TU Delft

Delft University of Technology

Residents' Perceptions of Impending Forced Relocation in Urban China

A case study of state-led urban redevelopment in Shenyang

Li, Xin

DOI
10.7480/abe.2018.11

Publication date
2018

Document Version
Final published version

Citation (APA)
Li, X. (2018). *Residents' Perceptions of Impending Forced Relocation in Urban China: A case study of state-led urban redevelopment in Shenyang*. [Dissertation (TU Delft), Delft University of Technology]. A+BE | Architecture and the Built Environment. https://doi.org/10.7480/abe.2018.11

Important note
To cite this publication, please use the final published version (if applicable).
Please check the document version above.

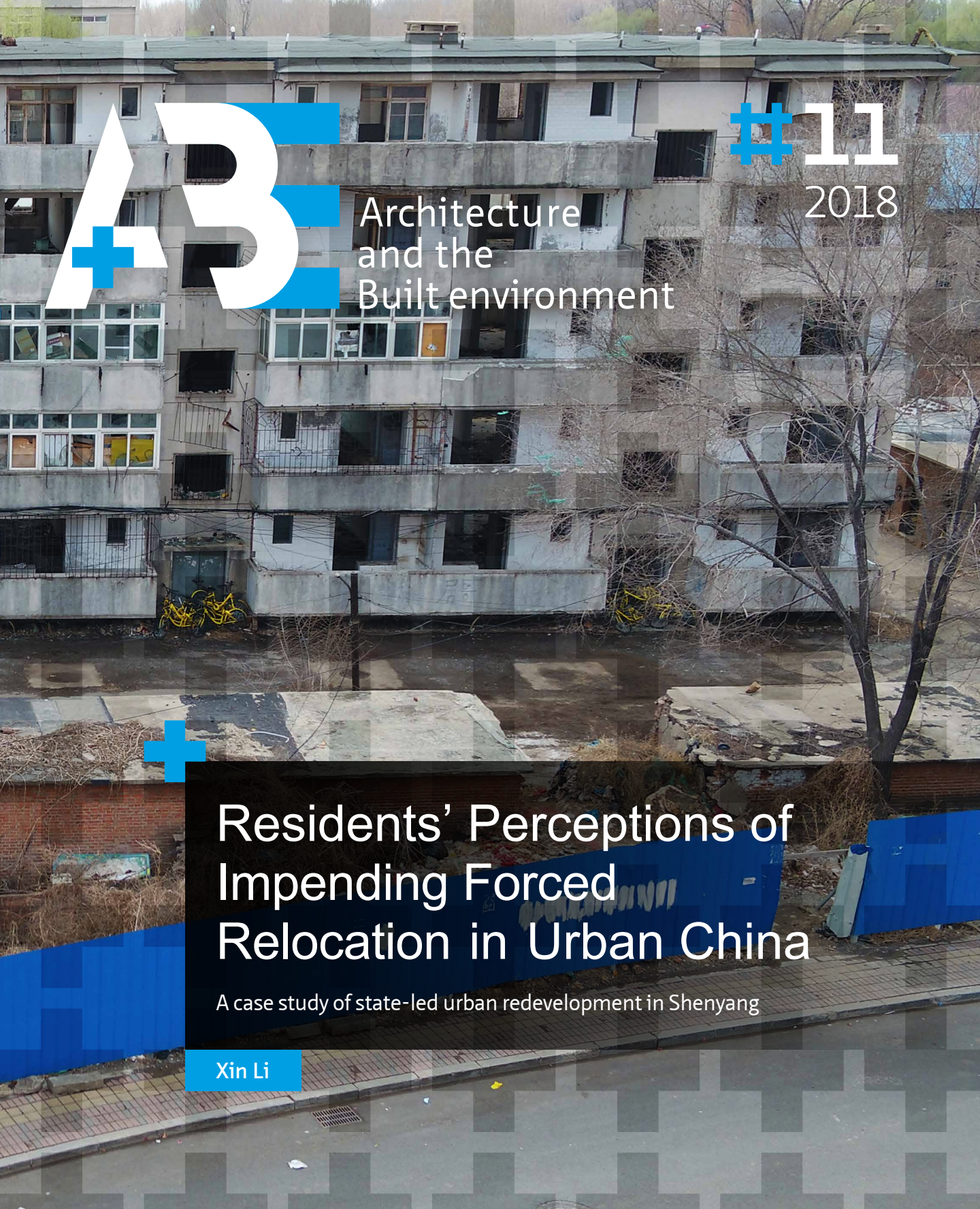
Copyright
Other than for strictly personal use, it is not permitted to download, forward or distribute the text or part of it, without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), unless the work is under an open content license such as Creative Commons.

Takedown policy
Please contact us and provide details if you believe this document breaches copyrights.
We will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

This work is downloaded from Delft University of Technology.
For technical reasons the number of authors shown on this cover page is limited to a maximum of 10.

Architecture and the Built environment

#11
2018



Residents' Perceptions of Impending Forced Relocation in Urban China

A case study of state-led urban redevelopment in Shenyang

Xin Li

Residents' Perceptions of Impending Forced Relocation in Urban China

A case study of state-led urban redevelopment in Shenyang

Xin Li
Delft University of Technology, Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment,
OTB – Research for the Built Environment

Architecture and the Built environment

abe.tudelft.nl

Design: Sirene Ontwerpers, Rotterdam

ISBN 978-94-6366-038-9
ISSN 2212-3202

© 2018 Xin Li

All rights reserved. No part of the material protected by this copyright notice may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and retrieval system, without written permission from the author.

Unless otherwise specified, all the photographs in this thesis were taken by the author. For the use of illustrations effort has been made to ask permission for the legal owners as far as possible. We apologize for those cases in which we did not succeed. These legal owners are kindly requested to contact the publisher.

Residents' Perceptions of Impending Forced Relocation in Urban China

A case study of state-led urban redevelopment in Shenyang

Dissertation

for the purpose of obtaining the degree of doctor
at Delft University of Technology
by the authority of the Rector Magnificus prof. dr.ir. T.H.J.J. van der Hagen
chair of the Board for Doctorates
to be defended publicly on
Friday 15 June 2018 at 10:00 o'clock

by

Xin LI
Bachelor of Science and Arts in Resource, Environmental, Urban and Regional Planning and Management, Northwest University, China
born in Shijiazhuang, China

TOC

This dissertation has been approved by the promotors.

Composition of the doctoral committee:

Rector Magnificus,	chairperson
Prof. dr. M. van Ham,	Delft University of Technology, promotor
Dr. R.J. Kleinhans,	Delft University of Technology, copromotor

Independent members:

Prof. dr. ir. M.G. Elsinga	Delft University of Technology
Prof. dr. W.K. Korthals Altes	Delft University of Technology
Prof. dr. N. Bailey	University of Glasgow, United Kingdom
Prof. dr. P. Hooimeijer	Utrecht University
Dr. G.S. Bolt	Utrecht University

Acknowledgements

Five years ago, when I got the chance to work on the PhD project at TU Delft, I didn't know what exactly it means to me. It turns out to be a very unusual and difficult journey. But luckily I have been not alone during this journey and I made it finally. I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who helped and supported me.

First of all, I would like to thank my promoter Prof. Maarten van Ham and co-promoter Dr. Reinout Kleinhans. Thank you very much for your selfless help and great effort into my research. I would like to sincerely thank Prof. Maarten van Ham for accepting me as a PhD candidate and giving me the chance to work in this inspiring research group. You always look at my research from different angles and show me the overview picture and the right path. Your wisdom and excellent research guidance greatly support me in my work.

I would like to give my special thanks to Dr. Reinout Kleinhans. Your enthusiasm, understanding and patience strongly encourage me walking out of various struggles that I came across on the way. With your support, I become more and more confident and independent on doing research. We have a lot of interesting discussions about work and life. I benefit a lot from your three Ps principles, viewpoints on making mistakes and the learning process. Thank you!

I owe gratitude to Prof. Pingyu Zhang. I appreciate your firm support for my master and PhD studies in China and the Netherlands. You opened the door of doing research on urban studies for me. Your strict attitude and sharp viewpoints into the research help me to build a solid basis for my academic career. I cannot forget our conversations, particularly the philosophy of 'Do the good and do your best, regardless where it might lead (**但行好事，莫问前程**)'.

I owe special thanks to Dr. Zhiqiang Feng for introducing me to Prof. Maarten van Ham. Without your help, I certainly would not come to this stage. My sincere gratitude goes to all the committee members, who spend your time on reviewing my thesis and attending my PhD defence.

I would like to give my thanks to my peers and colleagues. In particular, I would like to thank my coffee-break partners: Ana, Sanne, Yan Juan, Ruta, Tal, Nuha, Jaap, Ye Qing, Guanting, Mingxue, Lucía, Faidra , Arash, Daša. I won't forget the nice chats and relaxing moments at OTB coffee corners. I learn a lot about different cultures and values. I would like to thank my first office-mate, Wenda! You warmed me up when

I moved to this cool country. I would further like to thank: Heleen, Fran, Merle, Elise, Tom, Enzo, Igor, Yunlong, Li Yong, Tu Qi, Wenjing, Jiaxiu, André, Dirk, Rosa, Vitanarae, Zhiyong, Maat, Queena, Marietta, Marja, Willem, Laure, Evert, Taozhi, Jiefang, Yuting, Jinjin, Wang Bo, Igor, Abdullah, Duco, David, Ton, Saskia, Alfred, Dena, Samson, Job, Paula and other colleagues in OTB. You have left me a memorable experience in BK. Thanks to the secretaries in OTB and Véro for your help.

I would like to spread my thanks to all the friends that I meet in the Netherlands. Xueming, Jinhu, Yang Wen, Yuling, Micheal, Xiao Lin, Yang Zhen, Feifei, Xiaochen, Wei Cui, Xiaowei, Tian Xin, Jingyu, thank you all for being my intimate friends. We are in a warm (wolf) family. I will cherish every moment we spent together on drinking, playing games, travelling, joking and cooking. My life in the Netherlands could not be so colourful without you. Thank you my friends Lv Tao, Huang Ping , Qingbao, Liu Ping, Qinglong, Huarong, Changgong, Jingtang, Weichen, Xiangrong, Hongli, Mingjuan, Xiaoling, Haoran,Yu Hao and Zhong Nan. It is amazing to meet you in the Netherlands.

Also, thank you my friends Ma Yue, Lei Fang, Linghui, Xiaojin, Pang Xin and Wan Yuan in China. Although our life has changed a lot in the past 12 years, but never our friendship does. Thank you my friends Liu Ying and Zidan for supporting me. I am so proud that we are all doctors finally. Thanks you my colleagues in China.

I would like to give my special thanks to Li Lei, Lijing and Li Fei for your company, and I feel no more lonely in Shenyang during my fieldwork. Weijun, Tiehong, Haifeng and Qi Lin, I owe gratitude for your help on the project. Your dedication on work has showed me the meaning of 'Never forget where and why you started (勿忘初心)'. I would like to thank all the respondents in Shenyang who trust me and are willing to share your stories. I wish all the friends mentioned above and not mentioned a beautiful future.

Ming (明), my beloved husband, partner and best friend in life, you can always help me get rid of anxiety and make me become more confident when I face challenges and difficulties. I become a better me after meeting you. We share so many wonderful experiences together and the gratitude I owe you is beyond words. And thanks to my parents-in law for supporting me throughout my life abroad.

In the end, I would like to thank my parents (父亲：李远生；母亲：王梅珍) who give me life, raise me up and always support me whatever it takes. I want to sincerely thank my elder brother and sister-in law for everything you have done to our family, which makes me feel secured to work abroad without any worries. Also, my beloved two nephews, I am very happy to see you grow happily and healthily.

Xin Li （李欣）

Contents

List of Tables 11
List of Figures 12
Summary 13
Samenvatting 17

1 Introduction 23

1.1 Urban redevelopment and forced relocation in China 23

1.2 Forced relocation: a special mode of residential mobility 25

1.3 Research aim and objectives 29

1.4 Shenyang, a typical old industrial city in Northeast China 31

1.4.1 The cradle of modern industrial China 32
1.4.2 The recession of Shenyang 34
1.4.3 Urban redevelopment: Shantytown Redevelopment Projects in Shenyang 36

1.5 Research population, data and methods 39

1.6 The outline of the thesis 43

2 Understanding the experiences of relocatees during forced relocation in Chinese urban restructuring 49

2.1 Introduction 50

2.2 The experiences of relocatees in urban restructuring 51

2.3 The macro context of forced relocation in urban China 57

2.4 Understanding the experiences of relocatees during three stages of forced relocation 61

2.4.1 Stage 1: the pre-demolition stage 61
2.4.2 Stage 2: the transitional period 64
2.4.3 Stage 3: the post-relocation stage 66

2.5 Conclusions and implications for future research 69

3 Shantytown Redevelopment Projects: State-Led Redevelopment of Declining Neighbourhoods under Market Transition in Shenyang, China 77

3.1 Introduction 78

3.2 Urban restructuring under market transition in China 80

3.3 Research area, data and method 84

3.4 Implementation and changes in roles of stakeholders in SRPs in Shenyang 89

3.4.1 The centralization of the inception of SRPs 89
3.4.2 The decentralization of SRP implementation 91
3.4.3 The dynamic changes in the role of market forces 94
3.4.4 Multiple deprivation and decreasing housing affordability of residents 95

3.5 Discussion 97

3.6 Conclusions 99

4 Ambivalence in Place Attachment: the Lived Experiences of Homeowners in Danwei Communities Facing Demolition in Shenyang, China 105

4.1 Introduction 106

4.2 Place Attachment, Neighbourhood Decline and Urban Redevelopment 108

4.2.1 Place attachment in declining neighbourhoods 108
4.2.2 Place attachment and urban redevelopment in Chinese cities 110

4.3 Research Area, Data and Methods 111

4.4 Lived Experiences and Place Attachment in Declining Danwei Communities 116

4.4.1 The ambivalence in the social dimension of place attachment 116
4.4.2 The ambivalence in the economic dimension of place attachment 118
4.4.3 The ambivalence in the physical dimension of place attachment 120

4.5 Perceptions towards the impending demolition and relocation 122

4.6 Discussion 124

4.7 Conclusions 126

5 The Impact of Impending Demolition on Ageing in Place in Declining Neighbourhoods in Shenyang, China 131

5.1 Introduction 132

5.2 Ageing in place and urban redevelopment in China 134

5.2.1 Ageing in place: home, independence and living arrangement 134
5.2.2 Ageing in place in current China 136
5.2.3 Ageing in place, urban redevelopment and forced relocation 138

5.3 Research area, data and methods 139

5.4 Results 142

5.4.1 The meaning of home 142
5.4.2 Living arrangements and the role of family 144
5.4.3 Strategies to maintain independence 146

5.5 Discussion and Conclusions 149

6 Conclusions 155

6.1 Introduction 155

6.2 Summary of the research findings 156

6.3 Reflections 159

6.3.1 Reflection on the research outcomes 159
6.3.2 Reflections on the methodology and the data 163

6.4 Future research directions and policy implications 164

6.4.1 Directions for further research 164
6.4.2 Policy implications 166

Curriculum Vitae 171
List of publications 173

List of Tables

1.1 Targeted neighbourhoods for demolition 29

1.2 Housing conditions in Shenyang (2010) 37

1.3 Basic information of professional respondents 40

1.4 Basic information of the resident respondents 40

1.5 The information for the neighbourhoods 42

2.1 Targeted neighbourhoods for demolition 60

3.1 Housing condition in Shenyang (2010) 85

3.2 Basic information of professional respondents 85

3.3 Basic information of the resident respondents 87

3.4 The centralization process of SRPs in Shenyang 90

4.1 The information for the neighbourhoods 113

4.2 Socioeconomic characteristics of the respondents 114

5.1 The research neighbourhoods 140

5.2 Gender and age category of the respondents 142

List of Figures

1.1 Location of Shenyang in China and Northeast Asia 31

1.2 Spatial structure of Shenyang from 1920s to 1930s 32

1.3 Urban landscape of Shenyang Tiexi District in 1930's 33

1.4 Some declining Danwei communities in Shenyang 35

1.5 Severe neighbourhood decline 38

1.6 The locations of the case study area in Shenyang 42

2.1 Conceptual Model 55

3.1 The internal dwelling condition of a danwei community 84

3.2 The main road of a urban village 84

3.3 Shenyang and the locations of the case study areas in Shenyang 86

3.4 The external dwelling condition of a danwei community 87

3.5 The main road of a urban village 87

3.6 Changes in the land expropriation process: Regulations No. 305 & No. 590 92

4.1 Locations of the case study areas in Shenyang 113

5.1 Location of the case study sites in Shenyang 141

Summary

Since 1978, urban redevelopment in China has resulted in large-scale neighbourhood demolition and forced residential relocation, which can severely disrupt established people-place interactions in the demolished neighbourhoods. Urban redevelopment in China has also been criticized by the public and scholars, because the position of the residents in decision-making processes of urban redevelopment is often marginalized. Conflicts have arisen between the residents, local governments and developers, against the backdrop of the uneven redistribution of capital accumulated via urban space reproduction such as the replacement of declining neighbourhoods in which low-income residents reside, with newly-build high-rise dwellings for middle- or high-income residents (Qian and He 2012, Weinstein and Ren 2009). The aim of the thesis is to gain a deeper understanding of the influence of urban redevelopment and its induced forced relocation on residents, by investigating their behavioural and emotional responses to the state-led urban redevelopment in Shenyang, a Chinese city. In particular, it highlights the agency of the affected residents, through exploring their interactions with other stakeholders and through displaying the ambivalence embedded in their neighbourhood experiences.

The research firstly conceptualises forced relocation as a process and as a specific type of residential mobility that occurs in the context of urban restructuring. It suggests a conceptual model to show the sequence of events that households experience during urban redevelopment, by dividing forced relocation into three stages: the pre-demolition stage, the transitional stage and the post-relocation stage (chapter 2). This conceptual model helps to reduce the distraction caused by the accumulation of the dynamics of relocatees' experience as the urban redevelopment proceeds over time, by capturing the sequence of the events that occur to relocatees during urban redevelopment. We used the model to structure the analysis of the literature review and subsequently identify the gaps in the literature that should be addressed in future forced relocation studies about China. We discovered that the experiences of relocatees from household and residential mobility perspectives reveal the dynamic, variable and complex nature of forced relocation, which makes forced relocation in urban China not necessarily equivalent to displacement.

We particularly targeted at the residents who are undergoing the pre-demolition stage of state-led national scale Shantytown Redevelopment Projects (SRPs) in Shenyang, a city in Northeast China. Since 2008, the central government has initiated SRPs to improve the living conditions of low-income residents living in declining neighbourhoods. Between 2008 and 2012, about 12.6 million households in China

were involved in SRPs, and forced to move as their dwellings were demolished. These residents are stayed homeowners living in declining *danwei* communities and urban villages. They are among one of the most deprived social groups due to unemployment, low-income, serious illness etc., and cannot afford better dwellings. We found that (prospective) relocatees' experiences at this stage are worthwhile to study. Their experiences and compensation choices at this stage can affect their follow-up housing experiences, since they need to make significant decisions with regard to the type and the amount of compensation (in-kind or monetary) that they can get from local governments and/or developers. However, current studies mainly target the relocatees who are already at the post-relocation stage to recall their pre-relocation experiences to evaluate the outcomes of forced relocation, which might lead to distorted retrospective accounts of their experiences and causes of their behavioural and emotional responses to the forced relocation (Goetz, 2013; Higgins and Stangor, 1998).

This pre-relocation stage is also the most stressful and conflicting stage for the relocatees involved in urban redevelopment and forced relocation. It is the stage that includes land expropriation, compensation negotiations and forced movement, after intensive interactions between residents and other stakeholders. In chapter 3, we discuss a complex interplay between different stakeholders, by focusing the implementation of SRPs and the changing roles of different stakeholders. Conflicts arise between different stakeholders, featured by frictions between the central and local governments regarding the implementation of SRPs, the mismatch occurs between the scope of the SRP policy and residents' attempts to improve their socioeconomic situation, and an entrepreneurial paradox in the relationship between local governments and developers. However, we also discovered that various stakeholders have consensus on the need for improving the living conditions in deprived neighbourhoods and on boosting the housing market. In particular, by displaying the consensus between residents, local governments and developers, we reveal the agency of residents during urban redevelopment (see also Manzo *et al.*, 2008; Posthumus and Kleinhans, 2014). To a certain extent, residents are willing to accept urban redevelopment and forced relocation to improve their living conditions. They also intend to maximize their benefits from the redevelopment, by mobilising strategies such as constructing illegal buildings to improve the overall value of their dwelling, or by making appeals to local governments to intervene in the redevelopment (chapter 4).

In addition, this research investigates the interaction between people (residents) and place (neighbourhoods) from the perspective of place attachment and ageing in place, to show the influences of urban redevelopment and forced relocation on the residents. By revealing the lived experiences of homeowners and older people in *danwei* communities and urban villages, we found that residents have ambivalent attitudes towards forced relocation and urban redevelopment. On the one hand,

these residents anticipate a potential improvement of their living conditions via SRPs, because neighbourhood decline has been challenging their daily activities and decreasing their quality of life for years. From a people-place interaction point of view, this might be contradicting earlier research which emphasizes the more 'romantic' side of people-place interactions, such as place attachment and its related components (e.g. neighbourhood-based social networks and mutual help), that contribute to relocatees' willingness to stay in their neighbourhoods when facing neighbourhood redevelopment and demolition (Fried, 1963; Manzo *et al*., 2008). On the other hand, many homeowners and older people are unwilling to move, since their current neighbourhood makes them feel rooted and enables them to develop living strategies to relieve their deprived socio-economic situation. Therefore, we suggest that when studying the influence of urban redevelopment on relocatees, the wider impacts of place attachment on their moving behaviour should be revealed by carefully examining their positive and negative lived experiences and the roles of different dimensions of place attachment (Livingston *et al*., 2010; Oakley *et al*., 2008; Vale, 1997).

Moreover, we found that many long-term homeowners are unwilling to move due to the uncertainties inherent in forced relocation and urban redevelopment. The gap between the scope of the SRPs and their expectations about SRPs and the associated compensation (either monetary or in-kind, i.e. by accepting replacement housing) makes them worry about their life chances during and after forced relocation. Although local governments in China undertake efforts to reduce these disruptions by compensating the homeowners and by promising to construct similar public and commercial facilities surrounding the relocation neighbourhoods, residents still hold their sense of uncertainty. They feel incapable to assess in advance how and to what extent the forced relocation may lead to negative impacts after the move and how long these impacts may last (chapter 3, 4 and 5). This is in line with earlier research, which finds that the outcomes of forced relocation and urban redevelopment on relocatees are often mixed and not as unilaterally positive as expected, and can change over time during and after forced relocation (Goetz, 2013; Goetz and Chapple, 2010; Popkin, 2006; Popkin, *et al*, 2003, 2004). We found that the sense of uncertainty has been translated into a stressful decision-making process for the relocatees with regard to the choice of and negotiations regarding compensation, and the move itself. To cope with this uncertainty, relocatees try to bargain 'fair' compensation from local governments and/or developers. Our research (chapter 5) shows that in the Chinese context, it is a collective experience for the whole family (beyond households). Fierce interactions, discussions or conflicts within families are taking place with regard to the appropriate type and amount of compensation they should get and whose demand and preference on housing should be taken as the priority. We concluded that within families and households, compensation needs and desires may be fundamentally different and contradictory.

Based on the aforementioned findings, several directions for the future research can be proposed. Firstly, more research on temporal changes of individual perceptions and experiences during and after urban redevelopment is needed. In particular, we propose to conduct a longitudinal panel survey following relocatees from the three stages to identify how and why forced relocation and urban redevelopment affect the well-being of the relocatees over time and how the outcomes of relocation vary over time. Second, the heterogeneity of the affected residents and the interrelationship of this heterogeneity with their experiences should also be addressed more specifically in future research. Finally, in addition to the declining urban neighbourhoods such as *danwei* communities, inner city old neighbourhoods and urban villages, other types of neighbourhoods involved in Shantytown Redevelopment Projects (SRPs) should be a focus of research, for example remote rural communities established by state-owned enterprises and enterprises specialised in mining, agricultural and forestry production. We suggest that more comparative studies should be conducted with regard to governance of SRPs and its influence on the relocatees from different regions and cities across China.

Our research findings can be useful for the central state and local governments to recognize the problems existing in SRPs, such as the disparity between the project scope and the expectations of the residents, the ignorance of the diverse needs of the affected residents, and the uncertainties and related negative influence on the residents in relation to the project implementation. We suggest local governments to consider the physical, social, economic and psychological influences of urban redevelopment on residents. In particular, the research suggests local governments to carefully design the compensation policy, which concerns the relocatees the most. The compensation criteria should cover various needs of relocatees regarding rehousing, such as dwelling size, nearby public and commercial facilities, and job opportunities. Local governments need to better investigate the socio-economic and family situations of affected residents before the redevelopment and forced relocation, since the needs and the expectations of different relocatees about redevelopment differ as well.

Samenvatting

Sinds 1978 heeft stedelijke vernieuwing in China geleid tot grootschalige sloop van buurten en gedwongen verhuizingen, wat een ernstig verstorend effect kan hebben op de bestaande interacties tussen mensen en omgeving in de gesloopte buurten. De stedelijke vernieuwing in China is ook bekritiseerd door het publiek en door academici, omdat de bewoners bij het besluitvormingsproces rondom stedelijke vernieuwing vaak een marginale positie hebben. Er zijn conflicten ontstaan tussen bewoners, lokale overheden en ontwikkelaars tegen een achtergrond van ongelijke herverdeling van kapitaal dat is opgebouwd met de reproductie van stedelijke ruimte, zoals de vervanging van verslechterende buurten waar veel mensen met een laag inkomen wonen, door nieuwe hoogbouw voor bewoners met een gemiddeld of hoog inkomen (Qian en He 2012, Weinstein en Ren 2009). Het doel van dit proefschrift is om meer inzicht te krijgen in de invloed van stedelijke vernieuwing en de bijbehorende gedwongen verhuizingen op deze bewoners door onderzoek te doen naar hun gedragsmatige en emotionele reacties op de door de overheid geleide stedelijke vernieuwing in de Chinese stad Shenyang. Hierbij wordt met name het handelend vermogen van de betrokken bewoners benadrukt, door hun interacties met andere stakeholders te verkennen en de ambivalentie zichtbaar te maken die een inherent aspect is van hun ervaringen in hun huidige buurt.

Voor het onderzoek is gedwongen verhuizing geconceptualiseerd als proces en als specifiek type mobiliteit van bewoners die plaatsvindt in de context van stedelijke herstructurering. We stellen een conceptueel voor om de reeks gebeurtenissen zichtbaar te maken die huishoudens doormaken tijdens stedelijke vernieuwing, waarbij de verhuizing wordt opgedeeld in drie fases: de fase voorafgaande aan de sloop, de overgangsfase en de fase na de verhuizing (hoofdstuk 2). Dit conceptuele model vermindert het probleem van het verlies van overzicht over de geaccumuleerde dynamiek van de ervaringen van bewoners die moesten verhuizen tijdens de stedelijke ontwikkeling. Het model doet dat door de mogelijke reeks gebeurtenissen te duiden die bewoners doormaken tijdens stedelijke vernieuwing. We hebben het model gebruikt om de analyse van het literatuuronderzoek te structureren en vervolgens de lacunes in de literatuur geïdentificeerd die in onderzoek naar gedwongen verhuizingen in China moeten worden opgevuld. De ervaringen van deze verhuizers, vanuit het perspectief van huishouden en mobiliteit van bewoners, maken de dynamische en complexe aard van gedwongen verhuizingen zichtbaar. Daaruit blijkt dat gedwongen verhuizen in Chinese steden niet automatisch hetzelfde is als ontheemding.

We concentreren ons op de bewoners in de fase voorafgaand de sloop van landelijke, door de overheid geleide Shantytown Redevelopment Projects (SRP's) in Shenyang, een stad in het noordoosten van China. Sinds 2008 heeft de nationale overheid SRP's opgestart om de leefomstandigheden te verbeteren van bewoners van verslechterende buurten met een laag inkomen. Tussen 2008 en 2012 zijn er zo'n 12,6 miljoen huishoudens in China betrokken geweest bij SRP's en gedwongen te verhuizen toen hun woningen werden gesloopt. De bewoners zijn achtergebleven huizenbezitters in slechter wordende *danwei*-gemeenschappen en stedelijke 'dorpen' aan de rand van de stad. Zij behoren tot de sociaal meest achtergestelde groepen, als gevolg van werkloosheid, lage inkomens, ziekte, etc. en kunnen zich geen betere woning veroorloven. We zijn tot de ontdekking gekomen dat de ervaringen van nog niet verhuisde personen tijdens de fase voorafgaand aan sloop de moeite van het bestuderen waard zijn. Hun ervaringen en compensatiekeuzes in deze fase kunnen gevolgen hebben voor hun latere ervaringen met huisvesting aangezien zij belangrijke beslissingen moeten nemen met betrekking tot de soort en hoeveelheid compensatie (in natura of monetair) die zij van lokale overheden en/of ontwikkelaars kunnen ontvangen. Bij recent onderzoek zijn echter voornamelijk gedwongen verhuizers die al verhuisd zijn gevraagd naar hun ervaringen van voor de verhuizing om de gevolgen van gedwongen verhuizing te beoordelen, wat kan leiden tot een vertroebelde reconstructie achteraf over hun ervaringen en de oorzaken van hun emotionele reactie op de gedwongen verhuizing (Goetz, 2013; Higgins en Stangor, 1998).

De fase voorafgaand aan de verhuizing is daarnaast de meest stressvolle en conflicterende fase voor verhuizers die betrokken zijn bij stedelijke vernieuwing. Dit is de fase waarin grond wordt onteigend, over compensatie wordt onderhandeld en mensen worden gedwongen om te verhuizen na intensieve interacties tussen bewoners en andere stakeholders. In hoofdstuk 3 bespreken we een complexe wisselwerking tussen verschillende stakeholders, door ons te richten op de uitvoering van SRP's en de veranderende rollen van verschillende stakeholders. Tussen verschillende stakeholders ontstaan conflicten als resultaat van frictie tussen de nationale en lokale overheid met betrekking tot de uitvoering van SRP's, de discrepantie tussen de *scope* van het SRP-beleid en de pogingen van bewoners om hun sociaaleconomische situatie te verbeteren, en een paradox met betrekking tot ondernemerschap in de relatie tussen lokale overheden en ontwikkelaars. We hebben ook vastgesteld dat verschillende stakeholders het met elkaar eens zijn over de behoefte aan betere leefomstandigheden in achtergestelde buurten en een stimulans voor de woningmarkt. Met name door de overeenstemming tussen bewoners, lokale overheden en ontwikkelaars te laten zien maken we het handelend vermogen van bewoners tijdens stedelijke vernieuwing inzichtelijk (zie ook Manzo et al., 2008; Posthumus en Kleinhans, 2014). In zekere mate zijn bewoners bereid om stedelijke vernieuwing en gedwongen verhuizing te accepteren als daarmee hun leefomstandigheden kunnen worden verbeterd. Daarnaast

proberen zij maximaal te profiteren van de vernieuwing, door strategieën in te zetten zoals illegale bouw om de marktwaarde van hun huidige woning te vergroten of door de lokale overheid ertoe te bewegen om in te grijpen in het proces van stedelijke vernieuwing (hoofdstuk 4).

Verder is voor deze studie onderzoek gedaan naar de interactie tussen mensen (bewoners) en plaatsen (buurten) vanuit het perspectief van hechting aan een plaats en op een bepaalde plaats ouder worden, om de invloed van stedelijke vernieuwing en gedwongen verhuizing op de bewoners zelf zichtbaar te maken. Door de geleefde ervaringen van huiseigenaren en ouderen in *danwei*-gemeenschappen (danwei ≈ werkeenheid) en stedelijke 'dorpen' aan de rand van de stad zichtbaar te maken, kwamen we tot het inzicht dat bewoners ambivalente houdingen hebben ten opzichte van gedwongen verhuizing en stedelijke vernieuwing. Aan de ene kant anticiperen deze bewoners op een potentiële verbetering van hun leefomstandigheden dankzij SRP's, aangezien het verval van de buurt al jarenlang een belemmering is voor hun dagelijkse bezigheden en hun levenskwaliteit negatief beïnvloedt. Vanuit het perspectief van de interactie tussen mensen en plaatsen is dit mogelijk in tegenspraak met eerder onderzoek, waarbij de nadruk werd gelegd op de meer 'romantische' kant van interacties tussen mensen en plaatsen, zoals hechting aan plaatsen en wat daarbij hoort (bijvoorbeeld een sociaal netwerk en wederzijdse steun in de buurt), die een bijdrage leveren aan de bereidheid van gedwongen verhuizers om in hun buurt te blijven wonen wanneer ze daar worden geconfronteerd met sloop en stedelijke vernieuwing (Fried, 1963; Manzo et al., 2008).

Aan de andere kant zijn veel huiseigenaren en ouderen niet zonder meer bereid om te verhuizen, aangezien zij zich in hun huidige buurt geworteld voelen en daar leefstrategieën kunnen ontwikkelen om hun slechte sociaaleconomische situatie te verbeteren. Daarom stellen wij dat bij het bestuderen van de invloed van stedelijke vernieuwing op gedwongen verhuizers de bredere impact van hechting aan een plaats en het verhuisgedrag zichtbaar moet worden gemaakt door zorgvuldig onderzoek te doen naar hun positieve en negatieve levenservaringen en de rol van verschillende dimensies van hechting aan een plaats (Livingston et al., 2010; Oakley et al., 2008; Vale, 1997).

Bovendien hebben we ontdekt dat veel bewoners die al lang een huis bezitten niet bereid zijn te verhuizen, als gevolg van de onzekerheid die inherent is aan gedwongen verhuizing en stedelijke vernieuwing. De kloof tussen de *scope* van de SRP's enerzijds en hun verwachtingen aangaande SRP's en de bijbehorende compensatie (geldelijk of in natura, bijvoorbeeld in de vorm van een vervangende woning) anderzijds zorgt bij hen voor onzekerheid over hun levenskansen tijdens en na de gedwongen verhuizing. Hoewel lokale overheden in China zich inspannen om dergelijke verstoringen

te verminderen, door de huiseigenaren te compenseren en toe te zeggen dat er vergelijkbare openbare en commerciële voorzieningen zullen worden gebouwd in de wijken waarnaar zij worden verhuisd, blijven bewoners een gevoel van onzekerheid houden. Ze hebben het gevoel niet in staat te zijn om van tevoren te beoordelen hoe en in welke mate de gedwongen verhuizing kan leiden tot negatieve gevolgen na de verhuizing, en hoe lang die gevolgen zullen standhouden (hoofdstuk 3, 4 en 5). Dit sluit aan bij eerder onderzoek, dat aantoont dat de gevolgen van gedwongen verhuizing en stedelijke vernieuwing voor gedwongen verhuizers vaak gemengd van aard zijn en niet zo eenduidig positief als verwacht, en dat deze in de loop van de tijd en na een gedwongen verhuizing kunnen veranderen (Goetz, 2010, 2013; Popkin, 2006; Popkin et al., 2003, 2004). We zijn tot de bevinding gekomen dat het gevoel van onzekerheid zich vertaalt in een stressvol besluitvormingsproces voor de gedwongen verhuizers met betrekking tot de keuze van, en onderhandelingen met betrekking tot, compensatie, evenals de verhuizing zelf. Om met deze onzekerheid om te gaan, proberen gedwongen verhuizers om 'eerlijke' compensatie van de lokale overheid en/of ontwikkelaars te krijgen. Uit ons onderzoek (hoofdstuk 5) blijkt dat dit in de Chinese context een collectieve ervaring is voor de gehele familie (ook buiten het eigen huishouden). Binnen families is sprake van felle interacties, discussies of conflicten over de juiste soort en hoeveelheid compensatie waarop zij recht hebben, en wiens eisen en voorkeuren met betrekking tot huisvesting prioriteit moeten krijgen. We zijn tot de conclusie gekomen dat binnen families en huishoudens de behoeften en wensen met betrekking tot compensatie fundamenteel verschillend en tegenstrijdig kunnen zijn.

Op basis van de genoemde bevindingen kunnen er verschillende richtingen voor toekomstig onderzoek worden voorgesteld. Ten eerste is er meer onderzoek nodig naar veranderingen van individuele percepties en ervaringen tijdens en na stedelijke vernieuwing. We stellen met name voor om een longitudinaal panelonderzoek te doen waarbij gedwongen verhuizers in de drie fases worden gevolgd om vast te stellen hoe en waarom gedwongen verhuizing en stedelijke vernieuwing het welzijn van de gedwongen verhuizers in de loop van de tijd beïnvloeden en hoe de gevolgen van gedwongen verhuizing door de tijd heen kunnen veranderen. Ten tweede moet bij vervolgonderzoek meer specifieke aandacht worden besteed aan de heterogeniteit van de betrokken bewoners en de onderlinge verbanden tussen deze heterogeniteit en hun ervaringen. Ten slotte moeten naast de verslechterende stedelijke buurten zoals *danwei*-gemeenschappen, oude buurten in het stadscentrum en stedelijke 'dorpen' ook andere soorten buurten die betrokken zijn bij Shantytown Redevelopment Projects (SRP's) onderwerp van onderzoek worden, bijvoorbeeld afgelegen plattelands-gemeenschappen die zijn gevestigd door staatsbedrijven en ondernemingen gespecialiseerd in de mijnbouw, landbouw en bosbouw. We adviseren om meer vergelijkend onderzoek te doen naar de governance van SRP's en de invloed daarvan op gedwongen verhuizers uit verschillende regio's en steden in heel China.

Onze onderzoeksresultaten zijn mogelijk bruikbaar voor de nationale en lokale overheid om de bestaande problemen in SRP's te onderkennen, zoals de discrepantie tussen de *scope* van een SRP en de verwachtingen van bewoners, de onwetendheid met betrekking tot de uiteenlopende behoeften van de betrokken bewoners, en de onzekerheden en daarmee samenhangende negatieve invloed op de bewoners met betrekking tot de uitvoering van het project. Wij adviseren lokale overheden om rekening te houden met de fysieke, sociale, economische en psychologische gevolgen van stedelijke vernieuwing op bewoners. Ons onderzoek wijst er met name op dat lokale overheden het compensatiebeleid, dat het meest relevant is voor de gedwongen verhuizers, zorgvuldig dienen vorm te geven. De criteria voor compensatie moeten uiteenlopende behoeften van gedwongen verhuizers met betrekking tot huisvesting afdekken, waaronder de grootte van de woning, de aanwezigheid van openbare en commerciële voorzieningen, alsmede passende werkgelegenheid. Lokale overheden moeten beter investeren in de sociaaleconomische situatie en gezinssituatie van de betrokken bewoners voordat de stedelijke vernieuwing en gedwongen verhuizing plaatsvinden, aangezien de behoeften en verwachtingen van verschillende huishoudens met betrekking tot stedelijke vernieuwing ook sterk uiteen kunnen lopen.

Samenvatting referenties

Fried, M. (1963) Grieving for a lost home, in: L. J. Duhl (Ed.) The Urban Condition, pp. 151–171 (New York: Basic Books).

Goetz, Edward G. (2013). Too Good to be True? The Variable and Contingent Benefits of Displacement and Relocation among Low-Income Public Housing Residents. Housing Studies 28 (2):235-252. doi: 10.1080/02673037.2013.767884.

Goetz Edward & Chapple Karen (2010) You gotta move: advancing the debate on the record of dispersal, Housing Policy Debate, 20(2), 209-236.

Higgins, E. T., & Stangor, C. (1988). A" change-of-standard" perspective on the relations among context, judgment, and memory. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 54(2), 181.

Livingston, M., Bailey, N. & Kearns, A. (2010) Neighbourhood attachment in deprived areas: evidence from the north of England, Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 2010 (25), pp.409–427.

Manzo, L.C., Kleit, R.G. & Couch, D. (2008) "Moving Three Times Is Like Having Your House on Fire Once": The Experience of Place and Impending Displacement among Public Housing Residents. Urban Studies, 45(9), pp. 1855-1878.

Oakley, D., Ruel, E., & Wilson, G. E. (2008). A choice with no options: Atlanta public housing residents' lived experiences in the face of relocation. Atlanta: Georgia State University.

Popkin, S. J., Galster, G. C., Temkin, K., Herbig, C., Levy, D. K., & Richer, E. K. (2003). Obstacles to desegregating public housing: Lessons learned from implementing eight consent decrees. Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, 22(2), 179-199.

Popkin, S.J., Levy, D.K., Harris, L.E., Comey, J., Cunningham M.K., & Buron, L.F. (2004) The HOPE VI Program: What about the residents? Housing Policy Debate, 15(2), pp. 385-414.

Popkin, S. J. (2006). No simple solutions: Housing CHA's most vulnerable families. Northwestern Journal of Law and Social Policy, 1, 148-166

Posthumus, H. & Kleinhans, R. (2014) Choice within limits: how the institutional context of forced relocation affects tenants' housing searches and choice strategies, Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 29 (1), pp.105–122.

Qian, Junxi, and Shenjing He. 2012. Rethinking social power and the right to the city amidst China's emerging urbanism. Environment and Planning A 44 (12):2801-2816. doi: 10.1068/a44373.
Vale, L. J. (1997) Empathological Places: residents' ambivalence towards remaining in public housing, Journal of Planning Education and Research, 16(3), pp.159-175.
Weinstein, Liza, and Xuefei Ren. 2009. The changing right to the city: urban renewal and housing rights in globalizing Shanghai and Mumbai. City & Community 8 (4):407-432.

1 Introduction

§ 1.1 Urban redevelopment and forced relocation in China

Urban China has witnessed rapid urban (re)development since the 1980s, which is featured by the forced relocation of millions of residents and large-scale demolition of old neighbourhoods, such as the old inner city neighbourhoods, danwei communities or urban villages (He et al., 2010; Liu and Wu, 2006). Compared to urban redevelopment programmes in the USA and Western Europe, the scale and numbers of affected residents and neighbourhoods demolished in China is substantial. For instance, between 2008 and 2012, about 12.6 million households were involved in the national Shantytown Redevelopment Projects (SRPs) (MOHURD, 2013), which aim to improve the living conditions of low-income residents and to stimulate the depressed housing market. Their dwellings were demolished by local governments and they were forced to move to relocation neighbourhoods established by local governments, or to purchase dwellings elsewhere within the city, assisted by monetary compensation from local governments. There is still more to come. In 2013, the central state has triggered the second round of large-scale SRPs. It was estimated that approximately 10 million households will be affected by this second round (Li *et al*., 2017a; The State Council of PRC, 2013). Such extensive residential redevelopment projects have resulted in tremendous social, economic and physical changes in urban areas, parallel to the emergence of massive numbers of relocatees.

Compared with the sheer numbers of affected residents in China, the research on the experiences and perceptions of residents involved in forced relocation and urban redevelopment is still limited. Previous research in China often takes urban redevelopment and forced relocation as a single event and mostly targets the post-relocation situation (Day and Cervero, 2010; Fang, 2006; Gilroy, 2012; He and Liu, 2013; Hu *et al*., 2015). In addition, some studies and news reports have shown the conflicts and tensions between relocatees and local governments or developers from a macro-, meso- or political-economic perspective (He, 2012; Hin and Xin, 2011; Qian and He, 2012; Sichuan News, 2009; Weinstein and Ren, 2009), which gives an impression that the role of residents in redevelopment projects is always passive. On the one hand, this might reflect wider experiences, since residents in declining neighbourhoods often have limited resources and rights to influence the

redevelopment process in order to maximise their own benefits (He, 2012; Shin, 2016). On the other hand, however, this impression can lead to the ignorance of the active role that relocatees may play before and during the process of urban redevelopment and forced relocation; an active role which may be revealed by their behaviours and perceptions regarding their original neighbourhoods, the neighbourhood redevelopment and forced relocation as well as their choices during this process (Ho, 2013; Shi and Zhu, 2013).

In particular, different residents with different perceptions and neighbourhood experiences can have different coping strategies, which means that a seemingly similar intervention (urban redevelopment and forced relocation) is likely to be experienced in various ways by different residents (Kleinhans, 2003; Kleinhans and Van der Laan Bouma-Doff 2008; Posthumus and Kleinhans, 2014). For instance, various forms of neighbourhood decline, such as crime, social disorder or physical environmental deterioration, often have a negative influence on residents' perceived quality of life, which can trigger some residents to move out as shown for the United States, United Kingdom and the Netherlands (Feijten and van Ham, 2009; Livingston *et al*., 2010; Vale,1997). Forced relocation might be an opportunity for improvement for those who want to move in the context of redevelopment, by using the relative advantages offered by relocation compensation schemes (Kleinhans and Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008). However, other residents, especially those who are deprived (e.g. with low-incomes, unemployed or age-related diseases), might feel disrupted if they are highly dependent on their neighbourhoods in various ways (e.g. closeness to job opportunities, cheap rent, and social networks) (Day and Cervero, 2010; Fried, 1963). In addition, some residents may feel increasingly ambivalent facing forced relocation as they may have both positive and negative experiences in their neighbourhoods which might make it difficult to evaluate the negative and positive influences of urban redevelopment and forced relocation before they actually relocate. Similarly, in China, the effects of forced relocation on relocatees during and after urban redevelopment projects are diverse and not necessarily negative. While several scholars have blamed large-scale property-led restructuring projects in China for causing displacement of low-income residents (Gong, 2012; He, 2012; He and Wu, 2007; La Grange and Pretorius, 2016;), other studies have demonstrated real improvements in relocatees' (perceived) living conditions after relocation (Li and Song, 2009, Wu, 2004a, 2004b; Xia and Zhu, 2013).

Driven by the above concerns, this thesis provides a systematic overview and in-depth research of the influence of urban redevelopment and forced relocation on affected residents, by focusing on their pre-relocation perceptions and behaviours and by investigating their neighbourhood experiences with regard to social, economic, physical and psychological aspects. The research takes the state-led urban redevelopment projects in Shenyang as a case study to provide a comprehensive

understanding of residents' experiences in the Chinese context. Shenyang is considered as a pioneer of SRPs in China, and the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of PRC (MOHURD) has promoted the 'Shenyang Mode' of urban redevelopment nationally due to its success on SRPs (Shenyang Daily, 2016). In particular, the thesis focuses on the complex and dynamic nature of homeowners' lived experiences in declining neighbourhoods that will be target areas of SRPs. Contrary to the majority of existing research, this thesis investigates the pre-demolition stage, i.e., the stage when residents have not yet moved out of their neighbourhoods, but have been informed that their neighbourhoods are going to be demolished due to SRPs.

