes for the continuance of their property relations and current status of these boundaries and institutions which are constructed by them. Self-management, based on villagers' property relations, is a universally institutional framework assented by the state, the municipality and the village, which is a critical pillar of the diverse land use in Nanjiao Village. Furthermore, by interviewing participants from different interested groups, it is well acknowledged that on the self-managed collective land, the indigenous villagers and migrant residents are able to get the access to some social rights which normally are considered as the responsibilities of a state (Marshall, 1950). To retain stakeholder's property relations and current land use mean the urban village like Nanjiao Village still needs to substitute some municipal functions in terms of social rights for all the residents. The municipality considers the village should and can operate the entire social and public affairs on its self-managed collective land, which takes a great priority over the urban citizens, not even mention the migrant workers who are mostly excluded from the local social welfare and security system. Therefore, it is not optimistic to expect that the municipal government will take over these responsibilities very soon. On the other side, preceding chapters have drawn a conclusion that stakeholders adopted different strategies and methods to establish the inclusion and exclusion in land use. However, unlike the time of land requisition when the state and the government dominated the whole process and altered the boundaries in land use with the powerful institutional tools like laws and regulations, the urban village now seems like a product of compromise of different stakeholders, in which the power and regulation of the state and governments are really weak and the village possesses the legally powerful tools to govern the land use and village affairs.

The urban village is a complex human community containing a diversity of human activities in the process of boundary construction. Under current property relations, it requires a framework or a system consisting of a series of methods and tools to sustain those existing boundaries in land use, which is also named a "system of social control" (Ellickson, 1991, p.123- 136; Black, 1984). In this system, both formal and informal norms are utilized by the stakeholders to control themselves and other actors (Ellickson, 1991, p.131). And each actor's behavior will be controlled by the other parties. Depending on this relational network, the society would keep stable and ordered. In some social context "*informal norms emerge to help to achieve order without law*" (Ellickson, 1991, p.123), sometimes through cooperation, compromising and toleration. Social control refers broadly to virtually all of the human practices and arrangements that contribute to social order (Black, 1984, p.4). Being the stakeholder, they "*can affect or be affected*" in one organization (Post, Preston, & Sachs, 2002). In an urban village where individuals or entity are involved in the land use under certain relationship with each other, it is not meaningful to discuss how the boundaries and land use exist in the urban village without analyzing the stakeholders and their activities here. Like what Ellickson (1991) proposed, the stakeholders control each other with own "rules, sanctions and combined system" to sustain the boundaries of land use in the urban village. The following paragraphs explicate why and how this situation can be accepted and tolerated by the stakeholders with their

constructed institutional instruments and methods.

Government's Toleration under Legal Construction

Analogous to the definition of toleration is that “*a government policy of permitting forms of religious belief and worship not officially established*” (Merriam-Webster Dictionary). There is no explicit proof to support the argument that the state and local governments tolerate and support the existence of urban villages. At least no such definite legal description was written in any law provisions and regulations, whereas the government’s behavior indeed acquiesces in its formation and existence under the state legislation and municipal policy-making – tolerating the urban village somehow. Let us move back to recount how the government (particular the local government) as one stakeholder affects the boundary-making and institutions construction to arrange land use in the urban village. It is evident that the municipal policy and urban plan allows the Nanjiao Village to retain some collective land (10% of requisitioned land) as part of the compensation for land expropriation and the whole area of residential land for housing. It is hard to find out the accurate legal prescriptions from the land and planning law supporting it. Nevertheless, Chinese central government (i.e. the State Council⁴⁰) allows local governments to implement such policy for village economic and social welfare development as long as it is not strictly forbidden by the Chinese Constitution and relevant land and planning laws. As a result, urban villages are produced. Presently, the interview with Ms. Liao informs us that the municipal government does not treat the urban village as a question of whether it should be preserved or not but a question of how they can be eliminated and redeveloped through a proper method (personal communication, 2015). However, for several reasons the government needs to accept them at present.

First of all, Ms. Liao admitted that being confronted with the fact that the urban village provides considerable amount of affordable accommodations for low-end migrant residents and for villagers, the government tolerates villagers' individual activities of rebuilding and leasing their house to migrant residents for purpose of survival and economy development. But that does not mean the government supports the mess of unplanned landscapes and illegal building density (personal communication, 2015). Secondly, another critical reason for the government postponing the redevelopment is the tremendous expenditure on the resettlement compensation and the infrastructure investment in the urban village. With the rapid increase of land price and the emphasis of the protection of individual’s property by the state legislation and the Chinese government, the municipal government has to spend much more to commence the renewal project in the urban village. Thirdly, it is therefore getting more difficult for the municipal government to negotiate with the villagers and reach a protocol with the majority (80%) of them⁴¹.

As Ms. Liao referred to, the villagers’ political power is getting much stronger than before accordingly (personal communication, 2015). Prof. Sun also underlined that these villagers require excessive cash compensation which is far beyond the government’s ability and standard (personal communication, 2015). We also learn from the fieldwork in Nanjiao Village that there are still severe controversies on the contents and standards of the compensation. Thereby, the amount of expenditure cannot be calculated very accurately. And even the villagers themselves could not reach an internal consensus on the compensation. In the historical experience, some villagers would raise the amount during the negotiating process of land requisition and housing demolition. They would obstruct the redevelopment unless the government and Real Estate Company would concur with them. Those potential costs would be very high and unaccountable; thus the municipal government is hesitated and disinclined to implement any project at present in the urban village. Those problems above always come out continuously and become severe,

⁴⁰ According to Article 85 of the Constitution of China (2004), the central government means the State Council.

⁴¹ See Suggestion on accelerating the redevelopment of old towns, old factories and urban villages. Guangzhou Municipal Government (2009).

which cannot be settled shortly. Like what Ms. Liao addressed, the situation becomes complex and tough for the municipal government (personal communication, 2015).

Besides the preferential legislation and policy-making towards the village, several civil construction activities even support the existence of the urban village. Bordering on the urban infrastructure and facilities, the urban village can receive many supportive benefits for surviving and livelihoods from the urbanization. Take Mr. Yang, the household the author visited for instance. As he told, some villagers like him operate various kinds of businesses outside, besides the house leasing in the village (personal communication, 2014). Many similar cases could be found in Nanjiao Village (see Chapter 3). Meanwhile, the permission of the land rent and transaction market somehow affirms the exclusive collective land rights legally and formally and encourages the urban village to absorb foreign investment.

However, the municipal authority disagrees that the government will tolerate the old and unplanned villages in the city forever. Urban villages are dirty, over-crowded, disordered and unplanned, like some interviewee stated (personal communication with Ms. Liao and Prof. Sun, 2015). Despite the municipal government wants to avoid the high renewal expenditure funded by the public budget, it also encourages the direct cooperation between the real estate company and the urban village instead. Both Ms. Liao and the Villagers' Committee emphasized the change of redevelopment mode from the government-orientation to the village (collective) and market-orientation (personal communication, 2014, 2015). However, in the negotiation with the developer, some villagers are reluctant to accept the high level of plot ratio. Moreover, as mentioned before because of the lack of supervision and administration on the building construction in the urban village, the tendency of informal construction of village house is fostered, upon which the villagers require higher compensations and new apartments with the same floor space. As to those informal self-organized village buildings, the developers need to pay extra compensation to the house owner.

Hence, sometimes the real estate developer is also worried about and rejects this. There is an extreme case in Zengcheng District of Guangzhou City, learnt from Prof. Sun (2014, 2015) who is the former director of Guangzhou Academy of Social Sciences. Once the government requisitioned some land from the village with compensation and transferred it to a real estate developer. However, when the developer intended to commence the construction, villagers sat on the land and launched a protest. After a long-time negotiation, the developer had to pay more compensation to the land-deprived villagers in order to carry out the project. Even if the two parties can reach to an agreement, it is hard to be approved by the government according to the Planning and Construction Law of China, because the developer requires a high plot ratio in order to generate more revenues to cover their excessive cost. Thus, the municipal government had unpleasant experiences with urban villages and faced many complaints among other stakeholders.

To conclude, the government now is trapped in a dilemma that makes it choose to stand by and keep searching for a new mode of redevelopment. At present, what the Guangzhou government can conduct for the urban village includes: constructing the infrastructure around the village, supervising the self-management of land use and land market, helping to improve the social security system and so on for the indigenous villagers and even for migrant workers in future (Ms. Liao personal communication, 2015). Those friendly activities indeed make a great effort to support the existence of urban village. In this respect, the property relations and land use in the urban village are accepted by the municipality indirectly. As long as the current boundaries and coherent institutions of land use remain unchanged, it is rational to believe that the government's philosophy and strategies regarding the urban village will not change either. Table 4.1 summarizes the strategies and relevant rationalities that the government would like to take to handle the relations with other stakeholders in remaining the urban village.

	Municipal government	The Villagers' Committee	Villagers	Migrants
Municipal government	Strategies & methods Spectators Mediator	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Supporting the village self-management by law Supervising the land use through the formal platform 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tolerating the individual building construction – weak regulations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Permitting the free settlement and movement Encouraging the bilateral cooperation on land use
	Purpose	To be a good third party	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Avoiding conflicts Unable to cover the public expenditure on the urban village Unwilling and unable to provide the accommodation for migrant residents 	

Table 4.1: Government's Strategies for Maintaining the Status quo of the Urban Village

Author's contribution

Migrants' Toleration: economic-orientation and a minimum of social rights

Government's strategy of toleration, associated with the state legislation, municipal policies, regulations and civil construction, has assisted the urban village to exist. It somehow helps the village to create liberal institutions that allows more individuals to participate in the activities on the remaining collective land. Collective land used by the outsiders/migrants here can be possessed and developed either by the households or by the Villagers' Committee. Reciprocal social and economic profits make the urban village acceptable for the outside people who intend to settle down or open businesses in the urban village. According to the statistics of Villagers' Committee, in Nanjiao Village 80%-90% of businesses were operated by migrant investors and residents (personal communication, 2014). Further interviews with several small businesses owners revealed that the urban village provides them with not only the residential housing but also self-employment opportunities for livelihoods and survival.

Normally, some of them have dual role as the operators of small businesses and the residents in the village. Table 4.2 presents interview results with 13 migrant families who operate their businesses or reside in villagers' houses or collective property in Nanjiao Village. The table figures out that they have no complains and accept the urban village on the following aspects, such as monthly income, housing condition and living environment, public services, public safety, public transport, public hygiene and so on.

Indeed, the growing number of migrant population in Nanjiao implies that the urban village is still attractive for them. The findings from Nanjiao Village (see Chapter 3 in detail) support a former conclusion drawn by some researchers that the village offers affordable housing with relatively lower rent for those residents who are seeking accommodations or running a business to feed their lives. The living conditions and business opportunities furnished by either the Villagers' Committee or individual house owners are accepted and tolerated by some outsiders. From the outsider's standpoint, although there are many social groups with different background who are living in the same village, the relationship with them is harmonious. There are seldom conflicts and evil doing happened on their ordinary life (personal communication, 2014, 2015). Also, most of them deem that the Villagers' Committee makes some effort to manage the public environment, public hygiene and public safety, which meets their basic requirements on resettlement conditions. Moreover, even if they are treated differently in fetching some public services and local social welfare and security, for them these are not critical factors influencing their choices of living and developing in Nanjiao Village. The migrants endure inhabiting and operating businesses in the urban village.

Interviewed Families/Business	Collective Land	Net Income (¥)	Rent per month (¥)	Housing condition	Neighboring relationship	Public transport	Public services	Public safety	Public hygiene
Family X An auto-repair store	Possessed by Villagers' Committee		500 Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable
Mr. Xu and Mrs. Xu A breakfast restaurant	Possessed by Villagers' Committee	3,000 - 4,000 Acceptable	1400 Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable
Mr. Hu and his family A restaurant	Possessed by Villagers' Committee	4000 Acceptable	3000 Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable
Mr. and Mrs. Liang A barber shop	Possessed by households	Acceptable	1000 Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable
Mr. and Mrs. Wu A restaurant	Possessed by households	Acceptable	2000 Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable
Mr. Lin and his family A restaurant	Possessed by households	1,000 Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable
Mr. and Mrs. Lai A shoe-repair and key store	Possessed by households	3000 - 4000 Acceptable	1000 Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable
Ms. Wang and her family A bicycle repair store	Possessed by households	Acceptable	900 Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable
Mr. Huang and Family	Living	Acceptable		Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable
Mr. Hu and Family	Living	Acceptable		Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable
Mr. Luo	Living	Acceptable		Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable
Mr. Wu and Family	Living	Acceptable		Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable
Mr. Ma	Living	Acceptable		Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable	Acceptable

Table 4.2: Migrants Tenants and their Attitudes to Nanjiao Village
Author's contribution

Table 4.3 reflects the strategies used by the migrants to handle the issues of land use with the other stakeholders in Nanjiao Village. They have their own judgment on whether they will accept the conditions set by other interested parties. Under the prerequisite of being completely voluntary and free, migrants accept the contractual use right and rent conditions required by the Villagers' Committee or an individual household. By doing so, their relations of inclusion in the access to land use will be established and sustained. For those who use the collectively possessed land and property, the contract is formally signed and registered with the superior government. However, in some cases the connection between the migrants and the urban village is relatively weak. The research notices that, the rent contract with households is not as formal as that with the Villagers' Committee, sometimes just an oral promise or agreement. Hence, in such case, the relation between the households and tenants depends on the self-control of each party and is easy to be destroyed. When the household acts to change the entry conditions to land and property use, some migrant tenants are probably expelled from the village. If so, the migrants seem not to have very powerful tools to defend their rights in the village. Some migrant tenants, like Mrs. Liang and Mrs. Wang, mentioned if the living conditions become unacceptable, such as the increase of monthly rent of housing and the decline of income in the urban village, they will abandon their use right and move to another place (personal communication, 2015).

	Migrants	Municipal government	The Villagers' Committee	Villagers
Strategies & methods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Free choice ● Rational self-judgment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Sometimes should obey the official regulations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Free negotiation and formal contract ● Formal official regulation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Free negotiation and cooperation ● Formal or informal contract ● Communication in person ● Weak official regulation
Purposes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● To find accessible and affordable place to stay, survive and develop 			

Table 4.3: Outsiders' Strategies for Maintaining the Status quo of the Urban Village
 Author's contribution

Villagers' Committee's Toleration: responsibility for the community

As narrated before, Villagers' Committee is a special organization since it is not part of Chinese governmental regime but defined as a self-organized and self-managed entity, of which all committee members are elected by all adult villagers directly. It represents the will and interests of the whole village community. It organizes various social and economic activities on collective land, which are regulated and influenced by both formal and informal norms and sanctions by all interested parties. In these activities, the Villagers' Committee would play several roles. Take some instances. Regarding the land acquisition by the municipal government to set up the tobacco factory and construct the urban public facilities, Mr. C.H. He responded that the land acquisition was authorized by land and planning laws and governmental directives. In that period, villagers and Villagers' Committee were not conscious of the potential growth of land value too much and their voices were always neglected in the decision-making process. They had to be obedient to the superior authorities. Mr. C.H. He and other committee members introduced that the Committee functioned as a bridge and mediator to explain the city plan and government's policy to the villagers, to persuade them to obey the government's arrangement and simultaneously to do its best to negotiate with the government on the amount of compensation (personal communication, 2014, 2015). Nearly 60 percent of former farmland now is owned by the state and exploited for urban construction, economic development and public use. The Villagers' Committee admits the convenience brought by the construction of urban public transport and highways surrounding the village. At present, the government has ceased the land requisition and in addition some collective land and residential houses have been

preserved for the village. The village has fewer conflicts with the municipal government on land issue. Instead, the committee deals with more challenges from other stakeholders.

Facing the self-constructed private village houses by the villagers, Mr. C.H. He and other committee members told that the Committee has to accept this. Every year, there are new self-constructed apartment buildings come about. Even if they are somehow illegal and bring lots of negative consequences to the village environment, the income from the housing rent is the basis of villagers' living resources. Furthermore, considering the revenue distribution from land rent is inadequate, house leasing is a proper way to help villagers survive and develop (personal communication, 2014, 2015). Regarding the migrant residents in the village, Mr. C.H. He said that their movement and settlement are not forbidden by the government and the village would like to accept them, since they are the income resources for the indigenous villagers (personal communication, 2014, 2015). The village has formulated a stipulation managing the renting apartments, which requires the migrants to register formally with the local Residents' Committee. The increase of migrant population leads to a quick growth and development of local service business in Nanjiao Village, which generates the income for both the migrant tenants and native villagers. Moreover, from the historical experiences, there are seldom troubles made by the migrant dwellers and villagers. Normally, the self-organized Residents' Committee will be assigned to solve the disputes between neighbors if any.

As to the land and property collectively managed by the Villagers' Committee, Mr. C.H. He said the village continues making efforts to improve the investment condition and encourage the foreign investment. All transaction activities on this part of land are supervised by the formal and official trade platform co-built with the municipal government. The villager committee needs to accept it to assure the transparent and fair transaction of land use in the village. Besides, the collective land is the basis upon which the village administration could keep functioning, and villagers could obtain some income. Dominant part of the expenditure on village affairs such as social security, primary education, shares distribution and other administration fees depend on the income from the land rent (personal communication, 2014, 2015).

In summary, the leading group of Nanjiao – the Villagers' Committee possesses a generous and open mind to current land use and social situation in the village. They attempt to keep the whole community function and in order within the village territory. Table 4.4 shows the methods used by the Villagers' Committee to govern the land use and village affairs, interacting with other stakeholders. The maintenance of the village needs their supports. However, it is inaccurate to conclude that their policies and work are inclined to keep current land use under extant property relations. No respondent from the committee mentioned that they hope the village could keep unchanged forever. Regarding the attitude of Villagers' Committee to the urban village in the long run, it expresses its intense aspiration for redevelopment. The committee admitted that the redevelopment speed of Nanjiao Village went down partially since both the municipal government and the village lacked the initial capital to launch the project. A good way is to absorb the social capital and foreign investment, but the redevelopment must be under the precondition that the revenue from the collective land and property after redevelopment should be adequate or even better to meet the living demands of indigenous villagers. The housing floor area must not be less than that they have lived with now. As to the migrant residents, they assume that some of them will be evicted and current local services and small businesses will disappear temporarily due to the growing housing price in the village. Nevertheless, the betterment and improvement of landscape, housing conditions and habitat environment is supposed to absorb more and better developers and mid- and high-income residents instead. The Villagers' Committee does not care about the consequence of demolition of shelters for current migrants at all, since it does not consider it as its responsibility (personal communication, 2014, 2015).

	The Villagers' Committee	Municipal government	Migrants	Villagers
The Villagers' Committee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Self-organized and elected institution ● Regulations on self-management of land use and village affairs ● Mediator between stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Establishing the transaction platform together ● Accepting the supervision and instruction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Mutual cooperation on by formal contract ● Regulations on the management of migrants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Weak regulations on the individual activities on the houses construction ● Managing village affairs and furnishing social services and social security
Purposes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Self-management and well-organized land use and village affairs ● Responsible for the economic development and social development of the village 			

Table 4.4: Village's Strategies for Maintaining the Status quo of the Urban Village

Author's contribution

Villager's Toleration: self-help and beneficial rental businesses

From a rural village to an urban village, villagers have experienced the whole process of change of land use, associated with other stakeholders. Their social status as villagers (Nanjiao Village Hukou holders) has lasted for decades, which represents a long-term exclusion from the urban sphere in terms of land use and social rights. They inhabit in a place with the unpleasant living environment, disordered and unplanned constructions and the extremely high residential density. It turns to the question that whether the status quo is accepted by the villagers themselves and if it is the case, how they manage it. As referred to for many times, the legal self-management of village means not only the collective land managed by the Villagers' Committee but also the residential site and private houses occupied and operated by the individual village household. When observing and visiting some village houses, the author had a deep impression that all the householders was optimistic about their housing rental business and believed that the income from the housing rent would take up the dominant part of financial resources for his family in the long run.

From the indigenous villagers' experiences, the migrant tenants did not make any big trouble in the house, and almost all controversies would be addressed through reciprocal friendly communication and negotiation. As Mr. A. Chen said, he once had his own house to lease to the migrants and found them easy to get along with and never had conflicts with them. The migrants are willing to obey the rules and norms of self-made contracts or verbal protocol set by the household (personal communication, 2015). The growing number of apartments and migrant residents in the village implies that more and more migrants agreed the requirements by householders and chose to live here. Yet, it is inaccurate to state that all households are willing to live together with the outsiders. Like Mr. B. Chen and the owner of "Nanjiao Shop" who both are native villagers express, they are reluctant to accept so many migrants settling here, but they have to accept them (personal communication, 2015). Nevertheless, no matter how the villagers consider the migrants psychologically, the arrival of the migrant residents will ensure village householders at least a stable amount of income monthly.

As to other activities conducted by other stakeholders in the village, villagers show different attitudes. For Mr. B. Chen and the owner of "Nanjiao Shop", the land acquisition by the state is not acceptable. But the Villagers' Committee strongly persuaded them to obey the directives of the municipal government. They think the compensation is inadequate and they lose their potential benefit from the farmland. Meanwhile, the credibility of Villagers' Committee is always a problem in the village. Some villagers criticize the transparency and

accountability of land use, regarding the collective land for leasing in particular. They cannot accept the current method of exploiting collective land since the environment has become messy, whereas the income from the collective land rent is quite low. Nevertheless, an opposite voice can be heard from other villagers, as Mr. A. Chen referred to, that the factories and businesses in the village have not effected on his lives and they are acceptable (personal communication, 2014). Confronted by those controversies among villagers, the Villagers' Committee explains that now the land lease cannot generate high financial returns since the land price in their location is low and considerable amount of lands are still unused. With the limited land revenues, the Villagers' Committee has to operate and manage all village affairs. That is why the cash distribution per capita is rather low (personal, communication 2014). As to the public facilities and social services run by the village, such as the supermarket, infrastructures, public hygiene, public school, clinic, and public parks, the words the interviewed villagers referred to most frequently are "improved", "convenient" and "accessible". Perhaps they are not in very good quality, but accepted by the villagers. To date, villagers' relations in land use are arranged like this: possessing rights to rent house for self-development accepted by the government, living together with the migrants, and sharing some common facilities and services with migrant residents in the village. Table 4.5 summarizes several instruments and methods used by the villagers to act and react with other stakeholders in the village in order to manage and sustain their mutual relations in the village.

	Villagers	Municipal government	Migrants	The Villagers' Committee
Villagers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Self-management of house and residential site ● Communication with neighbours 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Weak connection and regulation ● Obeying the orders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Bilateral contract and agreement in formal and informal form ● Communication and negotiation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Regulations on use of commercial and industrial land ● Regulations on the elected Villagers' Committee ● Regulations on self-used residential land and houses
Purposes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Maximizing the revenue from their own houses and residential land 			

Table 4.5: Villager's Strategies for Maintaining the Status quo in the Urban Village

Author's contribution

Table 4.6 combines the institutions and stakeholders in maintaining the status quo of urban village. It indicates the diverse norms and methods used by the stakeholders to achieve and sustain the social order and stability, based on their property relations in the village – the arrangement of land use and social rights.

Controller	Rules	Sanction	Combined System
1. Single stakeholder i.e. Villager, Migrant	Personal ethics	Self-sanction	Self-control
2. Between stakeholders i.e. Migrants & Villagers' Committee; Migrants & Villagers	Contracts	Personal self-help	Promise, enforced contracts
3. Villagers' Committee	Regulations on self-management	Organization enforcement	Organization control
4. Government	Constitution, land and planning law, regulations	State enforcement	Legal system

Table 4.6: Social Control System Ordering the Urban Village

Author's contribution

4.2 Adjustment of Boundaries in the Urban Village

Sooner or later the urban village may be redeveloped, which implies the renovation of boundaries of land use in the village. Lin (2007) highlighted that the redevelopment ought to be related to diverse issues, such as the social rights, not just a land use plan. We learn from the interviews with the township authority and Villagers' Committee that when planning a redevelopment project which will change the land use, Nanjiao Village mainly concentrates on two critical targets: the betterment of residential conditions and economic revenue and the feasibility of the project (personal communication, 2014). They are also the criteria found in most redevelopment projects of urban village in China. Under the preserved institutions of self-management and collectively owned land, the village hopes to improve its poor habitat conditions and social security and welfare. However, the aforementioned self-management based on collective land ownership seems to be a two-edged sword. It is a useful institutional obstacle limiting government's interference in land use and endures villagers with the decisive power of land use on the one hand. On the other hand, the village is obligated to improve the residential standards and social survives, in terms of the housing quality, education, medical care, social security and welfare. Moreover, under the self-management regime, it is hard for villagers to come to a consensus. Therefore, presently most urban villages are still facing the problem of how to adopt a proper land use policy to commence the redevelopment.

Lin et al. (2015) categorized several typical modes of redevelopment framework utilized by urban villages. Having learned from these experiences, the stakeholders, who once contributed to and were involved in the formation of the urban village, would play different roles in these redevelopment projects, which will be discussed in 4.2.1 in detail. The investigation in Nanjiao Village illustrates that the Villagers' Committee engages a professional agency in the planning work. These completed or forthcoming projects commonly indicate the complete change of landscape and land use. The research will present the prospected construction process of new "boundaries", which contains the stakeholders and their actions and strategies. Under the surface, it implicates the change of the status quo of land use and the access to social rights for all inhabitants. Besides the renovation of boundaries of land use in the urban village by the redevelopment project, this section continues to focus on the consequential changes in the institutional networks that have been built by the stakeholders, in section 4.2.2. It further discusses the possible change of the existing access to social rights for the two groups of residents in the urban village.

4.2.1 Boundary-remaking: the change of access to land use

The author suspects another scenario of an urban village – remaking boundaries of land use through a well-designed plan by the stakeholders. Literature review has shown many redevelopment projects having altered the landscape and land use of the urban village dramatically. In the regeneration and redevelopment of urban villages, different kinds of frameworks were adopted by different cities all over China. Take Guangzhou City as an example. The municipal government implemented "one village one policy"⁴², namely, there is not a universal framework of redevelopment for the urban villages. The choice is according to the specific situation of the village. Lin et al. (2011, 2015), Zhang (2011) and other researchers have summarized and categorized the frameworks of redevelopment in the urban village. Based on their astonishing achievements and combined with the archives and materials from fieldwork

⁴² See Suggestion on the improvement on the policies on transfer of rural residents and redevelopment of urban villages (General office of Guangzhou Municipal Government, 2008).