Therefore, the **main aim** of the thesis is to gain a deeper understanding of how forced relocation and urban redevelopment affect residents of declining neighbourhoods in Shenyang, in terms of their pre-relocation neighbourhood perceptions and behaviours. Section 1.2 provides a theoretical background with regard to residents' overall experiences with urban redevelopment and forced relocation in the Chinese context. In section 1.3, the research questions are presented. Section 1.4 describes the research area – Shenyang, a city in Northeast China. Section 1.5 discusses the data and methods used in the thesis. The last section presents the outline of this thesis.

§ 1.2 Forced relocation: a special mode of residential mobility

Urban redevelopment characterized by neighbourhood demolition and forced relocation, has been taken as an approach by national and local governments to combat poverty or minority concentration, social disorder, physical neighbourhood declines etc. (Goetz, 2011, 2015; Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013; Lelévrier, 2013; Uitermark et al., 2007). However, by investigating the influence of urban redevelopment on residents at the pre- and post- redevelopment stage, many questions arise about to what extent forced relocation can lead to negative and positive outcomes for residents in the context of such state-led neighbourhood redevelopment (Goetz, 2011; Oakley *et al*., 2008; Popkin *et al*., 2004). Neighbourhood demolition and residential forced relocation have been criticized for causing various negative impacts on disadvantaged social groups (Brown & Perkins, 1992; Fried, 2000; Manzo *et al*., 2008). Moreover, the affected residents are often regarded as being passively involved in the redevelopment (He, 2012; Lees, 2012). To some extent, this is related to the fact that the power and influence of affected residents on the redevelopment process is relatively limited, compared to other stakeholders such as the developers, governors or planners (Shin, 2016). However, other researchers have pointed out that affected

residents also develop constructive coping strategies in the redevelopment process (see e.g. Posthumus and Kleinhans, 2014; Weinstein and Ren 2009). Some studies have found that those who feel in control or positive about forced relocation may end up more satisfied with their new dwelling. It also occurs that some relocatees perceive forced relocation as a chance to improve their housing situation because compensation may effectively increase their options on the local housing market (Allen, 2000, 450; Kleinhans, 2003, 487).

The agency of residents during forced relocation stimulates us to take forced relocation as a specific example of residential mobility, which provides us a lens to investigate the influence of urban redevelopment on residents with regard to their moving intentions, anticipated moving behaviour and housing choices (Li, *et al*., 2016). Similarly to voluntary movers, residents involved in forced relocation have different socio-economic statuses and household features and can therefore have different neighbourhood experiences (Freeman, 2008; Oakley, *et al*., 2008; Popkin, *et al*., 2000; Popkin, *et al*., 2005). In particular, for deprived residents, their moving behaviour and coping strategies during forced relocation may be affected by people-place interactions, in particular their satisfaction with, attachment to and dependence on their neighbourhoods (Brown & Perkins, 1992; Fried, 2000; Manzo, *et al*., 2008). Deprived residents often lack resources, information and authority to gain better housing. Forced relocation and neighbourhood redevelopment might impose negative impacts on them for several reasons. First, forced relocation can disrupt their neighbourhood-based living strategies that they have developed over the long term of residence, which are essential to relieve their life constraints (Fried, 1963; Vale, 1997; Manzo, 2008). Second, some research finds that it is very likely for deprived residents to be relocated into neighbourhoods with similar deprived situations as their former neighbourhoods, for example. with high poverty concentration rates (Bolt and van Kempen, 2010; Doff and Kleinhans, 2010; Massey, 2013; Goetz, 2011). Third, they can become the hard-to-house social groups, featured by difficulties to find dwellings that can meet their demands or to be rehoused on time, which can be related to reasons such as the strict relocation policy, their changing family and socio-economic situation during the rehousing process, or their limited ability to gain more information about better housing (Goetz, 2013; Popkin, *et al*., 2000; Popkin, *et al*., 2005).

The significance of the macro context should also be recognized. Goetz (2011, 2015) has put forward that the position of the target neighbourhood (e.g. the scale and location of the neighbourhoods within the city) and the affected residents (social-economic status and their access to social capital) within society affects to what extent urban redevelopment can achieve its 'primary' aim of solving neighbourhood problems. Urban redevelopment often includes both interventions targeting people (i.e., the residents) and places (neighbourhoods) (Owens, 2017). Therefore, not

only the features of place and people should be considered (e.g. physical, social and economic dimensions of neighbourhoods and demographic and socio-economic statuses of residents), but also their positions within the macro context, i.e., the city, regional and national scale. In fact, urban redevelopment often involves a combination of aims at the same spatial scale but of different dimensions (social, economic or physical) or aims related to different administrative and spatial scales (such as national, regional or city level). These dimensions and scales are closely related to interests of different stakeholders involved in the process: governments, residents, and developers (Goetz, 2011; He, 2012; Li *et al*., 2017a). For instance, some scholars criticize the fact that urban redevelopment serving social mixing policies often turns out to be more related to the economic development of the city rather than the benefits of the affected residents, which might lead to displacement and disruption of disadvantaged social groups (Davidson, 2008; Goetz, 2011; Oakley *et al*., 2008).

Another issue that matters for how forced relocation and urban redevelopment can affect residents is the temporal nature of residents' experiences during the process. Generally, a redevelopment project consists of different stages with different periodical targets as it proceeds over time. For each redevelopment target at each stage, it involves different stakeholders and social groups (Li *et al*., 2016). For instance, the targets at the before-demolition stage can be related to gain an overall idea of the redeveloped neighbourhoods such as the amount of the affected residents, areas and dwellings. The interaction between different stakeholders can vary in different stages as well. Also, the larger contexts that are closely related to relocatees' experiences, such as urban policies, housing market situation or household situations, may change as forced relocation proceeds (Goetz, 2013). In addition, the micro context i.e., the social, economic and physical situations of the affected residents themselves are also changing. Therefore, the perceptions and experiences of the residents are not necessarily static. During urban redevelopment and forced relocation, their moving intentions and (anticipated) moving behaviour can change.

In the Chinese context, the targeted areas for urban redevelopments are often declining neighbourhoods such as urban villages, danwei communities or old inner city neighbourhoods (see Table 1.1). Danwei communities were originally constructed by and affiliated to danwei such as state-owned enterprises (SOEs), collective-owned enterprises (COEs) government, departments or institutions to provide dwellings to their employees, who were therefore often socially, economically and physically dependent on the danwei. Urban villages are a traditional type of neighbourhood, in which the indigenous residents have lived for generations. Local residents living in urban villages have rural hukou (resident permits), and their land is collectively owned by all of the villagers. These neighbourhoods have been experiencing the temporal changes due to the economic reforms and market transition in China since 1978,

such as population turnover, social stratification and residential changes. Those who have more resources moving out, while those who are less mobile, due to poverty or ageing, remaining trapped (He *et al*., 2008). These neighbourhoods have increasingly become enclaves characterized by a migrant population of renters on the one hand, and homeowners in the aged or low-income categories, on the other (He *et al*., 2008). The homeowners remaining in these neighbourhoods are very likely to be the deprived social groups, especially for the many residents who were employees in *danwei* became unemployed due to the collapse of these companies (Wu, 2004c).

The impending forced relocation of residents in these neighbourhood confronts them with several challenges. First of all, housing access in current urban China is largely dependent on a household's income and status and whether people qualify for subsidized housing provided by the state or work units (Chen *et al*., 2014; Lee, 2000; Wang *et al*., 2012). Therefore, stayers in these declining neighbourhoods are, to a large extent, excluded from current housing provision system in China. They have to rely on state-led neighbourhood redevelopment projects, such as the SRPs, which focus on improving the living conditions of these deprived homeowners by strong governmental subsidies. Second, these declining neighbourhoods such as danwei communities, urban villages or old inner city neighbourhood lack adequate investment from local governments or the communities, and the homeowners themselves also lack the motivation for investing in their declining neighbourhoods because they are financially incapable and expect neighbourhood redevelopment in the near future, which would surely destroy their investment. Return on investment is not only important for the residents themselves. Redevelopment of declining neighbourhoods in China has been selective as it is mostly driven by market mechanisms (Liu and Wu, 2006). While declining neighbourhoods with high profit potentials (e.g. good location, large-scale and relatively clear homeownership structures) have become the priority for redevelopment, those neighbourhoods with high redevelopment costs and less economic profits (e.g. complicated homeownership structures, relatively small scale or poor location) have remained underdeveloped by both the governments and the market (Li *et al*., 2017a; Liu and Wu, 2006). Therefore, these residents are trapped in their declining neighbourhoods.

TABLE 1.1 Targeted neighbourhoods for demolition

	TRADITIONAL INNER-CITY NEIGHBOURHOOD	DANWEI COMMUNITY	URBAN VILLAGE	SUBURBAN VILLAGE
Owners	Inner-city citizens/ Local housing bureau	SOE or COE or their employees	Rural farmers	Rural farmers
Ownership of the land	Stated-owned land	Stated-owned land	Collectively owned land (by the villagers)	Collectively owned land (by the villagers)
Location	Inner-city centre	Old industrial area	Between inner-city centre and urban periphery	Urban periphery

Source: Summarized from authors' observation and the related literature such as He (2012), He and Wu (2007), Hin and Xin (2011), Liu et al. (2017), Ma (2012), Wu (2004a, 2004b).

During forced relocation in China, generally, local governments (sometimes with developers) need to compensate the affected residents through either one of two types of compensation: in-kind and monetary compensation. In-kind compensation means that relocatees will be offered alternative housing. Those who chose in-kind compensation may need to wait for a certain period of time before they can move into the relocation neighbourhood provided by local governments or the developers, which means that they need to find a temporary accommodation themselves to go through the phase between leaving their to-be demolished dwelling and their final relocation dwelling. Monetary compensation means that relocatees are given money for their dwellings, with which residents can relocate to anywhere they can afford. Again, the question is how residents in deprived neighbourhoods perceive and deal with the available forms of compensation, which will obviously affect the (perceived) outcome of the relocation.

§ 1.3 Research aim and objectives

As mentioned in section 1.1, the aim of the thesis is to gain a deeper understanding of the influence of urban redevelopment and its induced forced relocation on residents, by investigating their behavioural and emotional responses to the state-led urban redevelopment in Shenyang, a Chinese city. We focus on individual residents' experiences at the pre-demolition stage, i.e. their lived experiences in their original neighbourhoods and their perceptions about the forced relocation and urban redevelopments before they actually move out of their neighbourhoods. Specifically, we intended to explore their experiences from the perspective of people-place interactions with regard to their place attachment and potential for ageing in place experience in their original neighbourhoods. Each chapter has its own detailed objective:

The objective of chapter 2 is twofold: 1) to provide a literature review of existing research on the implications of forced relocation for residents in urban restructuring areas in China, and 2) to demonstrate the various dimensions of the experiences of relocatees during and after forced relocation in urban China from the household perspective. It explains the general perceptions and experiences of relocatees, especially homeowners, preceding, during and after urban redevelopment and forced relocation in China. This chapter intends to provide a systematic review and analysis of the existing findings about relocatees' experiences during urban redevelopment and forced relocation in China. It suggests a conceptual model, which shows the sequence of events that households will experience and the various factors that affect the experiences of relocatees at different stages of the relocation process. Based on the conceptual model, we are able to subsequently identify the gaps in the literature that should be addressed in future studies on this topic.

The objective of chapter 3 is to display how the state-led urban redevelopment projects are implemented in Shenyang and what this means to different stakeholders by revealing how different stakeholders interact with each other and how their roles have changed over time against the changing context. This chapter takes a large national-scale state-led urban redevelopment projects - Shantytown Redevelopment Projects (SRPs) in Shenyang, as case study to show how the interaction between and the roles of the central and local governments, developers and the residents are changing against the changing social, economic and institutional context.

Chapter 4 and 5 try to answer how the forced relocation and urban redevelopment affect the people-place interaction by focusing on residents' (people) lived experience in their neighbourhoods (place). The objective of chapter 4 is to investigate the lived experiences of homeowners in declining danwei communities that face demolition in Shenyang, China by highlighting: (1) aspects of the declining neighbourhoods that residents are attached to and why, (2) the ambivalence in their place attachment, and (3) the influence of the impending demolition and forced relocation on their place attachment.

The objective of chapter 5 is to better understand the lived experiences of older people in declining neighbourhoods, in particular how the impending neighbourhood demolition and forced relocation affect their perception of ageing in place, taking danwei communities and urban villages in Shenyang, China, as a case study.

§ 1.4 Shenyang, a typical old industrial city in Northeast China

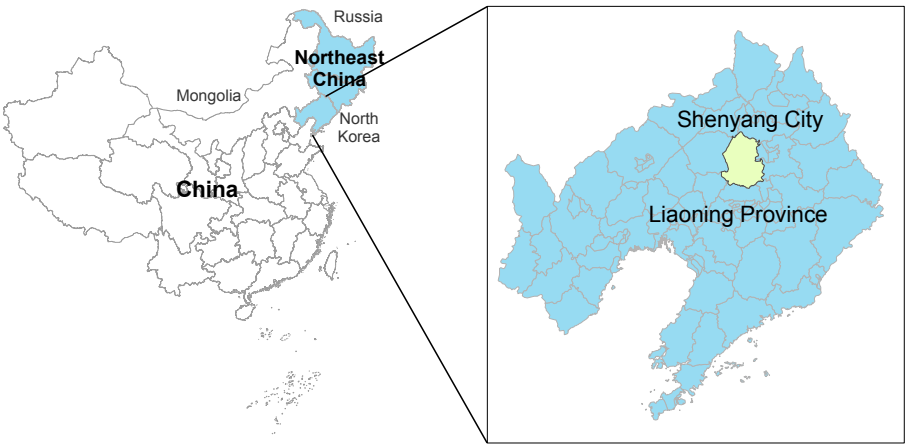


FIGURE 1.1 Location of Shenyang in China and Northeast Asia
Source: Authors

Most of the research on urban redevelopment in China focuses on eastern coastal cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou. Our case study is Shenyang in Northeast China, which has been the region's economic, political, transportation and cultural centre. Shenyang is geographically close to countries in Northeast Asia, including Russia, Japan, North Korean and Mongolia (Figure 1.1). It is the capital city of Liaoning Province and one of the 15 sub-provincial cities in China. Shenyang has a population of 5.25 million (SSB, 2014), making it the largest city in Northeast China and the 11th largest city in the whole country.

Shenyang has been playing a significant role in the industrial history of China, especially in the field of heavy and manufacturing industry. It has been a typical old industrial city, which is featured by large proportion of secondary industries, state-owned enterprises, industrial workers and resident in the danwei communities. It has been called the 'Ruhr of the East', as during the socialist era a comparatively completed heavy industrial system (e.g. manufacturing) has been established in Shenyang (Zhang and Li, 2014). Since the 1980s, China has started the economic reforms and market transition process. Since then, Shenyang has suffered from a major economic depression because of its maladjustment to the market economy, which is revealed through social-spatial changes in the urban area, featured by the emergence of a large number of unemployed workers and the decline of old neighbourhoods such as danwei communities. Below, the urban development history of Shenyang will be briefly explained.

§ 1.4.1 The cradle of modern industrial China

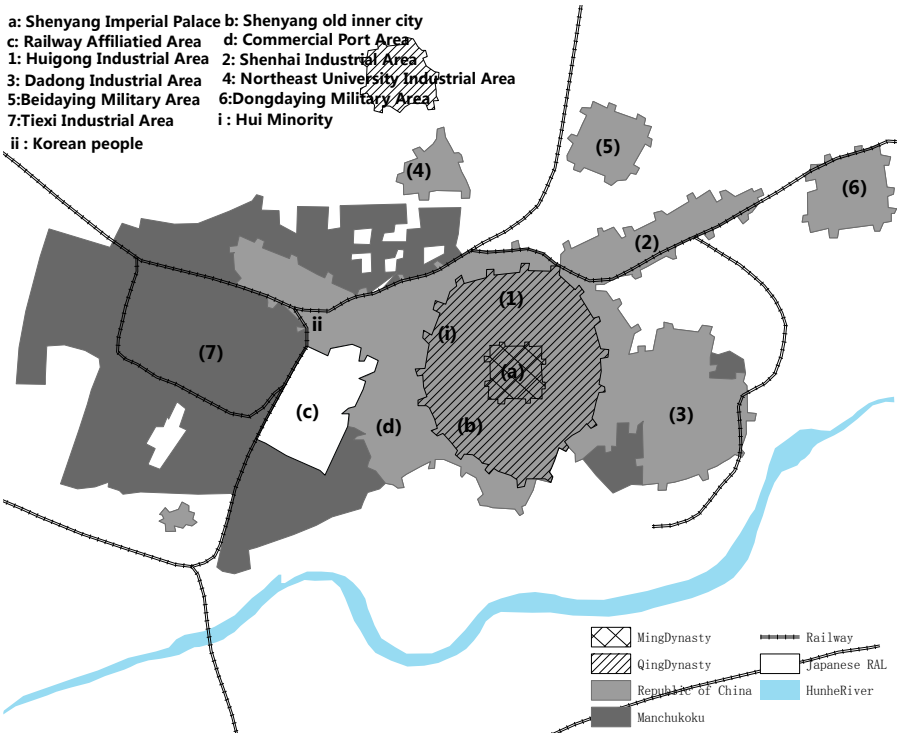


FIGURE 1.2 Spatial structure of Shenyang from 1920s to 1930s
Source: Adopted by the author based on Wang (2010), Wang and Dong (2010) and Sun (2012)

Before the foundation of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, Shenyang had been under the control of both the government of Republic of China and the Puppet Manchuria Regime supported by Japan for decades. These two political forces have significantly affected the industrial and the socio-spatial development of the city (Wang and Dong, 2010). As Figure 1.2 shows, the two forces tried to avoid conflicts with each other and located their factories and residential areas in different districts in Shenyang (Wang and Dong, 2010). Both the local governments of Republic of China and the Japanese government invested on the cities industries (e.g. manufactory and military industries). Japan ruled the Tiexi industrial district in the west part of Shenyang in 1938 (Figure 1.2 and 1.3). Many Japanese manufacturing companies such as the Sumitomo and Mitsubishi Groups established their factories in Tiexi district.

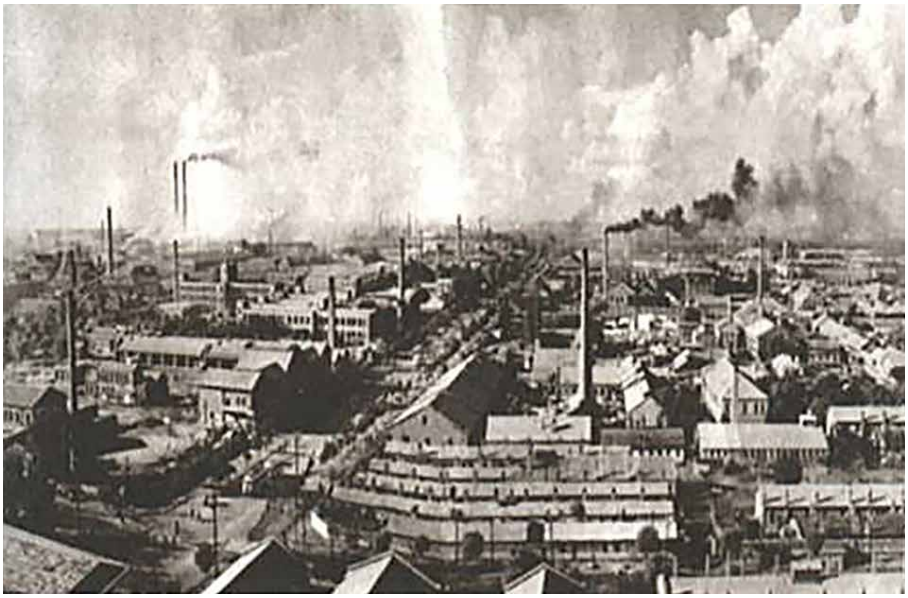


FIGURE 1.3 Urban landscape of Shenyang Tiexi District in 1930's
Source: Zhang (2014)

After 1949, the central state of China invested heavily in Shenyang, on the basis of the city's industrial legacies, such as the skilled workers, technologies, factories and manufacturing machines. After the foundation of the PRC, the Chinese government aimed to establish its modern industrial system. By 1957, the gross value output of the secondary industry in Shenyang was RMB 2.39 billion, which accounted for about 3% of the whole nation's gross value output of the secondary industry (Zhang, 2003). Shenyang was also the third largest industrial city in China during that period. The focus on the development of heavy industries has been further strengthened during the period 1958-1962, during which the Shenyang municipality put forward a new development strategy of the city as 'compressing heavy industry, enhancing light industry and prolonging service lines to agriculture.' (Zhang, 2003). As a result, just before the the beginning of economic reforms in China (around 1978), the secondary industry in Shenyang has accounted for more than 65% of the whole GDP, while tertiary industry only held 25% (SYB, 1992).

During the socialist era, state-owned enterprises (SOEs) has dominated the economy in Northeast China (Zhang, 2014). Ten thousands of workers were working in the SOEs. Employees from SOEs or COEs had accounted for almost 100% of the employees in Shenyang from the 1960s to the 1980s, while private sector firms only accounted for a very limited proportion of employment. By the end of the socialist era, about 70% of the households in Shenyang were living in dwellings that were affiliated to danwei

communities or the local governments. Meanwhile, only 10 % of the residents were purchasing housing from the private housing market (SSB, 1982). These figures not only show the significance of danwei on providing dwellings to the citizens, but also imply the underdevelopment of the commodity housing market and the suppressed housing needs of the households during the socialist era.

§ 1.4.2 The recession of Shenyang

Since 1978, the central state has initiated economic reforms, which are featured by the market transition and opening up policy in the field of economy (e.g. reforms of SOE management, fiscal revenue distribution, rural land management and agricultural production), public policies (e.g. reforms of urban housing, education and medical care), and foreign business trade. The emphasis for economic development has shifted to the south-eastern coastal areas (e.g. Shanghai, Beijing and Guangzhou). The heavy industry-oriented structure, aged SOEs' workers and other traditions in Northeast China have become heavy burdens for the transition of Northeast China towards the market economy. Shenyang has suffered severe decline in the economic, social and physical dimensions. For instance, from 1990 to 2015, Shenyang's GDP ranking among China's 36 largest cities has dropped from the 6th to the 16th place.

Old industrial areas occupied with large-scale SOEs and work-unit communities were also in serious recession. For example, by the end of the 1990s, many enterprises in the Tiexi old industrial area had an average leverage ratio of 90%, and an accumulated debt of RMB 26 billion (Zhang and Li, 2014). In addition, 90% of enterprises had partially or entirely stopped operation (Dong, 2007). Meanwhile, the unemployment problem became more severe. During the 1990s, 130.000 workers were laid off (accounting for 40% of all workers) in Tiexi old industrial area, the majority of whom do not have any secure pension fund or medical insurance (Zhang and Li, 2014). Social conflicts between the laid-off workers and the enterprises and/or local governments worsened, and social stability became an issue.

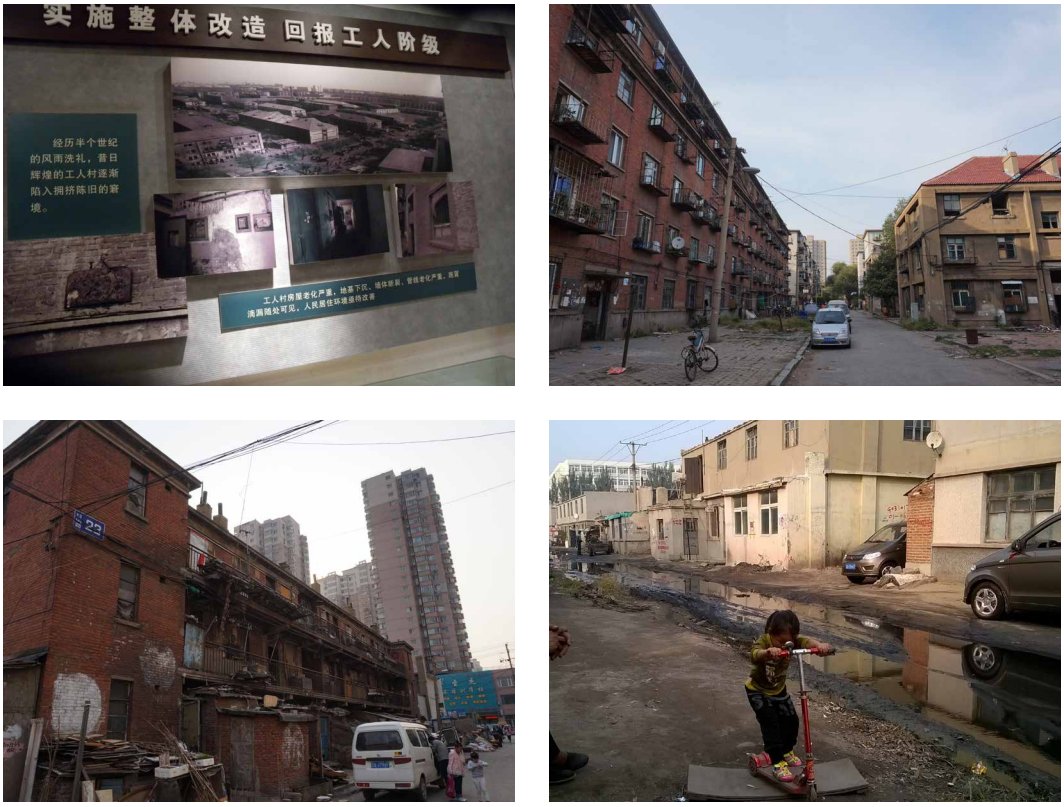


FIGURE 1.4 Some declining Danwei communities in Shenyang
Source: Authors

Danwei communities in the old industrial areas in Shenyang have experienced social and physical decline as well (Figure 1.4). For instance, the historically famous work-unit neighbourhood 'Tiexi Workers' Village' had sarcastically gained a reputation as the 'workers resort' around 2000 by the residents both within the workers' village and outside, because most of its residents became unemployed and spent their time with doing nothing(Liu, 2009). Shenyang's old industrial areas consisting of large-scale SOEs and danwei communities, which used to be the driving engine of the urban economy for decades, had become the city's 'problematic area' (Jin *et al*., 2006).

TOC

§ 1.4.3 Urban redevelopment: Shantytown Redevelopment Projects in Shenyang

Since the 1980s, Shenyang has seen some local state-initiated residential redevelopment projects (Guo and Sun, 2010). At the end of 1993, the first round of urban redevelopment had almost finished, and there were few shantytowns left in the two very inner city and central urban districts. In 2000, Shenyang municipality initiated a large-scale shantytown redevelopment project (SRP), and emphasized redeveloping shantytowns and land at market prices (Guo and Sun, 2010: 110). In 2003 the central government had initiated the "Revitalization of Northeast China Programme", aiming to boost the institutional, social and economic development in Northeast China via reforming SOEs, adjusting industrial structure, increasing job opportunities and improving urban environments (Jin *et al*., 2006). In 2005, the then Governor of Liaoning Province launched a provincial-wide SRP programme, incorporating SRPs into its provincial-level development strategy for the first time. Shenyang was encouraged by the policies of the provincial authority to implement larger-scale SRPs in the following two years (Guo and Sun, 2010), which involved about 130,000 households and accounted for almost 40% of the share of affected households in the Liaoning province (LNJST, 2008).

During the period 2005-2008, central government officials visited the relocation neighbourhoods of SRPs in Liaoning Province and spoke highly of the SRPs in Liaoning. SRPs were first mentioned by the central government in 2007, when it announced its national policy "Solve the housing problems of urban low-income social groups". However, from 2008 to 2013, Shenyang launched few SRPs because there were hardly any shantytowns left in the inner city (Li *et al*., 2017a).

Since 2013, the central state has initiated the second round of SRPs. While the local authorities of Shenyang claimed that there were no shanties left, they enlarged the scope of their redevelopment into the urban periphery and neighbourhoods at undesirable housing market locations. During the most recent of SRPs (2014-2016), about 81,500 households were involved. The Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of PRC (MOHURD) has promoted the 'Shenyang mode' nationally due to its success on SRPs (Shenyang Daily, 2016). Shenyang is therefore a pioneer of SRPs in China and a very interesting case study for investigating the experiences of relocatees' during SRPs over time. Table 1.2 shows the housing conditions in Shenyang in 2010, at the time of the second round of SRPs. There are still thousands of households living in dwellings that lack basic facilities such as tap water and private bathroom and toilet. Also, about 177,061 households are living in lower-story buildings of all buildings in Shenyang. These low-story buildings, which lack basic facilities, are very likely to become the targets for future SRPs.

TABLE 1.2 Housing conditions in Shenyang (2010)

	HOUSING FACILITIES				FLOORS	BUILDING YEARS
	No private Kitchen	No tap water	No Bathroom	No Private Toilet	1-6 floors	Before 1980
Absolute Number (households)	5,913	31,510	114,426	25,422	177,061	23,582

Source: Based on the Population Census Data in Shenyang 2010 (SSB, 2010).

Due to the reform of the national housing policy, Shenyang's housing provision structure also has changed. Households and individuals of different occupations live in diverse housing types. With the development of the commodity housing market, about 39% of all households lives in commodity housing market nowadays, which is much higher than the almost 10% in 1982, while only about 27% of all households now living in dwellings that used to be part of danwei communities or the housing bureau of local governments (SSB, 2010).

In parallel with the large-scale urban redevelopment in Shenyang, the built up area of Shenyang has been experiencing rapid expansion. Shenyang's urban space has sprawled greatly from 261.4 km^2 in 1996 to 480 km^2 in 2010, with an average annual growth rate of almost 16% (Sun *et.al*, 2011). Meanwhile, Shenyang's urban population has increased sharply as well, which has boosted the sharp increase of its urban housing area from 15.28 million square meters in 1978 to 140.24 million square metres in 2010 (SYB, 1992; SSB, 2010). Urban expansion, featured by the establishment of high-tech industrial zones and infrastructure development, has enabled many villages at the urban periphery to turn into established urban areas in Shenyang. The agriculture land in these villages have been gradually transformed into the industrial land use. Many villagers work and even live in urban areas of Shenyang. At the same time, many migrants from rural areas have moved into these villages for cheap housing. Therefore, some villagers stay in the neighbourhoods and make a living by running small business within the villages, such as supermarkets, restaurants, or renting out their vacant rooms to the migrants from rural areas. However, the lack of investment from local governments, and the construction of the illegal buildings of the villagers themselves for rental incomes or to maximize the compensation they can get during urban redevelopment have led to severe neighbourhood decline (Figure 1.5). These villages therefore together with the declining danwei communities have become targets for SRP-related redevelopment in the near future.

The illegal construction on the second floor and the dark corridor because of the illegal construction

The main streets of a Urban village in Shenyang

FIGURE 1.5 Severe neighbourhood decline
Source: Authors

§ 1.5 Research population, data and methods

This thesis investigates the influence of urban redevelopment on the residents at the pre-demolition/pre-relocation phase. The research population consists of homeowners. The literature from the US and Europe almost exclusively concerns redevelopment of public or social housing, while redevelopment in Chinese cities targets neighbourhoods with private housing and homeownership. This difference in ownership in redevelopment areas is bound to have major implications for the impact of impending relocation on residents. Another key focus of the research is on residents who are in the pre-demolition stage during the forced relocation process. At this stage, these residents are informed by the staff from local governments about the impending redevelopment in their neighbourhoods. They have not yet moved out of the neighbourhoods and have not yet reached an agreement with the local governments on the type and amount of compensation. Currently, only a small body of research focuses on the influence of urban redevelopment on residents' place attachment in the pre-demolition and pre-relocation phase (Manzo, 2014; Oakley *et al*., 2008; Tester *et al*., 2011; Tester and Wingfield, 2013). The majority of research deals with the post-relocation stage. This means that there is a lack of knowledge about an important phase - pre-demolition stage - of urban redevelopment (Kearns and Mason, 2013), which limits our capacity to develop a deeper understanding and create an overview of the overall impact of redevelopment on residents, especially in relation to issues such as time and context (see also Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013).

This thesis sets out to reveal the coping strategies of the residents facing urban redevelopment and forced relocation by specifically focusing on their perceptions, behaviours and lived experiences. In order to gain a deeper understanding of their opinions and emotions and also due to the constraints of time, staff capacity and finance, we adopted a qualitative in-depth interview approach with the affected residents, rather than using a large-scale survey. Therefore, the data used in this thesis come from semi-structured, in-depth interviews with affected homeowners who live in declining danwei communities and urban villages (Figure 1.4 and 1.5) at the pre-demolition stage. Another target group for interviews were experts (governors, scholars, planners and developers and experts) to gain in-depth knowledge about how the policies and projects are implemented against the changing social, economic and institutional context. In total, 81 interviews were conducted, including 17 interviews with scholars, governors, planners and developers, and 64 interviews with residents. Table 1.3 shows the basic information of the experts.

TABLE 1.3 Basic information of professional respondents

ID	PROFESSIONAL ROLE	FUNCTION OF DEPARTMENT	ID	PROFESSIONAL ROLE	FUNCTION OF DEPARTMENT
13	Governor	SRPs + Land Expropriation Department	10	Developer	Private Real Estate Company
2	Governor	SRPs + Land Expropriation Department	11	Developer	Private Real Estate Company
3	Governor	Land Expropriation Department	12	Expert	Land Expropriation Company
4	Governor	Land Expropriation Department	13	Expert	Land Expropriation Company
5	Governor	Land Expropriation Department	14	Expert	Scholar
6	Governor	Land Expropriation Department	15	Expert	Scholar
7	Governor	Land Expropriation Department	16	Expert	Scholar
8	Planner	Urban Planning and Design Institute	17	Expert	Scholar
9	Developer	Private Real Estate Company			

TABLE 1.4 Basic information of the resident respondents

CATEGORY	GENDER		AGE (YEAR)				LENGTH OF RESIDENCE (YEAR)				
	Male	Female	30-60	60-80	≥80s	Unknown	<20	20-40	40-60	≥60	Unknown
Absolute Number	31	33	21	28	4	11	8	22	17	9	8
Proportion	48%	52%	33%	44%	6%	17%	13%	34%	27%	14%	13%

Among the interviews with residents, 33 were conducted in danwei communities and 31 were conducted in urban villages. Table 1.4 displays the basic descriptive statistics of the resident respondents. Most of them have been living in their declining neighbourhoods for more than 20 years. The interviewed residents who are older than 55 are usually retired and can get a pension ranging around from 1800-3000 RMB/ month (about € 231-385 per month). In 2015, the annual average disposable income for the lowest and lower income households are 14679 RMB (about € 1931) and 23944 RMB (about € 3150) respectively (SSB, 2016). However, the average selling price of commercialized residential dwellings is 6416 RMB (about € 844) per square meter (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2015). In general, it is relatively difficult for these lowest – and lower income residents to afford the dwellings.

Those respondents who are aged between 30 and 55 either have part-time jobs or are self-employed. All of them are homeowners. Many renters had moved out or were moving out. These homeowners can rent out rooms to migrants and earn around 200 RMB (about € 26.3) per month per room. Many young and more affluent residents have moved out of these neighbourhoods. The stayers are mostly middle-aged residents with a low or middle income. There are also many migrants living in these neighbourhoods.

Interviews with governors, developers, planners and experts were recorded by making notes. For in-depth interviews, the issue of trust between the interviewer and interviewee is always a problem in the Chinese context. The expert interviewees only accepted the interviews when there was no recording, which made them comfortable to talk and express their ideas. The questions posed to governors, planners, developers and scholars focused mainly on (1) how the SRPs in Shenyang were implemented in terms of financial issues, land expropriation, and governance arrangements; (2) how and why different actors took part in the SRPs; (3) the interrelationships between different stakeholders and implementation problems.

The interviews of residents, with the exception of four (because the author did not get permission to record the interview), were recorded and subsequently transcribed verbatim, enabling content analysis of the transcriptions. All the interviews were conducted face-to-face using a semi-structured interview schedule which varied according to type of respondent. During the interviews with residents, questions were asked about their perceptions of the SRPs, impending demolition and neighbourhood changes, their family and moving history, their moving intentions, and lived experiences with regard to their residential satisfaction, place attachment and ageing issues. Before using Atlas.ti to analyse the transcriptions, the notes and recordings were read and listened to several times. To guarantee the anonymity of respondents in the analysis, the quotes of residents are accompanied by gender, age category, and fictitious names. The quotes of scholars, governors, planners and developers are indicated by a number (to distinguish different respondents), their respective function and interviewing date.

The neighbourhood types in our research are danwei communities and urban villages. Table 1.5 and Figure 1.6 show the basic information and locations of the case study areas. Based on the SRP plans issued by the local governments and the assistance of acquaintances and interviewees, we were able to know and gain access to the neighbourhoods (i.e. danwei communities and urban villages) that are currently undergoing SRPs. Neighbourhood I-VI are danwei communities, which used to be affiliated to the state-owned manufacturing enterprises, government apparatus or state-owned farms. Neighbourhood VII and VIII are urban villages and nowadays mainly focus on farming activities and agriculture production. Shenyang is an old industrial city, so there are many danwei communities which were established during 1950s and 1960s ,which are the targets for urban redevelopment projects. Hence, we intend to focus on these declining danwei communities which are targeted for the redevelopments. We also focus on urban villages at urban periphery. Section 1.4 shows that these neighbourhoods area also experiencing physical decline and social change, which makes these villages become the target for SRPs.

TABLE 1.5 The information for the neighbourhoods

NEIGHBOURHOOD ID	HOUSEHOLD NUMBER	LOCATION	NEIGHBOURHOOD TYPE	RESPONDENTS NUMBER
I	Around 600	Urban area	Danwei	4
II	Around 70	Urban area	Danwei	2
III	Around 75	Urban area	Danwei	1
IV	Around 30	Urban area	Danwei	1
V	Around 150	Suburban area	Danwei	10
VI	Around 450	Suburban area	Danwei	15
VII	Estimated 30	Suburban area	Urban village	1
VIII	Around 1300	Suburban area	Urban village	30

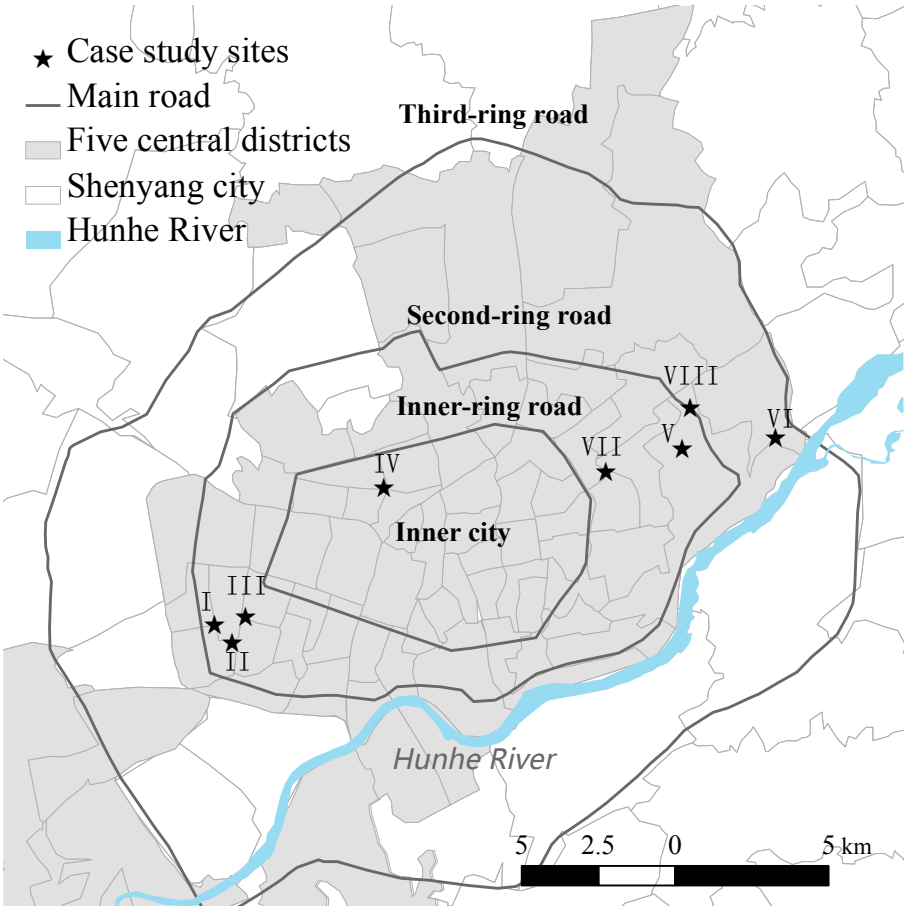


FIGURE 1.6 The locations of the case study area in Shenyang
Source: Authors

TOC

§ 1.6 The outline of the thesis

This thesis consists of a collection of academic papers (chapter 2-5) that have been (re-)submitted to or published in international, peer-reviewed scientific journals. Following these four chapters, Chapter 2 is a literature review chapter, in which we review and analyse the existing literature about the influence of urban redevelopment and forced relocation on residents of (deprived) neighbourhoods in the Chinese context. This chapter investigates existing literature on the basis of a conceptual framework developed for this thesis. In this chapter, we decompose the forced relocation process into three stages: the pre-demolition stage, the transitional stage and the post-relocation stage and summarize and analyse the social, economic, behavioural and psychological and physical experiences of the individual relocatees, as reported in the existing literature. Future research direction and gaps in current literature are also identified in this chapter.

Chapter 3 is a policy review chapter. This chapter aims to investigate how the state-led SRPs are implemented in Shenyang and what this means to different stakeholders by revealing how different stakeholders interact with each other, and how their roles have changed over time against the changing context. By analysing policy documents and the in-depth interviews with 17 experts and 64 resident respondents, we identified four key changes in the implementation of SRPs and the roles of the central and local governments, the developers and the residents. We also revealed the conflicts and consensus in their interactions with each other.

Chapter 4 is an empirical chapter based on 33 in-depth interviews with homeowners living in declining danwei communities. The chapter displays the influences of forced relocation on the place attachment of these stayed homeowners, by decomposing their place attachment and ambivalent lived experiences into the social, physical and economic dimensions. Further, the influences of the SRPs on their place attachment are explained.

Chapter 5 is also an empirical chapter, based on 54 in-depth interviews with older people (who are more than 50 years old and) currently living in danwei communities and urban villages. The chapter explores the influence of forced relocation and urban redevelopment on their perspective on ageing in place from the lens of (1) the meaning of home, (2) the living arrangement and the role of family (3) the strategies of remaining independence. The impact of the impending SRPs on older people's ageing in place experience are also discussed.

Chapter 6 is the final chapter of this thesis. It presents summaries of the preceding chapters and the conclusions of this study. This chapter also reflects upon the wider meaning and implications the empirical findings of this study, as well as the research design. The chapter concludes with policy implications and suggestions for further research.

References

Allen, T. (2000). Housing Renewal—Doesn't it Make You Sick?, *Housing Studies* 15 (3):443-461. doi: 10.1080/02673030050009276.

Bolt, G., & van Kempen R. (2010). Dispersal Patterns of Households who are Forced to Move: Desegregation by Demolition: A Case Study of Dutch Cities. *Housing Studies*, 25 (2):159-180.

Brown, B. & Perkins, D. D. (1992) Disruptions in place attachment, in: I. Altman and S. M. Low (Eds) Place Attachment, 279–304 (New York: Plenum).

Chen, J., Yang, Z. & Wang, YP. (2014). The New Chinese Model of Public Housing: A Step Forward or Backward? *Housing Studies*, 29(4), 534-550.

Davidson, M. (2008). Spoiled mixture: where does state-led positive gentrification end? *Urban Studies*, 45 (12), 2385-2405.

Day, Jennifer, & Robert Cervero. (2010). Effects of Residential Relocation on Household and Commuting Expenditures in Shanghai, China. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 34 (4), 762-788

Doff, W.., & Kleinhans R.(2010). Residential Outcomes of Forced Relocation: Lifting a Corner of the Veil on Neighbourhood Selection. *Urban Studies*, 48 (4), 661-680.

Dong F.(2007) .The Path and Experience of Shenyang Tiexi District's Revitalisation. *Macroeconomic Management*. 7:67-69.

Fang, Y. (2006). Residential Satisfaction, Moving Intention and Moving Behaviours: A Study of Redeveloped Neighbourhoods in Inner-City Beijing. *Housing Studies,* 21 (5), 671-694.

Feijten, P. & van Ham, M. (2009). Neighbourhood Change... Reason to Leave? *Urban Studies* 46(10), pp.2103-2122.

Freeman, L. (2008). Comment on 'The eviction of critical perspectives from gentrification research'. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 32(1), 186-191.

Fried, M. (1963). Grieving for a lost home, in: L. J. Duhl (Ed.) The Urban Condition, pp. 151–171 (New York: Basic Books).

Fried, M. (2000). Continuities and discontinuities of place, Journal of Environmental Psychology, 20 (3), pp. 193–205.

Gilroy, R. (2012). Physical threats to older people's social worlds: findings from a pilot study in Wuhan, China. Environment and Planning A, 44 (2):458-476.

Goetz, E. G. (2011). Where have all the towers gone? The dismantling of public housing in US cities. Journal of Urban Affairs, 33(3), 267-287.

Goetz, E. G. (2013). Too Good to be True? The Variable and Contingent Benefits of Displacement and Relocation among Low-Income Public Housing Residents. Housing Studies 28 (2):235-252.

Goetz, E.G. (2015). From Breaking Down Barriers to Breaking Up Communities: The Expanding Spatial Strategies of Fair Housing Advocacy. Urban Affair Reviews, 51(6): 820 –842.

Gong, H. (2012). The research on differentiation of grouping order in re-settlement community- resettlement community in J city in Northeast of China as example. Master's degree master's thesis, Jilin University.

Guo, Y. & Sun, G. (2010). Century changes-spatially concentrated urban shantytown redevelopment in Liaoning, Beijing: The History of the Communist Party of China Press.

He, S. J. , & Wu. F. L. (2007). Socio-spatial impacts of property-led redevelopment on China's urban neighbourhoods. Cities 24 (3):194-208. doi: 10.1016/j.cities.2006.12.001.

He, S. J., Webster, C., Wu, F. L., & Liu, Y. T.(2008) Profiling urban poverty in a Chinese City, the case of Nanjing. Applied Spatial Analysis and Policy, 1(3), pp. 193-214.