	Market Orientation	Government Orientation	The third-party Orientation	Village Orientation	Half-market and Half-collective Orientation
Location characters	Small villages in the CBD area	Marginal location, Historic sites, ecological zone, with less migrants.	Villages in Infringe area	Well-Developed Villages	Villages with plenty of collective land
Initiators	Developers, Villagers' Committee (or collective economic association)	Local governments (subsiding and promoting the project)	Informal sector or civil organizations	The Villagers' Committee, Bank, Governments	Developers, Villagers' Committee, Governments
Powerbase/ Stakeholder Positions	Formal relations and procedures by laws, agreements and contract, Price (Bid)/ Fair and free mutual cooperation	Authority and legitimacy/ Government domination	Autonomy and leadership	Autonomy/ Village domination, government mediation	Formal relations and procedures by laws, agreements and contract/ Fair and free cooperation
Land Ownership	Collectively owned	Collectively owned	Collectively owned	Collectively owned	Half State-owned and Half collectively owned
Institutions	Partnership, negotiation, formal and informal rules	Collaborations, governmental directives, formal planning and framework	Bottom-up, informal rule, partnership and negotiation	Partnership, formal rules and procedure, negotiation and mediation.	Partnership, formal rules and procedure, negotiation and mediation.
Pros/ Cons	Upgrade of living conditions, Land prices/ Rent-seeking, Corruption, Lack of participation of villagers.	Improvement of environment, few conflicts/ Limit of budget	Provision of upgrading house and public facilities for migrant/Instability, no registration, lack of financial resources, informal organization		Provision of public facilities by the government, Improvement of environment and living condition/ loss of some collective land

Table 4.7: Modes of Redevelopment in the Urban Village in Guangzhou

Author's contribution

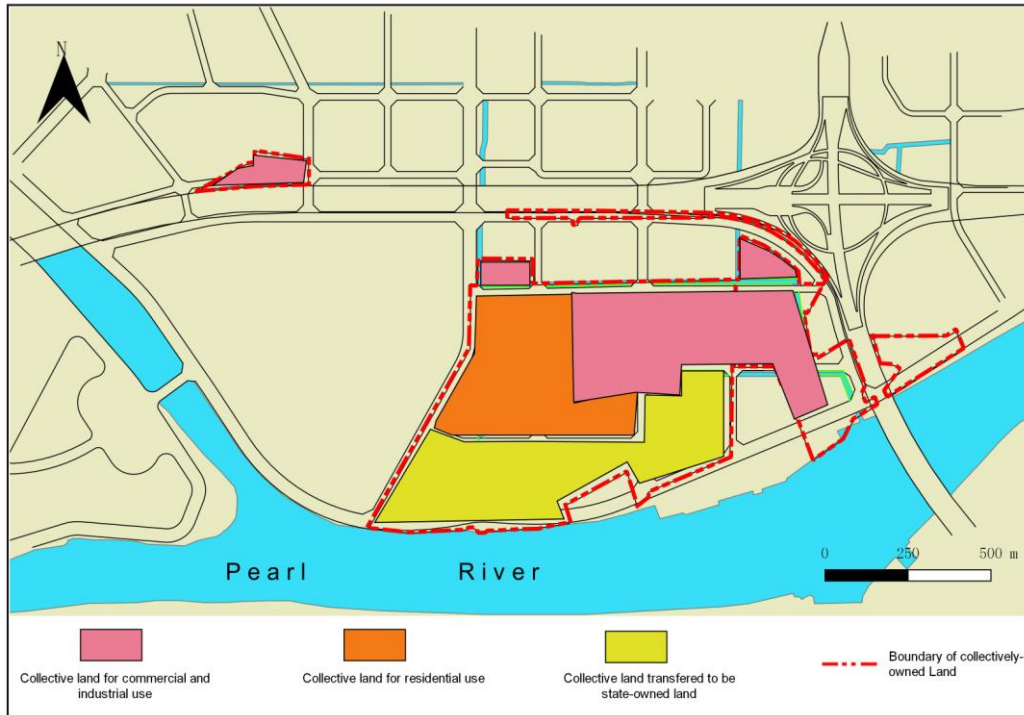
Source: Nanjiao Redevelopment Plan (2010), Lin et al. (2011, 2015), Zhang (2011)

in Guangzhou, Table 4.7 below presents the diverse redevelopment approaches and frameworks implemented in urban villages in Guangzhou City and the characters of stakeholders in the construction process. We can learn from those experiences that each kind has a special framework involving different stakeholders in, who play different roles with various methods and instruments in the reconstruction of boundaries (institutions) of land use in the urban village.

Commonly, in most cases those approaches would not transfer the title of collective land and the self-management in the urban village, except the last one – the half-market and half-collective one which Nanjiao Village would adopt. The strategy contains the critical points as followed (see Map 4.1). First of all, except for some historical and heritage sites, all extant private and collective constructions will be demolished and all land will be centralized to the Villagers' Committee. Secondly, the title of some collective land (14.76 ha marked in yellow in Map 4.1) will be transferred to the municipality government and then to the developers for commercial real estate construction in order to acquire compensations as initial funds to build the collective residential and commercial real estate for the villagers. Thirdly, the village will develop the remaining part (see the area in pink and orange in Map 4.1) for the collective accommodations, public use and commercial and industrial use; at last, the government will burden some portion of expense on the construction of municipal facilities and public infrastructures in the village (NVC, 2010).

Through this redevelopment plan, stakeholders can envisage a radical change brought by the cooperation of the village (presented by the Villagers' Committee), the municipal government and the outside developers. On the surface is the change of boundaries between the collective land of the village and the city area. The original line and discrepant landscape between the city and village will disappear with the demolishment of former village constructions entirely and then the construction of modern and urban style district. Within the whole village area, the multi-floor high-rise and new public facilities will replace the former scattered small houses and poor-quality buildings. The narrow roads and alleys will broaden as the urban style streets with green belt and sidewalk. The proposed plan also predicates that comparing to the map of the existing boundaries of land use, both the size and location of different use of collective land will be altered (see Map 4.2 below). Current collective land will be divided into three parts (see Map 4.1), as described in the preceding paragraph: the collective residential land (the orange part), collective land for economic development (mostly for commercial and industrial use) (the pink part) and land for commercial housing transferred to the government and outside purchasers (the yellow part). As the Villagers' Committee introduced, the three pieces of land use will be exclusively separated and the access to housing and other facilities on these lands will change. The following paragraphs will narrate how the plan will rearrange the land use in each piece of land, based on stakeholders' property relations in the village in detail.

As mentioned for many times, the village insists on preserving village self-management on their land and thus it has to take the responsibility of raising initial capitals. The Villagers' Committee hopes that with the transfer of some part of the land to the outsiders, it will collect adequate funds for the construction of its own collective apartments, public facilities and other commercial real estate (personal communication, 2014). After the redevelopment, on the site of new village apartment buildings and the collective land for economic development (pink and orange part in Map 4.1), the plot ratio will grow from 1.17 to 3.19. The floor area of buildings will increase from 646,400 to 904,100 square meters in total (461,900 square meters of residential apartments and 442,000 square meters of commercial real estate) (NVC, 2010). That indicates the project will provide adequate accommodations and commercial real estate for all the villagers. As a result, villagers will settle down in the new apartment buildings (no less than the national and Guangzhou City criteria of floor area for village residents per capita) on the reallocated residential land and possess the exclusively use right. A noticeable



Map 4.1: Plan of Land Use in Nanjiao Village

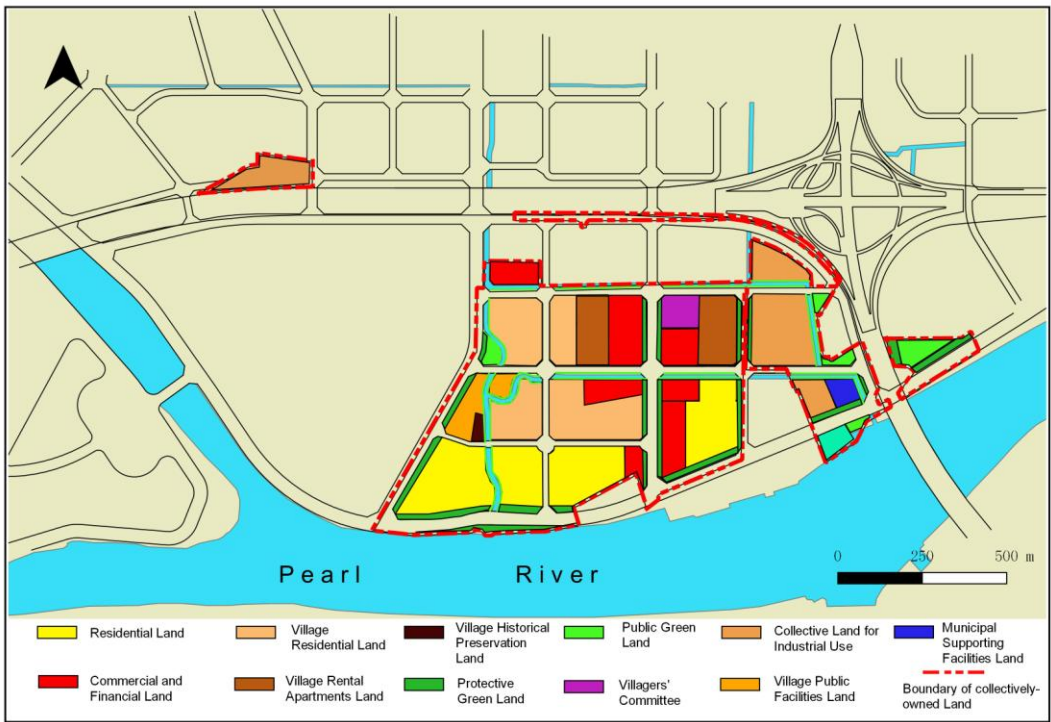
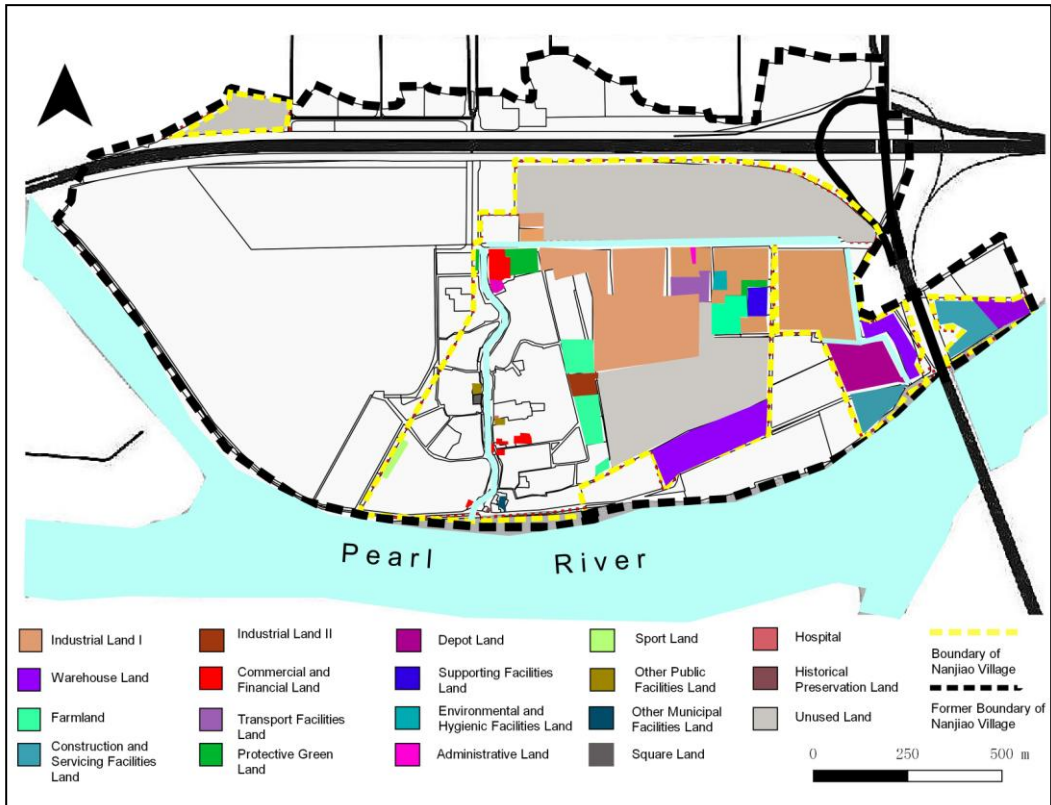
Author's contribution

Adapted from Nanjiao Village Redevelopment Plan (2010)

Basic map from open map resource. <http://maps.stamen.com/#toner/12/37.7706/-122.3782>

finding was that, the Hukou title of indigenous Nanjiao villagers has been changed to the “urban citizen” in name. However, that does not influence their exclusive rights on land use and reconstructed apartments as long as they are identified as Nanjiao villagers. But, they are not allowed to sell these apartments. Moreover, the residential floor area of each apartment is strictly limited, which will further disable the household to reconstruct the housing for leasing business as they do at present in Nanjiao Village.

As assessed by the Villagers' Committee, the value of new constructed housing and collective real estate will grow. The monthly rent of a new apartment and other collective properties will double. And with the total destroying of the original village houses, the number of low-priced housing for lease declines and thus the opportunity to get the access to cheap house and land use will probably become insufficient for low-paid migrant tenants. In the mean time, the Hukou will continue its function to limit person without “Nanjiao Hukou” not to obtain the access to the new collective apartments which are only distributed to villagers who possess the Nanjiao Village Hukou. We can learn from the project that, another chance to obtain the residential housing and real estate for business will be on that part of land transferred to the government, where the outside people without village Hukou are allowed to purchase the new apartments and real estate for settlement and commercial use, developed by the outside real estate company (see the yellow area in Map 4.1). However, low-paid migrant residents are still not able to purchase a new apartment with a little lump of fund. As some migrant families such as Mrs. Wang and Mrs. Liang referred to, if the price is soaring they will seriously consider moving out of the village (personal communication, 2015). “*Tenants were indifferent to the future of chengzhongcun, and where to find affordable housing seems beyond their immediate consideration*” (Tian, 2008, p.298).



Map 4.2: Changes in Land Use before/after Redevelopment

Author's contribution

Adapted from Nanjiao Village Redevelopment Plan (2010)

Basic map from open map resource. <http://maps.stamen.com/#toner/12/37.7706/-122.3782>

The project plans to relocate all commercial facilities, such as the shopping mall, grocery shops, factories and restaurants, to a particular area – the newly-built real estate with well-equipped facilities on the collective land for development. The former self-constructed housing and collective properties for commercial use will be totally demolished. The foreseeable consequence is that the owners of small businesses (both migrants and indigenous villages), who are now reliant on the collective land and villagers’ houses, will be eliminated from original settlements and land. Only those who can afford to the land and property rent (increased by nearly 50 percent after redevelopment) will obtain the use right of these land and buildings (NVC, 2010). Meanwhile, by increasing the plot ratio, this project will set aside a considerable area of land for public use including the construction of municipal facilities, roads and public Greenland, which are freely accessible for both indigenous villagers and outsiders. Detailed social and economic benefits will be narrated in the following section.

In contrast to the migrants, both the municipal government and the village show their incentive anticipation of higher land value in the future and are incautious about their neighboring migrants. Even though migrant residents are able to access land use and village houses at present, the villagers have a prior claim to the development of collective land, with their collective ownership and village self-management empowered by law. No matter what kind of framework they adopt, the owner of collective land dominates the whole process of redevelopment (see Table 4.7). Whenever the village commences a plan, it never takes into account the influence on the migrant residents. In other words, when designing the access to the land use, housing and other properties or facilities, the group of migrants is neglected and excluded by other stakeholders (especially villagers who own and use their land commonly) unwittingly. The construction of gentrified and well-equipped community creates some new institutions and raises up threshold to expulse some migrant residents from the land use and destroys their businesses and livelihoods in the village. As a result, the relationship between the migrants and other stakeholders were broke off.

Visible boundaries	Invisible boundaries	Institutions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Boundaries of different land for: Newly-built apartments; Newly-built commercial real estate; Newly-built urban community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Higher threshold accessing land use and housing for migrant tenants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Centralized and strict self-management and use of land and housing ➤ Formal planning and bid process ➤ Hukou Policy

Table 4.8: Boundaries Constructed in Redevelopment Plan

Author’s contribution

In brief, the remaking of boundaries of land use will definitely rearrange the land use (Figure 4.2) in Nanjiao Village, which will impose limitations on access to land use and housing by villagers commonly. This process will create some new boundaries and institutions to regulate the use of new-constructed buildings, without changing the former ones like village self-management and Hukou Policy (Table 4.8). Although the precondition of achieving these land use would not change, the threshold of entry would become much higher. Apparently, the village possesses the strongest power over land use, supported by the collective land ownership, self-management of land use and Hukou Policy. The self-management of collective land plays a critical role in deciding how the boundaries of diverse land use will be, what modes of land use will be established in the urban village. Villagers commonly will ultimately determine whether the redevelopment would be implemented or not, through voting of villagers assembly. According to the latest policy promulgated by Guangzhou City government, no one can start the redevelopment project in an urban village unless it got the agreements of more than 80% of

villagers who have the right to vote (Guangzhou Municipal Government 2009)⁴³. Even, they can decide which group of stakeholders they wish to get involve in, by setting new requirements.

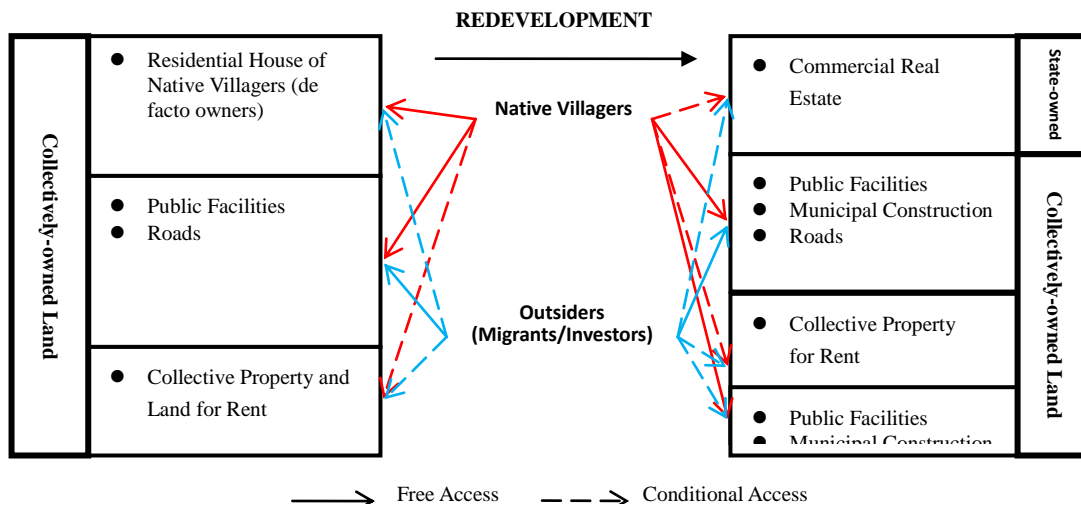


Figure 4.2: Land Use and Property Relations before/after the Redevelopment
Author's contribution

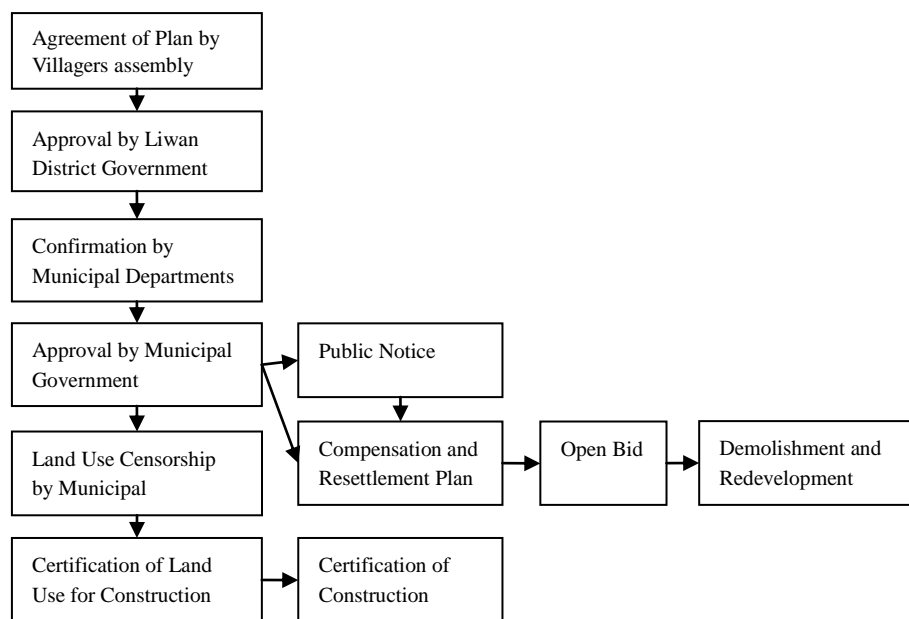


Figure 4.3: Decision-making Process of the Redevelopment Plan in Nanjiao Village
Author's contribution

In current institutional system, the city government may not be involved in land development directly. Yet, the investigation in Nanjiao Village also finds out that the redevelopment project must be supervised and approved by the municipal government. Without its approval, the village has to wait and thus the status quo of land use will stay unchanged. The municipal government's intervention is considered inappropriate in addressing the land issue (Deininger, 2007a, p.18). However, it is still capable to get involved in the development. An instance is that the government requires the village to hold an open bid for construction on collective land to prevent the rent-seeking and other corruption behavior (Figure 4.3). Table 4.9

⁴³ Suggestion on accelerating the redevelopment of old towns, old factories and urban villages. Guangzhou Municipal Government. 2009

presents a network containing stakeholders who are supposed to have an influence on the redevelopment of Nanjiao Village. The research prefers considering the redevelopment as a boundary-making process. Except the migrant residents, other stakeholders will be engaged in this process. They act with each other by kinds of methods and strategies. The migrant residents can act after the redevelopment when they would obtain the complete information from redevelopment and then make a decision.

→	Villagers' Committee	Government	Villagers	Migrants	Developers
Villagers' Committee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Self-organized planning and construction ● Self-management ● Collective ownership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Application to 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Organizing ● Regulating ● Mediating 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Setting new requirements 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Negotiation ● Cooperation
Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Supervising from the top ● Approving the plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Making Land, Planning and Property laws and policies ● Mediating between other stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Mediating ● Negotiation 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Setting the rule of land use ● Encouraging ● Mediating ● Negotiation ● Supervising
Villagers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Ballot ● Supervising from the bottom 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Negotiation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Discussion assembly 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Excluding from housing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Negotiation
Migrants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Accepting the new requirements or leave 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Deciding after redevelopment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Accepting the conditions or not
Developers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Negotiation ● Cooperation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Negotiation ● Accepting the rule of land use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Negotiation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Setting higher conditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Market rule

Table 4.9: Boundary Construction and Stakeholders in Redevelopment of Nanjiao Village

Author's contribution

The paragraphs in this section illustrate a fact that some new institutions (e.g. regulation on the use of new apartments and village property) will be established without altering some old ones like village self-management and Hukou Policy, which continue affecting stakeholders' access to land use after the redevelopment (see Figure 4.4). A significant founding is that villager will be under the control of institutions built by the Villagers' Committee (construction and distribution of new apartments collectively) and further they will be enforced to abandon these formal and informal institutions jointly built by them and migrant tenants. Another noticeable change is that, the group of migrant residents is rejected by other stakeholders, especial the Villagers' Committee and indigenous villagers, to participate in the construction process of new boundaries. Moreover, they will probably be excluded from new apartments and other real estate in future and thus lose their basic housing and other social rights in the urban village, with the boundary-making by the other stakeholders.

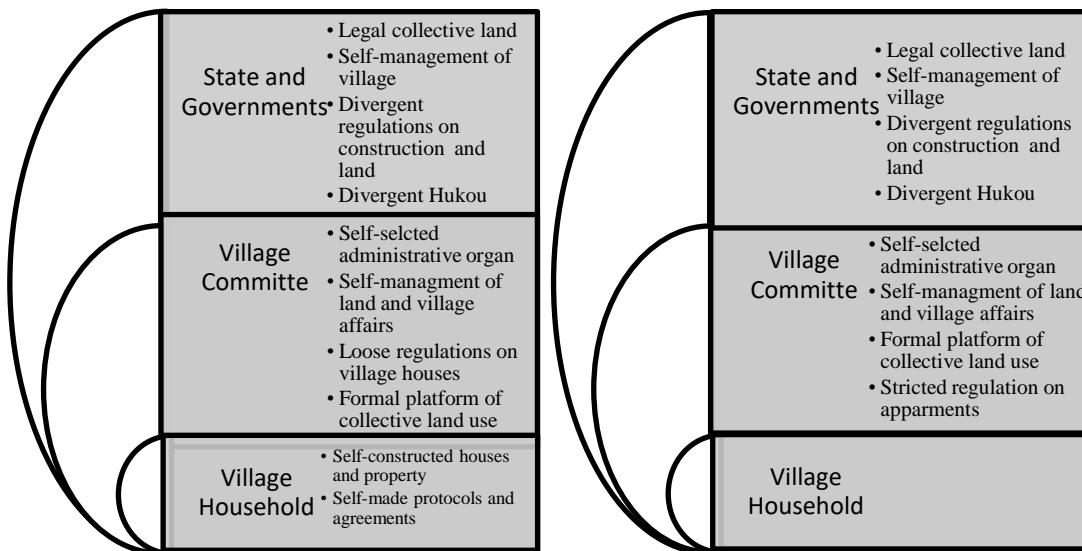


Figure 4.4: Changes in Institutions in Land use in Nanjiao Village
 Author's contribution

4.2.2 Challenge on Informalities: betterment for all?

Nanjiao Village will adopt the half-market and half-collective mode for its redevelopment. As presented above, the reconstruction work will involve current stakeholders and outsider developers in, except the migrant residents. As the result, a great change of the visible boundaries of land use and institutions is foreseeable in the village. In this section, the author will conduct a further discussion on the change of access to social rights of indigenous villagers and migrants respectively, which is supposed to be related with their access to land use after redevelopment. The reconstruction work may bring a big challenge to recent institutions, especially the informal ones, established by the individual village household and migrant tenants, which furnishes them with the minimum of social rights. In this section, the author put more focus on the possible destruction of the informalities and its influences on not only migrants but also other stakeholders, i.e. the villagers, the city government and the Villagers' Committee. At present, Nanjiao Village is encouraged and endorsed by the state and the local government to address many social affairs itself, like the basic housing to live, the social and public services and facilities, social welfare and security. The redevelopment plan outline that the collective settlements, public services and facilities still need operating and developing by the village collectively. Especially the collective appartments will be constructed and managed by the Villagers' Committee centralized unlike the dispersed self-construction by individual household at present. Table 4.10 below compares villagers' benefit concerning basic social rights before and after the redevelopment. Positively, there will be a vast improvement over the status quo. Estimated, the whole redevelopment on current area of Nanjiao Village together could accommodate 26,000 residents in total, of which the original villagers count around 5,000. That means a great potential ability to contain more migrant residents. The committee also confirms that besides the collective housing, the public facilities and social services, partially subsidized by the municipal government, will be jointly used by the villagers (in the collective appartments) and new residents (in the commercial appartments developed by the developer on the state-owned land transferred).