He, S. J., Wu, F., Webster, C., & Liu, Y. (2010) Poverty Concentration and Determinants in China's Urban Low-income Neighbourhoods and Social Groups. International journal of urban and regional research, 34(2), pp. 328-349.
He, S. J. jing. (2012). Two waves of gentrification and emerging rights issues in Guangzhou, China. Environment and Planning A, 44 (12):2817-2833.
He, S.J., & Liu, Z.. (2013). A follow-on study on the impact of urban redevelopment on local residents induced by the Asian Games: an investigation in the three affected communities in Guangzhou. [In Chinese] Geographical Research 32 (3):243-275.
Hin, L. L., & Xin L. (2011). Redevelopment of urban villages in Shenzhen, China – An analysis of power relations and urban coalitions. Habitat International 35 (3):426-434. doi: 10.1016/j.habitatint.2010.12.001.
Ho, C. Y.. (2013). Bargaining demolition in China: A practice of distrust. Critique of Anthropology 33 (4):412-428. doi: 10.1177/0308275x13501902.
Hu, Y., Hooimeijer, P., Bolt, G., & Sun, D. Q. (2015). Uneven compensation and relocation for displaced residents: The case of Nanjing. Habitat International 47:83-92.
Kearns, A. & Mason, P. (2013). Defining and Measuring Displacement: Is Relocation from Restructured Neighbourhoods Always Unwelcome and Disruptive? Housing Studies,
28(2), pp.177-204.
Kleinhans, R. (2003). Displaced but still Moving Upwards in the Housing Career? Implications of Forced Residential Relocation in the Netherlands. Housing Studies, 18 (4):473-499.
Kleinhans, R. & Kearns, A. (2013). Neighbourhood restructuring and residential relocation: Towards a balanced perspective on relocation processes and outcomes. Housing Studies, 28(2), 163-176.
Kleinhans, R., and Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, W. (2008). On Priority and Progress: Forced Residential Relocation and Housing Chances in Haaglanden, the Netherlands. Housing Studies 23 (4):565-587. doi: 10.1080/02673030802101641.
Jin F.J., Zhang P. Y. , Fan, J. et al.. (2006). Study on Revitalization and Sustainable Development Strategies of Northeast China. Beijing:The Commercial Press.
La Grange, A., & Pretorius, F.. (2016). State-led gentrification in Hong Kong. Urban Studies 53 (3):506-523.
Lee, J. (2000) From Welfare Housing to Home Ownership: The Dilemma of China's Housing Reform. Housing Studies, 15(1):61-76.
Lees, L. (2012). The geography of gentrification: Thinking through comparative urbanism. Progress in Human Geography, 36(2): 155-171.
Lelévrier, C. (2013). Social mix neighbourhood policies and social interaction: The experience of newcomers in three new renewal developments in France. Cities, 35: 409-416.
Li, S. M., & Song, Y. L. Song. (2009). Redevelopment, displacement, housing conditions, and residential satisfaction: a study of Shanghai. Environment and Planning A 41 (5):1090-1108. doi: 10.1068/a4168.
Li, X., van Ham, M., & Kleinhans, R. (2016). Understanding the Experiences of Relocatees During Forced Relocation in Chinese Urban Restructuring (No. 10140). IZA Discussion Papers.
Li, X., Kleinhans, R., & van Ham, M. (2017a). Shantytown redevelopment projects: State-led redevelopment of declining neighbourhoods under market transition in Shenyang, China. Cities. Cities,73:106-116.
Liu Y.J. (2009). Discussing the Transformation and Revitalization of the Old Industrial Base by Analyzing the Industrial Development History of Shenyang Tiexi District[D].Changchun ： Northeast Normal University.
Liu, Y.T., & Wu, F.L. (2006) Urban poverty neighbourhoods: Typology and spatial concentration under China's market transition, a case study of Nanjing. Geoforum, 37(4) :610-626.
Liu, Y. Q.qi, Wu, F.L. Liu, Y. et al. (2017). Changing neighbourhood cohesion under the impact of urban redevelopment: a case study of Guangzhou, China. Urban Geography 38 (2): 266-290.
Livingston, M., Bailey, N. & Kearns, A. (2010) Neighbourhood attachment in deprived areas: evidence from the north of England, Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 2010 (25) : 409–427.
LNJST (2008) The successful practise of The Scientific outlook for development: The essence of Shanty town redevelopment, Shenyang: Liaoning People's Publishing House.
Ma, J.. (2012). The study on Farmers' attitude and behaviour of different relocation models. Master's Degree master's thesis, Dongbei University of Finance and Economics.
Manzo, L.C., Kleit, R.G. & Couch, D. (2008) "Moving Three Times Is Like Having Your House on Fire Once": The Experience of Place and Impending Displacement among Public Housing Residents. Urban Studies, 45(9) : 1855-1878.

Manzo, L.C. (2014) On uncertain ground: being at home in the context of public housing redevelopment, International Journal of Housing Policy. 14(4) : 389-410.
Massey, D. S. (2013). Inheritance of poverty or inheritance of place? The emerging consensus on neighborhoods and stratification.
MOHURD. (2013) Jie du'Guowuyuan Jiakuai Peng-hu-qu Gaizao Gongzuo de Yijian (Decoding the suggestions on accelerating the redevelopment of the shantytowns from the state council). Available at http://www.gov.cn/zwhd/2013-07/12/content_2445702.htm.
National Bureau of Statistics of China, (2015, 2016) http://data.stats.gov.cn/easyquery.htm?cn=E0105&zb=A03&reg=210100&sj=2015
Oakley, D., Ruel, E., & Wilson, G. E. (2008). A choice with no options: Atlanta public housing residents' lived experiences in the face of relocation. Atlanta: Georgia State University.
Owens, A. (2017). How Do People-Based Housing Policies Affect People (and Place)?. Housing Policy Debate, 27(2) : 266-281.
Popkin, S. J., Buron, L. F., Levy, D. K., et al. (2000). The Gautreaux Legacy: What Might Mixed-Income and Dispersal Strategies Mean for the Poorest Public Housing Tenants?. Housing Policy Debate, 11(4) : 911-942.
Popkin, S.J., Levy, D.K., Harris, L.E., et al.. (2004). The
HOPE VI Program: What about the residents? Housing Policy Debate, 15(2) : 385-414.
Popkin, S. J., Cunningham, M. K., & Burt, M. (2005). Public housing transformation and the hard-to-house. Housing Policy Debate, 16(1) : 1-24.
Posthumus, H., & Kleinhans R. (2014). Choice within limits: how the institutional context of forced relocation affects tenants' housing searches and choice strategies. Journal of Housing and the Built Environment 29 (1):105-122. doi: 10.1007/s10901-013-9353-6.
Qian, J.X., and He S. J.. (2012). Rethinking social power and the right to the city amidst China's emerging urbanism. Environment and Planning A 44 (12):2801-2816. doi: 10.1068/a44373.
Shenyang Daily (2016) SRPS –Penggai Shenyang moshi quanguo jiaoxiang ('Shenyang Mode' becomes well-known national wide), available at http://news.syd.com.cn/system/2016/11/03/011217153.shtml
Shenyang Statistic Bureau. (1982, 2010). The Population Census Data of Shenyang, http://www.sysinet.gov.cn/
Shenyang Year Book. (1992). Beijing: China Statistics Press.
Shi, J. G.-gang, and Jie, Z.. (2013). Behaviour of relocatees from a game view.[In Chinese] Urban Problems (4):72-77.
Shin, H. B. (2016). Economic transition and speculative urbanisation in China: Gentrification versus dispossession. Urban Studies, 53(3) : 471-489.
Sichuan News. 2009. "Report about the demolition and self-burning event in Chengdu city." Si-chuan News. Accessed 3 September 2009. http://scnews.newssc.org/system/2009/12/03/012464005.shtml.
Sun H. J.(2012). Urban development and social change of Shenyang in modern times (1898-1945). (Doctoral dissertation). Changchun: Northeast Normal University.
Sun Y., et al., (2011). Spatial Expansion of Urban Land Use and Its Driving Forces in Shenyang City
over the Past Century. Resources Science, 33(11) : 2022-2029
Tester, G., Ruel, E., Anderson, A., et al. (2011). Sense of place among Atlanta public housing residents, Journal of Urban Health, 88(3) :436-453.
Tester, G., & Wingfield, A. H. (2013). Moving past picket fences: The meaning of "home" for public housing residents. Sociological Forum, 28 (1) : 70-84.
The State Council of PRC. 2013. "The suggestions of the State Council on accelerating the slum clearance and upgrade projects." The State Council of PRC. Accessed 12 July. http://www.gov.cn/zwgk/2013-07/12/content_2445808.htm.
Uitermark, J., Duyvendak, J. W., & Kleinhans, R. (2007). Gentrification as a governmental strategy: social control and social cohesion in Hoogvliet, Rotterdam. Environment and Planning A, 39(1) :125-141.
Vale, L. J. (1997) Empathological Places: residents' ambivalence towards remaining in public housing, Journal of Planning Education and Research, 16(3) :159-175.
Wang, H., & Dong, W. (2010). Urban morphological transforming from teh perspective of political power: a case study of Shenyang (2010). Planning and Design (7) :57-64.
Wang M. S. (2010) Study on the city evolution and space morphology of Shenyang in Qing Dynast, Doctoral dissertation, South China University of Technology.

Wang, YP, Shao, L., Murie, A., et al. (2012). The Maturation of the Neo-liberal Housing Market in Urban China. Housing Studies, 27(3) : 343-359.
Weinstein, L., & Ren X. F.. (2009). The changing right to the city: urban renewal and housing rights in globalizing Shanghai and Mumbai. City & Community 8 (4):407-432.
Wu, F. L.. (2004a). Intraurban residential relocation in Shanghai: modes and stratification. Environment and Planning A 36 (1):7-25.
Wu, F. L.. (2004b). Residential relocation under market-oriented redevelopment: the process and outcomes in urban China. Geoforum 35 (4):453-470. doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2003.10.001.
Wu, F. L. (2004c). Urban poverty and marginalization under market transition: the case of Chinese cities. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 28(2) : 401-423.
Xia, Y.J., & Zhu, X.G.. (2013). The evaluation of urban forced movers' community satisfaction-a case study of Nanjing. [In Chinese] Scientia Geographica Sinica 33 (8) : 918-925
Zhang, P. Y. (2003). Industrial transformation of Shenyang city. Chinese Geographical Science 13(3) :216-223.
Zhang P.Y. (2014), From Mao's Pet to Deng's Burden, in Old Industrial Cities Seeking New Road of Industrialization: Models of Revitalizing Northeast China edited by Wang, M., Chen, Z., Zhang, P., Tong, L., & Ma, Y. (Eds.). (2014) :15-29.
Zhang P.Y. & Li X. (2014). Tiexi's Reborn: The Revitalization of the City's Old Industrial Zone, in Old Industrial Cities Seeking New Road of Industrialization: Models of Revitalizing Northeast China edited by Wang, M., Chen, Z., Zhang, P., Tong, L., & Ma, Y. (Eds.). (2014) :71-89.

TOC

2 Understanding the experiences of relocatees during forced relocation in Chinese urban restructuring

Xin Li, Maarten van Ham and Reinout Kleinhans,
Submitted to Housing, Theory and Society

Abstract

Despite the massive forced relocation of residents during urban restructuring in China, there is no systematic overview regarding how residents experience the process and its outcomes. Most studies concerning urban restructuring in China directly equate forced relocation with displacement, which has a negative connotation. This exclusively negative view overlooks the multifaceted effects of forced relocation on relocatees. This paper aims to provide a better understanding of relocatees' experienced during urban redevelopment in China by establishing a conceptual model in which the time sequence of events and their context are central, and by analysing the existing research on this topic about China. It conceptualises forced relocation as a process with various and changing socio-spatial implications over time, and as a specific type of residential mobility that occurs in the context of urban restructuring. As such, the paper presents a conceptual model that includes different stages and contexts to analyse the experiences of relocatees during and after forced relocation. It divides the process of forced relocation into a pre-demolition stage, a transitional stage and a post-relocation stage and investigates the social, economic, physical, psychological and behavioural dimensions of the experiences of relocatees as affected by the macro and micro context. As such, the conceptual model is used to structure the analysis of the existing literature about residents' experiences and subsequently identify the gaps in the literature that should be addressed in future studies of forced relocation in the Chinese context.

Keywords: *Experience of relocatees; Forced relocation; Urban restructuring; Demolition; Residential mobility; Displacement; China*

§ 2.1 Introduction

Driven by market mechanisms and economic growth, since 1978, developers and entrepreneurial local governments in China have formed pro-growth coalitions, which have embarked on extensive urban housing demolition and redevelopment on profitable locations, featuring large-scale forced rehousing of residents. Local governments or developers inform residents that their neighbourhoods are going to be demolished, and residents have to move involuntarily, regardless of their moving intention. This has resulted in the movement of residents from their original neighbourhoods to other "destination" neighbourhoods. For example, in the city of Shanghai, roughly 1.1 million households were relocated between 1995 and 2012, and 72 million square metres of housing demolished. In 2008, in parallel with the local-state-initiated residential redevelopment projects, the central Chinese government initiated the first round of national Shantytown Redevelopment Projects (SRPs), which aims to improve the living conditions of low-income residents and to stimulate the depressed housing market. Despite the current slowdown in economic growth, there is still more to come in China. In 2013, the central government triggered the second round of large-scale urban clearance projects, and it is estimated that between 2013 and 2017 approximately 10 million households will have been affected (Li et al., 2017; The State Council of PRC, 2013).

However, compared with the sheer numbers of affected residents in China, the research on the experiences of relocatees during forced relocation in China is still limited and needs to be updated. Outside Europe and the United States of America, where a significant body of research on forced relocation has been conducted, little is known about the micro perspective, i.e. individual relocatees' experiences and coping strategies (behaviours and perceptions) with forced relocation. Furthermore, several key elements in the discussion have hindered the possibility to further reveal the diversity and the dynamics that underlies relocatees' experiences in the Chinese context. First of all, the forced relocation of residents, which often occurs in urban restructuring projects around the world, has been criticized for having predominantly negative effects on residents and their communities (e.g. Atkinson, 2000; Davidson, 2008). Several scholars have blamed the large-scale property-led restructuring projects in China for causing displacement of low-income residents (He, 2007, 2012; La Grange and Pretorius, 2016; Gong, 2012). However, other studies have demonstrated real improvements in the relocatees' (perceived) living conditions after relocation (Li and Song, 2009; Wu 2004a, 2004b). Thus, in general, it could be argued that the effects of forced relocation on relocatees during urban restructuring projects are diverse and not necessarily only negative; they may be simultaneously positive in other respects. Second, some studies and news reports have shown the conflicts and tensions between

relocatees and local governments or developers from a macro-, meso- or political-economic perspective (He, 2012; Hin and Xin, 2011; Qian and He, 2012; Sichuan News, 2009; Weinstein and Ren, 2009), which gives an impression that the role of residents in redevelopment projects is always passive. On the one hand, this might reflect wider experiences (He, 2012; Shin, 2016). On the other hand, however, this impression can lead to disregarding the active role that relocatees may play before and during urban redevelopment and forced relocation. Third, current studies about China mostly treat forced relocation as a single event, which might cover the temporal feature of relocatees experiences and overlooks the sequence of events that relocatees experience during and after forced relocation.

This paper therefore aims to provide a better understanding of the experiences of relocatees during urban redevelopment in China from the individual and household perspective. In particular, this is achieved by (1) establishing a conceptual model in which the time sequence of events and their context are central, and by (2) analysing the existing research on the implications of forced relocation for residents in urban restructuring areas in China on the basis of the model. As such, the conceptual model works as a structuring element for the review of the research. It divides the process of forced relocation into three stages based on chronological order: the pre-demolition stage, the transitional stage and the post-relocation stage. This conceptual model will also be used as a structuring element in the analysis of the reviewed research.

The following section will first discuss the literature on forced relocation and displacement in general and on this basis propose a conceptual model for studying forced relocation. Section 2.3 will provide the specific context of forced relocation in urban China, while Section 2.4 will apply three stages in the conceptual model for a better understanding of relocatees experiences by reviewing the current literature on Chinese forced relocation. The final section offers our conclusions and suggestions for further research.

§ 2.2 The experiences of relocatees in urban restructuring

Although this paper focuses on forced relocation in urban China, we will first briefly discuss the international literature on this topic in order to establish a conceptual model that offers a better understanding of the experiences of relocatees during forced relocation due to urban restructuring. This is the because that the international literature has advanced in studying relocatees' experiences during and after forced

relocation, which can therefore help to develop understanding with regard to related Chinese studies. Forced relocation refers to the process by which residents are forced to move from their original neighbourhoods to new destination neighbourhoods, due to urban restructuring projects. In most cases, it also involves the demolition of the original dwellings (Kearns and Mason, 2013). Forced relocation of residents is usually initiated and implemented top-down by local governments, housing associations or developers. Residents who are forced to move (relocatees) are often involuntarily involved in urban restructuring, and this is commonly regarded as displacement, a term which has highly negative connotations. 'Displacement' is defined as the state which:

... occurs when any household is forced to move from its residence by conditions that affect the dwelling or its immediate surroundings, and that: 1) are beyond the household's reasonable ability to control or prevent; 2) occur despite the household's having met all previously imposed conditions of occupancy; and 3) make continued occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable (Grier and Grier 1980, 8).

Hence, relocatees and displacees are both forced to move involuntary and they have little or no control over the decision-making processes underlying urban redevelopment projects or gentrification (Visser, Bolt, and van Kempen, 2013; Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013).

However, while the terms forced relocation and displacement are applied to related contexts and situations and both have predominantly negative connotations, we argue that the term forced relocation allows for outcomes which are not by definition negative. Displacement exclusively focuses on the downsides caused by "the involuntary residential dislocation" process of gentrification (Marcuse, 1985, 205), including worsened living conditions, harassment by landlords or financial constraints caused by rising housing rents (see e.g. Atkinson, 2000; Freeman and Braconi, 2002; Newman and Wyly, 2006). On the other hand, urban restructuring policies in many countries, such as the United States, France and the Netherlands include legally established compensation mechanisms for forced relocatees, whereas compensation is non-existent in the case of gentrification-induced forced relocation (Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013).

We will now explain several features of forced relocation that should be recognised while studying the experiences of relocatees, because they are conditional for various outcomes. These aspects will be built into our conceptual model. Firstly, forced relocation is a process that changes in content over time. The content of forced relocation, including policies and implementation, the stakeholders and their interaction, the social groups targeted or the aims of redevelopment, differ over

time (Goetz, 2013). Generally, a redevelopment project consists of different stages with different periodical targets as it proceeds over time. For each target at each stage, it involves different stakeholders and social groups. The interaction between different stakeholders can differ at different stage as well. Also, the contexts that are closely related to relocatees' experiences, such as related policies, housing market or household situation, may change as forced relocation proceeds. The experiences of relocatees therefore can vary over time, even within the same restructuring project. Thus, the evaluation of the outcomes of forced relocation should take into account the various stages and the inherent content of each stage, rather than focusing on a static event or unitary measurement. The outcomes for and experiences of relocatees will not necessary be universally the same (Allen, 2000; Kleinhans and Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008, 584). Some studies have found that the experiences of relocatees are dynamic and vary as forced relocation proceeds (Goetz, 2013; Popkin *et al*., 2004). Goetz (2013) also emphasizes the significance of 'time' and the 'micro and macro context' in exploring relocatees' experiences, by showing how the implementation of the project, the local housing market and the family situation cause changes to relocatees' experience.

Secondly, the forced movement of residents can be considered a specific type of residential mobility which occurs in the context of top-down imposed relocation decision. Relocatees may have behavioural and psychological experiences that are similar to voluntary movers, such as previously existing intentions to move, the search for (replacement) housing and the housing choice. In some cases, local governments or housing authorities provide relocatees special housing options with regards to the location, size, floor, rental fees/ housing price of the dwelling after rehousing, in order to improve residential satisfaction and promote a smooth relocation and redevelopment process. Relocatees also have to face similar macro and micro constraints related to the housing market context, their socioeconomic status, such as income and education, and their individual ability to search for information on housing market (Kearns and Mason, 2013, 189; Bolt and van Kempen, 2010, 161-164' Kleinhans, 2003; Visser, Bolt and van Kempen, 2013; Posthumus and Kleinhans, 2014; Popkin *et al*., 2004). Thus, to understand the extent to which residents are forced to move, how and why residents have different perceptions and responses to forced relocation, and how this may lead to different outcomes, it is necessary to investigate the experiences of relocatees from a micro and residential mobility perspective (Doff and Kleinhans, 2010; Popkin, et al., 2004). For example, studies have found that some residents who expressed a pre-relocation intention to move also reported a higher level of post-relocation dwelling improvement than those who had no intention to move (Kleinhans and Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008). In addition, some studies have found that high-income relocatees are less likely to move into low-income neighbourhoods, while people from ethnic minority groups tend to relocate to

ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods regardless of the level of income or education (Doff and Kleinhans, 2010; Bolt and van Kempen, 2010). These findings show that it is somewhat simplistic to label (the outcomes of) forced relocation by definition as negative, because this ignores the complexity of relocatees' pre- and post-relocation housing behaviour and moving intentions, which may resemble that of regular movers without any top-down pressure to move.

Thirdly, the institutional, economic and social contexts in which forced relocation is embedded, as well as relocatees' personal characteristics, are also related to their experiences (Chen and Lai, 2013; He, 2014). Forced relocation is accompanied by constraints but also includes various social, economic and cultural resources unique to relocatees, which makes their experience different from that of voluntary movers. For example, the institutional context, such as the compensation criteria and the time span of the relocation process determined by local governments, affect relocatees' mobility experience. Also, whether the forced relocation is enacted by the governments or market forces can influence relocatees' experience differently, since in some cases developers might have more freedom on the compensation criteria than local governments. In addition, the social context, such as social movements or media demands for public participation in urban restructuring projects, also affects the experience of relocatees (He, 2014). Local housing market plays a significant role with regard to relocatees' housing options and choices. For instance, relocatees facing a relaxed housing market might encounter fewer challenges and competition than in a tight housing market (see also section 2.3 about the influence of local housing market on relocatees' housing choices in China).

Although relocatees are forced to move, they have a certain amount of 'freedom' and agency to make their own decisions, even if limited within the criteria of compensation schemes (Manzo *et al.,* 2008), which may help to alleviate the stress and disruptions resulting from their forced relocation. Relocatees may develop positive coping strategies in response to the stress caused by forced relocation, rather than passively accepting everything that forced relocation imposes on them (Posthumus and Kleinhans 2014, Weinstein and Ren, 2009). Some studies have found that those who feel in control or positive about forced relocation may end up more satisfied with their new dwelling. It also occurs that relocatees see forced relocation as a chance to improve their housing situation because compensation may effectively increase their options on the local housing market (Allen, 2000, 450; Kleinhans, 2003, 487). However, there are also relocatees who cannot effectively respond to or make choices during forced relocation, especially those who have limited resources and face multiple life problems, such as the aged, people on low incomes or with low levels of education, or particular ethnic groups (Kleinhans, 2003; Posthumus and Kleinhans, 2014; Popkin *et al*., 2004).

As mentioned above, forced relocation is a process that changes in content over time, rather than a static event. Different dimensions of the experience of relocatees may differ over time, depending on the context of the forced relocation and an individual's or household's features. In other contexts, such as dam construction, the literature also recognises the importance of exploring relocatees' experience over time. For instance, Scudder and Colson (1982) explained how relocatees cope with 'stress' during the process of forced relocation preceding actual dam construction, and they established the four-stage model as: "recruitment, transitional, development and adaption/hand over". Other research in this context has also emphasized the importance of the social, psychological, cultural, economic and physical dimensions of relocatees' experience (Cernea, 1997;; Downing and Downing, 2009; Xi and Sean-Shong, 2011).

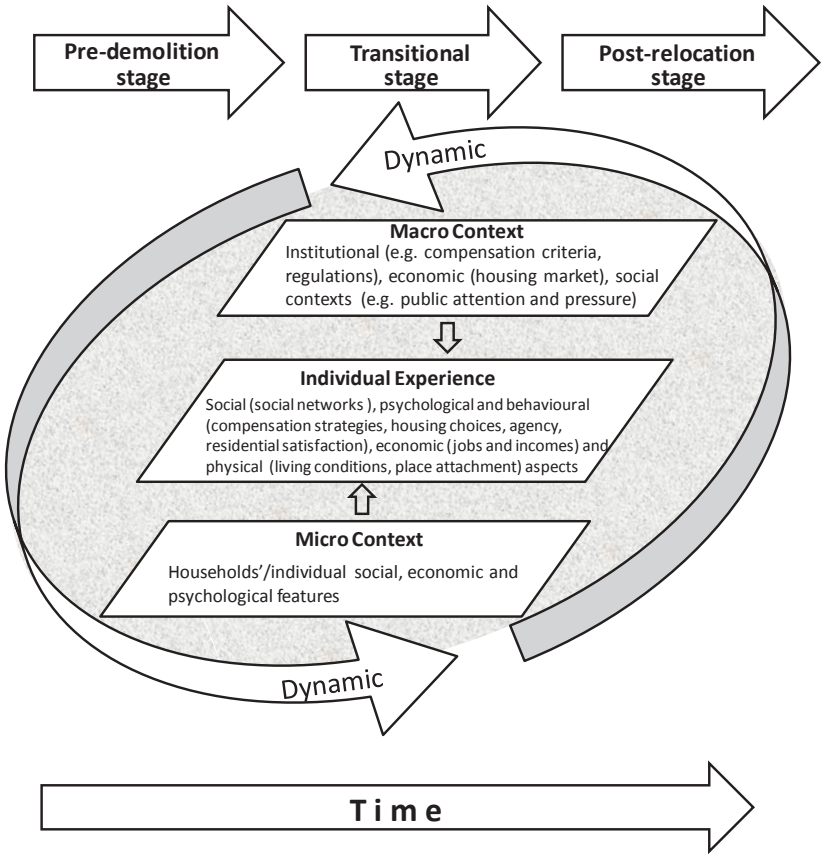


FIGURE 2.1 Conceptual Model
Source: Authors

TOC

The literature discussed above has demonstrated that time/stage, the context and the various dimensions of relocatees' experience are highly significant issues. Therefore, we present a conceptual model for understanding the experiences of individual relocatees during forced relocation in urban restructuring (Figure 2.1). Breaking down the time dimension reveals the sequence of events that individuals/households experience and the various factors that affect the experiences of relocatees at different stages. In the model, we therefore divide forced relocation into three stages: the pre-demolition stage, the transitional stage and the post-relocation stage. First of all, the *pre-demolition stage* refers to the stage when the original neighbourhood has not yet been demolished and relocatees still live in it. They are informed that their neighbourhood will be demolished and that they have to move out. In this stage, reaching an agreement on compensation between relocatees and the evictors is the main focus (Chen and Lai, 2013; Hu *et al*., 2015) . The nature and forms of compensation (monetary versus in-kind) will be further discussed in section 2.3. These are largely decided by the institutional context, the roles of local governments and developers, and the socio-economic conditions and preferences of relocatees.

Second, the *transitional stage* means that relocatees have moved out of their original neighbourhood, live in temporary accommodation but have not been rehoused into their final housing situation yet. In some countries such as China this is a necessary and normal stage, however, in Western Europe and the USA this stage is rare. In other words, adding the transitional stage to the conceptual model is an added value for studying the Chinese context. In China, the length of this stage is closely related to the performance and management of local governments and developers who construct the relocation neighbourhoods to which the residents can move (see also section 2.4.3).

The third stage is the *post-relocation stage*, which means that relocatees have moved into a 'permanent' housing situation and can start with adapting their daily routines and habits. Important factors are the new housing, the neighbourhood, social networks, but also transportation and employment.

As mentioned above, it is of crucial importance to divide the context is also divided into macro and micro levels. The *macro* level concerns the institutional, social and economic context in which forced relocation and urban restructuring are embedded, and conceives of the movement of relocatees as a specific type of residential mobility. In China, huge number of people from various social groups have been affected by the wave of capital accumulation through continuous and rapid spatial development and consumption. Obviously, various levels of government and developers strongly affect the nature and course of the relocation process, as a result of their (changing) roles, resources and interests (Li *et al*., 2017). The same applies to rules and regulations on various administrative levels, and the state of the local housing market.

The *micro* level concerns the individual's and the household's socioeconomic features and preferences. Relocatees' experiences occur across similar dimensions as the experiences of regular movers: the social, physical, economic, behavioural and psychological dimensions. These dimensions also change over time within the context of forced relocation. For example, the levels of psychological stress are likely to vary in intensity throughout the relocation stages, associated with uncertainty regarding compensation, temporary housing, the final destination and other issues. In section 2.4, we use this model to discuss the experiences of relocatees at each stage, based on the available literature. At the same time, we demonstrate what has been evident and what is missing in current research. The following section will explain in more detail s the background of forced relocation in urban China.

§ 2.3 The macro context of forced relocation in urban China

In order to give a clear and reproducible overview of relocatees' experiences during forced relocation in urban restructuring in China, we did a search and analysis of the current literature on this topic. We used Scopus and Web of Science to conduct a literature search with combinations of four themes and related key words: 1) China OR urban China OR Guangzhou, Shanghai, Beijing (Chinese cities that often appear in related literature); 2) forced relocation OR forced movement OR eviction OR involuntary movement OR displacement or demoli*, etc.; 3) urban redevelopment OR urban restructuring, etc.; 4) forced mover* OR relocatee* OR involuntary mover*. We mainly (but not exclusively) focus on papers published in English, as including papers written in Chinese would limit accessibility to readers who are fluent in this language. While we actually searched for Chinese articles by using a popular Chinese scientific search engine (CNKI), we found that Chinese papers mostly relate to other issues than the experiences of forced relocatees, such as laws, policy, regulations, techniques for dwelling size measurement, urban economics and the real estate market development. However, we identified some dissertations in Chinese with regard to relocatees' experiences during forced relocation (Gong, 2012; Luo, 202; Ma, 2012), which are included in the review.

After checking the titles and abstract, we identified 51 articles in English (published between 1995 and 2017) on forced relocation and urban restructuring in China, which is a relatively small number considering the scale of forced relocation in China. We categorised these articles based on the relocation stage and the main issues covered (such as interactions between different stakeholders, implementation of specific urban

redevelopment projects and relocatees' coping strategies, experiences and outcomes). We found that most articles use specific projects to illustrate how local governments, developers and residents interact with each other during the redevelopment, which provides an opportunity to reveal the macro institutional, economic and social contexts with regard to relocatees' experiences.

In China, many conflicts related to forced relocation arise from the interactions between homeowners and local governments or developers. Most studies, news reports and regulations concerning forced relocation in China focus on homeowners – unlike the literature on Western Europe and the United States, which predominantly focuses on renters living in social or public housing. In the United States and Western Europe, renters can get compensation from local authorities or housing associations (Goetz, 2016; Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013), which is quite different with the experiences of their counterparts in China, who are usually excluded during the redevelopment process. This difference arises due to the fact the homeownership determines residents' accessibility to different social resources such as compensation during urban redevelopment. In this study, we mainly focus on the experiences of homeowners. Local governments and developers need to reach agreements with homeowners about compensation before the land is expropriated, which concerns relocatees the most. This compensation is financially highly significant to them, as relocatees generally belong to low to middle-income social groups.

The contexts has a significant influence on the experiences of relocatees. Urban redevelopment often includes both interventions targeting people (i.e. residents) and places (neighbourhoods) (Owens, 2017). Therefore, not only the features of place and people should be considered (e.g. physical, social and economic dimensions of neighbourhoods and demographic and socioeconomic statuses of residents), but also their positions within the macro context, i.e. the social, economic and institutional contexts matter for their experiences (Goetz, 2011; He, 2012; Li, *et al*., 2017). We explain the key detailed macro contexts in relation to relocatees' experiences.

The institutional context, in particular the regulations and governance on urban redevelopment, is changing the interrelationships between different actors in urban restructuring (Shih, 2010; Ren, 2014). One of such outstanding institutional arrangements is the evolution of the land expropriation and dwelling demolition regulation, which has regulated and changed the governance, procedures, compensation criteria and the roles of residents and local governments during urban redevelopment (for an overview, see Li *et al*., 2017). There have been three versions of national regulations on urban redevelopment and forced relocation, which are enacted in 1991, 2001 and 2011 (The State Council of PRC, 2001, 2011). Compared with the regulations issued in 1991 and 2001, the latest one highlights the interests

of residents. It sets out procedures that local governments should follow when expropriating land from relocatees. It also enables residents to get involved in the decision-making of the compensation criteria and the project (Li *et al*., 2017). As regulated, generally, relocatees have to choose between two types of compensation: in-kind and monetary compensation. In-kind compensation means that relocatees receive alternative housing as compensation, while monetary compensation means that relocatees are given money for their dwellings. Local governments or developers determine the value of the dwellings that are to be demolished, based on the housing conditions (e.g. housing size and location of neighbourhood) and the local housing market (Chen and Lai, 2013). The choices that relocatees make concerning compensation directly affect the outcomes of forced relocation (Hu *et al*., 2015). If they choose in-kind compensation and the value of their new housing is higher than that of their old dwelling, they must pay the difference; if the value of the demolished housing is higher than that of the new one, relocatees then either receive additional financial compensation or are given better housing. If relocatees choose monetary compensation, local governments and/or developers determine the compensation based on their assessment of the value of the dwelling that is going to be demolished. The institutional context, in particular compensation criteria and the length of the transitional period, varies in different cities (see section 2.4.2 for examples of different transitional period in different cities). This is due to differing local regulations, housing markets and investment levels of local governments in the redevelopment.

The economic context, especially the local housing market situation, influences relocatees' expectations of and housing experiences during urban redevelopment. First, the amount of compensation that relocatees can get from local governments or developers is closely related to local housing prices. Second, housing access in current urban China is largely dependent on a household's income and status and whether people qualify for subsidized housing provided by the state or work units (Chen *et al*., 2014; Lee, 2000; Wang *et al*., 2012). Currently, dwelling not only means home, but also an asset of growing financial importance because of rising housing prices. Therefore, the relocatees, especially those who are deprived and cannot move out of their declining neighbourhoods need to rely on the compensation that local government or developers provide to them to improve their living and economic conditions. The local housing market and economic situation of relocatees can influence their housing choices with regard to the location and the size of available dwellings and when they are going to be relocated. Third, these relocatees are mainly from the inner-city neighbourhoods, work-unit (*danwei*) communities, urban villages, old public housing estates or suburban villages. These neighbourhoods have relatively high land value locations, but are in a run-down physical conditions, which make them a priority for redevelopment by local governments and/or developers. Table 2.1 shows the types of neighbourhoods, their location and their residential composition.

Relocatees in these neighbourhoods are forced to move because their homes are demolished for redevelopment projects, such as old inner-city redevelopment, shantytown redevelopment or public infrastructure construction.

TABLE 2.1 Targeted neighbourhoods for demolition

	TRADITIONAL INNER-CITY NEIGHBOURHOOD	DANWEI COMMUNITY	URBAN VILLAGE	SUBURBAN VILLAGE
Owners	Inner-city citizens/ Local housing bureau	SOE or COE or their employees	Rural farmers	Rural farmers
Ownership of the land	Stated-owned land	Stated-owned land	Collectively owned land (by the villagers)	Collectively owned land (by the villagers)
Location	Inner-city centre	Old industrial area	Between inner-city centre and urban periphery	Urban periphery

Source: Summarized from authors' observations and the literature such as He (2012), He and Wu (2007), Hin and Xin (2011), Liu et al. (2016), Ma (2012), Wu (2004a, 2004b).

At last, the social context, such as public opinions about redevelopment projects and the degree of public participation in the decision-making process, affects the experiences of relocatees (He, 2012; Qian and He, 2012; Weinstein and Ren, 2009). The governments, especially the central government make an effort to balance between economic growth and social equality (Duckett, 2012; Li, 2015). If market failure erodes social stability, the market transition process will be intervened in by the central government, as the social and political stability and economic development are the underlying principles for the central government to formulate their policy. (Chen *et al.*, 2014; He and Wu, 2009; Wang *et al.*, 2012). This can be traced from the evolution of the land expropriation regulations mentioned before (also see Li et al., 2017).

§ 2.4 Understanding the experiences of relocatees during three stages of forced relocation

Using the conceptual model and existing literature, this section reviews the experiences of relocatees in China during forced relocation across the three stages outlined in the conceptual model (pre-demolition, transitional, and post-relocation stage) against the macro and micro contexts. Based on section 2.3, the model includes key variables underlying the mechanisms of various relocation outcomes, which will be discussed in sections 2.4.1, 2.4.2 and 2.4.3. Because the mechanisms between the key variables differ in and between each stage, we choose not to include all mechanisms separately in the model, as it would become far too complicated. However, the relationships between the key variables will be explained in each of the subsections. We will also reveal the gaps in the literature that should be addressed in future studies of forced relocation in the Chinese context.

§ 2.4.1 Stage 1: the pre-demolition stage

At this stage, relocatees have not moved out of the dwellings, but have been informed by the government or developers that their dwellings are going to be demolished. Relocatees negotiate with developers or local governments about compensation (macro context), and they also grapple with issues such as what to agree to and when to sign compensation contracts. The interactions between different stakeholders in this stage are very intense. Some studies have found that relocatees have little influence on the decision-making process in relation to restructuring and forced relocation, while developers and local government dominate the process and displace original low-income residents to the urban periphery (He and Wu, 2005; He and Wu, 2007; Ren, 2014; Shin, 2014). In addition, tough disputes and conflicts may arise between relocatees, developers and local governments regarding redevelopment plans and compensation criteria (He, 2012; Hin and Xin, 2011; Hu *et al.,* 2015). Some scholars argue that the essence of the interactions between different stakeholders at this stage concerns the mobilization of social relationships in the context of, and against the accumulation of space-based capital, and they regard the relocatees' strong response as a claim to "the right to the city", including the rights to the equitable distribution of the social benefits of development and to engage in decision-making (Qian and He, 2012; Weinstein and Ren, 2009). These studies highlight the mechanisms of urban restructuring and forced relocation process from a macro- and political-economic perspective.

However, these studies tend to overlook the individual experiences of relocatees, in particular the agency of relocatees during forced relocation. At this stage, the experience of relocatees can be quite intense. Ownership of property and a land-use rights are the only resources that residents can utilize against forced relocation (Zhang, 2004). As mentioned above, relocatees can usually choose the compensation (in-kind or monetary) that they prefer, however, there is little research or evidence shows which option is the most popular. Relocatees' decisions on compensation choices depends on (1) the institutional context of forced relocation, and (2) the factors that are similar to regular movers, such as local housing market, their socio-economic and living arrangement. Many studies have shown how, when choosing compensation, relocatees take their life course, affordability and the location of the relocation neighbourhoods into account (An, 2007; Ho, 2013; Luo, 2012; Ma, 2012, Song, 2015). At the same time, however, their choices are also constrained by the institutional factors in which forced relocation is embedded (Ho, 2013; Hu *et al*., 2015). For example, relocatees have to consider the amount of compensation they will receive from the local government and/or developer based on the compensation criteria (Ma, 2012), which is set by the real estate assessment company employed by local government or developers.

Most conflicts between relocatees and the local government and/or developer at this stage are about the amount of compensation. Usually, relocatees expect more financial compensation than the local government and/or developer intend to provide (He and Asami 2014). In addition to direct confrontation, relocatees use, sometimes illegal, strategies in an attempt to increase the amount of compensation (Ho, 2013; Hu *et al*., 2015; Song, 2015; He, 2014). As a first key strategy, relocatees can choose the timing of their signing of the contract that transfers their land-use right to the local government and/or developer (Ma, 2012; Weinstein and Ren, 2009; Shi and Zhu, 2013). However, this may be influenced by various factors. For example, to promote the pace of demolition and motivate relocatees, some local governments and developers use arguments such as "the earlier you leave, the more benefits you will get; the later you leave, the fewer benefits you will get; refuse to leave, and you will get nothing" (Shi and Zhu, 2013, 76). They also provide more positive incentives for those who sign the land-use right transfer contract at an early stage. As a result, some relocatees choose to sign the contract earlier. However, others do not sign the contract until the very last moment, because they believe that by doing so the local government and/or developer will offer them more compensation than other relocatees (Ho, 2013; Ma, 2012).

The second strategy is related to relocatees' networks (Ho, 2013). The amount and the type of compensation are supposed to depend on the compensation criteria and the size of the demolished housing and/or relocation household. Since the compensation is closely related to whether and how relocatees can benefit from forced relocation, some relocatees try to maximize their compensation by looking for help from their

acquaintances (relatives, friends) working in related departments of local governments. It was reported that some governors or staffs (e.g. those who working in a dwelling assessment company) were accused of corruption because they illegally increased the amount of compensation for some relocatees (Liaoning Daily, 2015). Thirdly, in another strategy to increase the amount of compensation, some relocatees attempt to increase their household size or construct more illegal buildings (Luo, 2012; Wu, Zhang, and Webste,r 2013). Last but not least, relocatees may organise online or real-world associations to exchange information or launch collective action against forced relocation (Erie, 2012; He, 2012; Song, 2015; Wang, 2009).

At this stage, it is not only the compensation choices that concern the relocatees the most (the study of which is absent from the literature on China in this field): the experiences of relocatees in the social dimension, such as their attachment to and interactions within the original neighbourhoods, also affect their response to forced relocation. For example, Gilroy (2012) found that older residents in an old inner-city neighbourhood facing demolition had a strong attachment to the neighbourhood and were not willing to move. She explained that this may be because the elderly heavily depend on the long-term mutual help they provide one another in their neighbourhoods due to the changes in living arrangements and family support in current urban China (Gilroy, 2012). However, there are also controversial findings that demonstrate that strong attachment to the neighbourhood does not equate a strong desire to stay. Wu (2012: 546) found that more established urban residents (i.e. those with a longer residential history and the more highly educated residents) of old urban neighbourhoods show a lower willingness to stay and a preference to leave such neighbourhoods. The main reason underlying this counterintuitive finding is an on-going transformation of these old working-class communities. The established residents deplore that many of their former neighbours moved out to suburban neighbourhoods where their children live, and that "there are more *wailai renkou* [outsiders] living here and everyone has different habits now" (Wu, 2012: 546). In other words, this reveals the dismantling of existing social networks and interactions of residents who are otherwise strongly attached to the area.

Other studies have argued that the physical conditions of neighbourhoods greatly affect residents' attachment to place in China (Li *et al*., 2012; Zhu *et al*., 2012). Zhu, Breitung, and Li (2012) also found that intensive social interaction – which was considered a major source of attachment to place – is regarded as less important now in urban China. These findings reveal that attachment to the neighbourhood in urban China has multiple dimensions (including social and physical spheres), and these different dimensions play different roles for different social groups and affect their housing behaviour differently.

Political-economic theories explain the mechanisms that induce forced relocation and urban restructuring, and demonstrate from a macro perspective why there are tensions and conflicts between different stakeholders at this stage. At the same time, the ways that relocatees cope with forced relocation are more complex and do not all end in confrontation. Current research mostly displays how a specific redevelopment project is implemented at this stage, and it has been neglecting the coping strategy of relocatees (He, 2007, Hin and Xin, 2011). While this research explores the physical, economic and social experiences of relocatees, however, little has been revealed about their behavioural and psychological reactions to forced relocation. This may lead to ignorance regarding residents' potential agency during this stage. There is also a lack of research on how factors such as national policies, housing markets, and social movements influence relocatees' experiences at this stage. Individuals have different coping strategies, make different compensation choices and have different attitudes to residential mobility, which are all important, not only at this stage but also insofar as they greatly affect the experiences of relocatees in the following stages.

§ 2.4.2 Stage 2: the transitional period

Stage 2 is the transitional stage, which is often absent in European and American relocation scenarios. In the Western context, most people move directly into pre-existing properties elsewhere rather than having to wait for new properties to be built elsewhere. In the latter case, relocatees often wait in their original properties, with clearance delay as a result. In China, at the transitional stage, residents move out of their original neighbourhoods, but do not move immediately into relocation neighbourhoods. This stage is especially significant to those who choose in-kind compensation, because these relocatees have to wait for a certain period of time before they can move into the relocation neighbourhood. These residents need to find a temporary accommodation themselves to go through this phase. Local governments and/or developers usually promise to rehouse relocatees within a certain time (Song, 2015; Chen and Lai, 2013), and they are given monetary compensation for renting temporary accommodation. Some local governments stipulate that the length of the transitional period must not exceed a certain number of months/years. Nevertheless, in reality, the length of this stage greatly depends on whether the designated dwellings for rehousing have been completed. For example, in one project in Shanghai, the local government provided existing dwellings as in-kind compensation (Xuhui District Government, 2015), meaning that those who chose in-kind compensation needed to wait only three months and were given a one-off three-month rental subsidy payment for the transitional stage. In contrast, in another redevelopment project in Shanghai, the relocation dwellings were still under

construction (Jingan District Government, 2015), and the relocatees therefore had to find a transitional dwelling and wait until the relocation dwellings were ready.

Very few studies focus on the experiences of relocatees at the transitional stage of forced relocation. Only sporadic news reports suggest that the long duration of the transitional stage can cause distress to some relocatees (Nandu News, 2015; People.cn, 2013). This lack of interest in the literature does not mean this stage is not significant to relocatees. In fact, there are many uncertainties embedded in this period which affect the experiences of relocatees. Firstly, as suggested above, the time span of this stage varies, ranging from several months to several years depending on the project and the related local regulations. The expected length of residence in a neighbourhood affects many aspects, such as residents' movement behaviour, their attachment to place, residential satisfaction, investment and neighbourliness. However, little is known about how the different durations of the transitional stage affect the experience of relocatees across different dimensions.

Secondly, in some cases the time span is completely uncertain, and may turn out to be quite different from what the local government or developer promised in the first stage, and hence from what was expected by the relocatees. In some cases, relocatees waited for more than five years (some even ten years), due to delays in the construction of the relocation dwellings (Xinhuanet, 2014; Xinjing News, 2013; People.cn, 2013). During these long periods, the relocatees have to rent dwellings (Xue *et al*., 2015), which creates challenges, in particular for people in disadvantaged social groups, such as the aged, disabled or people on low incomes. News reports have suggested that some aged relocatees have died while waiting to move into the relocation neighbourhoods because the transitional stage was very long (Nandu News, 2015; Xinjing News, 2013). Thirdly, it is unknown whether the compensation fee for the transitional stage can meet the needs of relocatees. In sum, very few studies address how the length and the uncertainties of the transitional stage affect relocatees.