Housing and Public Facilities		Current Situation	After Redevelopment (est.)
Floor area of real estate	Housing	457,300 m ²	410,600 m ²
	Other property	189,100 m ²	442,000 m ²
Average floor area per native residents		39.63 m ² / per person	92.67 m ² / per person
Plot ratio		1.17	3.19
Green space		1.15ha	11.33ha
Rent		12/ m ²	25/ m ²
Annual income per villager		6,928 Yuan	27,800 Yuan
Increasing area of roads		/	18.60ha
Car parks		/	30,000 m ²
Market		1	2 (2,500 m ² &5,000 m ²)
Clinic		1	2 (300 m ² / per)
Cultural facilities and Sport ground	Cultural center	1	1(400 m ²)
	Pension house	/	1(400 m ²)
	Youth house	/	1(400 m ²)
	Gym	/	1 (1200 m ² land)
	Sport ground	1	1(1,200 m ² land)
	Kindergarten	1(645m ²)	2 (3,055m ² & 2,550 m ²)
	Primary school	1	2(9,609/m ² & 6,433m ²)
	Social welfare facilities	/	Nursing house(4,000m ²)
Public toilet		4	6 (80 m ² /per)
Sanitation transfer station		/	1
Post station		/	1(400 m ²)

Table 4.10: Betterment of the Social Rights Proposed by Nanjiao Village

Source: Nanjiao Villagers' Committee. Nanjiao Redevelopment Plan (2010)

However, the redevelopment project does not indicate if and when the villagers will be absorbed in the same regime of the social rights as the urban citizen. The municipality is making an effort to unify the different social rights regime between the urban and village residents (personal communication, 2014, 2015), but has not succeeded yet. While, from the estimation of the municipality and the Villagers' Committee, the project will raise the amount of collective income apportioned among villagers (who are sharing holders of the collective land), whose average annual income is expected to reach the average level of disposable income per-capita of Guangzhou urban citizen (NVC, 2010). The Villagers' Committee deems that villagers can pursue a better life with this sum of income.

The research connects the attainment of these social rights with land use. The redevelopment project pictures the dramatic change of the appearance of village landscape. The socially construed tangible boundaries of land use and institutions still function to determine how land use will develop and include or exclude certain individuals and groups. In former sections, these property relations and consequential land use are considered as the pillar to furnish social rights for both villagers and migrant residents. Besides, several formal and informal platforms and methods are used by them to claim and sustain the attained land use and then help them to attain social rights. Yet, the distinction between them still exists. The social rights regime for the villagers is grounded on the formal institutions of self-management and Hukou Policy co-built by the state, the municipality and the village, through laws, policies and agreements, which makes the collective's power in land use and social rights much stronger. However, rather than a formally established framework, the regime protecting the social rights of the migrant residents is mainly based on some informal mechanism and methods, mostly through the mutual negations and informal formats between the village households and migrant

tenants, which can only help the migrant residents achieve some limited social rights, like housing.

Relevant research (e.g. Zhang et al., 2003; Song et al., 2008; Wu et al., 2013) has noticed that the relationship between the migrants and the urban village is rather fragile indeed. The author possesses the same standpoint that with the implementation of redevelopment project, this regime seems quite vulnerable. One point is that, with the total demolishment of original village houses, centralized use of collective land and building distribution, and anticipated rent increase, some migrants would not be able to find the affordable accommodations from the individual village household as before. The increasing housing rent, associated with institutions (i.e. the self-management and Hukou), set up new barriers of assessing land and housing. Thus, the former contracts or agreements are going to conclude since the cost for some migrant residents to reside here becomes rather tough. The villagers prefer making a contract with those who can afford the higher rent in the future, too. Hence, the project will start to expel some migrant residents and their businesses from the village, which currently possess the access to land use and housing for their livelihoods.

Another point is that some informal methods and rules that lead to the mutual agreement between villagers and the outsiders in land use will be replaced with the formal and unified mechanism. The redevelopment project will resettle the villagers within some high skyscrapers built by the Villagers' Committee, which limits the villager's ability to develop the collective land and housing individually. Moreover, the committee takes over nearly all responsibility to develop collective land for commercial and business use. In other words, when any outsider is looking for the use of collective land and real estate, they need to negotiate and make a contract with the committee instead, which carries out a series of strict regulations and norms on the collective land and property. Meanwhile, the committee will expect a higher and more stable rent; hence, some additional thresholds will be applied to include those who can meet their requirement only. Facing the possible higher threshold to the access to land use, some migrant residents will become unable to continue their small businesses in the village as now, which are the primary resources to sustain their basic social needs, like food, clothing, drinking, and education and health care.

The development project will demolish the current regime that tolerates and accepts low-income migrant tenants with low threshold and informal methods between the "neighbors". The villagers will probably have new neighbors in the village. For the newcomers and the old neighbors who will choose to accept the higher requirements and stay, they can still share the access to some public facilities and social services with the villagers. However, the unchanged institutions like village self-management and Hukou will still function to separate them from local social security and welfare system.

With the reformation of institutional regime, this research concerns a further question that if all the stakeholders benefit more from the redevelopment in terms of social rights. Following are some foreseeable answers for stakeholders. In this process, the Villagers' Committee seems to contribute sustaining the social rights regime for the villagers. In many other cases all over China, it is a common phenomenon that villagers will be reallocated within the high-density skyscrapers, and more common land and property will be transferred to the hand of the Villagers' Committee to develop for the sake of protecting villagers' social rights. As estimated in the redevelopment plan, the committee will be able to centralize much more land and property resources for the economic development and promotion of residential quality, social service, and social welfare, compared to the mode of scattered rent businesses at present. In the words of Mr. C.H.He and Mr. X.D.He, with the increasing resources, the committee will be able to take more responsibility for the villagers in the future (personal communication, 2014), for instance, raising the amount of pension and health insurance and providing schools, hospitals and other public facilities in better quality.

For indigenous villagers, the preservation of some critical institutions like collective ownership, self-management of land use and Hukou Policy will assure the improvement of social rights for them. Above all is the amelioration of resettlements and living conditions for villagers. Although the honeycombed village houses may provide the basic shelters for villagers, other aspects of public hygiene, public safety, and fire prevention are inferior in quality, which from most stakeholder's point of view is suffering. The municipality considers it as a tumor in the city and some villagers always complain the dark, noisy, dirty and squalid conditions. Hence, the prima dynamics of redevelopment project is to improve the entire living environments for the villagers. With constructing the high-end apartments, the space between the buildings would become broader. Unlike the boundary and narrow space connecting the village houses before, the extended space will provide more lights, fresher air, advanced fire control system, more public green space and so on. Moreover, Nanjiao Villagers' Committee emphasizes that the total floor area of apartments will increase so that the project will ensure adequate living space for the villagers, which will even exceed the standard of urban citizens in Guangzhou City.

In addition, when the villagers move into the apartments, it is impossible for them to reconstruct the building as before. That means the population density will keep stable relatively. Moreover, living in the high anti-seismic construction with the renovated secure equipments, the villagers will feel much safer and more comfortable in their flats. Hence, the Villagers' Committee is confident about the project generating a better inhabitable place for villagers. On the other side, as before, the Villagers' Committee will still be in charge of the public facilities, social services and social security and welfare. Through the project, the village hopes to increase the space of the public facilities and improve the quality of social services for the community. Table 4.11 presents the renovation of these matters brought by the redevelopment. More collective land will be developed for the space of medical care, public sport and culture, primary education and so on, which is accessible for the villagers for free as before.

For the municipal government, it concerns about the function that the village will respond for in the future. To provide affordable housing for migrant workers is argued as the crucial attribution of an urban village for the municipal government, although the government would never concur. How is the situation after redevelopment? According to the estimation in the redevelopment plan, the whole project will accommodate about 28,000 residents totally, of which the villagers do not exceed 5,000. The Nanjiao Village is willing to transfer some portion of collective land to the government and developers, which is estimated to construct about 540,000 square meters of residential and commercial floors for the outsiders (NVC, 2010). Moreover, a significant finding from the plan is that the sale price per square meter of these apartments on this part of land is less than 5,000, which is much lower than the average price of real estate inner city, even though it is the double of current price. The cheaper houses may attract some low- and mid-income migrants who are either not permitted to purchase commercial apartments or rent the social housing in Guangzhou City (constrained by Hukou Policy) or local citizens who cannot afford the high price of commercial apartment inner city. Therefore, for the municipality, the village may continue contributing to provide more affordable housing to substitute the shortage of housing provision in the city – an attractive place for more urban residents to reside and visit.

It seems the project will generate more positive consequences than negative ones. However, it is still hard to conclude if the project would still be beneficial for the migrants. The project, which changes the land use by remaking the boundary and some inherent institutions, will change the access to the housing for some migrant residents as discussed in previous paragraphs. On the one hand, some migrant families told that when the rent threshold goes up, they need to find some other places to stay (personal, communication 2015). Hence, the redevelopment will expel them rather than bring a better life for them. Regarding the possible outflow of migrant tenants and consequential disappearance of house leasing business and small businesses, which is supposed to have impact on the local economic and employment, the Villagers' Committee,

villagers and the government have noticed it and believed that the renovation of living quality and commercial environment will bring more high-end residents and high-added businesses (personal communication, 2014, 2015). However, for the expelled migrants, the redevelopment will destroy the foundation of their live and force them to restart somewhere else.

On the other hand, for those migrants who can still shoulder the financial burden of housing price and accepted new requirements in the village, the redevelopment will not influence their land use in the village. They can continue enjoying improved apartments or running their businesses. Even if their relations with the individual village household will be cut off, the village will create more access to housing for them. This policy implies a process of boundary-remaking to set up more direct relations between the outsiders and the collective rather than the individual household. For those migrant residents who will chose to stay in the village, there is no distinguishing difference between the indigenous villagers and them to obtain some public facilities and social services, like public park, sports ground, roads and so on. However, invisible boundaries and institutions – Hukou Policy in particular would continue to influence the achievement of social security and free education. Hence, the anticipated betterment is hard to be calculated precisely since when boundary and coherent institutions change, someone would be better off while other ones would be crudely abandoned and destroyed.

A conclusion

Since 2007 when the majority of farmland was transferred to be the state-owned land, Nanjiao Village has re-demarcated its boundaries in Guangzhou City accordingly. Meanwhile, the village preserves some self-managed collective land, which distinguishes the village territory and land use exclusively from the urban area and nearly all village affairs from the urban system as well. From the investigation, interested parties consent that current land use need these socially constructed boundaries and institutions to sustain their existence. In other words, it needs an institutional network of “social control” (Ellickson, 1991) which contains different interested parties and their controlling methods and instruments in the village. For instance, the state and the government with the Constitution, land and planning laws and regulations, the Villagers’ Committee with the formal framework of self-management and Hukou Policy, the villagers and the outsiders with formally and informally bilateral contracts and agreements. In this system, each party controls the other actors and themselves, which contribute to achieving the order and stability in a community, particularly in terms of the boundaries of land use and their reciprocal relations in land use in the village. Table 4.11 combines the stakeholders and the strategies and norms they use in the institutional network, in which each of them know how to regulate each other to keep land use and society stable and achieve their goals, in terms of land use and social rights in the urban village.

However, that does not mean the current boundaries of land use in Nanjiao Villages will remain for a long run. “*To increase land use intensity in the countryside, the government may need to introduce a new spatial strategy to arrange rural settlements in a concentrated rather than a dispersed manner*” (Lin, 2007, p.1848). Several research experiences (e.g. Zhao & Webster, 2011; Lin et al., 2011, 2015) provided the evidences that these interested parties, the Villagers’ Committee and the government in particular, are able to renovate the city-village borders, change the land use accessible for stakeholders in the urban village, if they can achieve a protocol. The redevelopment also implies a complex construction process consisting of diverse stakeholders and strategies and methods they will apply. We need acknowledge that any change of the boundary represents not only the change of visible boundaries of land use but also the associated institutions. The renovated land use and institutions will affect the achievement of social rights in the urban village. The proposed project in Nanjiao Village concerns how to exploit land to protect and improve the native villagers’ property rights, residential environment and qualities, collective and individual economic benefits and social rights (NVC, 2010). It is

obvious that Nanjiao Village can achieve these goals as long as the village will preserve their collectively-owned land, self-management regime and Nanjiao Hukou, even though the visible boundaries of land use would have been altered and some constrict regulations would be established in the redevelopment.

It is known that urban village reflects such a society where stakeholders, especially indigenous villagers and migrant residents, can achieve land rights and some social rights through the boundary construction. The research emphasizes that without the change of some critical institutions in the background, any change of boundaries of land use in the urban village would cause both positive and negative results in terms of land rights and social rights for current residents in the urban village. Especially, some migrants will be more vulnerable in this process. The research suspects that Nanjiao Village would not be an absolute secure shelter for the migrant workers in a long term. It is hard to predicate if they would maintain the access to some social rights and the relations with the house owners and landlords once the boundary-making by other stakeholder will rearrange the access to land use. No one, the municipality or the village, would ensure them the acquirable land use and social rights in the future. Migrants are not naturally combined with the urban village, like the villagers and local governments, through the formulation of collective ownership, village self-management and Hukou Policy. Meanwhile, the group of migrant residents and outside investors has the freedom of movement and habitat at will. To leaving the urban village will be another rational choice, too. The connection between them and urban villages is rather frail, normally grounding on some individual contracts, in either formal or informal form as mentioned earlier. Their loss of access to land use, basic housing and other social rights lacks attention, neglected by other stakeholders in the reconstruction of boundaries in land use in the urban village.

→	Government	Villagers' Committee	Villagers	Migrants/Outsiders
Government	Spectators Mediator	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Supporting the Self-management by law ● Supervising the land use by the formal platform 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Tolerating the individual building construction – weak regulations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Permitting free residence and movement ● Encouraging the bilateral cooperation on land use
Villagers' Committee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Establishing the transaction platform together ● Accepting the supervision ● Self-management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Self-organized and elected institution ● Regulations on land use and village affairs ● Mediator between neighbors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Weak regulations on the individual activities on the house plot ● Regulations on village affairs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Cooperation on land use by formal contract ● Regulations on the management of migrants
Villagers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Weak connection and regulation ● Obeying the order 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Regulations on self-management of land use ● Regulations on the self-organized Villagers' Committee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Self -management of house and residential site ● Communication with neighbors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Bilateral contract and agreement in formal and informal form ● Communication and negotiation
Migrants Outsiders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Sometimes should obey the official regulations when needed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Free negotiation and formal contracts ● Formal official regulation and platform 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Free negotiation and cooperation ● Formal or informal contracts ● Communication ● Weak official regulation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Free choice ● Rational self-judgment

Table 4.11 Network of Social Control Sustaining Nanjiao Village

Author's contribution

5 Conclusion

The researcher aimed to study the issue of land use and social rights with special reference to the urban village, which suggested conducting the research from a boundary perspective. An extensive literature review identified that all urban villages in China share four distinctive characteristics, as follows: 1) They emerge and develop during the city's expansion and urbanization; 2) They preserve collective ownership and self-management of some remaining land. These rights are legally protected by laws and supported by the government; 3) They normally have a considerable number of reconstructed houses accommodating many migrant tenants from other places throughout China; and 4) They develop a social security and welfare system independent of the urban system. These rights are exclusive for indigenous villages. Through further review of the literature pertinent to boundary studies, this research established a theoretical framework to combine the land use and social rights. The author interpreted the "boundary-making" in land use as a social construction process and a "game" that involves different stakeholders and their strategies. Those activities determine the inclusion or exclusion from the access to land use, and further create the identities for acquiring social rights in a social community. In turn, against the backdrop of such socially constructed boundaries and institutions, stakeholders achieve a social order in the society. Based on this world view, this research intended to answer the two important questions which existing studies of urban villages have not adequately answered. This research aimed to know,

- How the diverse land uses (based on different property relations) are arranged by boundary-making of stakeholders in the urban village.
- How the stakeholders maintain and order the status quo of land use and achieve social rights in their society (the urban village).

This research also tested the hypotheses that land use and social rights are interrelated through boundary-making of stakeholders, by conducting fieldwork in an urban village – Nanjiao Village. After a thorough analysis of the existing research, field visits, and 5 months of data collection and analysis of all the relevant text and maps, the next few paragraphs draw the conclusions of the study.

In order to answer the first research question, the author reviewed a large volume of historical archives and documents. The research presents the evolvement of land use since the foundation of P. R. China in 1949. It puts more focus on the land requisition by city expansion after the collapse of the People's Communes and the economic reform of the 1980s. Since then, the government has played a dominant role in the formation of the urban village, through the formal and legal urban planning of land requisition, preserving some portions of collective land, the self-management mechanism, and Hukou Policy for the village. This government behaviour has ultimately determined the boundaries between the village and the city. The connection between villagers and farmland was forcibly cut off by the government. Beyond the government, the existing boundaries of different land use and institutions imply the process of social construction by other stakeholders such as Villagers' Committees, individual village households, and migrant residents. Stakeholders adopt various instruments, activities and rules in formal and informal terms to create and regulate their relationship with each other in land use. Besides, in these urban villages throughout China, villagers' and migrant residents' basic social rights are influenced by the land-related institutions such as Hukou and village self-management, which intrinsically determine their relationships and identities in the society and lead to a clear gap in living standards and social rights between them in some respects. By doing such analysis from the boundary perspective, the author defined the urban village as the result of social construction

by the stakeholders involved. The construction of new urban villages still occurs in cities throughout China, given the unimpeded urbanization and city expansion in recent years.

The fieldwork in Nanjiao Village also unearthed the answer to the first research question and further tested the hypothesis. The data collected in this urban village complement and on many occasions supplement the social phenomenon we explored. Through the fieldwork, the research found that there exist different interested groups and diverse land uses, based on the property relations among the government, village (represented by the Villagers' Committee), villagers, and migrants. These relations were uncovered through surveying the socially constructed boundaries on three different layers – the one between the city and the village, the one between different land uses on collectively owned land, and the one marking intervals between different apartments in a village house. On each of them, the research has found that different stakeholders play different roles with different tools and strategies in the construction process of boundary, from the time of the People's Communes to the urban villages. As a result, boundaries and institutions are created in the village. These boundaries and institutions in turn determine the inclusion or exclusion of certain stakeholders from land use.

This research also discusses the functions of boundaries of different land use and property relations among stakeholders, and finds that the boundaries function liminally in the village to divide, separate and connect the pieces of space occupied by different individuals and groups, as this author observed and learned from Nanjiao Village. This observation satisfies Davy's (2012, p.122-123) liminal functionality proposition. Moreover, this research stresses some critical institutions (Hukou and village self-management policy for example) setting up the invisible walls in the village. This research found that village self-management and Hukou policies were constructed by stakeholders to label them, namely villagers and migrant residents, with divergent identities, according to their property relations in land use, which eventually has an effect on the attainment of social rights by both.

The findings from observations and interviews reveal that the property rights, such as collective land ownership and domination of village houses, can still be attained by indigenous villagers, since they are legally protected by law and supported by the governmental policies. However, this does not mean real and complete liberty with regard to property rights. Private transfer of land title is still prohibited by the Chinese Constitution and Land Laws, which limits the absolute freedom of land use of both the collective and individuals. Under collective ownership, villagers' intrinsic relations in their collective land are ascertainable in the village. Their rights in different types of land use, e.g., the shared use of social services and public facilities and restricted use of a house by an individual household, are well defined by boundaries and institutions. Meanwhile, the legal system assures the village community of a stable resource to serve the social rights and welfare of all its community members. The access to social rights is constituted partly of the village collectively and partly by individual activities, based on collective ownership, the exclusive use right of house plot, and membership of the community (i.e., the identity), which are clearly defined through the practice of legislation and policy making. This helps the village community to acquire a minimum but complete package of social rights in the village, distinguishing it from the urban system.

In Nanjiao Village, the increasing number of domestic migrant tenants has become an emerging phenomenon since its urbanization began decades ago. Like many urban villages, Nanjiao provides a cheaper housing option to the migrant tenants—who are not qualified to obtain urban housing, some public services and social security in the city. One influential finding illustrates that the migrant tenants enjoy the same living conditions/standard and some social services as when they lived as indigenous villagers. Enjoining the law-protected domination in the village house, the native villagers are enabled to reconstruct their housing and freely contract for leasing business with the outsiders, even though the majority of the contracts are unofficial. As a result of individual freedom of land use and housing legally granted to the

indigenous villagers, the housing is accessible for the migrant residents. As the migrants were accepted by indigenous households when moving into the village housing, they would not be excluded from accessing some public facilities and social services furnished by the individual household and village community. Notwithstanding this, unlike the indigenous villagers in their collectively-owned land, migrants' identities in the Hukou system have always been an obstacle for them to be completely included in the whole social security and welfare package of both Guangzhou City and Nanjiao Village. Therefore, on one hand the land use rights can assist the migrants to acquire a certain level of social rights in Nanjiao Village, although they do not intrinsically have any ownership of the collective land, whereas on the other hand, some of their social rights, including social security and free education, are excluded in the village as a result. Moreover, even though the migrant tenants could obtain some social and land rights at present, such rights are denuded easily as the direct result of construction activities by other stakeholders in the future – the redevelopment of urban villages.

The findings from the fieldwork in Nanjiao Village provide evidence to support the hypothesis that land use and social rights are interrelated, depending on how stakeholders establish inclusion and exclusion from land use. The access to land use (by boundary construction) means access to some kinds of social rights (e.g., housing, water, food, and medical care) for villagers and migrant tenants on one hand; and some socially constructed institutions related to land (Hukou for instance) determine their identities distinguishing them from the local society, which rule out the possibility of social rights (e.g., free education and social security) for any non-Nanjiao Village Hukou holders (not originally born on this land), including the migrant residents.

The researcher carried out the study on the scenarios of Nanjiao Village – to be maintained or to be redeveloped, the possible influence on the land use and social rights from the boundary perspective. Studying the first possibility, the research answered the question of how the stakeholders order their relations in land use and their society (the urban village). In a collective community like Nanjiao, boundaries arranged by stakeholders to manage the land use have existed stably for decades. There exists a certain order in Nanjiao's society, which is controlled by all stakeholders through utilizing their strategies and tools to act and react with each other in everyday life in the society. In this research, the factors contributing to the "social control" (Ellickson, 1991) for maintaining the existing state of property relations in land use and order in the society can also be found in Nanjiao Village. The findings indicate that various interested parties would balance their interests and maintain relations with each other through facilitation by formal/informal rules and relevant institutions in the village. This research points out that this "social order" will probably continue to exist in the long run, as long as the boundaries of land use are not altered by the stakeholders, in particular by the municipal government or the Nanjiao collective community.

In addition to this, the research discusses how the boundaries and access to land use in Nanjiao Village will evolve in the future redevelopment. The author studied possible changes in access to land use and considers it as a process of boundary reconstruction by stakeholders. From the interviews with different stakeholders, it is evident that the government and the collective community will play a critical role in the reconstruction process of boundaries and access to land use in the village. Moreover, it can be concluded that the redevelopment project would eventually diminish the liberty of the individual village household in house building, which once accommodated so many low-income tenants from the city. At the moment, the redevelopment emphasizes the promotion of the living conditions and social welfare for the indigenous villagers only. These arrangements will alter the steady situation in the village, which assists the lower income tenants to acquire a certain level of social rights without possession of land ownership and local village Hukou at present. The diminishing liberty of village house owners in their self-used house plot will expel the really poor individuals from land use and even some social rights, by strengthening the restricted use of collective land and

new constructed apartment buildings without considering the vulnerable relationship contracted (in both formal and informal forms) between the outsiders (particularly migrant residents) and the indigenous villagers. Based on this, the research further analysed the possible influence of the redevelopment work on different stakeholders, and thus concludes that with the newly-built boundaries in the village, not all of them will benefit from the project, especially some migrant tenants.

Another important discovery of this research is that the process of boundary construction of Nanjiao Village reflects a complex of rationalities of stakeholders. The land use is composed of various rationalities of land user rather than a single one in Nanjiao Village. Davy (2012) once argued that “*polyrationality implies that monorational land uses do not exist by themselves, but only as elements in a land use pattern where each of these rationalities is present*” (p. 236). Based on Davy’s argument, Figure 5.1 informs us that each stakeholder in the urban village has their own preference for rationality in land use, and thus varied rules and norms are used by them to control the land use and construct and maintain the societal order in the village. Without any one of them or whenever anyone of them changes, it will eventually break the balance of mutual relations in the land use, as well as the status quo of the social rights scheme in the village.

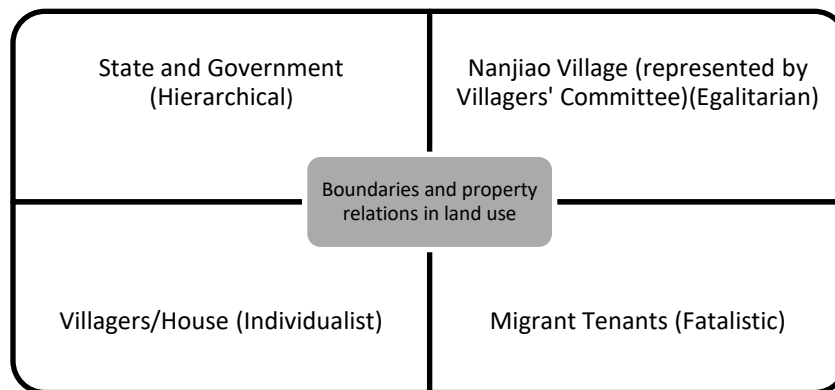


Figure 5.1: Social Control System and the Rationality of Land Use in Nanjiao Village

Author’s contribution

Based on the theory of social control (Ellickson, 1991) and polyrationality (Davy, 2012)

At present, low-income migrant tenants in Nanjiao Village are “lucky”, since they can achieve some minimum social rights in the village, even though they do not own any land. If their connections with others on this land are broken by other stakeholders, they will be forced to establish new connections with other persons in other lands in order to achieve some social rights. This kind of event has happened occasionally in Chinese cities. A recent instance was in Beijing, the capital of P. R. China, in winter 2017. The municipality required millions of low-paid migrant residents to move out from accommodations in the urban villages for fire safety reasons. The worst part was that this activity led to some of them choosing to quit their jobs in the city and returning to their hometowns, since they could not find housing in other parts of the city at the same reasonable rentals and good locations as in the urban villages. This event raised many controversies. The majority of them concerned the chaos in the city due to the migrant workers’ departure, e.g., the tons of undelivered packages and unclean streets. However, what should be stressed here is their breakable relation with this land, which is a barrier to their being assured of solid access to housing and other social rights.

These factors and analyses provoke the reconsideration of aspects of redevelopment of the urban village: how to balance the interests of different interested groups in land use, and most importantly the attainment of social rights. It is evident that any imbalanced change will cause

both benefits and damage to local society. Take the land requisition that shaped the urban village for example, again. The author witnessed the facts and learned from the interviews that when Nanjiao Village handed over most of their arable land, the compensation it obtained was far below the market value. The amount of compensation from farming land was inadequate to make an inhabitable environment or achieve any great improvement in living standards. To date, both the Villagers' Committee and villagers regret exchanging their land for such a low land price. The village needs to survive with the shrunk collective land and property. This aroused scholars and researchers' consciousness, that the power relations of stakeholders in land use need to be well designed and regulated (Deininger, 2007; Lin, 2007; Lin et al., 2012, 2015).

Moreover, the above experiences teach us that boundary-making by stakeholders can make land use and social rights accessible for persons who do not own any land, but can also exclude them from the land use and social rights. As in Nanjiao Village, the individual use of village houses will be limited and access to shelter for the migrant tenants will diminish with redevelopment. There is no doubt that secure collective land ownership can empower the indigenous villagers to improve their living conditions, but it still damages the rights of other stakeholders (e.g., migrant residents) in a particular context. As a planner, with respect to basic human needs of housing and social services, what matters in these social rights is not the property (i.e., the land) itself, but people's relations within it (i.e., the possession of access to it), aspects which are arranged and constructed by the stakeholders. Evidence from this thesis has shown that a mix of plural property relations in land use can allow some of these rights to be made available to needy persons. The research may inspire planners to take into consideration the plural rationalities of land use and diverse property relations when constructing/reconstructing a balanced community.