It is apparent from the above that relocatees have to cope with new situations and uncertainties at this stage. In particular, they need to find a place to live during this stage. Usually, when making their housing choices, they have to consider the constraints of forced relocation, such as the amount of rental compensation provided by the evictors and the duration of the transitional period. They also have to take into account their own socioeconomic situation. Their income, savings, and job location(s) can influence their preferences about location, size and rental fee of their accommodation at this stage. Only sporadic evidence suggests that at this stage some relocatees choose to stay with their relatives or friends (Fang and Zhang, 2003). Many questions are thus far from adequately studied, such as: What housing options do relocatees have at this stage? How and why do they make certain housing choices?

How does their housing experience at this stage affect their subsequent housing behaviour and residential experience in the post-relocation stage? The uncertainty about the length of this stage means that many changes can occur to relocatees, such as changes in their household size and socio-economic situation. This means that the compensation choice they made in the pre-demolition stage might not fit their needs as the transitional stage proceeds.

The experiences of relocatees in this stage can also affect their general attitudes towards local governments and/or developers. Previous research has shown that the uncertain duration of the transitional period has negative effects on residents' trust in local governments (Li *et al*., 2016). This in turn has consequences for relocatees' perceptions of forced relocation. Most empirical studies on forced relocation have focused on the experiences of relocatees at the pre-demolition and the post-relocation stages, especially the latter. The transitional stage has long been neglected with regard to relocatees' housing behaviours and coping strategy. It makes it impossible to achieve an overall evaluation on how the forced relocation process can affect relocatees because of the absence of related studies about this stage. We have argued here that the transitional stage is an essential part of forced relocation, which requires more in-depth study focusing on relocatees' housing choices and coping strategies, especially in the light of the uncertainties of this stage.

§ 2.4.3 Stage 3: the post-relocation stage

In Stage 3, the relocatees have been relocated to their final, new neighbourhoods. Most Chinese studies about this stage focus on residents who choose in-kind compensation, while there is little research about the experiences of those who choose monetary compensation. This might be because that it is easier to track the former group than the latter one, as the former group (choosing in-kind compensation) is likely to move to a dwelling in the relocation neighbourhood and the latter one can relocate to anywhere they can afford.

By studying the experiences of relocatees who moved into relocation neighbourhoods, it is possible to trace and compare the foundations and effects of the various redevelopment projects. Similar to Western countries, the reasons for forced relocation in China have swung between economic and social motives. Since 1978, economic growth has become the overriding objective in China, and it has motivated local governments and developers to promote large-scale urban development and redevelopment for profit. Some studies argue that these large-scale developments have

substantial social costs, because the residents were relocated to neighbourhoods with poor standards of housing and neighbourhood maintenance (Fang, 2006; Gong, 2012; He, 2012; Li and Yuan, 2008). Other studies have argued that the economic situation of some relocatees worsens because they are relocated to the urban periphery, which has poor accessibility to public facilities, thus increasing commuting costs and the time required to access job opportunities and/or the city centre (Day and Cervero, 2010).

However, other studies found positive effects. Some studies comparing living conditions before relocation with the new living conditions, found that relocatees were satisfied with improved dwellings and neighbourhood conditions after their relocation (Li and Song, 2009; Xia and Zhu, 2013). By comparing different kinds of movers – voluntary, involuntary – with stayers, some studies revealed that forced relocatees are more satisfied with their housing and neighbourhood conditions than stayers, and relatively less satisfied than voluntary movers (Day, 2013; Li and Song, 2009). In addition, the level of relocatees' satisfaction with their housing and neighbourhood conditions is not much lower than that of voluntary movers (Li and Song, 2009) .

The experiences of relocatees at this stage can also be differentiated in terms of their pre-relocation moving intention and place attachment in relation to the (post-) relocation neighbourhood. Some studies have found that preceding demolition, residents show strong neighbourhood attachment and expressed a strong desire to stay in their old neighbourhoods long term, while after relocation, relocatees are less attached to their relocation neighbourhoods and their level of social interaction in the neighbourhood has also been reduced (He and Liu, 2013). Similarly, Luo (2012) further demonstrated that after the initial relocation, some relocatees decide to move back or closer to their original neighbourhoods, rather than stay in the relocation neighbourhood. It was argued that this is because relocatees are more familiar with their original neighbourhood and perceive that they have better job and education opportunities there (Luo, 2012). It is not surprising that the resources and opportunities offered by the original neighbourhood affect the post-relocation housing behaviour of relocatees because the functional dimension of a place has also been found to affect residents' attachment to place and housing behaviour in general (Raymond, Brown, and Weber, 2010; Scannell and Gifford, 2010).

In the United States and several Western European countries, urban restructuring and forced movement have deliberately been used as instruments to change the residential composition of neighbourhoods and to achieve more social mixing. Although this is no deliberate intention of development policies in China, large-scale urban redevelopments and forced relocation have generated similar outcomes (i.e. social mix). This is evident in the current national program for Shantytown Redevelopment, in which the central government is encouraging local governments to purchase

dwellings on the housing market rather than construct relocation neighbourhoods to compensate relocatees. As a result, forced movers and regular movers are more likely to live in the same neighbourhoods. The term "regular movers" refers to residents who voluntarily move into relocation neighbourhoods and purchase housing on the housing market. Generally, this results in three types of relocation (destination) neighbourhoods, based on residential composition. Relocatees may be moved into:

1 A relocation neighbourhood that only consists of relocatees from the same original redevelopment neighbourhood.

2 A relocation neighbourhood that consists of relocatees from *different* original redevelopment neighbourhoods.

3 A relocation neighbourhood that consists of relocatees from one or more redevelopment neighbourhoods, and of regular movers.

The experiences of relocatees in these different types of neighbourhoods vary. Some studies imply that relocation neighbourhoods with a concentration of relocatees with a low socioeconomic status are more likely to become deprived urban enclaves (Day, 2013; Fang and Zhang, 2003; Fang, 2006; Gilroy, 2012; He and Wu, 2007; He, 2010, 2012). In addition, others have shown that in mixed relocation neighbourhoods, relocatees encounter problems such as the uneven spatial distribution of community facilities between relocatees and regular residents (Fang, 2006, 677; Song, 2015). Other studies have revealed that conflicts between relocatees and regular movers become evident over time, due to differences in terms of lifestyle, shared values and behaviour within the neighbourhood (Fang, 2006; Gong, 2012; Li and Li, 2010). Even when fighting for their common interests against real estate management companies, relocatees and regular movers sometimes cannot work together because they do not have the same norms and behavioural patterns (Gong, 2012; Li and Li, 2010).

The existing literature on the experiences of relocatees at stage 3 has shown that it has various dimensions, and relocatees may simultaneously experience various post-relocation outcomes. Large-scale urban restructuring activities generate different neighbourhood types and different forms of organization in relocation neighbourhoods. These further affect the residential composition and the nature of interaction between different types of residents. In a mixed neighbourhood consisting of relocatees and regular movers, residents face issues such as uneven spatial distribution of services and facilities (Fang, 2006, 677; Song, 2015). Whether this kind of social mix can help to generate social cohesion and social capital should be questioned, based upon the existing literature. Meanwhile, relocation neighbourhoods which purely consist of relocatees might also become concentration enclaves of low-income residents.

§ 2.5 Conclusions and implications for future research

This paper aimed to gain greater insight into the experiences of relocatees during forced relocation in urban China by establishing a conceptual model in which the time sequence of events and their contexts are central and by analysing the existing literature. To enable a structured approach of the analysis of the literature, the paper proposed a conceptual model that considers the time sequence, context and individual experiences in various dimensions to explore the diversity, complexity and variety of experiences of relocatees in forced relocation in general. This conceptual model can also contribute to a better understanding of the experiences of relocatees in the Chinese context. By analysing the existing literature and discussing issues that concern relocatees, we have shown the relevance of the temporal feature of relocatees' experiences of different dimensions during urban redevelopment, as exemplified by the stages in the conceptual model: the pre-demolition, the transitional stage and the post-relocation stage.

We believe that the temporal feature embedded in the conceptual model is the very first indispensable step to achieve a better understanding of relocatees' experiences against the Chinese context. Current studies about China mostly treat forced relocation and urban redevelopment as a static and single event (Day and Cervero, 2010; Fang, 2006; He and Liu, 2013; Hu *et al*., 2015). They mainly target the relocatees who are already at the post-relocation stage to recall their experiences before being rehoused to evaluate the outcomes of forced relocation, which might lead to distorted retrospective accounts of their experiences and causes of their behavioural and emotional responses to forced relocation (Goetz, 2013; Higgins and Stangor, 1998). However, urban redevelopment and forced relocation often last for months or even years, during which period various incidents happen to relocatees in parallel with the changing macro (social, economic and institutional) and micro (physical, psychological and socioeconomic) contexts. To reduce the distraction caused by the accumulation of the dynamics of relocatees' experience as the urban redevelopment proceeds over time, it is necessary to capture the sequence of the events that occur to relocatees during urban redevelopment.

Overall, the experiences of relocatees during forced relocation are multifaceted and are not necessarily unilaterally negative. Displacement is only one of the possible effects of forced relocation, and there may simultaneously be neutral or significant positive effects in combination with displacement. Therefore, to improve relocation policies and the implementation and the outcomes of forced relocation, a balanced and critical perspective on the individual experiences of relocatees is important (see also Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013), insofar as it helps to identify both the advantages and

disadvantages of the current processes of forced relocation and urban restructuring. The conflicts and tensions between relocatees and other stakeholders during this process show that relocatees may effectively cope with the process and appeal to their rights to enjoy the benefits of urban redevelopments, which displays the agency of the relocatees facing forced relocation. This also includes how relocatees mobilize their resources to influence the process, compensation and outcomes of forced relocation. This is partly at odds with the general impression that the role of residents in urban redevelopment projects in China is always passive. Residents' agency during urban redevelopment (see also Manzo *et al*.; 2008; Posthumus and Kleinhans, 2014) might also indicate that, to some extent, consensus can emerge between residents, local governments and/or developers, in addition to conflicts (Li *et al*., 2017).

Using the conceptual model, the paper also identified the following gaps in the existing literature. Firstly, most studies focus on the experiences of relocatees in the post-relocation stage, overlooking the pre-demolition and transitional stages. We have argued that the transitional stage is an essential part of forced relocation, which requires more in-depth study focusing on relocatees' housing choices and coping strategies, especially in the light of the uncertainties of this stage.

Second, by analysing various dimensions of individual relocatees' experiences, we found that most studies focus on relocatees' physical and economic experiences with regard to forced relocation, changes in their dwelling and neighbourhood conditions, and their income before and after relocation. However, existing research has significant shortcomings in analysing the experiences in the social, psychological and behavioural domains, such as perceptions of and reactions to the redevelopment, forced relocation and neighbourhood changes at different stages. As a result, the diverse roles, agency and strategies of relocatees relocation are often overlooked. While some studies focus on relocatees' relationships with neighbours and the built environment, there is still a lack of research on how and why relocatees have certain social interactions within different neighbourhoods under the influence of impending or completed relocation.

To summarise, the discussion about relocatees' experiences and mechanisms in this paper cannot cover all issues, as the outcomes for relocatees can be very diverse and time-dependent, and the macro and micro contexts that relocatees are involved in can be very different. However, the gaps that we found in this review can be the starting point for further research. In particular, the temporal feature of relocatees' experiences during urban redevelopment merits further study. Ideally, this should be done through a longitudinal panel survey following relocatees from the pre-demolition stage of the redevelopment through the transition phase and into the post-relocation stage to identify more clearly how and why forced relocation and urban redevelopment affect the well-being of the relocatees over time.

Acknowledgements

The authors are very grateful to the three anonymous reviewers and the editor for their extensive and valuable suggestions regarding previous versions of this article.

References

Allen, T. (2000). Housing Renewal—Doesn't it Make You Sick? Housing Studies 15 (3):443-461. doi: 10.1080/02673030050009276.

An, Z. (2007). Development of inhabitant's family structure and living pattern after house demolition-Case study of Z community in Shanghai. Master's thesis, East China Normal University.

Atkinson, R. (2000). The hidden costs of gentrification: Displacement in central London. Journal of housing and the built environment 15 (4):307-326.

Bolt, Gn, and van Kempen, R(2010). Dispersal Patterns of Households who are Forced to Move: De-segregation by Demolition: A Case Study of Dutch Cities. Housing Studies 25 (2):159-180. doi: 10.1080/02673030903561834.

Cernea, M.(1997). The risks and reconstruction model for resettling displaced populations. World development 25 (10): 1569-1587.

Chen, J, and Lai Rose N.. (2013). Relocation-Redevelopment Projects for City Expansion: The Case in China. Real Estate Economics 41 (4):925-957. doi: 10.1111/reec.12017.

Chen, J., Yang, Z. and Wang, YP. (2014) The New Chinese Model of Public Housing: A Step Forward or Backward? Housing Studies, 29(4) : 534-550.

Davidson, M. (2008). Spoiled mixture: where does state-led positive gentrification end? Urban Studies 45 (12):2385-2405.

Day, J. (2013). Effects of Involuntary Residential Relocation on Household Satisfaction in Shanghai, China. Urban Policy and Research 31 (1):93-117. doi: 10.1080/08111146.2012.757736.

Day, J, and Cervero, R. (2010). Effects of Residential Relocation on Household and Commuting Expenditures in Shanghai, China. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 34 (4):762-788. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.00916.x.

Doff, Wenda., and Kleinhans, R.. (2010). Residential Outcomes of Forced Relocation: Lifting a Corner of the Veil on Neighbourhood Selection. Urban Studies 48 (4):661-680. doi: 10.1177/0042098010366745.

Downing, Theodore E., and Carmen D, (2009). Routine and dissonant cultures: A theory about the psycho-socio-cultural disruptions of involuntary displacement and ways to mitigate them without inflicting even more damage. In Development and Dispossession, Edited by Oliver-Smith, Anthony, 225-253. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research.

Duckett, J. (2012). China's 21st-century welfare reforms. Local Economy 27(5-6): 645-650.

Erie, Matthew. S. 2012. Property rights, legal consciousness and the new media in china: The hard case of the 'toughest nail-house in history'. China Information 26 (1):35-59. doi: 10.1177/0920203X11436164.

Fang, K, and Zhang, Y. (2003). Plan and market mismatch: Urban redevelopment in Beijing during a period of transition. Asia Pacific Viewpoint 44 (2):149-162.

Fang, Y-P. (2006). Residential Satisfaction, Moving Intention and Moving Behaviours: A Study of Redeveloped Neighbourhoods in Inner-City Beijing. Housing Studies 21 (5):671-694. doi: 10.1080/02673030600807217.

Gilroy, R. (2012). Physical threats to older people's social worlds: findings from a pilot study in Wuhan, China. Environment and Planning A 44 (2):458-476.

Goetz, E. G. (2002). Forced Relocation vs. Voluntary Mobility: The Effects of Dispersal Programmes on Households. Housing Studies 17 (1):107-123. doi: 10.1080/02673030120105938.

Goetz, E. G. (2011). "Where have all the towers gone? The dismantling of public housing in US cities". Journal of Urban Affairs 33(3): 267-287.

Goetz, E. G. (2013). Too Good to be True? The Variable and Contingent Benefits of Displacement and Relocation among Low-Income Public Housing Residents. Housing Studies 28 (2):235-252. doi: 10.1080/02673037.2013.767884.

Gong, H. (2012). The research on differentiation of grouping order in re-settlemtn community-H resettlement community in J city in Northeast of China as example. Master's degree master's thesis, Jilin University.
GoWell (2011). Moving Out, Moving On? Short to medium term outcomes from relocation through regeneration in Glasgow. Glasgow: Glasgow Centre for Population Health.
Grier, G, and Grier, E.. (1980). Urban displacement: a reconnaissance. In Back to the City: in Neighbourhood Renovation, Edited by Laska, Shirley B. and Spain, Daphne, 252-268. New York: Pergamon.
He, S.J. (2007). State-sponsored gentrification under market transition the case of Shanghai. Urban Affairs Review 43 (2):171-198.
He, S.J.. (2010). New-build gentrification in central Shanghai: demographic changes and socioeconomic implications. Population, Space and Place 16(5): 345-361. doi: 10.1002/psp.548.
He, S.J.. (2012). Two waves of gentrification and emerging rights issues in Guangzhou, China. Environment and Planning A 44 (12):2817-2833. doi: 10.1068/a44254.
He, S.J., and Liu, Z. (2013). A follow-on study on the impact of urban redevelopment on local residents induced by the Asian Games: an investigation in the three affected communities in Guangzhou. [In Chinese] Geographical Research 32 (3):243-275.
He, S.J., and Wu, FL. (2005). Property-led redevelopment in post-reform China: a case study of Xintiandi redevelopment project in Shanghai Journal of Urban Affairs 27 (1):1-23.
He, S.J., and Wu, Wu FL. (2007). Socio-spatial impacts of property-led redevelopment on China's urban neighbourhoods. Cities 24 (3):194-208. doi: 10.1016/j.cities.2006.12.001.
He, Xin. (2014). Maintaining Stability by Law: Protest-Supported Housing Demolition Litigation and Social Change in China. Law and Social Inquiry-Journal of the American Bar Foundation 39 (4):849-873. doi: 10.1111/lsi.12064.
He, Z., and Asami, Yasushi.. (2014). How Do Landowners Price their Lands during Land Expropriation and the Motives Behind It: An Explanation from a WTA/WTP Experiment in Central Beijing. Urban Studies 51 (2):412-427. doi: 10.1177/0042098013492227.
Higgins, E. T., & Stangor, C. (1988). A "change-of-standard" perspective on the relations among context, judgment, and memory. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 54(2): 181.
Hin, L.L, and Xin Li. (2011). Redevelopment of urban villages in Shenzhen, China – An analysis of power relations and urban coalitions. Habitat International 35 (3):426-434. doi: 10.1016/j.habitatint.2010.12.001.
Ho, Cheuk Yuet. (2013). Bargaining demolition in China: A practice of distrust. Critique of Anthropology 33 (4):412-428. doi: 10.1177/0308275x13501902.
Hu, Y., Hooimeijer, P., Bolt, G., & Sun, D. Q.(2015) Uneven compensation and relocation for displaced residents: The case of Nanjing. Habitat International 47:83-92.
Jingan District Government. (2015). The scheme for dwelling expropriation and compensation for the old inner city redevelopmnet project at No.73 street in Jingan District. Jingan District-level Government, Accessed 6th August. http://www.jingan.gov.cn/xxgk/016023/016023002/20150814/a7904748-b69d-4ad4-96d2749535df689d.html;http://www.jingan.gov.cn/xxgk/016001/016001001/20150817/69939629-2783-4004-8205-d42d1e8ba3a2.html.
Kearns, A., and Mason, P.. (2013). Defining and Measuring Displacement: Is Relocation from Restructured Neighbourhoods Always Unwelcome and Disruptive? Housing Studies 28 (2):177-204. doi: 10.1080/02673037.2013.767885.
Kleinhans, R. (2003). Displaced but still Moving Upwards in the Housing Career? Implications of Forced Residential Relocation in the Netherlands." Housing Studies 18 (4):473-499. doi: 10.1080/02673030304248.
Kleinhans, R, and Kearns, A.. (2013). Neighbourhood Restructuring and Residential Relocation: Towards a Balanced Perspective on Relocation Processes and Outcomes. Housing Studies 28 (2):163-176. doi: 10.1080/02673037.2013.768001.
Kleinhans, R, and Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, W. (2008). On Priority and Progress: Forced Residential Relocation and Housing Chances in Haaglanden, the Netherlands. Housing Studies 23 (4):565-587. doi: 10.1080/02673030802101641.
La Grange, Adrienne, and Pretorius, F. (2016). State-led gentrification in Hong Kong. Urban Studies 53 (3):506-523.
Lee, J. (2000) From Welfare Housing to Home Ownership: The Dilemma of China's Housing Reform. Housing Studies 15(1) 61-76.

Li, Q, and Li, Y . (2010). Residential differentiation and social distance.[In Chinese] Social Sciences of Beijing (1):4-11.
Li S-M. (2010) Evolving Residential and Employment Locations and Patterns of Commuting under Hyper Growth: The Case of Guangzhou, China, Urban Studies, 47(8): 1643-1661.
Li, S-M, and Song Y.L. (2009). Redevelopment, displacement, housing conditions, and residential satisfaction: a study of Shanghai. Environment and Planning A 41 (5):1090-1108. doi: 10.1068/a4168.
Li, S-M, Zhu, Y.S, and Li, L.M. 2012. Neighbourhood type, gatedness, and residential experiences in Chinese cities: A study of Guangzhou. Urban Geography 33 (2):237-255.
Li, X.M., and Yuan, X.F. (2008). Rethinking danwei communities. Sichuan Building Science 34 (2):197-199.
Li, X., Kleinhans, R. & van Ham, M. (2016) Neoliberalization and the Changing Roles of Stakeholders in State-Led Shantytown Redevelopment in Shenyang City, China, IZA DP No. 10141 August 2016
Li, X., Kleinhans, R., & van Ham, M. (2017). Shantytown redevelopment projects: State-led redevelopment of declining neighbourhoods under market transition in Shenyang, China. Cities. Cities,73,106-116.
Li, X., Kleinhans, R. & van Ham, M. (2016). "Understanding the Experiences of Relocatees During Forced Relocation in Chinese Urban Restructuring " . (No. 10140) . IZA Discussion Papers.
Liaoning Daily. (2015). "Within 1 month Liaoning province reports 23 issues that violate the 'ethos'." CPCNEWS Accessed 14 October. http://fanfu.people.com.cn/n/2015/1014/c64371-27696907.html.
Liu, Y.Q., Wu, F.L., Liu, Y. Liu, and Li, Z.G. (2017). "Changing neighbourhood cohesion under the impact of urban redevelopment: a case study of Guangzhou, China." Urban Geography 38 (2): 266-290.
Luo, Y.N. (2012). "Institutional Arrangements and Individual Action:The Spontaneous Moving Back of Urban Inhabitants of Resettlement and Space Reconstruction of The Original Community."master's thesis, East China Normal University.
Ma, J. (2012). "The study on Farmers' attitude and behaviour of different relocation models." Master's Degree master's thesis, Dongbei University of Finance and Economics.
Manzo, L.C., Kleit, R.G. & Couch, D. (2008) "Moving Three Times Is Like Having Your House on Fire Once": The Experience of Place and Impending Displacement among Public Housing Residents. Urban Studies, 45(9) 1855-1878.
Marcuse, P. 1985. "Gentrification, abandonment, and displacement: Connections, causes, and policy responses in New York City." Wash. UJ Urb. & Contemp. L. 28:195.
Nandu News. (2015). "How come the relocation lasts for 12 years for 200 villagers in Xiacun Village in Zhuhai city?". Nandu News Accessed 12 January http://paper.oeeee.com/nis/201501/19/318555.html.
Newman, Kathe and Elvin K.W. (2006). The Right to Stay Put, Revisited: Gentrification and Resistance to Displacement in New York City, Urban Studies, 43(1): 23–57.
Owens, A. (2017). How Do People-Based Housing Policies Affect People (and Place)?. Housing Policy Debate 27(2) 266-281.
People.cn. (2013). Haven't been relocated for more than 10 years . People.cn Accessed 25 February. http://leaders.people.com.cn/n/2013/0225/c178291-20584614.html.
Popkin, S. J., Levy, D.K. et al.,. (2004). The HOPE VI Program: What about the residents? Housing Policy Debate 15 (2):385-414. doi: 10.1080/10511482.2004.9521506.
Posthumus, H, and Kleinhans, R.. (2014). Choice within limits: how the institutional context of forced relocation affects tenants' housing searches and choice strategies. Journal of Housing and the Built Environment 29 (1):105-122. doi: 10.1007/s10901-013-9353-6.
Qian, J.X., and He, S.J. (2012). Rethinking social power and the right to the city amidst China's emerging urbanism. Environment and Planning A 44 (12):2801-2816. doi: 10.1068/a44373.
Raymond, C. M., Brown, G, and Weber, D. (2010). The measurement of place attachment: Personal, community, and environmental connections. Journal of Environmental Psychology 30 (4):422-434. doi: 10.1016/j.jenvp.2010.08.002.
Ren, X.F. (2014). The Political Economy of Urban Ruins: Redeveloping Shanghai. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 38 (3):1081-1091. doi: 10.1111/1468-2427.12119.
Scannell, L., and Gifford, R. (2010). Defining place attachment: A tripartite organizing framework. Journal of Environmental Psychology 30 (1):1-10. doi: 10.1016/j.jenvp.2009.09.006.
Scudder, T, and Colson, E.(1982). From welfare to development: a conceptual framework for the analysis of dislocated people. In Involuntary Migration and Resettlement, Edited by Hansen, A. and Ohver-Smith, A., 267-287. Boulder: Westview Press.
Shi, J.G., and Zhu, J. (2013). Behaviour of relocatees from a game view.[In Chinese] Urban Problems (4):72-77.

Shin, H.B. (2014). Urban spatial restructuring, event-led development and scalar politics. Urban Studies 51 (14):2961-2978. doi: 10.1177/0042098013515031.
Shin, H.B. (2016) Economic transition and speculative urbanisation in China: Gentrification versus dispossession. Urban Studies 53(3) 471-489.
Sichuan News. 2009. Report about the demolition and self-burning event in Chengdu city. Si-chuan News. Accessed 3 September 2009. http://scnews.newssc.org/system/2009/12/03/012464005.shtml.
Song, J. (2015). Official relocation and self-help development: Three housing strategies under ambiguous property rights in China's rural land development. Urban Studies 52 (1):121-137. doi: 10.1177/0042098014524612.
The State Council of PRC. (2001). The Regulation on the Management of the Demolition of Urban Dewellings. The State Council of PRC. Accessed 13th June. http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2001/content_60912.htm
The State Council of PRC. (2011) The Regulation on the Expropriation and Compensation of Dwelllings on the State-owned land. The State Council of PRC. Accessed 21 Jan. http://www.gov.cn/flfg/2011-01/21/content_1791480.htm
The State Council of PRC. (2013). The suggestions of the State Council on accelerating the slum clearance and upgrade projects. The State Council of PRC. Accessed 12 July. http://www.gov.cn/zwgk/2013-07/12/content_2445808.htm.
Visser, K., Bolt, G., and van Kempen, R. (2013). Urban Restructuring and Forced Relocations: Housing Opportunities for Youth? A Case Study in Utrecht, the Netherlands. Housing Studies 28 (2):294-316. doi: 10.1080/02673037.2013.767881.
Wang, L. (2009). The actional selection of interests expression of urban relocated residents: a case-study of relocated residents' campaign in B District of H City. Master's thesis, Northeast Normal University.
Wang, S.W.H. (2011). The Evolution of Housing Renewal in Shanghai, 1990–2010: A 'Socially Conscious' Entrepreneurial City? European Journal of Housing Policy 11 (1):51-69.
Wang, YP, Shao, L., Murie, A., et al. (2012). The Maturation of the Neo-liberal Housing
Market in Urban China. Housing Studies, 27(3), 343-359.
Weinstein, L, and Ren X.F. (2009). The changing right to the city: urban renewal and housing rights in globalizing Shanghai and Mumbai. City & Community 8 (4):407-432.
Wu, F.L. (2004a). Intraurban residential relocation in Shanghai: modes and stratification. Environment and Planning A 36 (1):7-25.
Wu, F.L. (2004b). Residential relocation under market-oriented redevelopment: the process and outcomes in urban China. Geoforum 35 (4):453-470. doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2003.10.001.
Wu, F.L. (2012). Neighbourhood attachment, social participation, and willingness to stay in China's low-income communities. Urban Affairs Review 48(4): 547-570.
Wu, F.L, Zhang, F.Z., and Webster, C. (2013). Informality and the Development and Demolition of Urban Villages in the Chinese Peri-urban Area. Urban Studies 50 (10):1919-1934. doi: 10.1177/0042098012466600.
Xi, J., and Hwang S.S.. (2011). Relocation stress, coping, and sense of control among resettlers resulting from China's Three Gorges Dam Project. Social indicators research 104(3): 507-522.
Xia, Y.J., and Zhu, XG.. (2013). The evaluation of urban forced movers' community satisfaction-a case study of Nanjing. [In Chinese] Scientia Geographica Sinica 33 (8):918-925
Xinhuanet. (2014). Thousands of relocation households have not been rehoused Why has the key Shantytown Redevelopment Project been ceased for many years?. Xinhuanet, Accessed 12 April. http://news.xinhuanet.com/fortune/2014-04/21/c_1110327303.htm.
Xinjing News. 2013.180 Relocatee households have been drifting for 13 years in Taiyuan city 50 relocatees cannot be rehoused until they passed away. Xinhuanet Accessed 1 October. http://www.hb.xinhuanet.com/2013-10/01/c_117582191.htm.
Xue, L., Kerstetter, D., and Buzinde, C. N.. (2015). Residents' experiences with tourism development and resettlement in Luoyang, China. Tourism Management 46:444-453. doi: 10.1016/j.tourman.2014.08.005.
Xuhui District Government. (2015). The scheme for dwelling expropriation and compensation for the old inner city redevelopmnet project at No.378-386 (even number) in Urumqi street in Xuhui District. Xuhui District Government Accessed 27 July. http://fangguan.xuhui.gov.cn/fgj_home/home/fggg/fggg_content.jsp?tgid=0F50F608-0AAD-0B6E-DF51-8CFC4B70C2B7.
Zhang, L. (2004). Forced from home: Property rights, civic activism, and the politics of relocation in China. Urban Anthropology 33 (2-4):247-281.

Zhu, Y.S, Breitung, W., and Li, S-M. (2012). The Changing Meaning of Neighbourhood Attachment in Chinese Commodity Housing Estates: Evidence from Guangzhou. Urban Studies 49 (11):2439-2457. doi: 10.1177/0042098011427188.

TOC

3 Shantytown Redevelopment Projects: State-Led Redevelopment of Declining Neighbourhoods under Market Transition in Shenyang, China

Published in Cities as: **Li, X., Kleinhans, R., & van Ham, M.** *(2018). Shantytown redevelopment projects: State-led redevelopment of declining neighbourhoods under market transition in Shenyang, China. Cities,73,106-116. DOI10.1016/j.cities.2017.10.016*

Abstract

Since 1978, market transition in China has significantly influenced the roles of the state, the market and the residents in urban restructuring. Since 2008, the central government has initiated Shantytown Redevelopment Projects (SRPs) to improve the living conditions of low-income residents. Between 2008 and 2012, about 12.6 million households were involved in SRPs, and forced to move as their dwellings were demolished. This paper investigates how SRPs are implemented by revealing how different stakeholders interact in SRPs in the city of Shenyang, China. Through in-depth interviews with various stakeholders and analysis of policy documentation on SRPs, the paper reveals a complex interplay between different stakeholders, which is characterized by the centralization of the inception of SRPs, the decentralization of actual SRP implementation, changes in the role of market forces, and decreasing housing affordability and multiple deprivation of residents in SRP target areas. Various stakeholders have consensus on the need for improving the living conditions in deprived neighbourhoods and on boosting the housing market. However, conflicts arise due to frictions between the central and local governments regarding the implementation of SRPs. We also find evidence of an entrepreneurial paradox in the relationship between local governments and developers. Finally, a mismatch occurs between the scope of the SRP policy and residents' attempts to improve their socioeconomic situation.

Keywords: *Shantytown redevelopment; Declining neighbourhoods; Market transition; Governance; Demolition; China*

§ 3.1 Introduction

Since 1978, China has undergone the process of market transition, which has led to a commercialized housing provision system in which urban residential redevelopment has become strongly market-oriented (Shin, 2009; Wu, 2001). Developers and entrepreneurial local governments have embarked on extensive urban housing demolition and redevelopment on profitable locations, featuring large-scale forced rehousing of residents (He and Wu, 2007). Neighbourhoods with low land values have not received much attention from the state or the private sector. In 1998, the central government enacted a regulation to suspend the public housing provision system. From then on, low-income residents who are not eligible for state (or state-owned enterprise) housing subsidies have very limited access to dwellings (Chen *et al.*, 2014; Lee, 2000).

In 2008, parallel to the local government-initiated residential redevelopment projects, the Chinese central government initiated the first round of national Shantytown Redevelopment Projects (SRPs, Peng-hu-qu Gaizao in Pinyin). SRPs aim to improve the living conditions of low-income residents and to stimulate the depressed housing market. In China, the term shantytown (Peng-hu-qu) is widely used in government policies and refers to the dilapidated housing or illegally-constructed shanties in old inner cities, *danwei*[1] communities, or run-down villages in (sub)urban and rural areas. There are some differences in what the term shanty(town) represents in the Chinese context and in other countries with regard to the concrete structure, construction materials, development history and the formal position of the shanty. For instance, regarding the development history and legality of the shanty, some of the shantytowns in China were planned and legally constructed by state-owned enterprises to reside their employees' family members, sometimes temporarily, in the socialist era. Due to a shortage of housing, these areas were retained, but a lack of maintenance caused them to become dilapidated. However, shantytowns in China and in other countries also share similarities, such as poor dwelling quality, the lack of basic infrastructures, social disorder issues, etc. In line with the discourse, policies and context of shantytowns in China, this paper uses the term shantytown to refer to neighbourhoods or areas with a high concentration of physically run-down dwellings, which lack basic infrastructures such as gas and water (MOHURD, 2013a). While the year 2008 witnessed a new policy turn to shantytown redevelopment projects, these are by no means new. Since 1980s, some local governments such as Beijing have initiated neighbourhood redevelopment projects in the inner city which are featured by upgrading the physical conditions of the neighbourhoods (Fang and Zhang, 2003; Leaf, 1995). During the end of the 1990s and in the early 2000s, such redevelopment projects have evolved into larger-scale demolition of dwellings and forced relocation of residents from the inner city to sub-urban areas (Fang and Zhang, 2003; He, 2012).

Current SRPs in China involve the demolition of run-down neighbourhoods and the forced relocation of the residents. Between 2008 and 2012, about 12.6 million households were involved in the national SRPs (MOHURD, 2013a); their dwellings were demolished and they were forced to move. In 2013, the central government triggered a second round of SRPs, which focused especially on improving the living conditions of vulnerable residents in undesirable small scale urban areas. From 2008 to date, the neighbourhoods targeted for SRPs have changed from large-scale and well-positioned desirable locations to small-scale neighbourhoods in undesirable locations from a housing market point of view (MOHURD, 2013b).

Under recent market transition, urban redevelopment in China involves complicated interactions between different stakeholders, such as entrepreneurial local governments, emerging market forces and self-enterprising individuals (He and Lin, 2015; Lin *et al*., 2014; Ong, 2007; Zhu, 1999). These stakeholders behave differently in response to 'the gaming between formal institutions (laws, rules, regulations) and informal institutions (norms/values, and traditions and routines)' (He and Lin, 2015: 2759). Some studies argue that while local governments and developers dominate urban redevelopment as land and capital providers respectively (He and Wu, 2005; Shin, 2009; Zhang, 2002), residents and communities are becoming more disadvantaged and marginalised (He and Wu, 2007; Ren, 2014; Shin, 2014). Other studies and media reports reveal conflicts between local governments, developers and sitting tenants because of fundamental disagreements over urban redevelopment projects (He, 2012; Hin and Xin, 2011; Si-chuan News, 2009). Meanwhile, evolving regulations for the urban housing demolition and relocation are changing the interrelationships between different actors in urban restructuring (Shih, 2010; Ren, 2014).

Most studies investigating urban restructuring projects in China have focussed on neighbourhoods with high land values in the context of a prospering housing market. Developers and local governments are highly motivated to take part in these redevelopment projects, because such projects have been very profitable. However, few studies have been conducted on urban restructuring and residential upgrading projects in less popular areas for low-income residents, especially since the recession in the Chinese housing market after 2013. Also, most of the urban redevelopment projects examined in empirical studies were initiated by local governments or developers, and carried out within a certain time period. These studies document the position of different stakeholders in one particular institutional, economic and social context, and do not investigate changes in stakeholders' roles over time.

This paper aims to investigate how the state-led SRPs are implemented in Shenyang and what this means to different stakeholders by revealing how different stakeholders

interact with each other, and how their roles have changed over time against the changing context. The paper is based on semi-structured interviews with different stakeholders involved in SRPs in Shenyang, including experts, governors, developers and residents. Shenyang is an old industrial city in Northeast China and is the capital city of Liaoning Province. The city is considered as a pioneer of SRPs in China. In 2005, Liaoning Province firstly initiated the SRPs at the provincial level in China. As the capital city of Liaoning Province, Shenyang had initiated large-scale demolition and forced relocation of residents during the years 2005-2006, which involved about 130,000 households and accounted for 37.7 % of the total share of affected households in the Liaoning province (LNJST, 2008). During the current round of SRPs (2014-2016), about 81,500 households are involved. The Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of PRC (MOHURD) has promoted 'Shenyang Mode' nationally due to its success on SRPs (Shenyang Daily, 2016).

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. The next section locates different stakeholders within the context of market transition and urban restructuring in China. Then the research area, data and methods are described. Following this, the paper discusses the implementation of SRPs, and the changing roles and interaction between different stakeholders in SRPs in Shenyang. The last two sections present the discussion and conclusions respectively.

§ 3.2 Urban restructuring under market transition in China

State-led redevelopment of declining (inner-city) neighbourhoods with a large social housing segment is often designed by governments around the globe to tackle issues such as segregation, disorder, poverty concentration and physical decline (Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013; Lelévrier, 2013; Uitermark *et al*., 2007). Governments often declare that such redevelopment contributes to economic growth, social mix and social equality, via introducing middle-class households to declining neighbourhoods or by relocating minority or low-income households into more affluent neighbourhoods (August, 2016; Lelévrier, 2013). However, such efforts have been criticized for marginalising low-income residents and maintaining their limited influence on the decision-making of redevelopment (Goetz, 2016; Lees, 2012), although social housing tenants throughout Europe enjoy some level of rent protection in the context of urban redevelopment (Korthals Altes, 2016). While low-income households in the United States are often displaced due to sharp increases of rents and living costs after redevelopment, middle-high income households, private developers and local

governments usually benefit from gentrification and revalorization of urban land (Goetz, 2016; Lees, 2012). Both in Europe and the United States, neo-liberalisation has greatly affect the governance of urban redevelopment policies (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). Due to fiscal austerity and public deficits, national governments cut down social housing subsidies and invite private developers into social housing redevelopment, which can substantially moderate the outcome of social welfare delivery as the interests of low-income residents are often marginalised for the achievement of general economic growth (Goetz, 2016; Marom and Carmon, 2015). Although some collaborative governance between governments, residents, and private developers is promoted in Western European countries such as the UK and the Netherlands, the national state often still plays a significant role in shaping and implementing the policies and redevelopment (Dodson, 2006). Compared with the Western cities, the role of the state on urban (re)development in East Asian cities might be even more apparent and outstanding (Shin *et al.*, 2016). In East Asia, the strong state intervention both exists in economic development and social welfare policy delivery, and it cooperates or mobilises market forces to achieve capital accumulation via space reproduction such as 'slum' clearance and forced relocation or residents, under the joint effects of East Asian histories (e.g. colony or socialist legacy) and the recent global economic and political trends such as democratisation, decentralization, neoliberalization, etc. (Shin *et al.*, 2016). This has led to the disparities of the position of different actors during urban redevelopment, featured by the advantaged position of the state and capitalists and the disadvantaged position of the affected residents on mobilising urban resources such as land ownership, institutions, policy practises, etc. (Shin *et al.*, 2016; Weinstein and Ren, 2009).

Under market transition, the aforementioned contradiction between economic growth and social equality has also been manifest in urban governance and neighbourhood redevelopment in China. Since 1978, China has been undergoing significant market transition. The central government has adopted privatization, deregulation and decentralization to establish a more market-oriented economy (Harvey, 2005; He and Wu, 2009; Wu, 2010). Some scholars have claimed that China has been experiencing a process of neo-liberalization, with the state changing its style of governance: from governing a 'totalitarian society' or 'authoritarian society' to 'ruling from afar' (Wu, 2008; Zhang and Ong, 2008). However, other scholars argue that the term neo-liberalization cannot be applied to the Chinese context, because the political and economic developmental path of China has never included liberalisation, and hence there cannot be neo-liberalization (Nonini, 2008). Regardless of the dispute about whether China has become neo-liberal or not, the process of market transition has influenced the logic, processes and governance arrangements between different actors in urban redevelopment projects (Lee and Zhu, 2006; Lin, 2014; Lin *et al.*, 2014; Zhang, 2002; Zhu, 1999). In the socialist era, the state took public housing provision as an

inherent duty, and state-owned enterprises or other state organizations provided their employees with highly subsidized housing. In the post-reform era, a commodity housing market was established. Currently, access to housing in China is largely dependent on a household's income and status and whether people qualify for subsidized housing provided by the state or work units (Chen *et al.*, 2014; Lee, 2000; Stephens, 2010; Wang *et al.*, 2012). Some scholars pointed out that this excludes vulnerable social groups that can neither afford commodity dwellings nor obtain access to subsidized housing, which shows that the marketization of the Chinese housing market is dysfunctional (Chen *et al.*, 2014; Lee, 2000; Meng, 2012; Ni *et al.*, 2012). This inequality in housing has been further enlarged by the sharp increases of housing prices.

Despite these market transition, the Chinese central government has retained its strong influence on urban governance, through strong control on resource allocation, national policies, and public service delivery (Cartier, 2013; He and Wu, 2009; Ong, 2007; Wu, 2008, 2010; Stephens, 2010). The central government has adopted social and political stability and economic development as the underlying principles for the formulation of policy direction, and it will intervene the market transition process if market failure erodes social stability (Chen *et al.*, 2014; He and Wu, 2009; Wang *et al.*, 2012). This is reflected in the resurgence of public housing projects led by the Chinese central government since the global financial crisis, such as the SRPs. The state aims to establish a 'harmonious society' by addressing income gaps, reducing social inequality, and boosting the economy (Chen *et al.*, 2014; Stephens, 2010).

At the same time, within the one-party system, the relationship between the central and local governments in China has shifted. Generally speaking, local governments are supposed to follow the central government's directives for projects such as public housing construction (Wang *et al.*, 2012). Despite hierarchical governance, there is asymmetrical decentralization of power and responsibility, and local governments are reluctant to invest in public housing sectors which has caused public housing projects to lag behind (Lin, 2014; Stephens, 2010; Xu and Yeh, 2009). Fiscal and economic reforms have given local governments more autonomy in economic activities, and also increased the pressure to generate more fiscal revenue for the provision of public services (Chen *et al.*, 2014; Chien, 2007; Lin, 2014). Motivated by economic growth, the need to upgrade urban image and career aspiration of governments cadres, some have found that many local governments have transformed from social welfare providers to acting like 'developmental', 'localism' and 'entrepreneurial' states (He, 2012; He and Wu, 2005; Su, 2014; Yang and Chang, 2007; Zhang, 2002; Zhu, 1999).

Apart from the central state, which is responsible for making guidelines and balancing conflicts between social stability and the economy, stakeholders in the market and society (such as developers and residents) are also involved in urban restructuring. In

many cases, local governments and developers have held a dominant position in urban redevelopment (He and Wu, 2005; Shin, 2009; Zhang, 2002), while residents are more disadvantaged and marginalised (Ren, 2014; Shih, 2010; Shin, 2014). Sometimes even the compensation criteria have not been transparent to local residents, and residents have often been excluded from the decision-making process (He and Wu, 2005; Yang and Chang, 2007: 1822). Conflicts between local governments or developers and homeowners constantly arise due to disagreement on urban redevelopment projects and compensation (He, 2012; Hin and Xin, 2011; Si-chuan News, 2009; Shao, 2013).

SRPs are generally initiated and implemented by governments to improve the living conditions of low-income residents of declining neighbourhoods. Local governments select the targeted neighbourhoods for SRPs. These neighbourhoods are demolished and residents are forced to move. They can usually get two types of compensation[2] from governments: monetary and/or in-kind compensation. To some extent, SRP embodies the attribute of public housing projects as residents can get compensation from the government. Simultaneously, it is also market oriented as it aims to boost the housing market and, in some cases, transform the urban function and social class of target areas. Since 2008, the central government has initiated two rounds of SRPs. Meanwhile, the institutional, economic and social context in China has been evolving, featured by the recession of the housing market, the amendment of land expropriation regulations, appeals on the standardization on capital raising and urban (re)development, and the growing significance of social equality. This raises questions about how the SRPs are implemented with changing roles of different stakeholders in a changing context. Before delving deeper into these questions, the next section describes our research approach, data and methods.

§ 3.3 Research area, data and method

Most of the research on urban redevelopment in China focuses on eastern coastal cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou. Our case study is Shenyang in Northeast China, a typical old industrial city. Shenyang has a population of 5.25 million (Shenyang Statistic Bureau, 2014), making it the largest city in Northeast China and the 11th largest city in the whole country. Shenyang has been called the 'Ruhr of the East', and was deeply affected by the planned economy. The city has a large proportion of state-owned enterprises, industrial workers and *danwei* communities. However, since the 1980s, Shenyang has suffered from a major economic depression because of its maladjustment to the market economy. Many enterprises went bankrupt and workers were laid off. Urban areas, especially those traditional industrial areas occupied by state-owned enterprises and *danwei* communities, became problematic areas. Shenyang, had – and still has – a lot of industrial workers and *danwei* communities. In addition, there are many urban villages located in the suburban areas. The physical conditions of these neighbourhoods have severely deteriorated (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2).

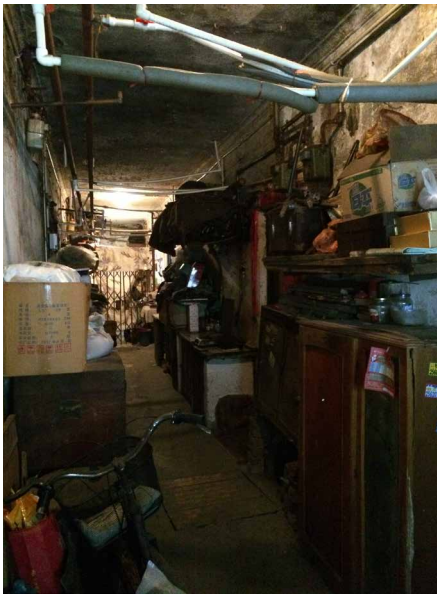


FIGURE 3.1 The internal dwelling condition of a danwei community
Source: authors

FIGURE 3.2 The main road of a urban village
Source: authors

Since the 1990s, the municipal authority of Shenyang has implemented several SRPs to improve the living conditions of its citizens. Shenyang is the capital city of Liaoning Province, which is the first province to implement SRPs at the provincial level, a development strategy pursued by Premier Li when he was the Governor of Liaoning Province. As the capital city of Liaoning Province, Shenyang has been a pioneer in SRPs in the province (see also section 3.1). Shenyang is therefore a very interesting case study for investigating changes in governance arrangements in SRPs over time. Table 3.1 shows the housing conditions in Shenyang in 2010. There are still thousands of households living in dwellings that lack basic facilities such as tap water and private bathroom and toilet. Also, lower-story buildings accounts for almost 63% of all buildings in Shenyang. These low-story buildings which lack basic facilities are very likely to become the targets for SRPs.