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Appendix

Appendix I. Fieldwork (part.1)

Questionnaire I

NO. _____

The investigated subject of Questionnaire I is the migrant tenant in Urban Village: their experiences of inclusion and exclusion in the context of single family house, village community (house site of the urban village) and city. Indicators refer to the following aspects: the living conditions in one-family house and their daily life and activities with the landlord, the village community and the city.

Name: _____ Age: _____ Gender: _____ Birthplace: _____ Occupation: _____

Duration of residence: _____

Interview time & place: _____

1. Through what channels do you get the rental information in urban village?
2. What questions have you ever been asked when you are going to rent a room?
3. When you decide to rent a room, what are the main factors you will consider?
4. Do you like living in Urban Village? If yes, why?
5. On which floor do you live in your family house? _____
6. In your bedroom, do you live:
7. How many people do you live together in your bedroom? _____
8. How many square meters is your bedroom? _____ m²
9. Are there windows in your bedroom? Yes/No
10. Are there following rooms or facilities on the floor you live (Yes/No) and are you allowed to use them? (please fill out “yes” or “no” above the line)
11. If there is no some of them in Q11, what will you do?
12. Do you share the following spaces with your landlord? (Yes/No)
13. If you are allowed to share some of the following spaces with your landlord, do you need to obey some regulations? (Yes/No) If yes, what are these regulations mainly about?
14. Have you ever broken these rules? Yes/No
If yes, will you be punished by the landlord? Yes/No
If yes, how would you be punished?
15. For what reason did you offend the landlord? (describe in detail)
16. Is the tap water available in the floor and bedroom you live? Yes/No
If no, where can you get it? _____
17. Is the electricity available in your bedroom? Yes/No
18. Is the room with furniture? Yes/No
19. How much do you pay for the rent per month? _____
20. Do you pay for the rent monthly? Yes/No
If no, every _____ months
21. Do you need to pay the deposit? Yes/No
If yes, the amount of deposit is: _____
22. What are included in the rent? And how much?
23. Do you need to do some cleaning work? Yes/No
If yes, how many times one month? _____
24. Do you have transport vehicle? Yes/No
If yes, what do you have and how many?
25. Are you allowed to store your transport vehicle in the yard/house? Yes/No
If no, where do you store them?
26. If you store your transport vehicle inside the yard, have them ever been stolen? Yes/No

27. If you store your transport vehicle outside the house, have them ever been stolen? Yes/No
28. If you have transport vehicle, what do you usually use them for:
A. working B. shopping C. leisure D. other: _____
29. Which do you use more often, the urban transportation or individual vehicle? _____
30. From where do you get the necessities of life?
31. Where do you prefer to purchase your living necessities and for what reason?
32. What services and businesses are there in the village?
 If any, what do you use and how many times per month?
33. Do you also use these services in the city (outside the village)? Yes/No
 If yes, what do you use and how many times per month?
34. Where do you prefer to use these services, in village or outside the village?
35. How do you spend your leisure time and with whom?
36. Where do you prefer to spend your leisure time and for what reason?
37. Do you have social security or insurance?
38. Which one once have you received and could it cover your whole expenditure?
39. Are there following public facilities and services in the village:
40. Do you know who is in charge of this village? Yes/No
41. Have you ever voted for the authority? Yes/No
42. Have you ever been asked to participate in the meeting or activities of the village community? Yes/No
43. Have the community committee ever inquire your opinions and suggestions when they are going to carry out some policies? Yes/No
 If yes, please give the example: _____
44. Do you have the right to vote in decision-making in the village? Yes/No
 If yes, please give the example: _____
45. How do you celebrate the holidays?
46. Have you been invited by the landlord to celebrate holidays or participate in their family activities? Yes/No
 If yes, please give the example: _____
47. Do you do something with your landlord together? Yes/No
 If yes, what are they and how often?
shopping: _____ doing some sports: _____ travelling: _____ party: _____
watching movie: _____ eating: _____ other: _____
48. Are there any channels to solve the troubles between you and the villager? Yes/No
 If yes, through which?

Questionnaire II

No. _____

Questionnaire II focuses on the households (the owners of the family house) and their family houses in Urban Village. The method of investigation are observation (Part A) and interview (Part B). Indicator includes: the situation of the family house and its connection to other parts of urban village; the household's life and its connection to the life of village community and city.

Name: _____ Age: _____ Gender: _____ Birthplace: _____ Occupation: _____

Duration of residence: _____ Working place: _____

Interview time & place: _____

Part A

1. Are there physical objects, like walls, barriers or other defenses, surrounding the family house?
Yes/No
 If yes, what kind of physical objects is it?
 If no, are there some signs or marks to identify their houses?
2. Is there any attachment or equipment to fortify the wall (or other objects) of the family house?
Yes/No
 If yes, what kind of setting is it?
 If no, why not:

What is the door on the wall made of?

3. The forms of boundary separating/connecting the family house from/to other:
4. How does the household deal with the waste water?
5. How does the household deal with the toilet waste?

Part B

1. Why do you need a wall around your family house?
2. The safety standard of the lock of the doors:
3. Has the lock ever been destroyed?
4. Is there any crime happened in the family house?
 Yes/ No
If yes, what kind of crime has it happened?
 A. stolen B. rob C. murder D. others: _____
5. The total area (m²) of the land of your family house site is _____ m²:
A. The area of yard accounts for about _____ m²;
B. The area of main building accounts for about _____ m².
6. The constructive area of the main building is _____ m² and there are _____ floors in total:
7. Are there tenants in your house? Yes/ No
8. Do you build the house by yourself? Yes/ No
If yes,
 - 1) Do you have professional knowledge on building construction? Yes/ No
 - 2) Where do you learn about it? _____
 - 3) Do you have or need a license or permission to do so? Yes/ No
And from where can you get it (who authorities this)? _____
 - 4) Are there restrictions or regulations on the following item? (Please “√”) _____
 - 5) Do you comply with these regulations? Yes/ No
If no, will you be punished? Yes/ No
If yes, how will you be punished and by whom? _____If no,
 - 1) Who helps you to build the house? _____
 - 2) Do they have professional knowledge to do so? Yes/ No
And by whom is the permission authorized? _____
 - 3) If not, will they be punished? Yes/ No
How and by whom? _____
9. Do you built additional floors in your family house? Yes/ No
If yes, why?
10. Do you rebuild the whole building or just add floors directly to the original house? _____
11. How do you connect added floors to the former parts of building
12. Do you share some spaces of the house with the tenants? Yes/ No
If yes, what are they?
13. Are you willing to share these spaces with the tenant? Yes/ No
If no, what is the reason?
If yes, are there any restrictions or regulations for the tenants to comply with? Yes/ No
And what are they? _____
14. How do you advertise the rental information:
15. What will you consider when you choose the tenant?
16. Do you have transport vehicle? Yes/ No
If yes, what do you have and how many?
17. Where can you store them?
18. If you store your transport vehicle inside the yard, have them ever been stolen?
 Yes/ No
If you store your transport vehicle outside the house, have them ever been stolen?
 Yes/ No

19. If you have transport vehicle, what do you usually do with them
20. What do you use more often, the urban transportation or individual vehicle? _____
21. From where do you get the necessities of life?
22. Where do you prefer to buy your living necessities?
23. Are there services or businesses in your village? Yes/No
 As you know, what are they?
 Do you use them? Yes/No
 If yes, how many times do you use them per month?
24. Do you use the same services or businesses in the city (outside the village)? Yes/No
 If yes, what do you use and how many times per month?
25. Where do you prefer to use these services, in the village or outside the village?
26. What and where do you prefer spending your leisure time and with whom?
27. Do you have social security or insurance?
28. Which one have you received and can it cover your whole expenditure? Yes/No
29. Are there any public facilities in the village
30. Do you know who is in charge of this village? Yes/No
31. Do you have the right to vote the authority? Yes/No
32. Have you ever been asked to participate in the community meeting? Yes/No
33. Have the community committee ever inquire your opinions when they are going to carry out some policies? Yes/No
34. Have you the right to vote in decision-making in the village? Yes/No
35. Do you celebrate the holidays as same in the past? Yes/No
36. Do you invite your tenants to celebrate holidays with you and your family together?
Yes/No
 If no, why not? _____
37. Do you do something with your tenants together? Yes/No
 If yes, what are they and how often? (Please “√”)
38. What is the channel to solve the troubles between you and others? (Please “√”)

Questionnaire III

No. _____

The subject in Questionnaire III will be the village committee from where we can get the information of the village as a whole. The investigation refers to the interaction among different family houses, the connection between villagers and migrants, the public facilities and service in the village, the collective activity and culture, and the nexus between village and city.

Name of the village: _____ Location of the village: _____ Population: _____

Responder: _____

Interview time & place: _____

1. The boundary protecting the family house from the outside:
2. Connection between two family houses:
3. Did the fire ever happen in the village? Yes/No
4. Is the road wide enough to let the fire-engine pass through and reach every family house in urban village? Yes/No
5. Is there fire extinguishing system in the village? Yes/No
6. How does the village deal with the waste water?
A. draining to the face of ground
B. draining to drainage channel visible on the ground
C. draining to the sewerage under ground
7. Does the draining system connect to the urban sewerage? Yes/No
 If no, where is waste water draining to? _____
8. Does the flood ever happen? Yes/No
 If yes, how many times per year? _____
9. How can the flood water be drained out?

10. Are there public toilets in the village? Yes/No
If yes, how many are they? _____
11. Does the toilet have separated room? Yes/No
12. Are they free or charged? _____
13. Does the village have special device to deal with the disposal or toilet waste? Yes/No
If no, how can the village deal with the disposal or toilet waste? _____
If yes, can each family house connect to it? Yes/No
14. Are there urban street (planned and constructed by urban government) near the village?
Yes/No
15. How far is the urban street from the village? _____
16. Are there public transport stops or station over there? Yes/No
If yes, how far are they from the village? _____
How far can these public transports reach? _____
17. Is there informal and non-public transportation in urban village? Yes/No
Run by whom? _____
18. Electricity and Water Nets
19. Small businesses and services in urban village
20. Social welfare and security in urban village?
21. Public facilities in urban village
22. Collective decision-making
23. The culture preservation. Take a holiday or ceremony for example.

Appendix II. Fieldwork (part.2)

A. Village Authority

What is your opinion about the following properties and the practices on the land in the urban village?

state-owned and state-possessed	state-owned and investor-possessed	collective-owned and collective-possessed	collective-owned and investor-possessed	collective-owned and household-possessed	collective-owned, household-possessed but migrants-occupied
Practices: infrastructures, enterprise and factories, etc	Practices: Enterprise and factories, etc	Practices: Public facilities & social services, institutions, etc.	Practices: Enterprise and factories, etc.	Practices: House constructing, renting and self-employing, etc.	Practices: Working, residing and self-employing, etc
<input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why
<input type="checkbox"/> adequate compensation <input type="checkbox"/> economic revenue <input type="checkbox"/> infrastructure construction <input type="checkbox"/> employment opportunities <input type="checkbox"/> others: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> adequate compensation <input type="checkbox"/> economic revenue <input type="checkbox"/> infrastructure construction <input type="checkbox"/> employment opportunities <input type="checkbox"/> others: _____	<input type="checkbox"/> social services & public facilities <input type="checkbox"/> infrastructure construction <input type="checkbox"/> preservation of ancient and cultural heritage <input type="checkbox"/> negotiation channel between the municipal government and villagers <input type="checkbox"/> others _____	<input type="checkbox"/> land rent (more benefits than land acquisition) <input type="checkbox"/> employment opportunities <input type="checkbox"/> income for public finance <input type="checkbox"/> others _____	<input type="checkbox"/> rent income for villagers <input type="checkbox"/> housing and resettlements <input type="checkbox"/> lack of fund to redevelopment <input type="checkbox"/> financial remedy to villagers <input type="checkbox"/> liberal regulation (lack of supervision of the municipal government) <input type="checkbox"/> necessary for the social stability <input type="checkbox"/> others _____	<input type="checkbox"/> sources of income <input type="checkbox"/> labor force <input type="checkbox"/> business and consumption <input type="checkbox"/> others _____
<input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why
<input type="checkbox"/> loss of land rent <input type="checkbox"/> inadequate compensation <input type="checkbox"/> social unrest	<input type="checkbox"/> loss of land rent <input type="checkbox"/> inadequate compensation <input type="checkbox"/> social unrest			<input type="checkbox"/> population density <input type="checkbox"/> environmental issue <input type="checkbox"/> safety issue (construction)	<input type="checkbox"/> social unrest <input type="checkbox"/> population density <input type="checkbox"/> environmental issue <input type="checkbox"/> safety issue (construction) <input type="checkbox"/> trouble-maker

B. Municipal (state) government

What is your opinion about the following properties and their practices on the land?