TABLE 3.1 Housing condition in Shenyang (2010)

	HOUSING FACILITIES				FLOORS	BUILDING YEARS
	No private Kitchen	No tap water	No Bathroom	No Private Toilet	1-6 floors	Before 1980
Absolute Number (household)	5,913	31,510	114,426	25,422	177,061	23,582
Proportion (household)	2.1%	11.1%	40.5%	9.5%	62.6%	8.3%

Source: Based on the Population Census Data in Shenyang 2010(Shenyang Statistic Bureau, 2010).

TABLE 3.2 Basic information of professional respondents

ID	PROFESSIONAL ROLE	FUNCTION OF DEPARTMENT	ID	PROFESSIONAL ROLE	FUNCTION OF DEPARTMENT
1	Governor	SRPs + Land Expropriation Department	10	Developer	Private Real Estate Company
2	Governor	SRPs + Land Expropriation Department	11	Developer	Private Real Estate Company
3	Governor	Land Expropriation Department	12	Expert	Land Expropriation Company
4	Governor	Land Expropriation Department	13	Expert	Land Expropriation Company
5	Governor	Land Expropriation Department	14	Expert	Scholar
6	Governor	Land Expropriation Department	15	Expert	Scholar
7	Governor	Land Expropriation Department	16	Expert	Scholar
8	Planner	Urban Planning and Design Institute	17	Expert	Scholar
9	Developer	Private Real Estate Company			

The empirical basis for this paper consists of (analysis of) policy documentation and in-depth, semi-structured interviews conducted in March, April, May, September and October 2015. We approached governors, planners, developers and scholars via email, personal introduction or the local government's official channels (see Table 3.2). As part of a larger research study on SRPs in Shenyang, we also interviewed residents living in a selection of shantytowns, which are among the target areas of the SRP plans of Shenyang (Figure 3.3). Both danwei communities and urban villages were involved in the field work (see Figures 3.4 and 3.5). We recruited these resident respondents through a combination of snowball sampling and door knocking. Some respondents were approached more than once to obtain supplementary information.

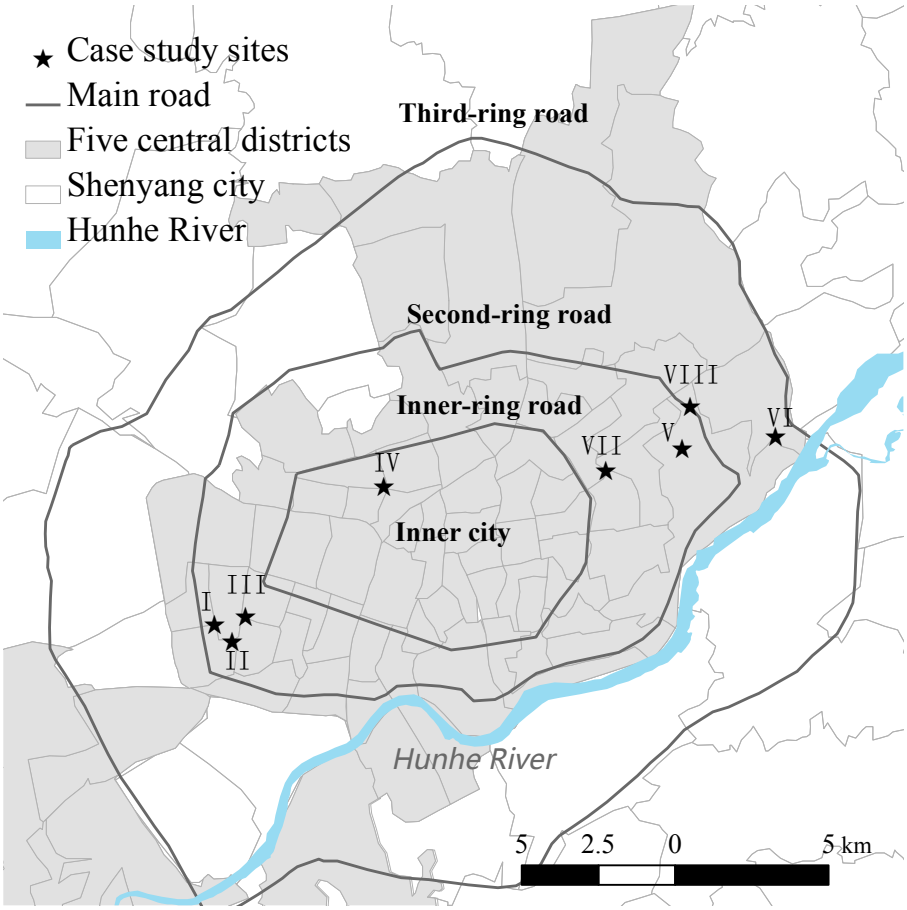


FIGURE 3.3 Shenyang and the locations of the case study areas in Shenyang
Source: Authors.

TOC

TABLE 3.3 Basic information of the resident respondents

CATOGERY	GENDER			AGE (YEAR)				LENGTH OF RESIDENCE (YEAR)				
	Male	Female	Un-known	30-60	60-80	≥80s	Un-known	<20	20-40	40-60	≥60	Un-known
Absolute Number	29	29	6	21	28	4	11	8	22	17	9	8
Proportion	45%	45%	9%	33%	44%	6%	17%	13%	34%	27%	14%	13%

FIGURE 3.4 The external dwelling condition of a danwei community
Source: Authors

FIGURE 3.5 The main road of a urban village
Source: Authors

All the interviews were conducted face-to-face using a semi-structured interview schedule which varied according to type of respondent. The questions posed to governors, planners, developers and scholars focused mainly on (1) how the SRPs in Shenyang were implemented in terms of financial issues, land expropriation, and governance arrangements; (2) how and why different actors took part in the SRPs; (3) the interrelationships between different stakeholders and implementation problems. During the interviews with residents, questions were asked about their perceptions of the SRPs, impending demolition and neighbourhood changes, their family and moving history, their moving intentions, residential satisfaction, etc.

In total, 81 interviews were conducted, including 17 interviews with scholars, governors, planners and developers, and 64 interviews with residents. Among the interviews with residents, 33 were conducted in *danwei* communities and 31 were conducted in urban villages. The interviews with governors, developers, planners and experts were recorded by making notes. The interviews of residents, with the exception of four (because the author did not get permission to record the interview), were recorded and subsequently transcribed verbatim, enabling content analysis of the

transcriptions. Table 3.3 shows the descriptive statistics of the resident respondents. Most of them have been living in their declining neighbourhoods for more than 20 years. The interviewed residents who are older than 55 are retired and can get a pension ranging around from 1800 to 3000 RMB/month. Those respondents who are aged between 30 and 55 either have part-time jobs or are self-employed. Many of them are homeowners who can rent out rooms to migrants and earn around 200 RMB per month per room. Many young and more affluent residents have moved out of these neighbourhoods. The stayers are mostly middle-aged residents with a low or middle income. There are also many migrants living in these neighbourhoods. In 2015, the annual average disposable income for the lowest and lower income households are 14679 RMB and 23944 RMB respectively (Shenyang Statistic Bureau, 2016). However, the average selling price of commercialized residential dwellings is 6416 RMB per square meter (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2015). In general, it is relatively difficult for these lowest – and lower income residents to afford the dwellings.

Before using Atlas.ti to analyse the transcriptions, the notes and recordings were read and listened to several times. To guarantee the anonymity of respondents in the analysis, the quotes of residents are accompanied by gender, age category, fictitious names, and interviewing date. The quotes of scholars, governors, planners and developers are indicated by a number (to distinguish different respondents), their respective function and interviewing date. Alongside the interviews, we analysed relevant policy documentation on SRPs in general and their implementation in our case study area in particular. Figure 3.3 shows the map of Shenyang as well as the case study neighbourhoods (involved in SRPs).

§ 3.4 Implementation and changes in roles of stakeholders in SRPs in Shenyang

§ 3.4.1 The centralization of the inception of SRPs

There is a tendency towards centralization in Shenyang's SRPs with regard to initiating projects, raising funds and expropriating land. As Table 3.4 shows, SRPs in Shenyang used to be initiated by the municipality. The central government has taken over this role from 2013 onwards. Since the 1980s, Shenyang has seen some local-state initiated residential redevelopment projects (Guo and Sun, 2010). In 2000, Shenyang municipality initiated a large-scale SRP, and emphasized redeveloping shantytowns and land at market prices (Guo and Sun, 2010: 110). In 2005, the then Governor of Liaoning Province launched a provincial-wide SRP programme, incorporating SRPs into its provincial-level development strategy for the first time. Shenyang was encouraged by the policies of the provincial authority, to implement larger-scale SRPs in the following two years (Guo and Sun, 2010). The centralization process of SRPs did not stop at the provincial level. During the period 2005-2008, central government officials visited the relocation neighbourhoods of SRPs in Liaoning Province and spoke highly of the SRPs in Liaoning. SRPs were first mentioned by the central government in 2007, when it announced its national policy "Solve the housing problems of urban low-income social groups". However, from 2008 to 2013, Shenyang launched few SRPs because there were hardly any shantytowns left in the inner city (Respondent 8, 18-03-2015).

In 2013, Shenyang commenced a five-year SRP (2013-2017) in response to the central government's promotion of a second round of SRPs. In order to motivate local governments and get them involved in SRPs, the central government repeatedly stressed the importance of SRPs as the key to economic growth and the welfare of residents in the current situation of slow economic growth (Li, 2015). The central government set clear plans for the SRPs regarding financial arrangements, land acquisition, and compensation schemes for residents (Chinajsb, 2015a; MOHURD, 2013a). Also several national-level meetings were organized between officials from different provinces and municipalities to exchange experiences with SRPs (Chinajsb, 2015a, 2015b). The central government has also monitored and supervised the use of state-supported funds, to promote the pace of SRPs uptake (MFPRC, 2012). Shenyang had stated that there were no urban shantytowns left within the inner city after 2008. However, in response to the central government's strong promotion of SRPs, Shenyang has extended the targeted neighbourhoods from inner-city neighbourhoods to shanty villages at the urban periphery (Respondent 8, 18-03-2015; Respondent 1, 30-03-2015).

TABLE 3.4 The centralization process of SRPs in Shenyang

YEAR	MAIN ACTOR	RELATED PROJECTS AND POLICIES	FEATURE OF NEIGHBOURHOODS	STRATEGY ADOPTED IN SHENYANG
2001-2004	Shenyang City	City-level residential upgrading projects; the pace of SRPs was accelerated since the central government launched the "Revitalization of the Northeast old industrial bases programme" in 2003	Large scale; spatially concentrated, relatively good location from a housing market perspective	Projects are operated according to market mechanisms, and supported by the various governments
2005-2008	Liaoning Province	SRPs listed as the chief project of Liaoning Province's development strategy;		Market functioning, government initiated
2009-2012	The central government	"Urban shantytown redevelopment" was first mentioned in the national policy and on the agenda of national public housing; involving a RMB 4 trillion worth of investment in infrastructure construction since the global financial crisis.		-
2013-2017	The central government	Shantytown redevelopment projects have become more independent projects	Small scale; spatially scattered; relatively poor location	Government oriented, and district-level governments are responsible

Sources: based on own interview materials and policy documents referenced in section 3.4.1.

Through other related interventions, the central government controls the crucial factors for the implementation of SRP: capital (funds) and land, which ensures that local governments align their development strategies within the agenda of the central government to obtain more financial and policy support. Since 2011, the central government has enacted several policies related to funds, urban space and land expropriation. We explain three policies in more detail.

The first policy concerned the land (re)development patterns. It emphasized compact land development and stressed the redevelopment of land already in use rather than uncultivated land (MLRPRC, 2014). Consequently, local governments have had to increase land use efficiency via redeveloping inner cities if they require more land. Therefore, local governments take the redevelopment of urban shantytowns as an important option for increasing land use efficiency Respondent 8, 18-03-2015).

The second policy is related to the funding resources for local developments. The central government published the regulation 'Control on the risk of the local governments' debt' in 2014, which sought to limit local governments' risk in raising capital by pledging urban land to banks for loan (Respondent 1, 15-04-2015 and 2, 07-04-2015). The depressed housing market and low financial capacity of residents in shantytowns worsen the funding of SRPs. Local governments have to rely on financial support from the central government to promote SRPs. Funds for Shenyang's SRPs originate from different-level governments and the China Development Bank (CDB[3]). Up to 2015, Shenyang has received RMB 73.11 million (around €10 million) in funds from the central government, intended for compensating residents in SRPs. The CDB further provided Shenyang RMB 12.2 billion for SRPs in 2015 and 2016, which accounts for almost 80%of the total investment that Shenyang requires.

Third, the central government instructs local governments to regulate the land expropriation process through legislation and regulations. In 2007, the central government enacted the Property Rights Law which highlights the protection of private properties. In 2011, the central government abolished the No. 305 regulation on land expropriation (issued in 2001) which implies the legality of forced demolition on private properties, but contradicts the Property Rights Law (The State Council of PRC, 2001; Weinstein and Ren, 2009). At the same time, the new regulation on land expropriation (No. 590) was issued to standardize the conversion of property ownership and land-use rights from homeowners to local governments in public-use projects. These changes show the centralization in local urban (re)developments.

§ 3.4.2 The decentralization of SRP implementation

Parallel to the centralization of the inception of SRPs, the *implementation* of SRPs has become more decentralized over time. This is partly due to the institutional arrangements of the central government and Liaoning Province. In China, the administrative structure in urban areas is multi-layered: municipal government, district-level governments and sub-district governments. District-level governments are a lower level than municipal governments. In turn, municipal government is affected by the regulations from the central and provincial governments.

In 2011 the central government abolished the old regulation (No. 305) on demolishing urban housing, and issued a new one (No. 590) emphasizing the expropriation of state-owned land for public use. The new regulation highlights the district-level governments' duty in urban redevelopment (see Figure 3.6.1 and 3.6.3). The decision-

making on land expropriation therefore has devolved from the Shenyang municipal-level government to the district-level governments. In 2013, Liaoning Province introduced a policy to devolve more power to district-level governments with regard to project management, urban planning, land-use management and land expropriation. At about the same time, Shenyang municipality adopted a policy which emphasized the leading role of district-level governments in implementing SRPs. Due to the above changes, district-level governments are empowered with more autonomy on decisions about the duration of the transitional period, the criteria for compensation and the procedure for the selection of rehousing dwellings during SRPs.

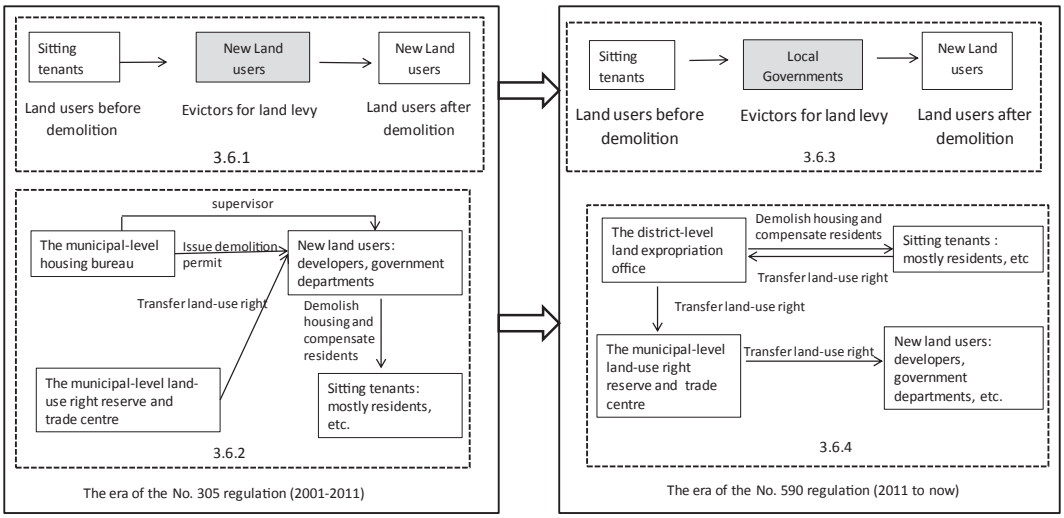


FIGURE 3.6 Changes in the land expropriation process: Regulations No. 305 & No. 590
Sources: Based on regulations No. 305 (The State Council of PRC, 2001) and No.590 (The State Council of PRC, 2011).

However, these changes pose multiple challenges to district-level governments. First, district-level governments need to deal with relocatees' multiple deprivation situation (usually including a combination of poverty, unemployment, low-income, disability, etc.) and their decreasing housing affordability in the context of the second-round national SRPs (see section 3.4.4). Current SRP merely focuses on the physical improvement of residents' living conditions and adopts single compensation criteria. Therefore, it has limited influence on alleviating these relocatees' multiple deprivation in relation to poverty, unemployment, disability or chronic disease related to ageing. Second, local governments need to adapt themselves to the new institutional context in relation to land expropriation process. The newly enacted regulation on land expropriation makes district-level governments responsible for the land expropriation

TOC

process. It also empowers residents to be involved in the decision-making of SRPs. For instance, before the actual redevelopment starts, local governments have to make sure that residents sign the redevelopment agreement. Residents are also allowed to choose the real estate assessment company which sets the compensation criteria by assessing the value of residents' dwellings, whereas local governments used to nominate these companies. These changes have become necessary procedures required by current land expropriation policy. District-level governments therefore have to make efforts to adapt their governance and redevelopment strategy to accommodate relocatees' appeals, which might lead to the delayed pace of SRPs (SYG, 2014; Respondent 3, 02-04-2015). However, local governments try to limit these changes on a nominal level and residents have limited influence on the redevelopment process. Finally, district-level governments face a higher financial pressure. During the earlier SRPs in Shenyang, developers are the main source of funding for SRPs (see section 3.4.1 and 3.4.3). Local governments mainly play an intermediary role, which enables the land to transfer from residents to the developers. However, due to the housing market recession and low financial capacity of relocatees, local governments have to rely on different types of loans and subsidies from the central, provincial and municipal-level of governments and the CDB. Nevertheless, the central government recently published a regulation to control the risk of the local governments' debt, which makes it difficult for local governments to raise funding by pledging urban land to banks (Respondent 1, 15-04-2015 and Respondent 2, 07-04-2015).

Despite the above challenges, district-level governments adopted different strategies in practice to accommodate their economic interests with the public interest involved in SRPs. For instance, a district-level government in Shenyang consolidated small-scale projects into larger ones in the redevelopment of a small scale and spatially scattered shanty neighbourhood (People's Daily, 2013). Also, district-level governments can select which neighbourhood to be redeveloped in addition to the criteria set by the municipality, which makes profitable projects a priority for redevelopment.

Against the changing institutional, economic and social context mentioned above, local governments are more likely to be stimulated (by the central government) to take part in SRPs on the basis of a top-down administrative and political order. Their internal motivation is now suppressed due to the lack of economic incentives from SRPs. Therefore, this mismatch between local governments' internal and the external motivation can lead to an inefficient implementation of SRPs. This also appears from the reports of many interviewed residents, who felt grateful about central government's policy on SRP, but were dissatisfied with the implementation of SRP by the local governments. They remarked the policy and its implementation as 'the central government has good policies, but the local government have their own policy implementation'.

§ 3.4.3 The dynamic changes in the role of market forces

In the second round of SRPs in Shenyang, market forces (impersonated by developers) have largely become marginalised with regard to initiating, financing and expropriating land. Market forces used to play a significant role in investing in SRPs. The booming real estate market has enabled land to become the main financial resource for SRPs (Shenyang Statistic Bureau, 2004, 2007, 2008). During 2005-2008, Shenyang municipality raised its funding for SRPs mainly through the market, that is, by transferring the land-use rights from the government to developers at market prices or by pledging land to banks for loans (Guo and Sun, 2010). A report about Liaoning Province's SRPs during 2005-2006 shows that about RMB 1.9 billion (about €195.6 million) was invested in Shenyang's SRPs, almost all of these funds were raised through the market (RGDUFE: 53). This clearly echoes the "market functioning, government initiating" strategy. However, the housing market has gone into a recession since 2013. Developers are less keen about investing in real estate and obtaining more land, which is illustrated below:

"Currently developers are faced with more challenges and difficulties. This is because of the entire housing market situation [recession], rather than the [increasing] difficulty of land expropriation ... The 'golden decade' of real estate development is over, and now it is the 'silver era' ... Developers are less motivated to acquire more pieces of land." (Respondent 9, 01-04-2015).

Figure 3.6 shows how the position and interaction between developers, residents and different-level governments have changed due to the changes in land expropriation regulations. In the era of the old regulation (Figure 3.6.2), developers got involved in land expropriation after obtaining the demolition permit from related municipal-level departments. Under the current regulation (Figure 3.6.4), developers are 'excluded' from the land expropriation process, and only local governments are responsible for compensating and rehousing residents. The institutional changes mentioned above have marginalised developers' role in SRPs, and developers no longer directly initiate or finance SRPs as they did before. Since land expropriation is the most controversial part in SRPs, this marginalization might be beneficial for developers as they can get land directly transferred from local governments. Local governments seem to pave the way for developers by their directly taking part in the land expropriation process.

However, whether developers benefit from this will depend on the profit that they can get from participating in SRPs. Currently, both the central government and Shenyang municipality promote public private partnerships to get more market actors involved into SRPs. Developers are hesitant in taking part in SRPs considering the complex

homeownership issues in declining neighbourhoods and the uncertainty of local governments' project management. Moreover, neighbourhoods targeted for current SRPs are in poor locations and small-scale, making developers' profit margins much less favourable compared with redevelopment of inner-city areas:

"Now developers are not interested in the [redevelopment of] shantytowns. [Developers] only focus on earning money" (Respondent 10, 01-04-2015). "If the location of shantytowns is good then it is good for developers... It costs too much to redevelop shantytowns [in poor locations]" (Respondent 9, 01-04-2015).

However, developers are not totally excluded from SRPs. They are indirectly taking part in SRPs, through local government's purchase of their dwellings for rehousing relocatees. This has come about because one of the key targets of SRPs is the stimulation of local housing markets. The central government encourages local governments to buy commodity dwellings for relocatees, so as to consume the redundant housing in stock and boost the housing market (Respondent 12, 30-05-2015).

§ 3.4.4 Multiple deprivation and decreasing housing affordability of residents

The land expropriation process is the most controversial part in SRPs, as it requires intensive interactions between relocatees and local governments, which can easily cause conflicts. Disparities between the expectations of residents and local governments on the compensation occur frequently. The interaction between residents and local governments and developers has also been affected by the evolution of the meaning of the home in China. During the earlier SRPs in Shenyang, most relocatees had been living in declining neighbourhoods for many years. For these residents, SRP meant a chance to release and fulfil their suppressed housing demands, due to the underdevelopment of housing market and the lack of access to housing in the socialist era. Their housing needs and the compensation they were able to get from local governments and developers, and the relatively low housing price at that moment together boosted the pace of their relocation, because they were able to quickly secure alternative housing.

However, in the second round of SRPs, the social, economic and institutional context has changed, and so as the meaning of home for residents. Currently, dwelling not only means home, but also an asset of growing financial importance because of rising housing prices. Home thus represents the resources and social status of an individual or a household. For instance, in current urban China, a dwelling is required for a marriage in most cases, which was also reported by several interviewed residents.

Residents who feel trapped in declining neighbourhoods are desperate for redevelopment. Some interviewed residents complained that "you cannot find another place as worse as here in Shenyang", "we have been looking forward to the redevelopment", and "You see, they are living a happy life [after moving into relocation neighbourhoods]...". These residents who currently stay in the shantytowns are among the most deprived social groups. They encounter many hardships, such as unemployment, ageing, disability, etc. They can barely afford alternative housing, as the housing price in Shenyang has increased greatly.

Also, developers have become cautious about investing in SRPs. Local governments have become the overriding actor that these residents can rely on to improve their living conditions. Some respondents reported that they had visited the district-level governments to make an appeal for redevelopment for several times. For example, Qiang (58, male, disabled, with basic living allowance, 26-03-2015), who has been living in a shantytown for about 20 years, said that:

"I am alone now. My parents have passed away. I do have two sisters, but they have to take care of themselves. How could they really help me... I am happy with the forced relocation... [because] at least, whatever they [local governments] compensate me..., my future living condition definitely will be better than this..."

For such reasons, many of the interviewed resident facing relocation are willing to accept SRPs. However, in the actual redevelopment process, some residents have an ambivalent attitude towards SRPs due to their deprived situation. That is why while Qiang (58, male, 26-03-2015) appreciated the state-led SRPs (as is reflected by his above quoted statement), he is simultaneously cautious about the possible disruptions that redevelopment cause to him::

"...you [the government] have to save the residents from our sufferings... I am disabled... I make a living as a moto tricycle driver... [we] all want to cooperate [with the government]. But it is also quite important [the government] considers [our] real [difficult] situation, isn't it?..."

Even if respondents now perceived SRPs as an opportunity to change their housing situation, many reported similar worries about the uncertainty of their life during and after SRPs (see also Li *et al*., 2016). These residents have developed living strategies over the long length of residence in their declining neighbourhoods. For instance, their neighbourhood can support them with an income by running small business or renting out rooms to migrants. They also retain their strong social networks within their neighbourhoods. These social and economic resources embedded in their neighbourhoods are significant resources for them to make a living. Partly for this

reason, they regard their neighbourhood as their home. Therefore, neighbourhood demolition and forced relocation involved in SRPs can be highly disruptive to these residents, because it amplifies the aforementioned ambivalent perceptions regarding SRPs. On the one hand, residents regard SRPs as congruent with their strong preference on improving their living condition via the redevelopment. On the other hand, the impending demolition and forced relocation may painfully emphasize the importance of their strong dependence on and attachment to their neighbourhoods with regard to coping with their life constraints.

§ 3.5 Discussion

The complex interactions between various stakeholders in SRPs in Shenyang illustrate the multifaceted issues surrounding governance under market transition in China: a market mechanism combined with strong state control, and the increasing role and appeals of society (Lin and Zhang, 2014; Wu, 2010). The central government still plays a dominant role in guiding national activities of market transition in China. Since 1978, economic growth has become the overriding priority for different levels of governments. Poverty and heavy social burdens (e.g. housing, education and medical care) have been challenging social equality and social stability (Stephens, 2010). From the resurgence of public housing policies and the two rounds of SRPs since 2008, we can see that on the one hand, the state has been using investment in the public sector to cope with the global financial crisis and slow economic growth. On the other hand, the state has tried to maintain a balance between economic growth and social equality (Duckett, 2012; Li, 2015). While the concept neo-liberalisation cannot be applied properly to China (Nonini, 2008), scholars have observed a tendency of neo-liberalisation in terms of continuously 'hollowing out of the state' and 'rolling out' of the market in Western European regarding social welfare delivery (Dodson, 2006; Theodore and Brenner, 2002). At first sight, it appears that Western Europe and China are on different paths regarding the post-crisis state's role in urban redevelopment. However, in Western Europe, some cases show the importance of the state in structuring and governing urban housing restructuring projects, which are especially significant for disadvantaged social groups and the least desirable residential areas (Dodson, 2006; Uitermark *et al*., 2007;). Although some Western European countries, such as the UK and the Netherlands, also retain control of public service delivery, most of their interventions are less direct compared with China (Dodson, 2006).

There are also differences between China and the USA, which are partly caused by how neo-liberalisation has affected the governance of US urban redevelopment policies (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). In China, local governments are both the implementer of top-down initiatives and also the key stakeholder with their own interest in SRPs. The entrepreneurial local governments have made economic growth and cadres' career development as their priority. Therefore, local governments can mobilise various resources and state power to steer policy implementation for their own interests, which affects the interests of other stakeholders especially the residents (Duckett, 2012; Shin, 2016; He, 2012). Paradoxically, this appears to pave the way for developers to become more selective regarding their participation in urban redevelopment projects. This applies to the USA as well (Jones and Popke, 2010). However, the countries again differ with regard to the denomination of target areas. While this is more needs-based in the USA, Chinese local governments prefer to redevelop neighbourhoods of high profit potential first (e.g. neighbourhoods with good locations), with the risk that severely declining neighbourhoods are left without redevelopment because of their poor location and market prospects.

Another difference between Chinese SRPs versus American and European redevelopment policies relates to residents' perception of the role of government layers. In China, many conflicts between local governments and residents have emerged during urban redevelopment (He, 2012; Hin and Xin, 2011). We found that many interviewed residents simultaneously report gratitude towards central government's SRP policy and dissatisfaction with the implementation of SRP by local governments. This 'split' of the state - the 'benign centre and a predatory local apparatus' - can thus negatively affect social equality and social welfare delivery (So, 2007, p 560). This 'split' seems to be unique for the Chinese situation.

Like in the USA and Europe (Goetz, 2016; Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013), residents involved in SRPs, facing demolition and forced relocation, are entitled to compensation from local governments. However, many scholars have criticized the unfairness of the compensation in some local-state initiated projects in China, blaming it for being too low in financial terms and not taking into account the disruption to residents' living strategies, including job losses, teared social networks and limited accessibility to good public services (He, 2012; Lees, 2012; Shao, 2013). Even though many residents are willing to accept SRPs, achieving fair compensation and minimizing the disruptions connected to forced relocation have become the key issues for solving the tensions between residents and local governments.

§ 3.6 Conclusions

This paper has examined how SRPs are implemented in Shenyang and what this means over time for the interactions between and changing roles of the central government, local governments, developers and residents during the SRP. It found that the implementation of SRPs showed a tendency towards centralization in providing funds, initiating projects and governing land. At the same time, the implementation of SRPs has become more decentralized and an increasing mismatch appears between the SRPs' focus on physical improvement versus the ability of target area residents to escape worsening living conditions and deteriorating housing affordability. In light of the wider international debate on state-led redevelopment of declining neighbourhoods, several lessons can be learned with regard to the approach in Shenyang.

First, this paper has identified an entrepreneurial paradox in the relationships between developers and local governments in the context of SRPs. At first sight, developers seem to have become largely marginalised with regard to initiating, financing and expropriating land in SRPs. Currently, local governments are responsible for land expropriation, compensation and rehousing of residents and developers are no longer burdened with compensating residents. Paradoxically, by taking over most complex and controversial parts of SRP implementation, local governments, who appear to behave increasingly entrepreneurial (cf. Cartier, 2013; Duckett, 2012; Shin, 2016), have paved the way for developers to be more selective with their participation in redevelopment projects, depending on profit prospects. Against the above backdrop, current SRP target areas, located in the urban periphery and with much weaker market positions, have been experiencing state-led redevelopment. Contrary to general opinions, this approach has much in common with examples of state-led regeneration in many European countries that focus on disadvantaged social groups in the least desirable residential areas (see e.g. Lelévrier, 2013; Uitermark *et al.*, 2007).

Another similarity between redevelopment in China, the USA and Europe concerns residents' entitlement to compensation in case of demolition and forced relocation (Korthals Altes, 2016). However, scholars have criticized the unfairness of the (amount of) compensation in local-state initiated projects in China, blaming them for being financially feeble and ignoring disruptions to residents' ways to make a living (He, 2012; Lees, 2012; Shao, 2013).

A clear difference between Chinese SRPs versus American and European redevelopment policies relates residents' perceptions of the role of various government layers. In China, many conflicts between local governments and residents emerged during urban redevelopment (e.g. He, 2012; Hin and Xin, 2011). While residents

report gratitude towards central government's SRP policy, which is supposed to provide them with an opportunity to provide their housing and living conditions, they reveal strong dissatisfaction with the implementation of SRP by local governments. This 'split' of the state, in terms of a "benign centre and a predatory local apparatus" (So, 2007, p 560) has, to our knowledge, no counterpart in European or American neighbourhood redevelopment policies, where residents' opposition is usually targeted towards local governments only (Goetz, 2016; Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013).

In the context of Chinese market transition, governments, and especially the central government, continue to be obliged to provide social services for the public, and to take both people's wellbeing and economic growth into account (Li, 2015). This paper has shown the necessity of making corresponding governance arrangements and design operational practices which boost the smoothness of SRPs, as these are becoming more firmly entrenched in China. Therefore, a comprehensive evaluation system, focussing on the social, economic and physical implications of SRPs for residents, should be established by the central government to assess local governments' performance on SRPs. Not only the pace or the scale of the SRPs should be taken into account, but also fairness of the compensation and the consideration of the post-relocation life chances of the residents.

Notes

1 "A work unit (danwei) generally refers to a special kind of workplace in the context of state socialism where the workplace becomes an extension of the state apparatus and undertakes the function of social organization and control" (Wu, 1996: 1604). Work units not only took the responsibility of production and offering job opportunities. They also function as a social organization which provided employee services and welfare such as housing, education, hospital, canteen, and sports fields (Bjorklund, 1986; Wang and Chai, 2009).

2 In-kind compensation and monetary compensation: Those who choose for in-kind compensation are moved to so-called relocation neighbourhoods (on-site or off-site), which are provided by local governments. Residents who get monetary compensation may purchase dwellings from the housing market.

3 China Development Bank is a policy bank of the PRC which is under the direct jurisdiction of the State Council. It is a financial institution, which invests on and supports mid-long term large infrastructure projects in China (CDB, 2017).

Acknowledgements:

The research leading to these results has received supports from thefollowing funding: National Natural Sciences Foundation of China (Ref:41571152; 41201160), National Social Science Found of China (Ref:13B-JY067), and the China Scholarship Council (CSC). The authors would like to thank the editors for their invaluable help and the two anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments which enabled the authors to greatly improve the previous versions of manuscript.

References

August, M. (2016). "It's all about power and you have none:" The marginalization of tenant resistance to mixed-income social housing redevelopment in Toronto, Canada. Cities, 57: 25-32.

Bjorklund, E. M. (1986). The Danwei: socio-spatial characteristics of work units in China's urban society. Economic Geography, 62(1) : 19-29.

Brenner, N. & Theodore, N. (Eds.) (2002). Spaces of Neoliberalism: Urban Restructuring in North America and Western Europe . Oxford: Blackwell.

Cartier, C. (2013). Neoliberalism and the Neo-authoritarian City in China—Contexts and Research Directions: Commentary in Conversation with Jennifer Robinson's Urban Geography Plenary Lecture. Urban Geography, 32(8) : 1110-1121.

CDB (2017). The brief introduction of China Development Bank (CDB), available at http://www.cdb.com.cn/gykh/khjj/.

Chen, J., Yang, Z. and Wang, YP. (2014). The New Chinese Model of Public Housing: A Step Forward or Backward? Housing Studies, 29(4) : 534-550.

Chien, S. (2007). Institutional innovations, asymmetric decentralization, and local economic development: a case study of Kunshan, in post-Mao China. Environment and Planning C, 25(2) :269.

Chinajsb (2015a). Zongjie Jingyan Zuofa, Chuangxin Gongzuo Fangshi, Jiada Lidu Tuijin Peng-hu-qu Gaizao-Chen Zheng-gao Jianghua, Qi Ji Zhuchi(Summarizing the experiences and being creative on project management to boost SRPs-The national conference for exchanging SRPs experience -Chen Zheng-gao presented, and Qi Ji hosted the meeting), available at http://www.mohurd.gov.cn/bldjgzyhd/201501/t20150122_220186.html

Chinajsb (2015b) Chen Zheng-gao Zai Quanguo Penggai Pianqu Huishang Tichu Tongyi Sixiang Zhudong Zuowei Quanmian Wancheng Jinnian Penggai Renwu (Chen Zheng-gao suggested to work together and actively to accomplish the Shantytown redevelopment workload for this year on the local forum about national SRPs), available at http://www.mohurd.gov.cn/jsbfld/201504/t20150427_221559.html

Dodson, J. (2006). The "Roll" of the State: Government, Neoliberalism and Housing Assistance in Four Advanced Economies. Housing, Theory and Society, 23(4), 224-243.

Duckett, J. (2012) China's 21st-century welfare reforms. Local Economy, 27(5-6) : 645-650.

Fang, K., & Zhang, Y. (2003). Plan and market mismatch: Urban redevelopment in Beijing during a period of transition. Asia Pacific Viewpoint, 44(2) : 149-162.

Goetz, E. G. (2016). Resistance to social housing transformation. Cities, 57: 1-5.

Guo, Y. & Sun, G. (2010). Century changes-spatially concentrated urban shantytown redevelopment in Liaoning, Beijing: The History of the Communist Party of China Press.

Harvey, D. (2005). A brief history of neoliberalism, New York: Oxford University Press.

He, S. (2012). Two waves of gentrification and emerging rights issues in Guangzhou, China. Environment and Planning A, 44(12) : 2817-2833.

He, S. & Lin, GC. (2015). Producing and consuming China's new urban space: State, market and society. Urban Studies, 52(15) : 2757-2773.

He, S. & Wu, F. (2005), Property - led redevelopment in post-reform China: a case study of Xintiandi redevelopment project in Shanghai. Journal of Urban Affairs, 27(1) : 1-23.

He, S. & Wu, F. (2007), Socio-spatial impacts of property-led redevelopment on China's urban neighbourhoods. Cities, 24(3) :194-208.

He, S. & Wu, F. (2009), China's Emerging Neoliberal Urbanism: Perspectives from Urban Redevelopment. Antipode, 41(2) : 282-304.

Hin, LL & Xin, L. (2011), Redevelopment of urban villages in Shenzhen, China – An analysis of power relations and urban coalitions. Habitat International, 35(3) :426-434.

Jones, K. & Popke, J. (2010). Re-envisioning the city: Lefebvre, Hope VI, and the neoliberalization of urban space. Urban Geography, 31(1) : 114-133.

Kleinhans, R. & Kearns, A. (2013). Neighbourhood restructuring and residential relocation: Towards a balanced perspective on relocation processes and outcomes. Housing Studies, 28(2), 163-176.

Korthals Altes, W. (2016). Forced relocation and tenancy law in Europe. Cities, 52: 79-85.

Leaf, M. (1995). Inner city redevelopment in China: Implications for the city of Beijing. Cities, 12(3) : 149-162.

Lee, J. (2000). From Welfare Housing to Home Ownership: The Dilemma of China's Housing Reform. Housing Studies, 15(1) : 61-76.
Lee, J. & Zhu, Y-p. (2006). Urban governance, neoliberalism and housing reform in China. The Pacific Review, 19(1) : 39-61.
Lees, L. (2012). The geography of gentrification: Thinking through comparative urbanism. Progress in Human Geography, 36(2) : 155-171.
Lelévrier, C. (2013). Social mix neighbourhood policies and social interaction: The experience of newcomers in three new renewal developments in France. Cities, 35, 409-416.
Li, K. (2015). Li Keqiang: Peng-hu-qu Wenti Bujiejue Hetan Shehui Gongping (Li Keqiang: How can we achieve social justice if the shantytown problems are not solved). Available at http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2015-06/17/content_2880958.htm.
Li, X., Kleinhans, R. & Ham. M. van (2016), Ambivalence in Place Attachment: The Lived Experiences of Residents in Declining Neighbourhoods Facing Demolition in Shenyang, China. IZA Discussion Paper No. 10515. Bonn: Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA). 1-24.
Lin, GC & Zhang, AY. (2014). Emerging spaces of neoliberal urbanism in China: Land commodification, municipal finance and local economic growth in prefecture-level cities. Urban Studies, 52(15) : 2774-2798.
Lin, GCS. (2014). China's landed urbanization: neoliberalizing politics, land commodification, and municipal finance in the growth of metropolises. Environment and Planning A, 46(8) : 1814-1835.
Lin, Y., Hao, P. & Geertman, S. (2014). A conceptual framework on modes of governance for the regeneration of Chinese 'villages in the city'. Urban Studies, 52(10) : 1774-1790.
LNJST (2008) The successful practise of The Scientific outlook for development: The essence of Shanty town redevelopment, Shenyang: Liaoning People's Publishing House.
Marom, N., & Carmon, N. (2015). Affordable housing plans in London and New York: Between marketplace and social mix. Housing Studies, 30(7) :993-1015.
Meng, X. (2012). The transformation of Modi Community: The redevelopment and community governance in the deprived neighbourhoods in inner city, Beijing: Renming University Press.
MFPRC (2012) Zhongyang Buzhu Chengshi Peng-hu-qu Gaizao Zhuanxiang Zijin Guanli Banfa (The guideline from the central government about supporting and managing the funding for urban SRPs). Available at http://www.mof.gov.cn/zhengwuxinxi/caizhengwengao/2012wg/wg201210/201302/t20130204_731904.html
MLRPRC. (2014) Guotu ziyuanbu guanyu tuijin tudi jieyue liyong de zhidao yijian(The guideline of the MLRPRC on promoting the efficient utilization of land). Available at http://www.mlr.gov.cn/zwgk/zytz/201409/t20140926_1331065.htm.
MOHURD. (2013a) Jie du'Guowuyuan Jiakuai Peng-hu-qu Gaizao Gongzuo de Yijian (Decoding the suggestions on accelerating the redevelopment of the shantytowns from the state council). Available at http://www.gov.cn/zwhd/2013-07/12/content_2445702.htm.
MOHURD. (2013b) Youju Bian Yiju Baixing Tiandashi: Duihua Zhufang ChengXiang Jianshebu Fu Buzhang Qi Ji(It really matters to improve the living condition of people: Interview with the Vice Minister of MOHURD). Available at http://www.mohurd.gov.cn/bldjgzyhd/201309/t20130909_214987.html.
National Bureau of Statistics of China, (2015) http://data.stats.gov.cn/easyquery.htm?cn=E0105&zb=A03&reg=210100&sj=2015
Ni, P., Oyelaran-Oyeyinka, B. & Chen, F. (2012). Probe into the development mode of Low-income settlements in the urbanization process : the experience of shanty towns reconstruction in Liaoning, China, Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press (China).
Nonini, D. M. (2008). Is China Becoming Neoliberal? Critique of Anthropology, 28(2) : 145-176.
Ong, A. (2007). Neoliberalism as a mobile technology. Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 32(1) :3-8.
People's Daily. (2013). Model. Observation for the frontline of economy: Huanggu District of Shenyang, Combining both hands in shantytowns redevelopment. People's Daily.
Ren, X. (2014). The Political Economy of Urban Ruins: Redeveloping Shanghai. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 38(3) : 1081-1091.
RGDUFE. The theory, practice and evolution of the urban shantytown redevelopments in Liaoning province. The research group of Dongbei University of Finance and Economics. n.d. : 1-140.
Shao, Q. (2013). Shanghai gone: domicide and defiance in a Chinese megacity. Rowman & Littlefield.
Shenyang Daily (2016) SRPS –Penggai Shenyang moshi quanguo jiaoxiang('Shenyang Mode' becomes well-known national wide), available at http://news.syd.com.cn/system/2016/11/03/011217153.shtml

Shih, MI. (2010). The Evolving Law of Disputed Relocation: Constructing Inner-City Renewal Practices in Shanghai, 1990-2005. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 34(2) : 350-364.
Shin, H. B. (2009). Residential Redevelopment and the Entrepreneurial Local State: The Implications of Beijing's Shifting Emphasis on Urban Redevelopment Policies. Urban Studies, 46(13) : 2815-2839.
Shin, H. B. (2014). Urban spatial restructuring, event-led development and scalar politics. Urban Studies, 51(14) : 2961-2978.
Shin, H. B. (2016). Economic transition and speculative urbanisation in China: Gentrification versus dispossession. Urban Studies, 53(3) : 471-489.
Shin, H. B., Lees, L., & López-Morales, E. (2016). Introduction: Locating gentrification in the Global East. Urban Studies, 53(3) : 455-470.
Si-chuan News. (2009). Report about the demolition and self-burning event in Chengdu city. Si-chuan News, 3 September 2009
So, A Y. (2007). Peasant conflict and the local predatory state in the Chinese countryside. The Journal of Peasant Studies, 34(3-4) : 560-581.
Shenyang Statistic Bureau. (2004, 2007, 2008, 2014, 2016). http://www.sysinet.gov.cn/Tjsj.aspx?LM_ID=6&LM_MX_ID=22
Shenyang Statistic Bureau. (2010). The Population Census Data of Shenyang, http://www.sysinet.gov.cn/
Stephens, M. (2010). Locating Chinese Urban Housing Policy in an International Context. Urban Studies, 47(14) : 2965-2982.
Su, X. (2014). Urban entrepreneurialism and the commodification of heritage in China. Urban Studies, 52(15) : 2874-2889.
SYG. (2014). Shenyangshi 2014 Nian Peng-hu-qu Gaizao Shishi Fangan. Available at http://www.shenyang.gov.cn/zwgk/system/2014/03/12/010090651.shtml (accessed 7 February 2014).
The State Council of PRC. (2001).Chengshi Fangwu Chaiqian Guanli Tiaoli (The Regulation on the Management of the Demolition of Urban Dwellings). Available athttp://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2001/content_60912.htm (accessed 13 June 2001).
The State Council of PRC. (2011). Guoyou Tudi Shang Fangwu Zhengshou yu Buchang Tiaoli(The Regulation on the Expropriation and Compensation of Dwellings on the State-owned Land). Available at: http://www.gov.cn/flfg/2011-01/21/content_1791480.htm (accessed 21 Jan 2011).
Uitermark, J., Duyvendak, J. W., & Kleinhans, R. (2007). Gentrification as a governmental strategy: social control and social cohesion in Hoogvliet, Rotterdam. Environment and Planning A, 39(1) : 125-141.
Wang, D. & Chai, Y. (2009). The jobs–housing relationship and commuting in Beijing, China: the legacy of Danwei. Journal of Transport Geography, 17(1) : 30-38.
Wang, YP, Shao, L., Murie, A., et al. (2012). The Maturation of the Neo-liberal Housing Market in Urban China. Housing Studies, 27(3) : 343-359.
Weinstein, L. & Ren, X. (2009). The changing right to the city: urban renewal and housing rights in globalizing Shanghai and Mumbai. City & Community, 8(4) :407-432.
Wu, F. (1996). Changes in the structure of public housing provision in urban China. Urban Studies, 33(9) : 1601-1627.
Wu, F. (2001). China's recent urban development in the process of land and housing marketisation and economic globalisation, Habitat International, 25 (3) :273-289.
Wu, F. (2008). China's great transformation: Neoliberalization as establishing a market society. Geoforum, 39(3) : 1093-1096.
Wu, F. (2010). How Neoliberal Is China's Reform? The Origins of Change during Transition. Eurasian Geography and Economics, 51(5) : 619-631.
Xu, J. & Yeh, A. (2009). Decoding urban land governance: state reconstruction in contemporary Chinese cities. Urban Studies, 46(3) :559-581.
Yang, Y-R. & Chang, C-H. (2007). An Urban Regeneration Regime in China: A Case Study of Urban Redevelopment in Shanghai's Taipingqiao Area. Urban Studies, 44(9): 1809-1826.
Zhang, L. & Ong, A. (2008). Privatizing China: socialism from afar. New York: Cornell University Press.
Zhang, T. (2002). Urban Development and a Socialist Pro-Growth Coalition in Shanghai. Urban Affairs Review, 37(4): 475-499.
Zhu, J. (1999). Local growth coalition: the context and implications of China's gradualist urban land reforms. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 23(3): 534-548.

4 Ambivalence in Place Attachment: the Lived Experiences of Homeowners in Danwei Communities Facing Demolition in Shenyang, China

Xin Li, Reinout Kleinhans and Maarten van Ham
Submitted to Housing Studies

Abstract

This paper focuses on the influence of state-led urban redevelopment on the place attachment of deprived homeowners living in danwei communities that are facing demolition in Shenyang, China. It investigates lived experiences through in-depth interviews with homeowners at the pre-demolition phase. The paper reveals how these homeowners cleverly mobilize local resources, such as strong social bonds among homeowners, low living costs, flexibility on space usage and good neighbourhood location to cope with their life constraints, which is translated into their strong neighbourhood attachment. However, various forms of neighbourhood decline have decrease their quality of life. Meanwhile, they have to move due to the impending neighbourhood demolition. State-led urban redevelopment, therefore, confronts those deprived homeowners with a dilemma concerning their strong neighbourhood dependence and the desire for better living conditions. The impending neighbourhood demolition uncovers accumulated social issues in danwei communities in the context of market reforms and institutional changes in current China, such as the emergence of deprived social groups and their struggles for better housing.

Keywords: *Place attachment; Homeowners; Lived experiences; Declining neighbourhoods; State-led urban redevelopment; China*

§ 4.1 Introduction

Neighbourhood redevelopment projects often involve the large-scale demolition of houses and the forced relocation of residents (Popkin, 2010; Posthumus *et al*., 2013). Forced relocation is highly frequent in urban redevelopment projects in China. It is estimated that between 2008 and 2012 approximately 12.6 million households were involved in the redevelopment of declining neighbourhoods initiated by the central government of China (Li *et al*., 2017; MOHURD, 2013). Previous studies in the United States and Western Europe have shown that the demolition of a neighbourhood involves more than tearing down physical buildings. It can cause dramatic changes to the daily routines and living strategies that residents have developed in their declining neighbourhoods over a long period of residence (Manzo *et al*., 2008; Vale, 1997; Popkin, 2010). Demolition and the associated forced relocation are especially threatening to less mobile residents, who are often low-income, aged, or have severe mental or physical problems (Fried, 1963; Gilroy, 2012; Manzo *et al*., 2008; Popkin *et al*., 2004; Posthumus and Kleinhans, 2014).

Place attachment is associated with the affection residents have for their neighbourhood (Anguelovski, 2013; Fried and Gleicher, 1961). The existing literature presents various findings regarding the influence of urban redevelopment on the place attachment of residents. Some argue that the extent to which urban redevelopment affects place attachment is closely related to the lived experiences of residents (Manzo *et al*., 2008; Manzo, 2014). For instance, several studies report that demolition of public housing disrupts place attachment, as residents are forced to leave their familiar environment and social networks (e.g. Fried, 1963, 2000; Fullilove, 1996; Manzo, 2008). However, other research has found that some residents may be less attached to their neighbourhoods due to the deterioration of various aspects (e.g. physical decline or high population turnover) (Bailey *et al*., 2012), with strong place attachment not necessarily translating into a strong willingness to stay (Wu, 2012).

The diverse research outcomes above about residents' place attachment and the impact of urban redevelopment on residents may be closely related to the ambivalent feelings that residents may have about their neighbourhood experiences. Residents can feel attached to their neighbourhood while neighbourhood decline may damage their attachment and further stimulate them to leave. It appears that ambivalence in the neighbourhood experiences of residents has not yet been adequately studied in relation to the influence of urban redevelopment on residents (Manzo, 2014; Vale, 1997). In addition, previous literature has focused on place attachment *during* and *after* forced relocation in Western Europe and the United States, or merely in deprived neighbourhoods, without any indication of whether they have been redeveloped or not.

There is a lack of research on residents' place attachment in declining neighbourhoods in the *pre*-demolition/*pre*-relocation phase (Goetz, 2013; Manzo *et al*., 2008; Tester *et al*., 2011). This gap is even larger in research focussing on China, despite its large-scale demolition of dwellings and the forced relocation of millions of residents (Li *et al*., 2017). Moreover, the literature from the US and Europe almost exclusively concerns redevelopment of public or social housing, while redevelopment in Chinese cities targets neighbourhoods with owner-occupied housing. This difference in ownership in redevelopment areas is bound to have major implications for the impact of impending relocation on residents' lived experiences and place attachment.

Inspired by these concerns and knowledge gaps, this paper aims to investigate the lived experiences of homeowners in declining *danwei* communities that face demolition in Shenyang, China. It highlights (1) aspects of the declining neighbourhoods that residents are attached to and why, (2) the ambivalence in their place attachment, and (3) the influence of the impending demolition and forced relocation on their place attachment. The following section provides a theoretical background that locates place attachment in the context of declining neighbourhoods facing urban redevelopment. Section 4.3 introduces the research area and methods, while Section 4.4 analyses the results from the interviews, focussing on residents' lived experiences and dimensions of attachment. Section 4.5 explains the impacts of the impending demolition and forced relocation on residents. Section 4.6 discusses the empirical findings by placing them in the wider context of structural economic transitions, market mechanisms and urban redevelopment in China. The final section offers our conclusions.

§ 4.2 Place Attachment, Neighbourhood Decline and Urban Redevelopment

§ 4.2.1 Place attachment in declining neighbourhoods

Place attachment is defined as an affective bond between people and places (Altman and Low, 1992; Giuliani and Feldman, 1993; Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001; Lewicka, 2011; Scannell and Gifford, 2010). In the context of residential place, the development of place attachment is closely related to residents' living experiences within their neighbourhoods over time, i.e., how a neighbourhood can functionally and emotionally meet residents' demands (Corcoran, 2002; Jean, 2016; Livingston *et al*., 2010; Scannell and Gifford, 2010). Some research has highlighted the importance of place attachment for the residents living in declining neighbourhoods. For instance, the material and spiritual support that residents gain from a declining neighbourhood can alleviate the life constraints they must cope with, such as poverty, unemployment or mental and physical disability, which contribute to their social, physical and economic dimension of place attachment (Anguelovski, 2013; Brown *et al*., 2003; Corcoran, 2002; Fried and Gleicher, 1961; Wu, 2012). Some studies indicate that an involuntary movement can be disruptive to the residents involved as it interrupts residents' routines and social networks, and causes a discontinuity to their place identity (Brown and Perkins, 1992; Fried, 2000; Manzo *et al*., 2008). For example, Fried (1963) reveals the grief and affliction felt by residents after the forced movement out of their home in working-class communities.

However, these studies have not paid adequate attention to residents' ambivalent feelings towards their declining neighbourhoods as a result of their negative lived experiences, which might affect their perceptions on neighbourhood redevelopment and in turn their moving behaviour (Manzo, 2014; Oakley et al., 2008). Vale (1997) used the concept of 'empathology' to refer to the ambivalent attitudes of residents toward an environment that is both 'a source of empathy as well as a locus of pathology' (Vale, 1997, p. 159). He displayed the ambivalence in the experiences of residents who are living in declining public housing communities, demonstrating that residents are both socially and economically dependent on their neighbourhoods, while their quality of life is negatively affected by various forms of neighbourhood disorder, such as drug dealing and gang violence (Vale, 1997). In fact, the development of place attachment is the outcomes of residents' cost-benefit evaluation about their positive and negative neighbourhood experiences (Brown and Perkins, 1992; Brown *et al*., 2003; Bailey *et al*., 2012; Giuliani and Feldman, 1993; Manzo, 2014; Wu, 2012). Residents living in declining neighbourhoods are very likely to have negative

lived experiences resulted from various neighbourhood declines, which cause the degradation of their quality of life, disrupts residents' sense of place and further drive some of them to leave (Feijten and van Ham, 2009; Livingston *et al*., 2010;Wu, 2012).

Recognizing this ambivalence in residents' lived experience and place attachment in declining neighbourhoods may help us clarify vital issues, revealing which dimensions of place attachment – and to what extent and why – are significant to residents and how urban redevelopment can affect residents. Residents' interaction with the physical, social and economic dimensions of the neighbourhoods can lead to residents' dependence and emotional affection with their neighbourhoods, which leads to their social, physical and economic dimensions of place attachment (Bailey *et al*., 2012; Corcoran, 2002; Jean, 2016; Lewicka, 2011; Manzo *et al*., 2008; Ramkissoon *et al*., 2013; Stokols and Shumaker, 1981; Vale, 1997; Windsong, 2010; Oakley *et al*., 2008). The *physical dimension* of place attachment is achieved via residents' interaction with the tangible physical attributes (e.g. facilities, dwelling quality and sanitation condition) of a neighbourhood, which meet their needs in relation to surviving and achieving their longer term goals (Fullilove, 1996; Lewicka, 2011; Scannell and Gifford, 2010). The *social dimension* of place attachment is on the basis of the cultural and social attributes of a neighbourhood (e.g. numbers of acquaintance, mutual help, neighbourhood socio-economic status), which generates a sense of belonging, familiarity and affection (Fried, 2000; Lewicka, 2011; Relph, 1976; Scannell and Gifford, 2010). The *economic dimension* is developed via the economic benefits that residents gain from their neighbourhood (e.g. neighbourhood-based income and living cost) by living close to job opportunities, paying low rent or running neighbourhood-based businesses (He *et al*., 2010; Luo, 2012; Manzo *et al*., 2008).

This paper focuses on the influence of urban redevelopment on residents at the pre-demolition/pre-relocation phase in China, through revealing the ambivalence in the physical, social and economic dimensions of residents' place attachment. Currently, only a small body of research focuses on the influence of urban redevelopment on residents' place attachment in the pre-demolition/pre-relocation phase (Manzo, 2014; Oakley *et al*., 2008; Tester *et al*.,, 2011; Tester and Wingfield, 2013). This means that there is a lack of knowledge about an important phase - pre-demolition stage - of urban redevelopment (Kearns and Mason, 2013), which limits our capacity to develop a deeper understanding and create an overview of the impact of redevelopment on residents, especially in relation to issues such as time and context (see also Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013).

§ 4.2.2 Place attachment and urban redevelopment in Chinese cities

This paper investigates homeowners' place attachment to declining *danwei* communities facing demolition in Shenyang, a Chinese city. *Danwei* communities were originally established to reside employees from state-owned enterprises (SOEs), collectively-owned enterprises (COEs), government departments or institutions such as universities, etc. Previous studies of residents' attachment to declining neighbourhoods have usually focused on renters who are living in public or social housing in Western Europe and the US. The resulting body of knowledge may not be applicable to the Chinese situation because of the differences in development history, social composition and the physical environment of neighbourhoods in China and Western countries.

In the socialist era, residents of *danwei* were socially, physically and economically dependent on these communities. The *danwei* contains sources of employment associated with industrial production and other enterprises, and also provide those employed with other services and social welfare (Bjorklund, 1986; Bray, 2014; Wang and Chai, 2009). *Danwei* communities provide residential accommodation to *danwei* employees in a relatively homogenous social space, where neighbours are also work colleagues. Residents living in *danwei* communities thus often have strong social capital and close relationships due to the long length of residence and shared work and social experiences. In addition, the residents develop a strong place identity embedded in the *danwei* system because 'A *danwei* identity hinders the freedom of mobility of workers, because mobility without permission (from a worker's *danwei*) will cause the loss of personal identity (income, position, etc.)' (Lu, 1989, p.77).

However, under market transition and rapid urbanization in China, *danwei* have experienced disinvestment and decline at multiple levels (He *et al*., 2008; Wu and He, 2005). Also, most *danwei* have retreated from these neighbourhoods in providing housing, employment and even community management. Population turnover, social stratification and residential changes have become more common in these neighbourhoods as well, with those who have more resources moving out, while those who are less mobile, due to poverty or ageing, remaining trapped (He *et al*., 2008). Also, many residents who were employees in *danwei* became unemployed due to the collapse of these companies. These neighbourhoods have increasingly become enclaves characterized by a migrant population of renters on the one hand, and homeowners in the aged or low-income categories, on the other (He *et al*., 2008). These transitions have diverse impacts on homeowners' sense of place, residential satisfaction and residential mobility. Some research has revealed that place attachment and social interaction remain stronger in these neighbourhoods than in newly built

neighbourhoods, however this strong place attachment does not contribute to the residents' willingness to stay (He *et al*., 2008; Wu and He, 2005; Wu, 2012; Zhu *et al*., 2012). The strong sense of place alongside an intention to move reflects ambivalent feelings of residents in relation to their neighbourhood experiences.

In China, numerous old neighbourhoods (including but not exclusively *danwei* communities) have undergone demolition, initiated by governments and/or developers (Hin and Xin, 2011; Li *et al*., 2017). The central government has initiated two rounds of national-scale Shantytown Redevelopment Projects (SRPs, Peng-hu-qu in Pinyin) aimed at improving the living conditions of the low- and middle income residents from seriously declining neighbourhoods in 2008 and 2013 respectively (MOHURD, 2013). The dilapidated *danwei* communities discussed in our paper are involved in the SRPs, which will undergo neighbourhood demolition and the forced relocation of their residents. This will have a major impact on these neighbourhoods, their residents and their place attachment. In this paper, we focus on how SRPs and forced relocation can affect the place attachment of homeowners who are currently living in these declining *danwei* communities at the pre-demolition stage. Many scholars found that the homeowners who stay in these neighbourhoods are mostly among one of the most deprived social groups, facing multiple challenges such as unemployment, low-income, or increasing infirmities related to ageing (He *et al*., 2010; Liu and Wu, 2006; Wu, 2004). Specifically, we firstly explore homeowners' lived experience from the ambivalence in the physical, social and economic dimensions of their place attachment, based on the theoretical discussion in section 4.2.1. Following this, we investigate the influence of SRP-related demolition on the place attachment of homeowners, and reveal their opinions towards SRPs and the forced relocation process. The following section will introduce our research area and methods.

§ 4.3 Research Area, Data and Methods

The *danwei* communities in our research are located in the city of Shenyang in Northeast China (Figure 4.1). Shenyang is a typical old industrial city, and has been called the 'Ruhr of the East'. The city once had many state-owned enterprises and established many *danwei* during the era of centralized economic planning. Most of them are located in the old industrial areas. Shenyang, therefore, had – and still has – a lot of industrial workers and *danwei* communities. The empirical basis for this paper consists of in-depth interviews conducted in March, April, September and October in 2015. We interviewed residents living in a number of neighbourhoods in

Shenyang that will be demolished according to the national redevelopment policy – SRPs. Figure 4.1 and Table 4.1 show the location and detailed information about the six *danwei* communities included in this paper. Neighbourhoods *I, II, II and IV* were affiliated to the state-owned manufacturing enterprises for machine or rubber production. Neighbourhood *V* was affiliated to a government apparatus (prison). Neighbourhood *VI* belonged to a state-owned farm, of which homeowners mainly conduct farming activities and agriculture production. These neighbourhoods were constructed during the socialist era around 1950s-1970s by *danwei* organizations to reside their employees. These *danwei* have resigned their responsibility on neighbourhood management to local housing bureaus during SOE reforms around 2000. Meanwhile, many state-owned enterprises in Shenyang went bankrupt and many residents from these neighbourhoods were laid-off. Some original residents have become rich and moved out of these neighbourhoods because they can successfully adjust to the economic reforms and find business opportunities from the market. However, there are also those who stay in these neighbourhoods and have been mainly relying on the pension or basic living fees provided by their *danwei* and local government. We recruited respondents from the latter group of residents (stayers) through a combination of snowball sampling and door knocking. All of the interviews were conducted face to face using a semi-structured interview schedule. A total of 33 interviews were conducted in six *danwei* communities (see table 4.2). The physical conditions of the dwellings and neighbourhoods have severely deteriorated. The dwelling size of the respondents ranges from 20 m^2 to more than 100 m^2. The residential composition of these neighbourhoods is becoming increasingly heterogeneous, including homeowners who have lived there all of their lives, and renters who are mainly from rural areas to work as construction workers, porter, servants etc. In this research, we focus on stayers, i.e. homeowners who have not (yet) moved out the *danwei* communities. They have been living in these neighbourhoods for at least ten years, in some cases, for their whole life (more than 60 years). Most of the respondents or their family members used to have work in the *danwei*.

The total amount of interviewing time is 21 hours, and the average interviewing time is 41.9 minutes (median: 39.6 minutes). The time range differed quite substantially, with the shortest interview taking 15 minutes and the longest interview 2,5 hours. The ages of the respondents range from around 30 to more than 80 years. All of the respondents were homeowners. Some respondents were approached more than once to obtain supplementary information.

TABLE 4.1 The information for the neighbourhoods

NEIGHBOURHOOD ID	HOUSEHOLD NUMBER	LOCATION	RESPONDENTS NUMBER
I	Around 600	Urban area	4
II	Around 70	Urban area	2
III	Around 75	Urban area	1
IV	Around 30	Urban area	1
V	Around 150	Suburban area	10
VI	Around 450	Suburban area	15

Source: Authors

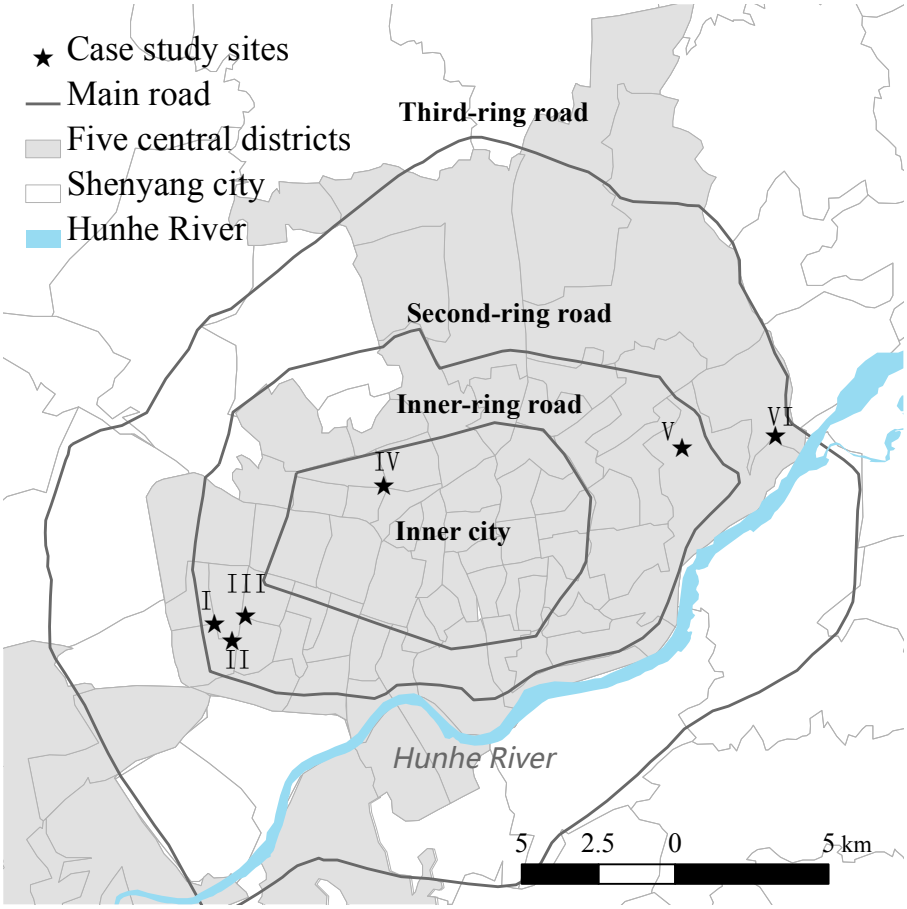


FIGURE 4.1 Locations of the case study areas in Shenyang
Source: Authors

TOC

TABLE 4.2 Socioeconomic characteristics of the respondents

INTERVIEW NO.	RESPONDENT NO.	GENDER	AGE[3]	HOUSEHOLD SIZE (PERSONS)	RESIDENCE LENGTH (YEARS)	FICTITIOUS NAME
1	1	M	58	2	51	
2	2	M	46	3	18	
3	3	F	82	3	24	
4	4	M	36	2	36	
	5	M	34	3	20	
	6	F	est. 60	2	35	
5	7	F	est. 70	1	46	
6	8	M	85	2	30	Meng
7	21	M and F	M:est. 80 F: est. 70	2	M: est. 60	
8	22	F	35	5	est. 20	Ai
9	23	M	65	2	65	
10	24	M	est. 50	3	50	
11	25	F	est. 60	5	60	Hui
		M	60	5	40	
12	26	M	est. 70	2	23	
13	27	M	est. 60	2	27	
14	28	F	est. 80	3	63	
15	29	F	40	3	40	
16	30	F	50	5	est. 30	
17	31	F and M	76	2	40	
18	32	M	est. 70	est. 4	21	
19	33	M	est. 60	est. 5	not known	
20	34	M	48	3	16	Jun
21	39	F	75	1	36	
22	41	F	45	5	14	
23	43	F	60	3	est. 30	Mei
24	44	F	70	2	est. 30	
	45	F	56	6	est. 30	
	46	F	est. 60	1	est. 30	
25	55	F	60	2	60	
26	60	F	est. 75	1	45	
27	61	F	est. 70	1	49	Wen
28	62	F	57	2	47	
29	63	F	83	2	62	

>>>

TABLE 4.2 Socioeconomic characteristics of the respondents

INTERVIEW NO.	RESPONDENT NO.	GENDER	AGE[3]	HOUSEHOLD SIZE (PERSONS)	RESIDENCE LENGTH (YEARS)	FICTITIOUS NAME
30	66	F	est. 70	not known	est. 40	
	67	F	est. 70	not known	est. 40	
	68	F	est. 70	not known	est. 40	
31	70	F	est. 50	2	50	
32	71	F	est. 50	3	Not known	
33	72	F	est. 70	1	Not known	

During the interviews, questions were asked about topics such as family and moving history, moving intentions (regardless of the impending relocation), residential satisfaction, various dimensions of place attachment, perceptions of the impending demolition and recent neighbourhood changes. All interviews, with the exception of three (either because of the author getting no permission to record or due to a recording device failure), were recorded and subsequently transcribed verbatim, enabling content analysis of the transcriptions. In addition, the emotions and tones of voice of the respondents were noted while analysing the transcription. As a preparation for the coding procedure, the transcriptions were read and listened to several times to gain familiarity with the stories and mentioned elements related to place attachment and lived experiences. Atlas.ti was then used to code and categorize these concepts and elements in relation to residents' place attachment into social, economic and physical dimensions. For example, friends, relatives, family members, acquaintances and mutual assistance were coded as social dimensions of place attachment. Information about and comments on the physical environment, such as dwelling quality, toilets, roads, transportation, schools and other neighbourhood features were grouped under physical dimension. Their economic activities such as their income, pension and living cost within the neighbourhood are categorized as the economic dimension. To guarantee the anonymity of respondents in the analysis, the quotes are accompanied by gender, age category and fictitious names.

§ 4.4 Lived Experiences and Place Attachment in Declining Danwei Communities

§ 4.4.1 The ambivalence in the social dimension of place attachment

High population turnover and increasing social heterogeneity have taken place in *danwei* communities against the context of neighbourhood decline, rapid urbanization, housing market development and the dismantling of *danwei* system, which causes a shrinking of social networks among our respondents. Many original neighbours have moved out of their neighbourhoods or died, while many renters who are mostly migrants from rural areas have moved into the neighbourhoods for cheap apartments. This population turnover has disrupted the homeowners' established social networks. Many respondents, especially the older ones have strong negative opinions about the renters. They regard migrant renters as outsiders who lack a place-based identity. This might be because that these renters are not homeowners, and their family history is also not embedded in the neighbourhoods. Therefore, they consider that migrant renters lack the sense of rootedness as they are since renters will neither stay in the neighbourhood for a long time nor will they consider the neighbourhood as home. Moreover, most of the migrants are from rural areas and are participating in low-end labour market. Their relatively low socioeconomic status further contributes to these homeowners' negative opinions on them. Many homeowners consider these migrants to be the cause of a neighbourhood deterioration and of enhanced levels of crime. They distrust these renters and feel unsafe to live together with them.

The old neighbours have already moved out ... I don't know them [renters] ... I am not able to put stuff outside [any more] ... my cabbages were stolen! ... These old neighbours won't steal cabbages. I know who stole them. (Meng, 80s, male, resident of Neighbourhood III for more than 30 years)

Therefore, many respondents try to avoid contacts with the migrant renters. In combination with the deaths of old acquaintances and moving out of other original residents, the stayers' social networks within the neighbourhoods are subject to continuous shrinkage.

Meanwhile, stayers retain their (remaining) strong social bonds with each other within their enclosed social networks. Although the *danwei* system has disintegrated over time, the close relationship between many original residents has been reserved. Some stayers reported a family-like relationship with their neighbours because they

have grown up in the same neighbourhood and worked in the same place. Residents know each other due to frequent interaction, including chatting, playing mahjong or providing mutual assistance. Most of the respondents think they can still maintain their current social networks after demolition if local governments provide them with in situ relocation opportunities. Also, their family history and that of their neighbourhood are intertwined with each other and have developed into collective memories and neighbourhood-based identity.

My parents worked in this danwei ... Then I came back to work in this danwei. At that time, it was common [in danwei] to succeed your parents' positions ... (Hui, 60s, female, retired with a pension, resident of Neighbourhood VI for more than 60 years)

Every evening about ten households came out and ate their dinner at the corridor... they walked around and shared food with neighbours from this side of the corridor to the other ... It used to be such a great time here! Mr Liu is the joke master of this floor, ... These guys were quite active and humour! Their jokes can make you laugh for the rest of a day.... It used to be a lot of fun here! (Wen, around 70s, female, 50 years' residence in Neighbourhood V)

Meanwhile, the social bonds among the stayers are enhanced because they have similar multi-deprived experiences. They have similar disadvantaged socio-economic status such as poverty, unemployment, ageing or disability, compared with their old neighbours who has moved out. This has made them develop a sense of belonging to the same social group as they understand each other's hardships compared with the out-movers. The stayers' shared social resources (e.g. mutually physical and social assistance), which have developed on the basis of the long-term residence, help to relieve some of the constraints and hardships in their daily lives. For example, Mei (60s, female) had been living in a small apartment in *Neighbourhood V* with her family for about 30 years. Her husband was seriously ill and the family relied on her pension to make ends meet. She appreciated the mutual support in the neighbourhood as "*they [neighbours] treat me very well. They help to look after my husband when there was nobody at home...*" . She also felt not judged as neighbours appear to understand each other's hardships:

80 per cent of the stayers are in poverty ... Some families are in difficult situations, just like us: some have health issues and [even worse] don't have a pension or insurance; some have mental illness ...Her son is addicted to drugs...She [a neighbour] doesn't need to ask for a favour, and I will help her ... You cannot ignore her situation, because you know she is suffering ... You [I] have to help her...

However, many respondents also reported the decrease of their sense of place about their neighbourhoods, which is related to the dismantling of the *danwei* system, the influx of migrants, the increased social inequality and the perceived decrease of stayers' socioeconomic status. The stayers regard themselves as the most deprived households compared with those who has moved out of the neighbourhoods. Therefore, many respondents felt that their self-esteem was being undermined due to the decline of their neighbourhoods and their deprived situation. One respondent (30s, male) said he was attached to the neighbours and felt convenient living in *Neighbourhood I*. However, he explained that the neighbourhood stigma had a negative influence because nobody would like to marry a guy and then moves into a declining neighbourhood like this.

§ 4.4.2 The ambivalence in the economic dimension of place attachment

Most of our respondents are economically deprived. They live in their neighbourhoods because they cannot afford to move out. Those who have retired or were laid-off at an early age from their *danwei* can rely on the pension which ranges from approximately 2000 RMB to around 3000 RMB per month. Their income is just sufficient to maintain their basic living costs. In order to make ends meet, they have developed coping strategies by clever use of neighbourhood resources. This echoes a Chinese saying: 'kai yuan jie liu' (tap new sources and reduce expenditure). For instance, some older respondents go around to pick up firewood for heating through which they can save money.

These neighbourhood-based economic strategies and opportunities have become part of the respondents' daily life. For example, some respondents rent out rooms (rental fee around 200 RMB per month), have part time jobs or run restaurants or supermarkets, which have become the dominant source of income. Jun (40s, male) had been living in Neighbourhood *VI* for about 20 years. Recently, he built many rooms in his yard and above his own rooms to rent out to incoming migrants from rural areas. He considered this as an achievement that has increased his self-esteem, as he is able to make a living on his own rather than rely on government subsidies.

It is vital for those who are deprived to find ways to make ends meet. Most respondents reported they need much less to maintain their life in the declining neighbourhood than they would in the high-rise apartments which may be made available by the local government as part of the relocation process. Firstly, they have to pay little, if any, housing management fees compared to residents living in newly built neighbourhoods. Local residents do not need to hire and pay for a real estate management company

to undertake general neighbourhood maintenance. Secondly, by mobilizing local resources, such as building hot-brick beds[1] and collecting firewood, etc., residents can save money on living cost. For instance, respondents living in *Neighbourhood I* and *II* reported that they really enjoy the open market near their neighbourhoods because they can save money by buying good quality goods for a low price.

Local residents are also economically dependent on job opportunities in or close by the these neighbourhoods. In addition, these traditional neighbourhoods are often in relatively desirable locations (e.g. close to the public transportation) making these parcels of land potentially expensive after redevelopment. Thus, some respondents consider remaining in occupancy as a positive strategy that will result into an increased amount of compensation from the redevelopment agencies. Actually, the disparity between their expectation of the increased value of the land in the future and the current compensation criteria makes most residents dissatisfied with the redevelopments and unwilling to move (He & Asami, 2014). For instance, some respondents reported that the housing prices in the adjacent newly built neighbourhood are higher than the amounts of money in line with the compensation criteria that local governments offer to them. This means that they cannot afford the dwellings from surrounding neighbourhoods with merely the monetary compensation from local governments, and that they are not fairly compensated based on the market price.

We found that many respondents are generally in a position to maintain their current living conditions, but are not able to improve them, or to achieve upward social mobility, due to limited resources, including basics such as education or social networks that include 'outsiders' that may be a link to employment opportunities. Thus, those who stay in these declining neighbourhoods are to some extent economically trapped there. This may explain why some respondents said that they had been looking forward to redevelopment as they would like to move into newly built neighbourhoods. They want to escape the stigma of the declining neighbourhood. However, they are also concerned about their economic situation, because after relocation it seems almost impossible for them to mobilize local resources again to gain income and reduce their living costs:

I prefer the current undesirable living conditions, and at least I still have my income as a safeguard ... After this [demolition and relocation] my conditions will be better... but I will be nothing ...I will have no money in my pocket anymore... (Jun, 40s, male, Neighbourhood VI)

§ 4.4.3 The ambivalence in the physical dimension of place attachment

Respondents have developed their own patterns of using neighbourhood and housing space, reflecting activity patterns established over a long period of residence. Many respondents reported that their neighbourhoods provide good access to public transport, schools, hospitals, open markets, etc. Most of the residents live on low incomes and cannot afford taxis or a private car, making the proximity to these facilities highly important, especially for the aged people.

Most of our respondents are satisfied with the physical aspects of their current dwellings. The residential buildings are from one to three stories, which enables residents to get out of their private rooms easily for daily activities such as cooking or exercise. This is especially important for the aged or the disabled since their mobility can be greatly affected by the physical barriers. They are worried about moving into the high-rise buildings because they would be less motivated to go outside. Unlike high-rise buildings, these low-storey buildings are more open and their neighbourhoods provide more public space than the apartment in the high-rise buildings, which makes it easier for residents to meet and interact with their neighbours. This was important for most respondents as it allowed them maintain their social network. Ai (30s, female, Neighbourhood *VI*) gave her opinion on moving to a high-rise building after demolition, compared with her current courtyard:

Residents living in the high-rise building apartment are trapped in it … Now you see I live in this courtyard, and I feel very comfortable to go outside and inside … and it is very convenient. If I live in the high-rise building, it will take time to go up into the apartment and go down to the ground …

Residents in these traditional neighbourhoods have the flexibility to change some of the characteristics and lay-out of their dwelling space. This is because these neighbourhoods have more open space and less rigid construction management than the newly built neighbourhoods. As we saw above, for example, residents can employ empty spaces in their yard to construct more rooms to house other family members, store furniture or rent to others. Also, some of the respondents have their own gardens, which are scarce or non-existent in the high-rise buildings that may provide relocation options. More importantly, homeowners have more autonomy than those who are living in the recently-built commodity dwellings in relation to construction within their dwellings. For example, they can build their own heating systems, such as hot-brick beds, to warm the rooms. However, this will not be possible when they move into the high-rise buildings. In addition, some respondents considered that the actual amount of living space they will have will shrink if they move into apartments

in high-rise buildings after relocation. Respondents recounted the many advantages of their current dwellings and how they better meet their lifestyle, both practically and emotionally. As Jun (40s, male, *Neighbourhood VI*) indicated:

Here [in my courtyard] I can grow vegetables and raise chickens or a dog. I like animals. My children like animals … I don't think there will be enough space in the high-rise apartment [even] for my furniture ….

Nevertheless, residents feel ambivalent about the overall physical state of their neighbourhood. Many respondents reported that they were not satisfied with the deterioration of the sanitation conditions. The decay in the physical conditions, such as the lack of toilets and sewage system in their dwellings, as well as the poor sanitation conditions in their neighbourhoods generally, have motivated their moving intention. Some respondents would prefer that the living conditions of their existing dwellings be improved or redeveloped, while others would prefer that the neighbourhood conditions were improved while their dwellings remained unchanged. A third category would prefer to leave both their current neighbourhood and dwellings. Ai (30s, female) recounted her ambivalence about moving:

Now these residents have all occupied the streets with constructed dwellings, so there is no room for sewerage at all on the street. It is very dirty here … I never wear my good shoes and walk here … I have an ambivalent feeling. I want to move out and also don't want to (laugh, observed hesitation). I want to move out into the apartments in the high-rise building just because it is very neat and clean.

As mentioned above, respondents claim that the lack of investment by *danwei* and local governments and the perceived antisocial behaviour of migrants (see section 4.4.1) have contributed to the physical deterioration of the neighbourhoods. However, Ai's statement implies that local residents are also abusing their own neighbourhood environment. In addition, many homeowners have stopped investing in their dwellings to maintain good dwelling conditions due to the extent of neighbourhood degradation and the strong likelihood of redevelopment. In fact, many local residents have established many illegal constructions merely to enlarge the floor area of their dwellings, because (the amount of) compensation is partly dependent upon the size of the current dwelling. Some of these illegal constructions have almost no residential function and they only serve to accelerate the degradation of the neighbourhood and disturb the residents' sense of place.

§ 4.5 Perceptions towards the impending demolition and relocation

Most respondents have reported that they feel that the redevelopment is necessary. Some of them discussed their neighbourhoods in terms of 'you cannot find another place as worse as this in Shenyang'. These respondents intend to move into newly built neighbourhoods if the opportunity arises. In fact, some of them have been anticipating the redevelopment for a long time since they expect to 'live a happy life [after moving into relocation neighbourhoods!]'. Some of them even went to the office of the local government to make appeals for the redevelopment of their neighbourhood.

Many factors contribute to their willingness to accept the redevelopment and the associated forced relocation. The aforementioned perceived neighbourhood decline and deprived socio-economic status have negatively affected their quality of their life and self-esteem. As part of wider societal changes, the changing meaning of 'home' under market transitions in China also raises their aspiration for state-led neighbourhood redevelopment. The meaning of home is not limited to the dwelling, but it has also increasingly becoming an asset of growing financial importance, reflecting the resources and social status of an individual or a household. For instance, in current urban China, a dwelling is required for a marriage in most cases, which was also reported by several interviewed residents. Also, based on the fact that it has become increasingly difficult for these stayers to afford dwellings under current housing market, SRPs with large government subsidies can be a chance for these residents to improve their living conditions.

Residents living in these deprived neighbourhoods cannot afford better housing. Now [with the compensation] you can buy a dwelling slightly better than the current one. That is fine. We should be happy with this improvement although it is very tiny (Mei, female, 60s, Neighbourhood V).

However, when they are informed that their neighbourhoods are going to be redeveloped, many respondents show obvious ambivalent feelings, as mentioned in the previous subsections. Because the *danwei* neighbourhoods provide them with housing and various resources with which they can relieve their life constraints, forced relocation can be very disruptive. In the post-relocation situation, it is highly unlikely that they can mobilise the same resources as in their *danwei* communities.

The perceived lack of autonomy in relation to the impending forced relocation process also bothers many respondents. They feel insecure about the forced relocation process. They have witnessed many examples in adjacent neighbourhoods or within Shenyang about how local governments or developers fail to realize their promises

on rehousing the affected residents on time. Residents can now reveal their opinions on whether they agree with the redevelopment or not and to choose the real estate assessment company which sets the compensation criteria by assessing the value of residents' dwellings. However, the influence of residents on the redevelopment process is limited. As soon as the local governments start the redevelopment process, it is impossible for the residents to stop it. Therefore, they feel uncertain about whether their living conditions will improve or not, as the current relocation neighbourhoods provided by local governments are distant from and lack many public facilities. Some stayers reported that it would still difficult for them to afford bigger dwellings to accommodate their family members after the redevelopment. These stayers expect the current redevelopment to lift themselves out of their multi-deprived situation before the redevelopment, which is out of the scope of the current SRPs focusing merely on improving the living conditions of these residents. Therefore, some stayers realize that there probably will be limited improvements in their life after redevelopment:

We cannot afford the new buildings and we have to buy another one just like this .... The redevelopment is like sun shining into dark corners, but we are so dark and cold .... The redevelopment cannot improve our situation fundamentally...(Mei, 60s, female, Neighbourhood V)

Meanwhile, most of them are concerned about how they will adapt to the physical environment after forced relocation. Ai (30s, female) regarded moving to a high-rise building after relocation as becoming '*trapped in it*'. Most respondents reported that the location of their current neighbourhood has obvious advantages over that of the relocation neighbourhoods provided by local governments (see also section 4.4.3). They reported that the proposed relocation neighbourhood provided by local governments to rehouse them is far from the city centre and that it currently lacks many public and commercial facilities, increasing their reluctance to relocate. Moreover, they were concerned about a potential dramatic reduction in neighbourhood contacts once they moved to a high-rise building. Respondents regard the level of social engagement in high-rise relocations neighbourhoods as relatively superficial and generally showing indifference. This echoes previous research, which found that residents currently living in newly built neighbourhoods in urban China cherish privacy and prefer to maintain anonymity and a distance within their communities (Zhu et al., 2012).

§ 4.6 Discussion

The paper unravels the influences of the impending demolition and relocation on residents by revealing the ambivalence in their place attachment on the basis of interviews with 33 homeowners from *danwei* communities. These stayers' lived experience and ambivalent feelings show how those urban residents who are in multi-deprived situation mobilise local resources to relieve their life constraints, which translates into a strong place attachment. This is playing out in a changing context, in which the joint effects of market forces, institutional arrangements and individual situations have contributed to the declines of their *danwei* communities, the emergence of the deprived social groups and their struggles for decent housing. We will now discuss the influence of these developments in more detail.

A series of SOE reforms has led many *danwei* to transfer their obligations regarding neighbourhood management to local governments such as local housing bureaus. However, these departments invest little in these neighbourhoods and the homeowners themselves also lack the motivation for investing in their declining neighbourhoods because they are financially incapable and expect neighbourhood redevelopment in the near future, which would surely destroy their investment. Return on investment is not only important for the residents themselves. Redevelopment of declining neighbourhoods in China has been selective as it is mostly driven by market mechanisms (Liu and Wu, 2006). While declining neighbourhoods with high profit potentials (e.g. good location, large-scale and relatively simple homeownership[2]) have become the priority for redevelopment, those neighbourhoods with high redevelopment costs and less economic profits (e.g. complicated homeownership structures, relatively small scale or poor location) have remained underdeveloped by both the governments and the market (Liu and Wu, 2006).

Parallel to the increasing importance of market transition, the unemployed and laid-off residents from *danwei* communities have developed into one of the most deprived social groups in urban China (He *et al.*, 2008, 2010; Liu and Wu, 2006). Wu (2004) has indicated these laid-off workers may "slip into poverty, becoming segregated from mainstream society in terms of their consumption and life styles" (p. 414). He and her colleagues (2010) further explained that social welfare entitlement and market remuneration are the two dominant factors that lead to these residents' trap in deprivation. The pension or Minimum Living Standard Scheme (MLSS) subsidies from *danwei* or local governments can only maintain these residents' basic living. Sudden family changes or events such as enrolling at universities, serious illness or buying dwellings, can lead these households into severe poverty. Also, the unemployed residents cannot sell their labour capital with a decent price in current labour force

market, because of their low education and limited skills; they cannot meet the job requirements under industrial restructuring and upgrading in China (Wu, 2004). In addition, they are also not willing to work in the low-end service or labour intensive industries (He *et al*., 2010). Therefore, these residents become socially, physically and economically dependent on and trapped in their neighbourhoods. Specifically, they are in a multi-dilemma relationship with their declining neighbourhoods: (1) poor residence but enough space for accommodating their family members by adapting their dwellings and constructing illegal extensions, (2) low-income but also and low-cost living in these neighbourhoods, (3) and shrinking but strong social networks among the stayers.

Neighbourhood deterioration has negatively affected the capacity of our respondents to live a decent life and motived them to leave. However, the rising housing price cuts of alternative housing. This dilemma is closely related to the fact that housing access in current urban China is largely dependent on a household's income and status and whether people qualify for subsidized housing provided by the state or work units (Chen *et al*., 2014; Lee, 2000; Wang *et al*., 2012). Therefore stayers in *danwei* communities are, to a large extent, excluded from current housing provision system in China. They have to rely on the state-led neighbourhood redevelopment projects, such as the SRPs, which focuses on improving the living conditions of these deprived homeowners by strong governmental subsidies. SRPs to some extent resemble the prevalent social housing redevelopment projects in Western Europe and the USA, which aim to tackle issues such as poverty concentration, disorder and segregation (see e.g. Goetz, 2013; Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013; Lelévrier, 2013). However, many scholars have criticized that such redevelopments are very likely to cause gentrification and displacement of low-income residents, and that often the aim for social welfare delivery is substantially moderated for the achievement of general economic growth (Goetz, 2016; Marom and Carmon, 2015). Similarly, current SRPs are featured by large-scale physical demolition of dwellings and spatially involuntary movement of residents. The social, economic and physical appeals of these deprived stayers have not yet draw full attention form governments, which is very likely to cause disruption to these stayers who are strongly dependent on their neighbourhoods.

In the US and Western Europe, renters can get compensation from local governments (Goetz, 2016; Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013), which is quite different with the experiences of their counterparts in China. In China, renters in declining neighbourhoods are mostly migrants seeking for cheap apartments. They are usually excluded during the redevelopment process. They can neither get compensation from the governments nor developers, because homeownership determines residents' accessibility to different social resources such as compensation during urban redevelopment. Also, unlike the case in the UK which displays that migrants are more

attached to their neighbourhoods compared with the natives (Egan et al., 2015), Wu (2012) shows that migrants in China have slightly lower level of attachment than local residents. Nevertheless, he (Wu, 2012) found that migrants have stronger wiliness to remain in these neighbourhoods than local residents. This might be because that compared with their former living conditions in rural areas, migrants can economically and socially benefit from the job chances, low-living cost and the social networks based on their acquaintances from their origins (laoxiang) by living in these *danwei* communities, which makes them more tolerant with the deteriorated living conditions than the stayed homeowners (He et al.,2010; Wu, 2012). Overall, the access for better housing of deprived social groups in declining neighbourhoods, including homeowners, the renters and migrants, is challenged under market transition in China. They can neither afford commodity dwellings nor obtain access to subsidized housing, which shows the dysfunctioning of the marketization of the Chinese housing market (Chen *et al*., 2014; Lee, 2000; Meng, 2012).

§ 4.7 Conclusions

This paper has focused on the lived experiences that affect the place attachment of homeowners living in declining Chinese *danwei* neighbourhoods which face demolition. We found that these homeowners, often long-term stayers, have become increasingly ambivalent regarding their place attachment in the face of neighbourhood redevelopment and impending forced relocation. While they report a sense of satisfaction with and dependence on their neighbourhoods, they simultaneously report dissatisfaction and an inclination to move due to the decline in the quality of life in their neighbourhood. The impending demolition forces residents to face a dilemma concerning the relative importance of various dimensions of their attachment to the neighbourhood and the desire to relocate to achieve better living conditions. This paper contributes to the literature on relocation and urban redevelopment by showing how the affliction (i.e. a sense of loss and grief), which may manifest itself during or at the post-relocation stage of urban redevelopment (Fried, 1963), may already emerge strongly at the pre-relocation stage in the case of poor Chinese homeowners in *danwei* communities. Our findings for this particular group of residents fills a clear gap in the literature that is dominated by experiences of public or social housing tenants in the United States and Europe.