state-owned and state-possessed Practices: infrastructures, enterprise and factories, etc	state-owned and investor-possessed Practices: Enterprise and factories, etc	collective-owned and collective-possessed Practices: Public facilities & social services, institutions, etc.	collective-owned and investor-possessed Practices: Enterprise and factories, etc.	collective-owned and household-possessed Practices: House constructing, renting and self-employing, etc.	collective-owned, household-possessed but migrants-occupied Practices: Working, residing and self-employing, etc
<input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why
<input type="checkbox"/> tax and fees <input type="checkbox"/> infrastructure construction <input type="checkbox"/> urban expansion <input type="checkbox"/> employment opportunities <input type="checkbox"/> more efficient land use and land rent <input type="checkbox"/> other _____	<input type="checkbox"/> tax and fees <input type="checkbox"/> more efficient land use and land rent <input type="checkbox"/> urban expansion <input type="checkbox"/> other _____	<input type="checkbox"/> local social services <input type="checkbox"/> environmental protection <input type="checkbox"/> local infrastructure construction <input type="checkbox"/> local finance: reducing the burden on the municipal budget <input type="checkbox"/> preservation of ancient and cultural heritage <input type="checkbox"/> negotiation channel between the municipal government and villagers <input type="checkbox"/> necessary tool for the social stability <input type="checkbox"/> other _____	<input type="checkbox"/> the fundamental income resources (distribution) for the villagers (more than the land compensation) <input type="checkbox"/> employment opportunities <input type="checkbox"/> local finance: reducing the burden on the municipal budget <input type="checkbox"/> other _____	<input type="checkbox"/> rent as the substitution of the loss from land for the villagers (financial remedy) <input type="checkbox"/> housing supply for low-income and non-local-Hukou's people <input type="checkbox"/> lack of fund to redevelopment <input type="checkbox"/> liberal regulation (under-table) <input type="checkbox"/> saving the potential social cost of demolition <input type="checkbox"/> decreasing the density of population and building inner city (a good idea to resettle the villagers and migrants) <input type="checkbox"/> necessary for the social stability <input type="checkbox"/> other _____	<input type="checkbox"/> cheaper house available <input type="checkbox"/> labor force for local business <input type="checkbox"/> decreasing the population density inner city (a good idea to resettle the villagers and migrants) <input type="checkbox"/> saving the potential cost on housing construction <input type="checkbox"/> other _____
<input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why
				<input type="checkbox"/> population density <input type="checkbox"/> environmental issue <input type="checkbox"/> safety issue (construction)	<input type="checkbox"/> population density <input type="checkbox"/> environmental issue <input type="checkbox"/> safety issue (construction) <input type="checkbox"/> trouble-maker

C. Migrant workers/tenants

What is your opinion about the following properties and their practices on the land?

state-owned and state-possessed Practices: infrastructures, enterprise and factories, etc	state-owned and investor-possessed Practices: Enterprise and factories, etc	collective-owned and collective-possessed Practices: Public facilities & social services, etc.	collective-owned and investor-possessed Practices: Enterprise and factories, etc.	collective-owned and household-possessed Practices: House constructing, renting and self-employing, etc.	collective-owned, household-possessed but migrants-occupied Practices: Working, residing and self-employing, etc
<input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why
<input type="checkbox"/> infrastructure construction: bus, road, express, etc. <input type="checkbox"/> employment opportunities <input type="checkbox"/> other _____	<input type="checkbox"/> employment opportunities <input type="checkbox"/> other _____	<input type="checkbox"/> social services and facilities <input type="checkbox"/> communication channel with the municipal government and the villagers <input type="checkbox"/> other _____	<input type="checkbox"/> employment opportunities <input type="checkbox"/> other _____	<input type="checkbox"/> cheaper house available <input type="checkbox"/> cheaper living expenses <input type="checkbox"/> liberal regulations on Hukou? <input type="checkbox"/> other _____	<input type="checkbox"/> cheaper house available <input type="checkbox"/> other _____
<input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why	<input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why

D. Indigenous villagers

What is your opinion about the following properties and their practices on the land?

<p>state-owned and state-possessed Practices: infrastructures, enterprise and factories, etc</p>	<p>state-owned and investor-possessed Practices: Enterprise and factories, etc</p>	<p>collective-owned and collective-possessed Practices: Public facilities & social services, etc.</p>	<p>collective-owned and investor-possessed Practices: Enterprise and factories, etc.</p>	<p>collective-owned and household-possessed Practices: House constructing, renting and self-employing, etc.</p>	<p>collective-owned, household-possessed but migrants-occupied Practices: Working, residing and self-employing, etc</p>
<p><input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> acceptable and why</p>
<p><input type="checkbox"/> infrastructure construction <input type="checkbox"/> employment opportunities <input type="checkbox"/> other _____</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> employment opportunities <input type="checkbox"/> other _____</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> local social services <input type="checkbox"/> environmental protection <input type="checkbox"/> infrastructure construction <input type="checkbox"/> preservation of ancient and cultural heritage <input type="checkbox"/> negotiation channel between the municipal government and villagers <input type="checkbox"/> other _____</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> indirect benefits from land rent (sharing benefits) <input type="checkbox"/> employment opportunities <input type="checkbox"/> other _____</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> rent income to substitute the loss of land <input type="checkbox"/> lack of fund to gentrification <input type="checkbox"/> regulation allowed <input type="checkbox"/> other _____</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> source of income <input type="checkbox"/> source of labor forces <input type="checkbox"/> other _____</p>
<p><input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> unacceptable and why</p>
<p><input type="checkbox"/> loss of land rent <input type="checkbox"/> inadequate compensation</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> loss of land rent <input type="checkbox"/> inadequate compensation</p>			<p><input type="checkbox"/> population density <input type="checkbox"/> environmental issue <input type="checkbox"/> safety issue (construction)</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> population density <input type="checkbox"/> environmental issue <input type="checkbox"/> safety issue (construction) <input type="checkbox"/> trouble-maker</p>

Appendix III. House Survey

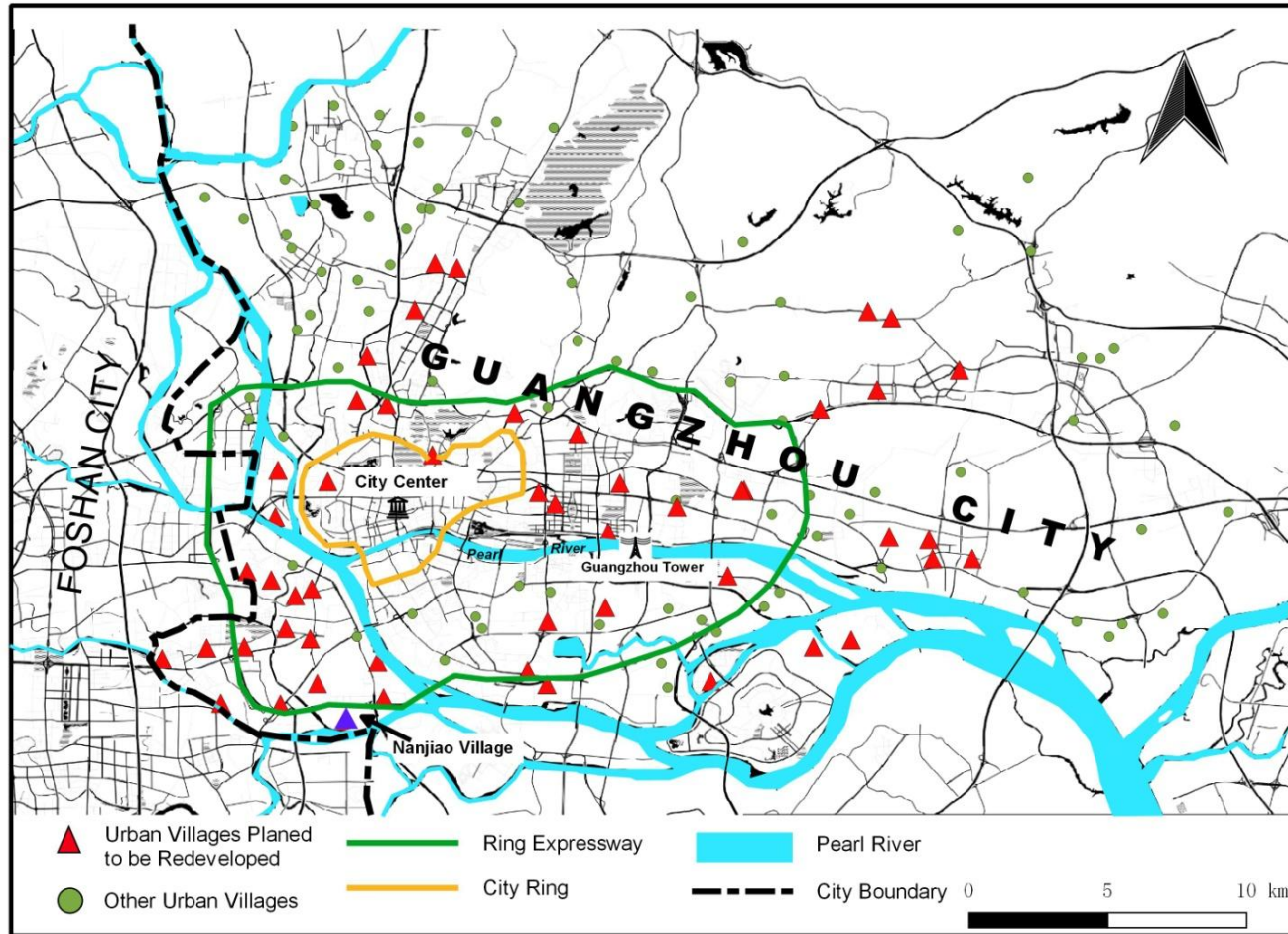
House number	Door	Drain pipes	Electricity cables	Connect with the neighbor	N of Floors	Stairs	Yard with wall	camera and monitor	anti-burglary grille on windows	business	tap water	electricity
Dongsheng fang D41	metal	inside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	4	inside	yard with wall	no	yes		y	y
D38	metal	inside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	4	inside	no	no	yes	shop	y	y
D37	metal	inside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2.5	inside	no	no	yes		y	y
D36	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2.5	inside	no	yes	yes		y	y
D312	metal	inside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	1		no	no	no		y	y
D21	wood	inside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	1		yard without wall	no	no		y	y
D19	metal		outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2.5	inside	yard with wall	no	yes		y	y
D18	wood		outside	open space, the wall of building to building	1		no	no	yes		y	y
D16	metal		outside	open space, the wall of building to building	1		yard with wall	no			y	y
D14	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	5	inside	yard with wall	no	yes		y	y
D8	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	4	inside	yard with wall	no	yes		y	y
D7	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	4	inside	no	no	yes	shop	y	y
D1	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	4	inside	no	yes	yes	barber shop	y	y
Julong fang j63	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	5	inside	no	no	yes	statory shop	y	y

j60	metal	inside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2.5	inside	no	no	yes		y	y
j58	metal	inside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	1		no	no	no		y	y
Ja	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	5	inside	no	no	yes	grocer	y	y
j33	metal	inside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2	inside	yard with wall	no	yes		y	y
j32	metal	inside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	1.5	inside	yard without wall	no	no		y	y
j30	metal	inside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2.5	inside	no	no	yes		y	y
j25	metal	inside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	4	inside	no	no	yes	barber shop	y	y
j23	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2	inside	no	no	yes	grocer	y	y
Jb	metal	inside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	1		no	no	no	Appliance Repair shop	y	y
j8	metal	inside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2.5	inside	yard with wall	no	yes		y	y
j6	no	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2	inside	yard with wall	no		dental prosthesis	y	y
j5	metal	inside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	5	inside	no	yes	yes	bicycle repair shop	y	y
j315	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	5	inside	no	yes	yes	shop	y	y
j1	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	5	inside	no	yes	yes	grocer	y	y
Hulong Fang H3	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	3	inside	no	no	yes	shop	y	y
Ha	metal	inside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2	outside	no	no	yes	ibis fast food	y	y
Hb	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of	5	inside	no	no	yes	restaurant	y	y

				building to building							and barber shop		
h5	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	3	inside	no	no	yes		moto repair	y	y
h9	metal		outside	open space, the wall of building to building	3	inside	no	no	yes		barber shop	y	y
h11	wood		outside	open space, the wall of building to building	1.5	inside	yard with wall	no	yes			y	y
Hc	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2.5	inside	no	no	yes		barber shop	y	y
h15	metal		outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2.5	inside	no	no	yes		bicycle and repair shop	y	y
Hb	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	3.5	inside	no	no	yes		shoes and repair shop	y	y
h19	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2	inside	no	no	yes		grocer	y	y
Hd	wood		outside	open space, the wall of building to building	1		no	no	no			y	y
h22	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	5	inside	no	no	yes		grocer	y	y
h23	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2.5	inside	no	no	yes			y	y
He	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2.5	inside	yard with wall	no	yes			y	y
h27	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2.5	inside	no	yes	yes		IT Shop	y	y
Hf	metal		outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2	inside	no	no			water station	y	y
h31	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	5	inside	no	yes	yes			y	y
h33	wood		outside	open space, the wall of building to building	1		no	no	no		clothe mending shop	y	y
h34	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2	inside	no	no	yes		Aluminum windows	y	y

Hg	metal		outside	open space, the wall of building to building	1		no	no	no	and doors shop		
h37	metal		outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2	inside	no	no		bicycle repair shop	y	y
h39	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	3	inside	yard with wall	no	yes	Appliance Repair shop	y	y
h46	metal		outside	open space, the wall of building to building	1		no	no			y	y
h43	wood		outside	open space, the wall of building to building	1		no	no			y	y
h45	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	3	inside	no	no	yes	grocer	y	y
h49	metal	outside	outside	open space, the wall of building to building	5	inside	no	yes	yes	massage, internet shop	y	y
Hh	wood			open space, the wall of building to building	1		no	no	no		y	y
Hi	metal			open space, the wall of building to building	1		no	no	no		y	y
h53	metal		outside	open space, the wall of building to building	2	inside	yard with wall	no	yes		y	y

Appendix IV. Redevelopment Plan of Urban Villages in Guangzhou City



Author's contribution

Village names from Guangzhou Municipal Government (2009) and online resource <http://www.gztopwork.cn/czda.asp>

Basic map retrieved from Open map resource. <http://maps.stamen.com/#toner/12/37.7706/-122.3782>