Exploring the ambivalence in their neighbourhood experience helps us understand how these homeowners have coped over time with changing conditions in their neighbourhood which are currently amplified by their almost certain relocation if

redevelopment actually starts in their neighbourhood. These (neighbourhood) changes to some extent disrupt their place attachment. Due to serious physical decline and high population turnover, deprived homeowners living in these neighbourhoods have already experienced the sense of discontinuity even before the start of the redevelopment project. On the other hand, their place attachment in some cases is even enhanced while they are suffering from negative neighbourhood changes. This is because these changes force and stimulate these homeowners to transfer the challenges caused by them into resources from which residents can benefit. In light of this, place attachment can be regarded as the outcome of a combination of the living strategies of residents over time under changing socioeconomic and institutional contexts. These deprived homeowners are attached to their neighbourhoods emotionally based on the long term of residence, family history and the collective memories in the socialist era. However, their strong dependence and attachment on the functional (tangible social and economic resources) aspects of the neighbourhood might be more significant as it is related to their living strategies.

To summarize, it is vital to focus on residents' lived experiences and place attachment at the pre-relocation phase, because it can help us better understand the coping strategies of residents facing urban redevelopment. Gaining an understanding of their perspectives while they are living through this phase may provide better insights than asking ex-residents in the post-relocation phase, i.e. making a retrospective assessment of their pre-demolition life (Goetz, 2013). During the pre-relocation phase they need to make compensation choices based on their current household, dwelling and neighbourhood situation. They also need to evaluate the merits and demerits of staying in their declining neighbourhood and the potential outcomes of redevelopment. It is vital that policymakers and local governments take these factors associated with residents' lived experiences and living strategies into consideration if they wish to improve the living conditions of those who are deprived.

Notes

1 The hot-brick bed is a traditional type of bed found in northern China, designed to provide a warm bed when it is cold. They are made from bricks or clay and can be connected to either or both the stove and the central heating system in the dwelling.

2 The homeownership composition in an neighbourhood affects local governments' willingness on neighbourhood redevelopment. If the homeownership is complicated, it means that local governments need to spend more efforts on mediating the interests between different households and family members, which not only involves a lot of conflicts, but also might increase the cost and time for the development.

3 Table 4.2 shows the basic socioeconomic information of the respondents such as age, gender, household size and the length of residence in their neighbourhoods etc. We had to estimate the age of some respondents because they did not report their exact age but give a rough range of age. For instance, if they are 74, they would report it as 'about 70'. It was very difficult to further ask their exact age because some respondents were cautious about their personal information especially against the context and forced relocation and urban redevelopment.

Acknowledgements

The authors are very grateful to the three anonymous reviewers and the editor for their valuable suggestions and comments on previous version of this article.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

The authors would like to thank the China Scholarship Council (CSC) for providing the scholarship to conduct this research.

References

Altman, I. and Low, S. M. (1992) *Place Attachment*, (New York: Plenum).

Anguelovski, I. (2013) From Environmental Trauma to Safe Haven: Place Attachment and Place Remaking in Three Marginalized Neighborhoods of Barcelona, Boston, and Havana, City & Community 12 (3): pp.211-237.

Bailey, N., Kearns, A. & Livingston, M. (2012) Place Attachment in Deprived Neighbourhoods: The Impacts of Population Turnover and Social Mix, Housing Studies, 27(2), pp. 208-231.

Bjorklund, M.(1986) The Danwei: socio-spatial characteristics of work units in China's urban society, Economic Geography, 62 (1) :19-29.

Bray, D. (2014) Social Space and Governance in Urban China: the Danwei System, (Nanjing: Southeast University).

Brown, B. & Perkins, D. D. (1992) Disruptions in place attachment, in: I. Altman and S. M. Low (Eds) Place Attachment: 279–304 (New York: Plenum).

Brown, B., Perkins, D. D. & Brown, G. (2003) Place attachment in a revitalizing neighborhood: Individual and block levels of analysis, Journal of Environmental Psychology, 23 (3):259-271.

Chen, J., Yang, Z. and Wang, YP. (2014) The New Chinese Model of Public Housing: A Step Forward or Backward? Housing Studies, 29(4) : 534-550.
Corcoran M. (2002) Place attachment and community sentiment in marginalised neighbourhoods, Canadian Journal of Urban Research, 11(2) : 201-221.
Egan, M., Lawson, L., Kearns, A., Conway, E., & Neary, J. (2015) Neighbourhood demolition, relocation and health. A qualitative longitudinal study of housing-led urban regeneration in Glasgow, UK. Health & Place, 33:101-108.
Feijten, P. & van Ham, M. (2009) Neighbourhood Change... Reason to Leave? Urban Studies 46(10) :2103-2122.
Fullilove, M. (1996) Psychiatric implications of displacement: Contributions from the psychology, The American Journal of Psychiatry, 153 (12) :1516-1523.
Fried, M. & Gleicher, P. (1961) Some sources of residential satisfaction in an urban slum, Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 27(4) :305-315.
Fried, M. (1963) Grieving for a lost home, in: L. J. Duhl (Ed.) The Urban Condition: 151–171 (New York: Basic Books).
Fried, M. (2000) Continuities and discontinuities of place, Journal of Environmental Psychology, 20 (3) : 193–205.
Gilroy, R. (2012) Physical threats to older people's social worlds: findings from a pilot study in Wuhan, China. Environment and Planning A, 44:458-476.
Giuliani, M.V. & Feldman, R. (1993) Place attachment in a developmental and cultural context, Journal of Environmental Psychology, 13:267-274.
Goetz, G. (2013) Too Good to be True? The Variable and Contingent Benefits of Displacement and Relocation among Low-Income Public Housing Residents. Housing Studies, 28 (2) : 235-252.
Goetz, E. G. (2016) Resistance to social housing transformation. Cities, 57:1-5.
He, S.J., Webster, C., Wu, F. L., & Liu, Y. T.(2008) Profiling urban poverty in a Chinese City, the case of Nanjing. Applied Spatial Analysis and Policy, 1(3) : 193-214.
He, S., Wu, F., Webster, C., & Liu, Y. (2010) Poverty Concentration and Determinants in China's Urban Low-income Neighbourhoods and Social Groups. International journal of urban and regional research, 34(2) : 328-349.
He, Z. Y. & Asami, Y. (2014) How Do Landowners Price their Lands during Land Expropriation and the Motives Behind It: An Explanation from a WTA/ WTP Experiment in Central Beijing, Urban Studies, 51(2) : 412–427
Hidalgo, M. C. & Hernández, B. (2001) Place attachment: conceptual and empirical questions, Journal of Environmental Psychology, 21(3) : 273-281.
Hin, L.L. & Xin, L. (2011) Redevelopment of urban villages in Shenzhen, China – An analysis of power relations and urban coalitions. Habitat International, 35(3) : 426-434.
Jean, S. (2016) Neighbourhood attachment revisited: Middle-class families in the Montreal metropolitan region. Urban Studies, 53(12) : 2567-2583.
Kearns, A. & Mason, P. (2013) Defining and Measuring Displacement: Is Relocation from Restructured Neighbourhoods Always Unwelcome and Disruptive? Housing Studies, 28(2) :177-204.
Kleinhans, R. & Kearns, A. (2013) Neighbourhood Restructuring and Residential Relocation: Towards a Balanced Perspective on Relocation Processes and Outcomes. Housing Studies, 28(2) : 163-176.
Lelévrier, C. (2013) Social mix neighbourhood policies and social interaction: The experience of newcomers in three new renewal developments in France. Cities, 35: 409-416.
Lewicka, M. (2011) Place attachment: How far have we come in the last 40 years? Journal of Environmental Psychology, 31(3) : 207-230.
Lee, J. (2000) From Welfare Housing to Home Ownership: The Dilemma of China's Housing Reform. Housing Studies, 15(1) : 61-76.
Author, date <removed for anonymity reasons>
Liu, Y.T., & Wu, F.L. (2006) Urban poverty neighbourhoods: Typology and spatial concentration under China's market transition, a case study of Nanjing. Geoforum, 37(4) :610-626.
Livingston, M., Bailey, N. & Kearns, A. (2010) Neighbourhood attachment in deprived areas: evidence from the north of England, Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 2010 (25) :409–427.
Lu, F. (1989) Danwei: a special form of social organisation. Social Sciences in China, 1: 71-88.

Luo, Y. (2012) Institutional Arrangements and Individual Action: The Spontaneous Moving Back of Urban Inhabitants of Resettlement and Space Reconstruction of the Original Community, Master Dissertation, East China Normal University, 2012.
Manzo, L.C., Kleit, R.G. & Couch, D. (2008) "Moving Three Times Is Like Having Your House on Fire Once": The Experience of Place and Impending Displacement among Public Housing Residents. Urban Studies, 45(9) : 1855-1878.
Manzo, L.C. (2014) On uncertain ground: being at home in the context of public housing redevelopment, International Journal of Housing Policy. 14(4) : 389-410.
Marom, N., & Carmon, N. (2015) Affordable housing plans in London and New York: Between marketplace and social mix. Housing Studies, 30(7) : 993-1015.
Meng, X. (2012) The transformation of Modi Community: The redevelopment and community governance in the deprived neighbourhoods in inner city, Beijing: Renming University Press
MOHURD. (2013) Youju Bian Yiju Baixing Tiandashi: Duihua Zhufang ChengXiang Jianshebu Fu Buzhang Qi Ji. Available at http://www.mohurd.gov.cn/bldjgzyhd/201309/t20130909_214987.html.
Oakley, D., Ruel, E., & Wilson, G. E. (2008) A choice with no options: Atlanta public housing residents' lived experiences in the face of relocation. Atlanta: Georgia State University.Popkin, S.J. (2010) A glass half empty? New evidence from the HOPE VI Panel Study, Housing Policy Debate, 20(1) : 43-63.
Popkin, S.J., Levy, D.K., Harris, L.E., Comey, J., Cunningham M.K., & Buron, L.F. (2004) The HOPE VI Program: What about the residents? Housing Policy Debate, 15(2) : 385-414.
Popkin, S.J. (2010) A glass half empty? New evidence from the HOPE VI Panel Study, Housing Policy Debate, 20(1) : 43-63.
Posthumus, H., Bolt, G. & van Kempen, R. (2013) Victims or victors? The effects of forced relocations on housing satisfaction in Dutch cities, Journal of Urban Affairs, 36(1) : 13–32.
Posthumus, H. & Kleinhans, R. (2014) Choice within limits: how the institutional context of forced relocation affects tenants' housing searches and choice strategies, Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 29 (1) :105–122.
Ramkissoon, H., Smith, L. D. G. & Weiler, B. (2013) Testing the dimensionality of place attachment and its relationships with place satisfaction and pro-environmental behaviours: A structural equation modelling approach. Tourism Management, 36: 552-566.
Relph, E. (1976) Place and placelessness. (London: Poin).
Scannell, L. & Gifford, R. (2010) Defining place attachment: A tripartite organizing framework, Journal of Environmental Psychology,30(1) :1-10.
Stokols, D. & Shumaker, S.A. (1981) People in places: a transactional view of settings, in J.H. Harvey (Ed) Cognition, Social Behavior and the Environment, pp. 441-488 (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates)
Tester, G., Ruel, E., Anderson, A., Reitzes, D., & Oakley, D. (2011) Sense of place among Atlanta public housing residents, Journal of Urban Health, 88(3) :436-453.
Tester, G., & Wingfield, A. H. (2013) Moving past picket fences: The meaning of "home" for public housing residents. Sociological Forum, 28 (1) : 70-84.
Vale, L. J. (1997) Empathological Places: residents' ambivalence towards remaining in public housing, Journal of Planning Education and Research, 16(3) :159-175.
Wang, D. G. & Chai, Y. W. (2009) The jobs–housing relationship and commuting in Beijing, China: the legacy of Danwei, Journal of Transport Geography, 17(1) : 30-38.
Wang, YP, Shao, L., Murie, A., et al. (2012) The Maturation of the Neo-liberal Housing Market in Urban China. Housing Studies, 27(3) : 343-359.
Windsong, E. A. (2010) There is no place like home: Complexities in exploring home and place attachment. The Social Science Journal, 47(1) : 205-214.
Wu, F. (2004) Urban poverty and marginalization under market transition: the case of Chinese cities. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 28(2) : 401-423.
Wu, F. L. & He, S. J. (2005) Changes in traditional urban areas and impacts of urban redevelopment: a case study of three neighbourhoods in Nanjing, China. Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie, 96(1) : 75-95.
Wu, F. L. (2012) Neighborhood Attachment, Social Participation, and Willingness to Stay in China's Low-Income Communities. Urban Affairs Review, 48(4) : 547-570.
Zhu, Y., Breitung, W. & Li, S-M (2012) The Changing Meaning of Neighbourhood Attachment in Chinese Commodity Housing Estates: Evidence from Guangzhou. Urban Studies, 49 (11) : 2439-2457.

5 The Impact of Impending Demolition on Ageing in Place in Declining Neighbourhoods in Shenyang, China

Xin Li, Maarten van Ham, Reinout Kleinhans and Pingyu Zhang
Submitted to Geoforum

Abstract

Facilitating ageing in place enables older people to remain in familiar places, namely their homes and neighbourhoods, as long as possible. However, urban redevelopment that includes the forced relocation of residents often makes ageing in place impossible. The present research examined how impending neighbourhood demolition affects the ageing in place of older people in Shenyang, China. Starting with the press-competence model and related academic work concerning the influences of person–environment interaction on the wellbeing of older people, this paper discusses the impact of forced relocation and demolition on the meaning of home, the living arrangement and the role of family, and strategies to maintain the independence of older people. Transcript analysis of 54 semi-structured interviews with older residents revealed their ambivalent feelings towards the impending demolition. Long-term residence in declining neighbourhoods makes them feel rooted and enables them to develop their living strategies and plan for ageing in place. However, neighbourhood decline challenges their daily activities and they increasingly struggle to maintain their independence, which leads them to consider impending neighbourhood redevelopment as an opportunity to improve their living conditions. The impending forced relocation interrupts their place-based identity and living strategies and causes significant stress due to their lack of autonomy in the decision making on the relocation process, the move itself and their uncertainty regarding their post-relocation life. Implications for further research and policy are provided.

Keywords: *Ageing in place; Urban redevelopment; Declining neighbourhoods; Caregiving; Forced relocation; China*

§ 5.1 Introduction

In many countries, the ageing of the population is a fundamentally important demographic development. The growing shares of older people create huge societal challenges with regard to the labour force and the funding of pensions, healthcare and other age-related services (for an overview, see Gavrilov and Heuveline, 2003). Ageing in place encompasses the interaction between older people and their living environment (Davey, 2006; Lawton, 1983). It implies that older people stay in their familiar environment (i.e. their home and neighbourhood) and that they maintain their sense of home, independence and autonomy. Apart from a theoretical construct, it is also a prevalent policy that is not only considered necessary to reduce the costs of institutionalized and special medical care, but also considered positively with regard to the physical, social and psychological wellbeing of older people (Davey, 2006; Gilroy, 2008; Sixsmith and Sixsmith, 2008; Wiles *et al*. 2012).

However, some scholars argue that ageing in place might not be a preferable choice for older people (Hillcoat-Nallétamby and Ogg, 2014; Löfqvist *et al*., 2013; Oswald and Rowles, 2006), because the wellbeing of older people while ageing in place is affected by their competence (i.e. socioeconomic status, physical abilities, personal characteristics, ability to cope with change) and the environments (i.e. the physical environment, the institutional context and the cultural values) (Lawton, 1983, 1985; Gilroy, 2008). For instance, Van Der Meer and colleagues (2008) reported that vulnerable older people who are living in declining neighbourhoods experience more dissatisfaction and sense of unsafety in their neighbourhoods than those who are less vulnerable, whereas in more prosperous neighbourhoods, there are no obvious differences between vulnerable and less vulnerable older people. This study shows the significance of the neighbourhood conditions and the socioeconomic status of older people for their wellbeing while ageing in place.

China faces increasing challenges resulting from its ageing population (Chou, 2010): it is estimated that by 2030 China will have 347.1 million people (23.8% of the total population) aged 60 years or older (Chou, 2010, p. 4). In addition to this demographic process, older people in China increasingly face multiple challenges, such as poverty, inadequate housing and a lack of medical care, due to the highly limited development of age-friendly physical environments and an inadequate social welfare and healthcare system (Jiang, 1995; Liu and Wu, 2006; Saunders and Sun, 2006). Meanwhile, under the influence of modernization, industrialization and urbanization, traditional practices of ageing in place in China, such as intergenerational co-residence and strong dependence of parents on children, are changing rapidly. The intergenerational co-residence of older people and their children has become less prevalent and children and even parents increasingly prefer to live separately (Forrest Zhang, 2004; Logan *et al*., 1998).

In the context of such structural and cultural changes in China, the pertinent question is how older people experience ageing in place. This is especially important for vulnerable older people who live in declining neighbourhoods. In China, older people residing in old neighbourhoods, such as some *danwei* (work unit) communities or urban villages, suffer from deterioration due to a lack of maintenance and investment. These neighbourhoods were built many years ago and are often unsuitable for ageing in place in terms of building design, infrastructure and facilities. In the context of a large-scale urban renewal programme, many of these old neighbourhoods will be redeveloped, which will involve the demolition of dwellings and the forced residential relocation of millions of people (Li *et al*., 2017; MOHURD, 2013). Impending relocation is a direct threat to the ageing in place of older residents or the opportunities for such. Although it is not unlikely that their housing conditions may be improved after forced relocation, the whole process of relocation can cause them major disruption and insecurity.

Driven by these concerns, the present research examined the lived experiences of older people in declining neighbourhoods, and in particular how the impending neighbourhood demolition and forced relocation affects their perception of ageing in place, taking *danwei* communities and urban villages in Shenyang, China, as a case study. In this paper, a transcript analysis of 54 semi-structured interviews with older residents in declining neighbourhoods is used to show how the impending neighbourhood demolition influences older residents' lived experiences with regard to (1) the meaning of home, (2) their living arrangement and the role of family, and (3) strategies to maintain their independence. We define 'older residents' as people living in the case study areas who are at least 50 years old,[1] which is based on the earlier retirement age of employees of state-owned enterprises and governmental departments and institutions (for an overview, see note 1 and West, 1999). The following section elaborates the concept of ageing in place, also in the context of forced residential relocation in later life. It also discusses ageing in place in the contemporary Chinese context. Section 5.3 introduces the research area, data and methods. Section 5.4 provides the results of the transcript analysis. The final section presents the discussion and conclusions, as well as some policy recommendations.

§ 5.2 Ageing in place and urban redevelopment in China

§ 5.2.1 Ageing in place: home, independence and living arrangement

Facilitating ageing in place enables older people to remain in familiar places, namely their homes and neighbourhoods, as long as possible (Davey, 2006; Dobner *et al*., 2016; Gilroy, 2008; Oswald and Rowles, 2006; Sixsmith and Sixsmith, 2008, Wiles *et al*. 2012). It is believed that remaining in familiar places can be beneficial to older people, as it helps them to maintain their autonomy and independence (Borglin *et al*., 2005; Davey, 2006; Sixsmith and Sixsmith, 2008;). However, ageing in place does not mean that older people are satisfied with their lived experiences in their current neighbourhoods (Hillcoat-Nallétamby & Ogg, 2014; Peace et al., 2011). In fact, ageing in place might be a compromise for older people. They may have both positive and negative experiences in these places, which may drive them to move away or make them stay (Oakley *et al*., 2008; Tester and Wingfield, 2013). The press-competence model proposed by Lawton and Nahemow (1973) posits that the interaction between two factors, namely, the environmental features and personal competence, affects the wellbeing and behaviour of older people who are ageing in place (see also Lawton, 1985). Vulnerable older people are very likely to suffer from challenges resulting from neighbourhood decline, as both their deteriorated living conditions and constrained socioeconomic resources reduce their ability to overcome environmental pressures (Hillcoat-Nallétamby, 2014; Portacolone, 2011; Saunders and Sun, 2006; Van Der Meer et al., 2008). The press-competence model therefore provides a useful lens to explore the behaviour and living experiences of vulnerable older people living in depressed conditions (Hillcoat-Nallétamby and Ogg, 2014; Lager , 2014; Oswald and Rowles, 2006; Peace *et al*., 2011). Inspired by the model, we suggest decomposing the ageing in place experience of vulnerable older people from declining neighbourhoods into three key dimensions: (1) the construction of the meaning of home, (2) their strategies for remaining independent, and (3) their living arrangements and the interaction with family, which will be explained in the following sections.

Home has been the key notion surrounding what environmental features should be developed to facilitate ageing in place (Ekström, 1994; Wiles *et al*., 2009; Severinsen *et al*., 2016; Oswald *et al*., 2005; Sixsmith and Sixsmith, 2008; Sixsmith *et al*., 2014). After a long period of residence, older people become familiar with, attached to and dependent on the physical and social environments of their neighbourhoods and dwellings, and during this process they develop a sense of home (Borglin *et al*., 2005; Ekström, 1994; Gilroy, 2008; Lager , 2014; Wiles *et al*., 2009; Severinsen *et al*.,

2016). The development of a sense of home is not only a natural but also a necessary process for the wellbeing of older people (Borglin *et al*., 2005; Oswald and Rowles, 2006). First, home is mentally and psychologically significant to them, as it provides a sense of privacy, safety, autonomy, freedom and continuity – states that are essential to human beings (Borglin *et al*., 2005; Tester and Wingfield, 2013). Second, home is the shelter in which older people live and conduct their daily activities, which is closely related to the environmental attributes of their dwellings and neighbourhoods (Hillcoat-Nallétamby and Ogg, 2014; Oakley *et al*., 2008; Tester and Wingfield, 2013). For instance, the facilities and location of dwellings and neighbourhoods can affect the quality and scale of older people's activities (Hillcoat-Nallétamby and Ogg, 2014; Oakley *et al*., 2008; Van der Meer *et al*. 2008). The significance of a sense of home and its related environments is enhanced as older people become less mobile and stay at home more due to ageing related physical and cognitive decline (Oswald and Rowles, 2006; Severinsen *et al*., 2016).

In addition, personal competence, such as physical capacity, socioeconomic status and social relationships, can determine the degree to which older people are able to overcome or adapt to environmental challenges and achieve independent ageing (Lawton, 1983; Plath, 2008; Portacolone, 2011; Van der Meer *et al*. 2008). In the USA and some western European countries, older people find it difficult to rely on others as it indicates the loss of their autonomy and independence (Borglin *et al*., 2005; Plath, 2008; Smetcoren *et al*., 2017). Remaining independent is therefore highly appreciated by both older people themselves and society, and is one of the policy aims regarding ageing in place (Hillcoat-Nallétamby, 2014; Portacolone, 2011). Independent ageing can normally be manifested through the living arrangement and care receiving patterns of older people, which indicates the extent to which older people are dependent on others (Smetcoren *et al*., 2017). For instance, in order to maintain independence, many older people prefer to live alone or with their spouses (Portacolone, 2011). In particular, they avoid living together with their children when they feel that they may become a burden on them. The maintenance of independence is context-based. In addition to the environmental pressures, the macro-social, economic, cultural and institutional context can directly affect the socioeconomic resources that are available to older people (Allen and Wiles, 2014; Dobner *et al*., 2016; Lawton, 1983, 1985; Liu *et al*., 2014; Plath, 2008; Smetcoren *et al*., 2017). For instance, whereas the relatively mature social welfare and caregiving services (public or private) make independent ageing more achievable in some western countries (Sixsmith and Sixsmith, 2008; Plath, 2008; Portacolone, 2011; Allen and Wiles, 2014), in Asian countries such as China and Vietnam, dependence on children and intergenerational co-residence are both prevalent and necessary due to the relatively underdeveloped social welfare and medical care systems and the traditional norms such as Confucianism (e.g. filial piety) (Chan, 2005; Logan *et al*., 1998; Yamada and Teerawichitchainan, 2015;

Zavoretti, 2006). The following subsection discusses older people's ageing in place experience in the Chinese context with regard to how the transitions in China affect the traditional caregiving norms, living arrangement, and parental–children and family–institutional relationships.

§ 5.2.2 Ageing in place in current China

Ageing of the population in China has become increasingly challenging, not only due to the size and pace of the ageing process, but also because of the associated challenges related to housing, medical treatment and economic security (Bartlett and Phillips, 1997; Saunders and Sun, 2006; Zavoretti, 2006). In China, traditional ways of caregiving that are important for ageing in place have undergone many changes, such as the decrease in intergenerational co-residence and changing relationship within families (Forrest Zhang, 2004; Logan *et al*., 1998; Logan and Bian, 1999). Some scholars argue that these changes are the combined effect of traditional values and the modernization, marketization and urbanization process in China (Logan *et al*., 1998; Forrest Zhang, 2004; Zavoretti, 2006). Three overall developments are particularly relevant in the context of ageing in place in contemporary China.

First, in China filial piety has traditionally played a significant role in ageing in place, but the nature of this role is now changing. Filial piety is both a traditional norm and a common repertoire for caregiving practices, which highlights the mutual responsibility of children and family (Cheung and Kwan, 2009; Chou, 2010; Zhang *et al*., 2014; Yan, 2011). Filial piety, which is embedded in Confucianism, requires children to provide their parents with various types of support (e.g. material, economic and emotional support) and to show them respect and obedience (Cheung and Kwan, 2009; Li *et al*., 2012). Currently, however, the notion of filial piety has been reinterpreted, and its influences on the caregiving for older people have been altered and even decreased (Qi, 2016). Therefore, ageing in place for some older people means living alone in declining neighbourhoods, as intergenerational co-residence has become less common. Many adult children, especially those who are married, move into newly-built private housing in other neighbourhoods. Some older parents have to stay in their old and declining neighbourhoods because they cannot afford better dwellings or because they are attached to their neighbourhoods (Zhou *et al*., 2015). At the same time, traditional patterns of patrilocal residence, which stresses the co-residence of parents with sons rather than daughters, have changed due to the increase in gender equality as well as the one-child policy (Bartlett and Phillips, 1997).

Second, and related to the above, modernization in China has gradually altered traditional family interactions, exchanges and housing patterns (Qi, 2016; Forrest Zhang, 2004). For instance, individualization poses challenges to filial piety (Liu *et al*., 2014). Individualization stresses independence and autonomy, as opposed to the Chinese traditions, which stress dependence/interdependence and hierarchy within families. Under the influence of individualization, family interactions appear to shift from parental authority and the obedience of children, to financial and emotional exchange and children's respect for parents (Qi, 2016). In addition, the one-child policy has made the child the centre of the family, which promotes the individualization of children (Qi, 2016). Therefore, the co-residence of multiple generations has become less popular. Different generations increasingly live separately to preserve privacy and freedom and to avoid friction, especially between parents and daughters-in-law. However, the significance of family for ageing in place in China retains its vital function. Some studies have reported that due to the insecurity embedded in personal life and societal transitions, the intimacy between family members has been strengthened and is manifested via actions rather than verbal communication, such as mutual assistance in decision making, crisis management, etc. (Qi, 2016; Jiang, 1995). In addition, there is still intensive social exchange between parents and children, which on the one hand is due to traditions. On the other hand, parents and children turn this intensive social exchange into forms of financial and material support, as a preparation for the uncertainties in the future (Chou, 2010; Chen and Silverstein; Zhang *et al*., 2014). Therefore, living alone gradually becomes more accepted by the older people themselves. Although it can lead to loneliness (Saunders and Sun, 2006), some older people still prefer to live alone to maintain their independence and autonomy (Logan *et al*., 1998).

Third, market transition, which is characterized by reforms of state- or collective-owned enterprises, is intended to reduce the burden on the state and related enterprises by assigning social welfare provision responsibilities, such as healthcare and pensions, to individuals and the market (Forrest Zhang, 2004; Logan and Bian, 1999; Zavoretti, 2006). The dismantling of collective organizations, such as the danwei system and the collective companies established by urban villages, the emphasis on self-reliance and the limited development of elderly care systems mean that older people have to increasingly rely on themselves or their family for care, especially if they have limited access to pensions and related social welfare (Jiang, 1995; Forrest Zhang, 2004; Liu and Wu, 2006; Zavoretti, 2006). Even though older people who retire from state- or collective-owned enterprises can get healthcare and a pension, these resources can barely meet their basic food and health needs (Liu and Wu, 2006). This especially applies to danwei communities, because since the market reforms many danweis have stopped providing their employees with social welfare, such as housing or education. At the same time, interurban and interregional (within city and/or rural area) residential mobility has become more frequent due to hukou reform (for an overview, see Liu et al., 2014), rapid urbanization and the

establishment of a private housing market. Children move to other dwellings in other districts, other cities and even other provinces, which increases the distance between them and their parents, and in turn, reduces the caregiving for older people (Logan *et al.*, 1998).

In parallel with changes in living arrangements and increased residential mobility in today's China, the care for older people is under pressure (Gilroy, 2012; Bartlett & Phillips, 1997). Many older people who have no pension or who used to work for enterprises that went bankrupt are more likely to experience poverty. This is especially true for those who are not covered by the institutional care system (e.g. the 'Five Guarantees' or the 'Three No's Standard'[2]) and cannot get support from their children (Liu and Wu, 2006; Bartlett and Phillips, 1997). Whereas those older people whose families can afford to pay for newly-built private housing have moved out of older neighbourhoods, others have to stay in the old and declining danwei communities and old inner city neighbourhoods (Zhou *et al.*, 2015). These neighbourhoods are subject to physical deterioration, population turnover and economic decline, which makes staying in these areas (and hence, ageing in place) more difficult for older people than other age groups (Gilroy, 2012). Some of these areas will soon face demolition in the context of a national urban redevelopment programme, an issue to which we now turn.

§ 5.2.3 Ageing in place, urban redevelopment and forced relocation

In general, people are reluctant to relocate to other places in later life. They often prefer to grow old in their homes and trusted neighbourhood environments, particularly if they are strongly attached to these places (Oswald and Rowles, 2006; Oakley *et al.*, 2008; Smetcoren *et al.*, 2017). Even if some of them intend to move, they may have to stay, due to various constraints such as limited resources, a lack of housing alternatives or a strong attachment to their environments (Löfqvist *et al.*, 2013; Hillcoat-Nallétamby and Ogg, 2014). However, in the context of urban redevelopment, ageing in place for older people might become unlikely, since these redevelopments often involve the forced relocation of residents and neighbourhood demolition. Forced relocation can be a very stressful process for older people (Ekström, 1994; Severinsen *et al.*, 2016), as it may deprive them of the sense of home they have developed over a long period (Fried, 1963) and because the move itself is often chaotic. Older people need to find alternative housing, to organize the move, and to pack and/or unpack their belongings, which can be very exhausting (Ekström, 1994; Severinsen *et al.*, 2016). Moreover, great uncertainty might be embedded in the forced relocation, as they may be unsure both during and after their relocation whether they will be able to adapt to their new living environments (Goetz, 2013; Oswald and Rowles, 2006).

Since the 1990s, many urban areas in China have undergone rapid redevelopment, characterized by large-scale neighbourhood demolition. Since 2008, the central government has carried out two rounds of shantytown redevelopment projects (SRPs) focused on improving the living conditions of low- and middle-income households living in declining neighbourhoods that lack basic facilities and infrastructure (Li *et al*., 2017). In total, between 2008 and 2012, about 12.6 million households were involved in SRPs (MOHURD, 2013). In 2013, the government triggered a second round of SRPs. Unlike the first round, the second one especially targets vulnerable residents in undesirable, small-scale urban areas that were left under-redeveloped by the government or developers. Residents who are involved in the projects are forced to relocate. They can get two types of compensation from the local government, namely in-kind and monetary compensation. The amount of compensation depends on the size of the dwelling that is going to be demolished. If they choose monetary compensation, they might use the money to purchase a dwelling on the private housing market. Otherwise, they need to wait until they are relocated to the relocation neighbourhoods provided by local governments.

The present research sought to uncover how this imminent threat affects older people's perception of 'ageing in place' from the three key themes stated in section 5.2.1, that is (1) the meaning of home, (2) their living arrangements and family interactions, and (3) their strategies to remain independent. Our research population consisted of older residents of declining Shenyang neighbourhoods that are slated for demolition and who will thus be relocated by SRPs. The following section describes the research area, data and methods.

§ 5.3 Research area, data and methods

Shenyang is a typical old industrial city in northeast China. It has a population of 5.25 million (SSB, 2014), making it the largest city in northeast China and the 11th largest in the country. Shenyang has been called the 'Ruhr of the East', and it has been deeply affected by the planned economy. The city has a large proportion of state-owned enterprises, industrial workers and danwei communities. However, since the 1980s, Shenyang has suffered from a major economic depression because of its maladjustment to the market economy. Many enterprises have gone bankrupt, leading to many lay-offs. Urban areas, especially traditional industrial areas occupied by state-owned enterprises and danwei communities, have fallen into decline. Currently, Shenyang still has a lot of danwei communities. In addition, there are

many urban villages in the suburban areas. The physical condition of both danwei communities and urban villages has severely deteriorated during this period. There are still thousands of households living in dwellings that lack basic facilities. For instance, about 11,400 households lack bathrooms (SSB, 2010). The city's 17,700 housholds are living in residential buildings that are under six storeys high (SSB, 2010) are very likely to become the targets for SRPs (see section 5.2.3). It is reported that during 2014–2016, about 81,500 households were involved in the current round of SRPs (Shenyang Daily, 2016).

The empirical basis for this paper consists of in-depth interviews conducted in March, April, September and October 2015. We interviewed residents of danwei communities and urban villages that were to be demolished in the near future. We recruited respondents through a combination of snowball sampling and door knocking. All of the respondents were homeowners and had been living and/or working in these neighbourhoods for at least twelve years, and in some cases all their lives (more than 60 years). Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1 show the details and locations of the case study areas. Neighbourhoods I–VI are danwei communities, which used to be affiliated with state-owned manufacturing enterprises, governmental institutions or departments, or state-owned farms. Neighbourhoods VII and VIII are urban villages, which are mainly concerned with farming activities and agricultural production.

TABLE 5.1 The research neighbourhoods

NEIGHBOURHOOD ID	HOUSEHOLD NUMBER	LOCATION	NEIGHBOURHOOD TYPE	RESPONDENTS NUMBER
I	Around 600	Urban area	Danwei	3
II	Around 70	Urban area	Danwei	2
III	Around 75	Urban area	Danwei	1
IV	Around 30	Urban area	Danwei	1
V	Around 150	Suburban area	Danwei	9
VI	Around 450	Suburban area	Danwei	12
VII	Estimated 30	Suburban area	Urban village	1
VIII	Around 1300	Suburban area	Urban village	25

During the interviews, we found that the older residents in both types of neighbourhood face similar challenges while ageing in place due to their similar environmental pressures and constrained socioeconomic situation. Therefore, this paper shows how impending demolition and forced relocation affects ageing in place in general, and does not compare the two types of neighbourhood.

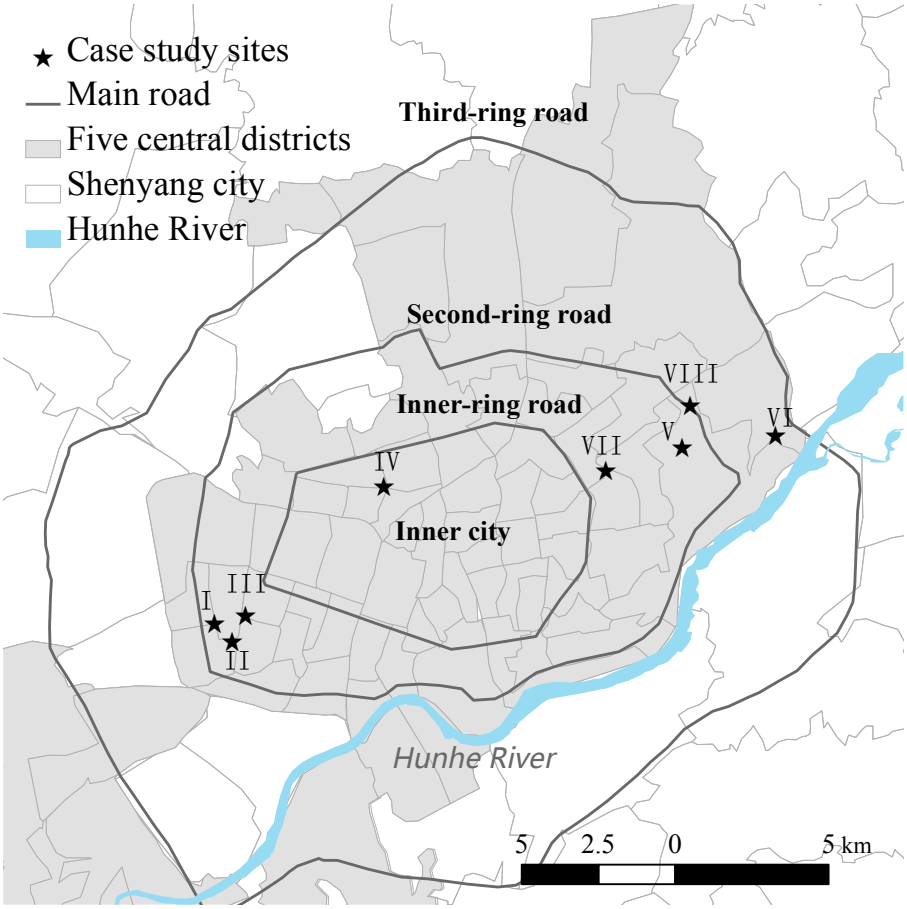


FIGURE 5.1 Location of the case study sites in Shenyang
Source: Authors

All of the interviews were conducted face to face using a semi-structured interview schedule. Table 5.2 shows the gender and age category of the respondents. A total of 54 interviews with residents who were aged at least 50[1] years (77.8 % of them were at least 60) were conducted. Of the interviews, 28 were conducted in danwei communities and 26 were conducted in urban villages. Some respondents were approached more than once to obtain supplementary information. During the interviews, questions were asked about their family and moving history, moving intentions, residential satisfaction, and perceptions of the impending demolition and neighbourhood changes. Fifty of the fifty-four interviews were audio recorded and subsequently transcribed verbatim, enabling content analysis of the transcriptions. The remaining four interviews were not recorded either because permission to record

TOC

was not given or because the recording device failed. During the interviews, we also kept a logbook in which we noted our observations regarding emotions and non-verbal cues of respondents. During the analysis of the transcriptions, these notes were used to add additional meaning to specific quotes, including some of those incorporated in section 4. The transcriptions and recordings were read and listened to several times to gain familiarity with the accounts. Atlas.ti was then used to code and categorize their lived experiences in these neighbourhoods, their meaning of home, dependence on their neighbourhoods in social, physical and economic terms, their opinions on intergenerational co-residence and the function of family members, moving intentions, their coping strategies regarding neighbourhood decline (e.g. lack of tap water and poor dwelling conditions) and their perceptions of the impending demolition. To guarantee the anonymity of respondents in the analysis, the quotations are accompanied by gender, age and fictitious name.

TABLE 5.2 Gender and age category of the respondents

	GENDER		AGE (YEARS)				
CATEGORY	Male	Female	50–60	60–70	70–80	≥80	Unknown
Absolute number	28	26	12	19	15	4	4
Proportion	52%	48%	22%	35%	28%	7%	7%

§ 5.4 Results

§ 5.4.1 The meaning of home

When asked about their lived experiences in their neighbourhoods, many respondents reported that neighbourhood deterioration, such as a lack of tap water or a problematic sewerage system, had undermined their quality of life. However, when asked if they wanted to leave, many answered 'no'. They explained that they were attached to their place, because it was their 'home'. 'Home' on the one hand refers to the tangible physical features of their dwelling, such as the form and condition of the facilities. Many respondents reported that they enjoy freedom at home as they can do whatever they want; for example, they can construct a hot-brick bed[3] to cope with the severe winters

in Northeast China, which is significant for older people. On the other hand, home is a possession and has an economic meaning in terms of ownership and investment, which indicates autonomy and freedom to decide on how to use it. Yan (67, female, lives alone) reported that she had bought her dwelling rather than rented one because 'If I move around [as tenants often do], how terrible it is! Isn't it like being homeless?!' For Yan, owning her home also provides her with stability and a sense of security, which were highlighted by most respondents as being significant for their wellbeing.

In addition to the above statements about home and self, the meaning of home is also manifested by respondents' relationship with significant others, in particular their family, who have been co-residing with them for a long time. Their 'home' witnesses and is involved in their life histories. In their memories and imagination, 'home' denotes the similarity of lifecycle of different family generations. For instance, both themselves and their children were born in the same dwelling. Also, they intend to become old and die at home. Home entails their identity, and it shows where they come from and where their life ends. Consequently, the impending forced relocation, as part of the SRP in Shenyang, causes a severe disruption of many older people's plans to age (and die) in the same place. For instance, Meng (85, male, more than 30 years of residence) stated: 'I don't want to leave, to be honest. I am on the way to dying...'

Older people also extend the meaning of home to broader environments beyond their dwellings. They described their close relationship with their neighbourhoods through detailed narratives of how their neighbourhoods had provided them with familiarity and convenience during their long period of residence, and how their neighbourhoods are embedded in their routines and habits, such as cooking, exercising, working, communicating, relaxing, etc. They had developed their living strategies on the basis of the physical environments.

Compared with ageing and neighbourhood decline, which usually unfold slowly, to older people SRPs and the related forced relocation and neighbourhood demolition mean sudden and huge changes. Forced relocation therefore creates discontinuity in their people–place interactions developed over the long period of residence. Many respondents reported that they welcome neighbourhood redevelopment, because their declining neighbourhoods have negatively affected their living conditions and quality of life for a long time. However, they also reported a sense of being uprooted and discontinuity, creating a sense of affliction before their neighbourhoods are actually demolished. Li (58, male, more than 50 years of residence) reported that he felt 'bad' that his 'old house', which he grew up in, was going to be demolished. He used the term 'old house' to show his rootedness in his neighbourhood. 'Old house' is a Chinese term that represents a person's or family's origins.

Similar to Meng's statement, many older people also reported that they had planned to age and die in their current home. However, in the face of the SRP and forced relocation, such plans are no longer feasible. For many, the conflict between their decreasing competence and the neighbourhood decline has made their continued residence harmful to their wellbeing. Although they might have better living conditions after (and as a result of) the forced relocation, the fact that their homes would soon disappear made them feel the loss of their homeownership and a sense of homelessness:

Ah [sighs], I don't know where I will go. Where would I live? If I had another home, I won't bother to think about this. After the demolition, I could directly move into it... (Yan, 67, female, lives alone)

... People always say that 'Silver house, golden house, no better than one's own slum home'. I never want to move to a high-rise building. (Lian, 78, female, lives alone)

§ 5.4.2 Living arrangements and the role of family

Ageing in place in China has long been characterized by intergenerational co-residence and the intensive interaction between parents and children. Some of our respondents were living together with their children. They explained that although they would prefer to live separately, they co-resided with their children due to various life constraints, such as a lack of affordable dwellings or their need for care. Various forms of interaction and exchange were involved in their daily routines and family life, such as mutual emotional support, household chores, grocery shopping, caring for grandchildren and older people themselves, and living costs. Careful consideration was at the basis of the interactions between parents and children. For instance, Fang (85, female) has three children (one son and two daughters). She had been living together with her son and daughter-in-law for many years, because of her traditional thinking about patrilocal caring in China, that is, living with the son rather than the daughter when getting older. Hence, the gender of the children strongly affects the living arrangement of older people, as Fang explained:

... how can I live with them [daughters] and then mess up their home? I am an annoying person. I smoke ... So I will go nowhere. I will definitely live together with my son!

For Fang, living together with her son is righteous and based on the traditional norms, which makes her feel at home.

There were also those who lived alone in declining neighbourhoods. Some respondents said that they were living apart from their children due to generation gaps with regard to habits and norms. These gaps are evident in both parents' and children's daily routines and behaviour. For instance, Meng (85, male, lives with his wife) said that they preferred soup and soft foods, whereas their children did not. Wen (70s, female, lives alone) had tried to co-reside with her son's family after her husband passed away, but later she decided to move back to her own home to live alone, because:

I normally wake up in the morning at around four or five. They [the son's family] are still sleeping soundly then. So should I get up or not? If you move, you wake up others. If you don't, you cannot sleep...

Both Meng and Wen said that their decision to live apart was due to generational differences. Ageing in a co-residence setting would mean fewer choices or would require them to change their habits, sharpening the differences between older parents and children. Therefore, to avoid friction and conflicts caused by these differences, both Meng and Wen had chosen to live alone. Wen's narratives also show the loss of autonomy and freedom while co-residing with children, which caused her to voluntarily move out of her son's family home to live alone.

However, the impending forced relocation had led to both changes and challenges to the living arrangement of these older people. Some of those who were currently living alone said that they would prefer to continue living alone after relocation so as to maintain their freedom and autonomy regarding the use of their homes. Some of them also said that they would use the monetary relocation compensation to buy an apartment close to their children, so that it will be relatively easy for their children and other family members to visit and take care of them. Some of those who were living together with their children said that they would prefer to live separately from their children's family after relocation, whereas others said they would prefer to continue living together with their children. The difference in perception seems to be partly related to age, namely being younger or older than approximately 70. However, to older people, both the monetary and the in-kind compensation have potential uncertainties, which might lead them into homelessness. They might not be able to afford dwellings on the private housing market, even with the monetary compensation, due to increasing housing prices. Those who choose in-kind compensation might have to wait for a long time to be rehoused, which for older people is intolerable as they regard themselves as too old to wait. Some older people therefore become anxious and stressful. For instance, Hui (60s, female, retired) was living together with her husband and her daughter's family in the same courtyard. After finding out that all they could get from the local government was an apartment of around 70 m^2, which is much smaller than their current dwelling, Hui had become very anxious:

In the future, we will all live together in the one apartment of around 70 square metres! … It is shameful that three generations live in the same apartment! My grandson is 12 years old now!

During the decision-making process, some older people intend to give their children's interest priority over their own preference. By satisfying their children's needs, they try to avoid conflicts with their children. In addition, they are also expecting their children to take care of them as they become increasingly impaired. For instance, Fang (85, female) reported that she would continue living together with her son and daughter-in-law after her forced relocation. She had agreed that her son would become the homeowner of the dwelling that the local government will offer their family as compensation, because her son had promised to take good care of her. Therefore, when discussing what type of compensation to choose (e.g. in-kind or monetary compensation), they take their children's future needs and life chances into consideration. For instance, Hui said she felt depressed because they could not get one more dwelling as compensation for her daughter's family from the government, based on the size of their current dwelling:

There is only one chance in our life to undergo the demolition and relocation, isn't it?! If my daughter cannot get [her own] dwelling as compensation for the redevelopment, it will be a whole life regret! They will have no dwelling after the redevelopment. Nothing! … We have a pension, but our children don't! They [government staff] asked me to discuss the compensation with my children… I told them I can do nothing because my daughter's family won't agree [with the compensation]. They won't sign the contract!

§ 5.4.3 Strategies to maintain independence

The third and final factor in relation to ageing in place is the issue of maintaining independence. For our respondents, independence does not mean refusing help from children or other people. Some older people rely on assistance from and even co-reside with their children. However, they still perceive themselves as being independent, as they possess the key resources for their basic needs. For instance, their income or pension is a significant resource to maintain independence and autonomy. Fang (85, female) takes her co-residence with her son for granted and as fair, as her pension pays the whole family's daily living costs.

I have a pension, and I don't need my son to feed me…[we have been] living together for … 17 or 15 years. I have never asked my daughter-in-law for one cent… It is me that has been raising the whole family. I buy everything for her, even rice and food …

Fang's case shows that parents' support to their children leads not only to their autonomy and perceived equal position with regard to co-residence with children, but also to the dependence of children on them, because of their competence and social, physical and/or economic resources. The pattern of interdependence plays a significant role not only for older people: it also helps to protect parents and children from the insecurity and uncertainty embedded in an underdeveloped welfare system.

For those who live alone, their overall sense of independence is, paradoxically, based on their dependence on their children's assistance. For instance, Meng lived together with his wife, but his son visited them regularly and helped them to install a pump to get water on demand. Meng was therefore able to continue to live in his apartment rather than move in with his son's family. Some of our respondents who did not have a good relationship with their children struggled to maintain their independence while ageing. They sometimes turned to their neighbours for help, such as carrying heavy objects or groceries, in order to maintain their overall independence. For instance, Lian's children did not visit her often, although her only son lived in a nearby neighbourhood. Her nephew, who used to live next door, helped her a lot. Her neighbourhood often lacks tap water, and getting water had become a challenge in her daily life:

Lian: I can barely carry anything or walk. I am a person who only has the energy to talk now [shows an embarrassed smile].

Interviewer: Is there anybody helping you with the water?

Lian: Yes, this one, he [her nephew] helps. But recently he has moved into a high-rise building [of his son's, due to the impending demolition]. I have to use a small kettle like this to bring water. I cannot carry more.

Despite the environmental pressure brought about by the declining neighbourhood conditions, the physical, social and economic situation in their neighbourhoods to some extent also contributes to independent ageing processes. For instance, some respondents described how their low-rise dwellings enabled them to move about freely both inside and outside; for example, they could go for a walk, chat with neighbours or travel to other places – activities that are important to them because of their ageing-related physical decline. Also, since most respondents relied on their pensions to get by, living in their current neighbourhoods and dwellings also benefitted them in economic terms. They could mobilize local resources and did not have to pay utility and

service costs as they would in the neighbourhoods that are newly built for relocated residents from SRP target areas.

In fact, many respondents said that the state-led SRPs are basically coherent with their interest in improving their living conditions. Many developers are unwilling to invest in neighbourhood redevelopment and the respondents themselves could not afford voluntary relocation. Hence, they were grateful for the state-led redevelopment and welcomed it as a chance to improve their living conditions. However, when negotiating the type (monetary or in-kind) and amount of compensation they could get from their local government, older people said that they felt extremely stressful and worried about the forced relocation process. First, they considered the move itself a highly disruptive process, as they have less energy and resources than younger people to deal with challenges such as searching for temporary accommodation for the transitional period (after moving out of their current dwelling and before they are permanently rehoused) and organizing the move. This is especially challenging for those who cannot rely on their children or relatives. Second, many respondents said that they felt economically insecure in the face of increased living costs after relocation and the loss of incomes based on their small businesses in their current neighbourhoods.

... I am too old, not young any more. The younger people can experience this [forced relocation and movement] over and over again. I cannot! (Yan, 67, female, lives alone)

Ah! [sighs] I am worried [worried expression]. Even worse... I have to spend more money ... to decorate the apartment if I move to a high-rise building. (Lian, 78, female)

Many respondents felt they had no autonomy to change the compensation criteria and to narrow the mismatch between what the local government offered them and what they expect from the local government. In addition, some of them felt incapable of making decisions about the forced relocation. They had limited resources to gain information for making favourable compensation decisions. They regarded themselves as lacking the mental and physical energy to deal with the chaos and pressures involved in forced relocation. Therefore, some of them had transferred their autonomy in decision making to other people, such as their children or relatives, and others had decided to wait and see how the local government would rehouse them.

§ 5.5 Discussion and Conclusions

This paper described the influence of impending neighbourhood demolition and forced relocation on the ageing in place of older people living in declining neighbourhoods in Shenyang, China. We used the press-competence model to analyse their ageing in place experiences through the lens of three key themes, namely the meaning of home, the living arrangements (in particular the role of family therein) and strategies to maintain independence. We found that in order to facilitate ageing in place in declining neighbourhoods, these older people have to mobilize their limited resources to overcome the challenges brought about by environmental pressures and their ageing-related decline in competence. As part of this process, they develop ambivalent feelings towards their homes and paradoxical practices for remaining independent. One the one hand, the emergence of forced relocation and neighbourhood demolition thwarts older people's plans to age in place, and the involuntary movement destroys their sense of home. On the other hand, it uncovers and in some cases even triggers the accumulated contradictions and conflicts embedded in their ageing in place experiences in various ways.

First, the term 'slum home' mentioned by our respondents precisely indicates the paradox in their sense of home while ageing in a declining neighbourhood. Physically, neighbourhood decline has made their continued living in these neighbourhoods harmful to them, which undermines their sense of home. Given this situation, forced relocation and urban redevelopment may indeed lead to the improved physical living conditions that older people anticipate which to some extent explains why they welcome shantytown redevelopment projects (SRPs). However, spiritually and psychologically, their severely deteriorated 'slum home' provides them with a sense of security, autonomy and stability, which is going to disappear due to the ongoing neighbourhood demolition and forced relocation. Therefore, the affliction (i.e. a sense of loss and grief) that is known to appear during relocation or in the post-relocation stage of urban renewal (see also Fried, 1963), already emerges, and strongly, at the pre-relocation stage. Their sense of affliction is further heightened by the large uncertainties embedded in the implementation and practice of urban redevelopment and forced relocation (in terms of the move, the compensation negotiations with the local government and the post-relocation environment conditions).

Second, urban redevelopment and forced relocation unfolds a paradox in older people's perceptions and practices related to the complexity of family interactions. Due to the dismantling of the socialist welfare system and the reinterpretation of filial piety, older people are increasingly becoming aware of the significance and necessity of (economic) independence, which is important for their basic living regardless of whether or not their

children take care of them. In the practice and experience of independence, these older people are dependent on their children in various ways, but these particular ways do not negatively affect the parents' sense of autonomy. In fact, older people perceive the intensive dependence on and interdependence with their children as both righteous and necessary for the maintenance of their overall independence. For these older people, the boundary between dependence and independence is not demarcated by the form of living arrangement or their dependence on their children. As our research shows, to older people co-residence can mean independence and strong autonomy, whereas the absence of co-residence might include strong parent–child interactions. The different combinations of co-residence/living alone and dependence on/independence of children/older parents can be regarded as a coping strategy of parents to maintain their overall independence and a coping strategy of their children to deal with their life constraints in the context of a transitional society and many uncertainties.

Third, and related to the above, strategies for maintaining independence can only be understood in light of the influence of forced relocation on older people in the Chinese context. The affected families need to relocate to alternative housing. For the older people, this means that they need to discuss with their family the living arrangement and caregiving during and after the forced relocation, which is closely related to the decision making on the compensation. This is in line with the research by Zhang (2017a, 2017b), who shows that the pressure caused by the state-led forced relocation and the current housing market situation has resulted in intra- and intergenerational conflicts in affected families, which to some extent originates from the multifaceted attributes of housing in current China. One the one hand, housing for older people and their family members forms a shelter, which is closely related to the living arrangement between family members and is important for the desired size and form of the relocation dwelling. On the other hand, housing is an asset that entails financial significance, which means that the ownership and distribution of this financial benefit among family members matters for the interaction with the family. Therefore, the key message here is that considering the appropriate type and amount of compensation goes hand in hand with intensive interactions between the older people and their children concerning whose demand and preference regarding housing should be given priority.

However, older people's expectations of and decision making on the compensation are largely constrained by the policy implementation by the central government and local governments. Urban redevelopment projects in China, such as SRPs, focus mainly on physical demolition and the spatial relocation of the residents. In this process, the complex and subtle differences between the needs of different social groups (in terms of differences in age and socioeconomic status) have been largely ignored. In particular, the 'one size fits all' nature of SRPs often cannot meet the complex needs of the older people involved and their desire to age in place. Hence, these older people are

becoming a hard-to-house group due to the disparity between their complex situations and what the current redevelopment projects can provide (Okelay *et al.*, 2008; Popkin *et al.*, 2005). We therefore recommend that local governments pay special attention to these older people during the forced relocation process with regard to their actual move, and – more importantly – to assist them with their decision-making process by providing more information about their compensation choices and by taking their life chances (social contacts, living costs, need for facilities and living arrangement) and family interaction more into consideration.

Notes

1 The retirement age for state employees is '60 for men and 55 for women in salaried cadre positions and age 50 for women in blue-collar jobs' (West, 1999, p. 162). People who have been working in harsh and dangerous conditions can retire five or even ten years earlier than the normal age. Since the reforms of state-owned enterprises around the early 2000s, 'it has become common practice for workers within five years of retirement in bankrupt enterprises to be required to take early retirement' (West, 1999, p. 164).

2 They refer to the social welfare programmes in China provided to individuals who have the 'Three No's' (i.e. no children or other dependable legal guardians, no work ability and no means of livelihood) and 'Five Guarantees' (i.e., food, shelter, clothing, healthcare and burial expenses) (Chou, 2011).

3 The hot-brick bed is a traditional type of bed found in northern China that is designed to provide a warm bed when it is cold. They are made from bricks or clay and can be connected to either the stove or the central heating system, or to both.

References

Allen, R. E. S. and Wiles, J. L. (2014). Receiving support when older: what makes it ok? The Gerontologist, 54.4: 670–682.

Bartlett, H., and Phillips, D. R. (1997). Ageing and aged care in the People's Republic of China: national and local issues and perspectives. Health & Place, 3(3) : 149–159.

Borglin, G., Edberg, A.-K. & Hallberg, I. R. (2005). The experience of quality of life among older people. Journal of Aging Studies 19(2): 201–220.

Chan, A. (2005). Aging in southeast and east Asia: Issues and policy directions. Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology , 20 (4) : 269–284.

Chen, X. & Silverstein, M. (2000). Intergenerational social support and the psychological well-being of older parents in China, Research on Ageing, 22(1), : 43–65

Cheung, C. K. & Kwan, A. Y. H. (2009). The erosion of filial piety by modernisation in Chinese cities. Ageing & Society, 29(2), 179–198.

Chou, R. J. A. (2010). Filial Piety by Contract? The Emergence, Implementation, and Implications of the 'Family Support Agreement' in China, The Gerontologist, 51(1) : 3–16.

Davey, J. (2006) Ageing in place: The views of older homeowners on maintenance, renovation and adaptation. Social Policy Journal of New Zealand 27: 128.

Dobner, S., Musterd, S. & Fortuijn, J. D. (2016). 'Ageing in place': experiences of older adults in Amsterdam and Portland. GeoJournal, 81(2) : 197–209.

Ekström, M. (1994). Elderly people's experiences of housing renewal and forced relocation: Social theories and contextual analysis in explanations of emotional experiences. Housing Studies, 9(3) : 369–391.

Forrest Zhang, Q. (2004). Economic transition and new patterns of parent–adult child co-residence in urban China. Journal of Marriage and Family 66(5): 1231–1245.

Fried, M. (1963) Grieving for a lost home, in: L. J. Duhl (ed.) The Urban Condition, pp. 151–171 (New York: Basic Books).
Gavrilov, L. & Heuveline, P. (2003). Aging of Population: The Encyclopedia of Population. New York, MacMillan.
Gilroy, R. (2008). Places that support human flourishing: Lessons from later life. Planning Theory & Practice 9(2): 145–163.
Gilroy, R. (2012). Physical threats to older people's social worlds: findings from a pilot study in Wuhan, China. Environment and Planning A, 44(2) : 458–476.
Goetz, G. (2013) Too good to be true? The variable and contingent benefits of displacement and relocation among low-income public housing residents. Housing Studies, 28 (2) : 235–252.
Hillcoat-Nallétamby, S. (2014). The meaning of 'independence' for older people in different residential settings. Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 69(3) : 419–430.
Hillcoat-Nalletamby, S. & Ogg, J. (2014). Moving beyond 'ageing in place': older people's dislikes about their home and neighbourhood environments as a motive for wishing to move. Ageing & Society, 34(10) : 1771–1796.
Jiang, L. (1995). Changing kinship structure and its implications for old-age support in urban and rural China. Population Studies 49(1): 127–145.
Lager, D., Van Hoven, B. & Huigen, P. P. (2013). Dealing with change in old age: Negotiating working-class belonging in a neighbourhood in the process of urban renewal in the Netherlands. Geoforum, 50 : 54–61.
Lawton, M. P. & Nahemow, L. (1973). Ecology and the aging process. In C. Eisdorfer & M.
P. Lawton (eds.), The psychology of adult development and aging : 619–674 .
Lawton, M. P. (1983) Environment and other determinants of well-being in older people. The Gerontologist 23(4): 349–357.
Lawton, M. P. (1985). The elderly in context: Perspectives from environmental psychology and gerontology. Environment and Behavior, 17(4) : 501–519.
Li, L. W., Long, Y., Essex, E. L., et al. (2012). Elderly Chinese and their family caregivers' perceptions of good care: A qualitative study in Shandong, China. Journal of Gerontological Social Work, 55(7) : 609–625.
Li, X., Kleinhans, R., & van Ham, M. (2017). Shantytown redevelopment projects: State-led redevelopment of declining neighbourhoods under market transition in Shenyang, China. Cities, In press.
Liu, Y. T. & Wu, F. L. (2006). The state, institutional transition and the creation of new urban poverty in China. Social Policy and Administration, 40 (2) : 121–137.
Liu, Y., Dijst, M., & Geertman, S. (2014). Residential segregation and well-being inequality between local and migrant elderly in Shanghai. Habitat International, 42 : 175–185.
Logan, John R., Bian, F. Q., & Bian, Y. J. (1998). Tradition and change in the urban Chinese family: The case of living arrangements. Social Forces, 76(3): 851–882.
Logan, John R., & Bian, F. Q. (1999) Family values and coresidence with married children in urban China. Social Forces 77(4): 1253–1282.
Löfqvist, C., Granbom, M., Himmelsbach, I., Iwarsson, S., Oswald, F. & Haak, M. (2013). Voices on relocation and aging in place in very old age—a complex and ambivalent matter. The Gerontologist, 53(6) : 919–927.
MOHURD. (2013) Youju Bian Yiju Baixing Tiandashi: Duihua Zhufang ChengXiang Jianshebu Fu Buzhang Qi Ji. Available at http://www.mohurd.gov.cn/bldjgzyhd/201309/t20130909_214987.html.
Oakley, D., Ruel, E., & Wilson, G. E. (2008). A choice with no options: Atlanta public housing residents' lived experiences in the face of relocation. Atlanta: Georgia State University.
Oswald, F., Hieber, A., Wahl, H. W., & Mollenkopf, H. (2005). Ageing and person–environment fit in different urban neighbourhoods. European Journal of Ageing, 2(2) : 88–97.
Oswald, F., & Rowles, G. D. (2006). Beyond the relocation trauma in old age: New trends in today's elders' residential decisions. In H.-W. Wahl, C. Tesch-Römer, & A. Hoff (eds.), New Dynamics in Old Age: Environmental and Societal Perspectives (pp. 127–152). Amityville, New York: Baywood Publishers.
Peace, S., Holland, C. & Kellaher, L. (2011). Option recognition in later life: variations in ageing in place. Ageing & Society 31(5): 734–757.
Plath, Debbie. (2008) Independence in old age: the route to social exclusion? British Journal of Social Work 38(7) : 1353–1369.
Popkin, S. J., Cunningham, M. K., & Burt, M. (2005). Public housing transformation and the hard-to-house. Housing Policy Debate, 16(1):1–24.
Portacolone, E. (2011). The myth of independence for older Americans living alone in the Bay Area of San Francisco: A critical reflection. Ageing & Society 31.(5): 803–828.

Qi, X. Y. (2016). Family bond and family obligation: Continuity and transformation. Journal of Sociology, 52(1) : 39– 52
Saunders, P., & Lujun, S. (2006). Poverty and hardship among the aged in urban China. Social Policy & Administration, 40(2) : 138–157.
Severinsen, C., Breheny, M., & Stephens, C. (2016). Ageing in unsuitable places. Housing Studies, 31(6) : 714–728.
Shenyang Daily (2016) 'Shenyang Mode' becomes well-known nationwide. Available at http://news.syd.com.cn/system/2016/11/03/011217153.shtml
Shenyang Statistic Bureau (SSB). (2010). The Population Census Data of Shenyang, http://www.sysinet.gov.cn/
Shenyang Statistic Bureau. (2014). http://www.sysinet.gov.cn/Tjsj.aspx?LM_ID=6&LM_MX_ID=22
Sixsmith, A. & Sixsmith, J. (2008). Ageing in place in the United Kingdom. Ageing International, 32(3) : 219–235.
Sixsmith, J., Sixsmith, A., Fänge, A. M., Naumann, D., Kucsera, C., Tomsone, S. & Woolrych, R. (2014). Healthy ageing and home: The perspectives of very old people in five European countries. Social Science & Medicine, 106: 1–9.
Smetcoren, A. S., De Donder, L., Dury, S., De Witte, N., Kardol, T., & Verte, D. (2017). Refining the push and pull framework: Identifying inequalities in residential relocation among older adults. Ageing & Society, 37(1) : 90–112.
Tester, G., & Wingfield, A. H. (2013). Moving past picket fences: The meaning of 'home' for public housing residents. Sociological Forum, 28 (1) : 70–84.
Van Der Meer, M., Fortuijn, J. D., & Thissen, F. (2008). Vulnerability and environmental stress of older adults in deprived neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, 99(1) : 53–64.
West, L. A. (1999). Pension reform in China: Preparing for the future. The Journal of Development Studies, 35(3): 153–183.
Wiles, J. L., Allen R. E. S, Palmer A. J., et al. (2009) Older people and their social spaces: A study of well-being and attachment to place in Aotearoa, New Zealand. Social Science & Medicine, 68(4) : 664–671.
Wiles, J., Leibing, A., Guberman, N., Reeve, J., & Allen, R. (2012). The meaning of 'aging in place' to older people. The Gerontologist, 52(3) : 357–366.
Yamada, K., & Teerawichitchainan, B. (2015). Living arrangements and psychological well-being of the older adults after the economic transition in Vietnam. Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 70(6) : 957–968.
Yan, Y. X. (2011). The individualization of the family in rural China. Boundary 2, 38(1): 203–229.
Zavoretti, R. (2006). Family-based care for China's ageing population: A social research perspective, Asian Europe Journal, 4(2): 211–228
Zhang, Y. (2017a). Family or money? The false dilemma in property dispossession in Shanghai. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 41(2) :194–212.
Zhang, Y. (2017b). Domicide, social suffering and symbolic violence in contemporary Shanghai, China. Urban Geography: 1–24.
Zhang, Z., Gu, D., & Luo, Y. (2014). Co-residence with elderly parents in contemporary China: The role of filial piety, reciprocity, socioeconomic resources, and parental needs. Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology, 29: 259–276. doi:10.1007/ s10823-014-9239-4
Zhou, S., Xie, M., & Kwan, M. P. (2015). Ageing in place and ageing with migration in the transitional context of urban China: A case study of ageing communities in Guangzhou. Habitat International, 49: 177–186.

TOC

6 Conclusions

§ 6.1 Introduction

Large-scale urban redevelopment in China has been taking place for decades since the market transitions from 1978, which have caused massive forced relocation of residents (He and Wu, 2007; MOHURD, 2013). This thesis has provided a comprehensive study on relocatees' perceptions and experiences at the pre-demolition phase of the forced relocation and state-led urban redevelopment. Through an extensive overview of existing literature on the experiences of the affected residents and in-depth interviews with residents and other stakeholders in urban redevelopment, the thesis shows that current studies have largely ignored the temporal feature and dynamics embedded in urban redevelopment and forced relocation in the Chinese context. Also, the ambivalence of relocatees' perceptions towards their lived experiences in their neighbourhoods is not fully addressed. Many studies and news reports have merely displayed the conflicting interactions between the residents and project initiators such as local governments or developers, and have considered the redevelopment projects as if they were a static event (He, 2012; Hin and Xin, 2011; Sichuan News, 2009). This conceals the mechanisms and complexity underlying the controversial and conflicting nature of forced relocation in the context of urban redevelopment.

Driven by these concerns, we especially focus on individual relocatees' perceptions, experiences, and behaviours towards impending forced relocation and urban redevelopment. We highlight the ambivalence in the interactions between residents and neighbourhoods (people-place) as well as residents, local governments and developers, from a residential mobility perspective. Our research therefore aims to gain a deeper understanding of how forced relocation and urban redevelopment affect residents of declining neighbourhoods in Shenyang, in terms of their pre-relocation neighbourhood perceptions and behaviours.

This thesis is organized as followed. Chapter 1 is the introduction, which focuses on the research background, research aim and questions, research data and methods, and the history of urban (re)development of Shenyang. Chapter 2 provides a literature review on the experiences of residents, particularly the homeowners, during forced relocation in the Chinese context. This chapter is also the theoretical basis for the

thesis, by identifying gaps in existing research and outlining the research questions for the following chapters. Chapter 3, 4 and 5 focus on the influence of Shantytown Redevelopment Programmes (SRPs) on the various dimensions of the perceptions and experiences of residents from declining neighbourhoods that are involved in the SRPs in the city of Shenyang. Chapter 3 investigates the evolution of the SRPs, related policies and the changing roles and interactions between the different stakeholders involved in SRPs, against changing macro-, social, economic and institutional contexts. Chapter 4 and 5 put the spotlight on individual residents' experiences by specifically focusing on the people-place interactions with regard to place attachment and the ageing in place of older people. These two chapters also reveal the influence of the impending SRPs and impending forced relocation on the people-place interaction. The following section firstly summarizes the key findings of each chapter. A reflection on the research is presented in section 6.3. The last section outlines future directions for research and the policy implications.

§ 6.2 Summary of the research findings

Chapter 2 has provided a theoretical framework for the study, based on the extensive review of existing literature on forced relocation and urban redevelopment affecting homeowners in China. Since 1980s, despite massive forced relocation of residents during urban restructuring in China, there are few studies which summarize and provide an overview and analysis on how residents undergo and experience the forced relocation process and its outcomes. For instance, the experiences of the affected residents at the pre-demolition stage and the active role that the residents play during the forced relocation have been largely ignored. Most studies concerning urban restructuring in China directly equate forced relocation with displacement, which has by definition a negative connotation. This exclusively negative view overlooks the multifaceted effects of forced relocation on relocatees.

Chapter 2 therefore aims to provide a better understanding of the nature and outcomes of existing research into the forced relocation of residents during urban restructuring in China. Forced relocation is conceptualised as a process with various and changing socio-spatial implications over time, and as a specific type of residential mobility that occurs in the context of urban restructuring. As such, chapter 2 presents a conceptual model that includes different stages and contexts to analyse experiences of relocatees over time, during and after forced relocation. It divides the process of forced relocation into three stages – the pre-demolition stage, the transitional stage and the post-

relocation stage – and investigates the social, economic, physical, psychological and behavioural dimensions of the experiences of relocatees as affected by the macro and micro context. The conceptual model is used to structure the analysis of the literature review and subsequently identify the gaps in the literature that should be addressed in future studies of forced relocation in the Chinese context. Studying the experiences of relocatees from household and residential mobility perspectives reveals the dynamic, variable and complex nature of forced relocation.

Chapter 3 investigates how SRPs are formally implemented by revealing how different stakeholders involved in SRPs interact with each other, taking Shenyang as a case study. Since 1978, market transition in China has significantly influenced the roles of the state, the market and the residents in urban restructuring. Since 2008, the central government has initiated Shantytown Redevelopment Projects (SRPs) to improve the living conditions of low-income residents living in declining neighbourhoods. Between 2008 and 2012, about 12.6 million households in China were involved in SRPs, and forced to move as their dwellings were demolished. Through in-depth interviews with various stakeholders (17 experts and 64 residents) and analysis of policy documents on SRPs, the chapter reveals a complex interplay between different stakeholders, which is characterized by the centralization of the inception of SRPs, the decentralization of actual SRP implementation, changes in the role of market forces, and decreasing housing affordability and multiple deprivation of residents in SRP target areas. We show how various stakeholders achieve consensus on the need for improving the living conditions in deprived neighbourhoods and on boosting the housing market. However, conflicts arise due to frictions between the central and local governments regarding the implementation of SRPs. We also find evidence of an entrepreneurial paradox in the relationship between local governments and developers. By taking over most complex and controversial parts of SRP implementation, local governments appear to behave increasingly entrepreneurial and have paved the way for developers to be more selective with their participation in redevelopment projects, depending on profit prospects. Finally, we have found evidence for a mismatch between the scope of SRP policy and residents' attempts to improve their socioeconomic situation.

Chapter 4 focuses on the influence of state-led urban redevelopment on the place attachment of deprived homeowners in *danwei* communities that are facing demolition in Shenyang, China. The chapter investigates the ambivalence in their lived experiences in the declining neighbourhoods, through semi-structured in-depth interviews with 33 homeowners in *danwei* communities which are in a pre-demolition phase. The chapter reveals how these homeowners cleverly mobilize local resources, such as strong social bonds, low living costs, flexibility on use of space (e.g. housing modification and space occupation) and good neighbourhood location (proximity to the city centre, hospitals, schools and public transport) to cope with their life

constraints, which is translated into their strong neighbourhood attachment. However, various forms of neighbourhood decline have decreased their quality of life. Meanwhile, they will have to move soon due to the impending neighbourhood demolition. State-led urban redevelopment, therefore, confronts those deprived homeowners with a dilemma concerning their neighbourhood dependence and their desire for better living conditions. The impending neighbourhood demolition uncovers accumulated social issues in *danwei* communities in the context of market reforms, SOE reforms, sharply rising housing prices and institutional changes in current China, such as the emergence of deprived social groups and their struggles for better housing.

Chapter 5 has studied how impending forced relocation affects the perspectives for ageing in place of older people living in declining neighbourhoods in Shenyang. Generally, ageing in place assumes people to become old at familiar places such as their home and stay in their trusted neighbourhoods as long as possible. However, urban redevelopment, which includes forced relocation of residents, often makes ageing in place impossible. This chapter aims to understand how the impending neighbourhood demolition affects the perspectives for ageing in place of older people in Shenyang, China. Starting from the press-competence model and related academic work concerning the influence of person-environment interaction on the well-being of older people (Hillcoat-Nallétamby, 2014; Lawton and Nahemow, 1973; Lawton, 1985; Portacolone, 2011; Van Der Meer *et al*., 2008), the chapter explores the impact of forced relocation and demolition on the meaning of home, the living arrangements and the role of family, and residents' strategies to maintain their independence. Transcript analysis of 54 semi-structured interviews with older residents reveals their ambivalent feelings towards the impending demolition. Long-term residence in declining neighbourhoods makes them feel rooted and enables them to develop their living strategies and plans for ageing in place. However, neighbourhood decline is challenging their daily activities and they increasingly struggle to maintain their independence, which leads them to sometimes consider impending neighbourhood redevelopment as an opportunity to improve their living conditions. The impending forced relocation interrupts older residents' place-based identity and living strategies and causes significant stress due to their lack of autonomy in the decision-making for the relocation process, the move itself, and their uncertainty regarding their post-relocation life.

§ 6.3 Reflections

§ 6.3.1 Reflection on the research outcomes

This section reflects on the major findings of the research, which revolve around four aspects: 1) the significance of residents' experiences in the pre-demolition/ pre-relocation stage of urban redevelopment, 2) the agency of the residents, 3) their ambivalent feelings towards their neighbourhoods, and 4) their sense of uncertainty with regard to the urban redevelopment and forced relocation.

1 The pre-demolition stage of urban redevelopment

This research focuses on homeowners' experiences at the pre-demolition stage. Focusing on their experience at this stage is significant to understand the causes of residents' behaviours during forced relocation. This is because it is the very first stage of urban redevelopment in which relocatees are informed about their impending movement due to neighbourhood redevelopment and have not moved out of their neighbourhoods. It also includes the coping of the residents at this stage which affects their following experiences (see chapter 2). Urban redevelopment and forced relocation often last for months or even years, during which period various incidents happen to relocatees in parallel with the changing macro (social, economic and institutional) and micro (personal physical, psychological and socio-economic) contexts. Therefore, by capturing the sequence of the events that occur to relocatees during urban redevelopment, it helps to reduce the distraction caused by the accumulation of the dynamics of relocatees' experience as the urban redevelopment proceeds over time (chapter 2). The pre-demolition stage is therefore worthwhile to study. However, current studies about China mostly treat forced relocation and urban redevelopment as a static and single event (Day and Cervero, 2010; Fang, 2006; He and Liu, 2013; Hu *et al*., 2015). They mainly target the relocatees who are already at the post-relocation stage to recall their experiences before being rehoused to evaluate the outcomes of forced relocation, which might lead to distorted retrospective accounts of their experiences and causes of their behavioural and emotional responses to the forced relocation (Goetz, 2013; Higgins and Stangor, 1998).

Second, this stage is the most conflicting stage during urban redevelopment. The homeowners need to make significant decisions with regard to the type and the amount of compensation (in-kind or monetary) that they can get from local governments and/

or developers. Often, conflicts arise due to the disparity about what the residents expect to get and what local governments and/or developers can compensate. From a political-economic viewpoint, this is related to the uneven redistribution of capital accumulated via urban space reproduction such as the replacement of declining neighbourhoods in which low-income residents reside, with newly-build high-rise dwellings for middle- or high-income residents (Qian and He 2012, Weinstein and Ren 2009). As shown in chapter 3, 4 and 5, prospective relocatees are very stressful at this stage. They are anxious about the compensation criteria, the value assessment of their dwellings (which is at the basis of the compensation), and the negation and interaction with government staff. Also, they were worried about the chaotic moving process after moving out their current neighbourhoods and the packing and unpacking of their stuff, especially in case of the older respondents.

2 The agency of the affected residents from a residential mobility perspective

Relocatees may have behavioural and psychological experiences that are similar to voluntary movers, such as previously existing intentions to move, the search for (replacement) housing and the housing choice (Chapter 2). However, when considering the moving experiences of those who are involved in forced relocation, one may unjustly assume that residents are only passively involved since they are forced to move by the local governments or developers (Hin and Xin, 2011; Sichuan News, 2009; Weinstein and Ren 2009). Their right to stay put is often considered as being violated and their wishes regarding neighbourhood redevelopment are often regarded as being ignored, since they have limited influence on the decision-making of forced relocation compared to other stakeholders in the Chinese context (He, 2012; Shin 2014). Also, they are often regarded as becoming displaced, due to the negative influences of urban redevelopment on them (Day and Cervero 2010; Fang 2006).

However, our research has shown the agency of homeowners in the Chinese context, which is manifested through the finding that that some of them are willing to accept the urban redevelopment. This especially applies to homeowners in deprived neighbourhoods involved in SRPs (chapter 3, 4 and 5). State-led neighbourhood redevelopment has become an opportunity for the deprived households to improve their living conditions with the compensation they get from the local governments, since they cannot afford to move into better dwellings in the context of sharply rising housing prices in urban China. Meanwhile, they intend to maximize their benefits from the redevelopment, by mobilising strategies such as constructing illegal buildings to improve the overall value of their dwelling, or by making appeals to local governments to intervene in the redevelopment (chapter 4). The agency of the residents during urban redevelopment (see also Manzo *et al*., 2008; Posthumus and Kleinhans, 2014) shows that consensus can emerge between residents and local governments and/or developers, in addition to conflicts (chapter 3).

3 Residents' ambivalent feeling towards neighbourhoods and urban redevelopment

This study has revealed ambivalent feelings of residents, i.e. a coexistence of willingness and unwillingness towards urban redevelopment and forced relocation. It has found that many of the long-term homeowners already have an intention to move due to current neighbourhood decline. For this reason, they are willing to accept the pending urban redevelopment (chapter 3, 4 and 5) as it may improve their living conditions. From the people-place interaction point of view, this might be contradicting earlier research which emphasizes the more 'romantic' side of people-place interaction, such as place attachment and its related components (e.g. neighbourhood-based social networks and mutual help), that contribute to relocatees' willingness to stay in their neighbourhoods when facing neighbourhood redevelopment and demolition (Fried, 1963; Manzo *et al*., 2008).

In fact, previous research has not fully justified the complex interactions between people and place of different characteristics, since the lived experiences of deprived residents in declining neighbourhoods are not purely positive (see e.g. Feijten and Van Ham, 2009; Livingston *et al*., 2010; Vale,1997). As shown in chapter 4 and 5, the long-term homeowners have an ambivalent feeling towards their neighbourhoods. On the one hand, they have negative neighbourhoods experiences due to neighbourhood decline (e.g. physical deterioration, high residential turnover, lack of facilities), which motivates them to consider a move. On the other hand, they are attached to their neighbourhoods, especially the older residents. We found that the long-term stayers (homeowners) are particularly dependent on functional dimensions of their neighbourhoods, since the opportunities and convenience of economic (e.g. income or low cost) and physical (e.g. size of their dwelling) aspects of neighbourhoods enable them to relief their life constraints. Therefore, when studying the influence of urban redevelopment on relocatees, the impacts of place attachment on their moving behaviour should be monitored by carefully examining their positive and negative lived experiences and the roles of different dimensions of place attachment (Livingston *et al*., 2010; Oakley *et al*., 2008; Vale, 1997).

4 Residents' sense of uncertainty toward urban redevelopment

This research also finds that many long-term homeowners are unwilling to move due to the uncertainties inherent in forced relocation and urban redevelopment. Forced relocation is not only about residential physical movement and changes of location. It captures their place-related strategies with regard to their daily space (e.g. dwelling size and autonomous use of space), the location (proximity to public and commercial facilities) and the activities (people-people and people-place interaction). Local

governments in China undertake efforts to reduce these disruptions by compensating the homeowners and by promising to construct similar public and commercial facilities surrounding the relocation neighbourhoods. However, residents still hold their sense of uncertainty. They feel incapable to assess in advance how and to what extent the forced relocation may lead to negative impacts after the move and how long these impacts may last (chapter 3, 4 and 5). This is in line with earlier research, which finds that the outcomes of forced relocation and urban redevelopment on relocatees are often mixed and not as unilaterally positive as expected, and can change over time during and after forced relocation (Goetz, 2013; Goetz and Chapple, 2010; Popkin, 2006; Popkin, *et al*., 2003, 2004). Positive, moderated or negative outcomes can happen to the relocatees in different combinations, with regard to their living conditions, physical or mental health, crime and poverty rate, economic well-being, etc. (Goetz, 2010; Popkin, 2006; Popkin, *et al*., 2004). Popkin and her colleagues (2003) have explained that both the contextual obstacles (e.g. the socio-economic status and racial composition of the residents, institutional and housing market context) and administrative factors (e.g. behaviour of the implementation agencies) can influence the actual implementation of urban redevelopment and forced relocation, which makes the outcomes of relocatees difficult to predict.

The sense of uncertainty has been translated into a stressful decision-making process for the relocatees with regard to the choice of and negotiations regarding compensation, and the move itself. To cope with this uncertainty, relocatees try to bargain 'fair' compensation from local governments and/or developers. A sense of 'fair' compensation appears to include more than the consideration of the size of their current dwelling(s). Rather, it is closely related to residents' well-being brought by their location in their neighbourhoods, their autonomy regarding use of space, and their living strategies (Day and Cervero 2010; He, 2012; Luo, 2012; Shao, 2013), which, as shown in chapter 3, is not within the scope of the current SRPs. Forced relocation does not only influence individual residents. Our research (chapter 5) shows that in the Chinese context, it is a collective experience for the whole family (beyond households). Fierce interactions, discussions or conflicts within families are taking place with regard to the appropriate type and amount of compensation they should get and whose demand and preference on housing should be taken as the priority. We conclude that within families and households, compensation needs and desires may be fundamentally different and contradictory.

§ 6.3.2 Reflections on the methodology and the data

This research focuses on the residents who are experiencing the pre-demolition stage. Our research is mainly based on semi-structured, in-depth interviews with different stakeholders, enabling us to gain a deeper understanding of the perceptions and behaviours of residents in the pre-relocation stage. In an ideal situation, we would have followed the residents over time, from the pre-demolition stage through the transition stage and into the post-relocation with a longitudinal, large-scale survey. However, due to constraints of time, staff capacity and finances, we did not aim to conduct a large-scale and longitudinal study by following up residents throughout each of the stages. Moreover, a survey does not provide opportunities to explore certain issues in more details, since it may constrain respondents' answers through the design of the questionnaire. Semi-structured, face-to-face interviews, however, provide us with the opportunity to explore in depth the perspectives of affected homeowners by recording and analysing their narratives, tones and emotions, which shows their perceptions, opinions and behaviours towards the SRPs.

In preparing the fieldwork, we needed to identify neighbourhoods in Shenyang that are slated for urban redevelopment but had not been demolished yet. Based on the SRP plans issued by the local governments and the assistance of acquaintances and interviewees, we were able to identify and gain access to neighbourhoods (i.e. *danwei* communities and urban villages) that are currently undergoing SRPs and still accommodate some residents. We were able to interview those residents who were still living in these neighbourhoods but had been informed that their neighbourhoods will be demolished due to state-led urban redevelopment. The assistance of local university colleagues and some respondents' acquaintances during the fieldwork helped to quickly establish a sense of trust between the respondents and the interviewer, and to increase the familiarity of the interviewer with the fieldwork environment. This turned out to be very useful since our research is focusing on the most conflicting stage of during urban redevelopment, making it difficult to gain access to local governments and affected residents. Overall, relocatees were often mentally, physically and economically stressed while the fieldwork was conducted. This had both a positive and negative influence on our fieldwork. One the one hand, this offered a chance to document relocatees' real-time reactions, which helps to gain a deeper understanding of the influence of the forced relocation through their narratives on stress, choices, and worries. On the other hand, some interviews were conducted in a quite sensitive and emotional atmosphere, which made it difficult for the interviewer to follow the interview schedule since these residents considered the interview as a good chance to let the outsider (the interviewer) know their 'miserable experiences'.

Another key experience is the strong focus of residents at this stage on compensation. Therefore, they tended to talk more about how unfair they think the compensation is that they get from the local governments. They hoped the interviewer to acknowledge how unjustified the compensation is. Also, some of them were already occupied with packing and planning their leave of their neighbourhoods. When talking about attachment to their neighbourhoods, they sometimes tried to conceal their feelings towards their current neighbourhoods and their neighbourhood-based social networks, and the emotional dimensions of their place attachment, which cannot help them to gain more compensation. They tended to provided practical details about how their neighbourhoods could satisfy them and how they are functionally attached and dependent on their neighbourhoods to show that SRP causes losses to them and that they therefore deserve more compensation.

The interviews with governors, developers, planners and experts were recorded by making notes. This was required by these experts as a precondition for the interview, as they did not consent to tape recording the interview. This is not uncommon. In general, experts and government officials are cautious while being interviewed, since they are being held responsible for their comments and they want to avoid misuse of interview recordings. In this research, governors, developers and planners were even more cautious while talking about issues related to compensation and forced relocation of residents, since conflicts between residents and local governments regarding these issues are common.

§ 6.4 Future research directions and policy implications

§ 6.4.1 Directions for further research

Our research specifically focuses on the low- and middle- income long-term homeowners involved in the pre-demolition- and pre-relocation stage of state-led urban redevelopment and forced relocation in one city. This specificity limits the external validity of our research findings in relation to a broader context, such as in cities in other regions in China or in other international contexts. Therefore, in this part, several directions for future research are suggested. Firstly, more research on temporal changes of individual perceptions and experiences during and after urban redevelopment is needed. Currently, most research takes forced relocation and urban

redevelopment as a static event and focuses on the post-relocation stage. Therefore, the sequence of the events that happen to the relocatees and the related influence on the residents should be carefully studied. Ideally, this should be done though a longitudinal panel survey following relocatees from the pre-demolition stage of the redevelopment through the transition phase and into the post-relocation stage to identify how and why forced relocation and urban redevelopment affect the well-being of the relocatees over time and how the outcomes of relocation vary over time.

Second, the heterogeneity of the affected residents and the interrelationship of this heterogeneity with their experiences should also be addressed more specifically in future research. Residents can be divided into different social groups based on their age differences, socio-economic status (e.g. income, homeownership, educational level and occupation), institutional status (e.g. local *hukou* or not and affiliation to the *danwei* or urban village or not) and neighbourhood types (*danwei* community, urban village, old inner city neighbourhood, newly-built neighbourhoods, etc.). Different social groups from different types of neighbourhoods can reveal varying people-place experiences and expectations about urban redevelopment, which can affect their moving intentions and moving behaviours. Future studies can also explore the influence of forced relocation and urban redevelopment on particular social groups. For instance, this study has targeted predominantly the homeowners and the older relocatees. We know much less about other age groups, such as middle aged (40-50 year), younger or adolescent people. Also, renters or rural migrants in declining neighbourhoods can be a focus of research as well (Wu, 2012). The comparisons between different social groups or residents of different neighbourhood types can be made by the longitudinal approach. Meanwhile, when studying the coping efforts and influence on the relocatees, it is significant to highlight the macro social, economic and institutional contexts, since they decide the resources available for relocatees to cope with the challenges and chances caused by forced relocation and urban redevelopment. In particular, we suggest that the cultural context which is related to the traditions, norms and values of a society, such as the legacy of the socialist era, filial piety, Confucianism, and patrilocal traditions on caregiving can affect the informal interactions and behaviours between different stakeholders. These dimensions of the cultural context have been not taken into account sufficiently and should be highlighted in future research (He and Lin, 2015; Li *et al*., 2017).

Last but not the least, in addition to the declining urban neighbourhoods such as *danwei* communities, inner city old neighbourhoods and urban villages, Shantytown Redevelopment Projecs (SRPs) increasingly also include remote rural communities established by state-owned enterprises and enterprises specialised for mining, agricultural and forestry production. These types of neighbourhoods should be studied in future research as well. Moreover, SRP has been a national level large-scale

redevelopment project which has been conducted for almost a decade across different cities and regions in China. We therefore suggest that more comparative studies should be conducted with regard to governance of SRPs and its influence on the relocatees from different regions and cities across China.

§ 6.4.2 Policy implications

Our research findings can be useful for the central state and the local governments to recognize the problems existing in SRPs, such as the disparity between the project scope and the expectations of the residents, the ignorance of the diverse needs of the affected residents, and the uncertainties and related negative influence on the residents in relation to the project implementation.

Currently, most urban redevelopment in declining neighbourhoods in China merely focuses on the physical improvements of the living conditions via neighbourhood demolition and spatial movement of the relocatees, which can disrupt relocatees' neighbourhood-based living strategies such as incomes and social networks, and the accessibility to job chances and public services (Chapter 4 and 5). Meanwhile, forced relocation means that their traditions and habits on use of space and location also need to change since relocatees are very likely to move from their current low-story dwellings into high-rise dwellings, as shown in chapter 3. Thus, these changes might challenge the moves of residents inside and outside their dwellings and the social interactions among neighbours. This is especially important for the aged or disabled residents since their mobility can be greatly affected by physical barriers. Therefore, local governments should consider more thoroughly the potential physical, social, economic and psychological implications of redevelopment on residents when initiating redevelopment policies and implementing the projects, as these issues are closely related to the life chances of the affected residents and how they would perceive and react to the redevelopment plans and their implementation.

Relatedly, the heterogeneity of the affected residents should be recognized better during the preparation and implementation of urban redevelopment projects. In particular, local governments need to identify the hard-to-house groups among the relocatees (i.e. the low-income, disabled, unemployed or older people), as neighbourhood demolition and the associated forced relocation are especially threatening to these vulnerable residents (Gilroy, 2012; Popkin *et al*., 2004; Posthumus and Kleinhans, 2014). Based on the narratives of some of our respondents (Chapter 4 and 5), the current 'one size fits all' compensation policies might hardly

relieve the life constraints of deprived residents. Even worse, the redevelopment might dispossess their 'slum home' (chapter 5), which provides them with stable housing before the redevelopment. In the course of redevelopment, the deprived relocatees might have limited feasible housing choices due to the high housing prices and low housing affordability. These deprived residents therefore are very likely to be displaced. Local governments need to better investigate the socio-economic and family situations of affected residents before the redevelopment and forced relocation, since the needs and the expectations of different relocatees about redevelopment differ as well. In particular, local governments need to carefully design the compensation policy, which concerns the relocatees' most urgent needs, such as the housing size, floor, nearby public and commercial facilities, and job chances.

The time span of the whole redevelopment and forced relocation process contains great uncertainties as it can last from several months to several years, both in the Chinese context and other international contexts such as the US and the Netherlands (Goetz, 2013; Li *et al*., 2016; Posthumus and Kleinhans, 2014). This extended time span can cause continuous disruptions to the relocatees. Therefore, during the implementation of redevelopment project, we suggest that local governments make detailed and feasible plans about the tasks and the time needed at each stage. In addition, local governments need to provide more counselling services and help the relocatees to gain access to relevant housing information, especially for the transitional stage and post-relocation stage. In particular, we recommend local governments to pay special attention to the older people involved in the forced relocation with regard to older' people decision-making process, by providing more information on their compensation choices and taking their life chances (social contacts, living costs, need for facilities and living arrangement) and family interaction into consideration.

In the context of Chinese market transition, local governments, but especially the central government, continue to be obliged to provide social services for the public, and to take both people's well-being and economic growth into account (Li, 2015). Therefore, in the face of the changing macro social, economic and institutional context, governments need to make corresponding governance arrangements and design operational practices which boost the smoothness of urban redevelopment and forced relocation. For instance, the issues with regard to improving the life chances of relocatees are not within the current evaluation on local governments' performance on the SRP implementation. The current evaluation system of the central government mainly focuses on the pace or the scale of the SRPs. Therefore, we suggest that a comprehensive evaluation system, focussing on the social, economic and physical implications of SRPs for residents, should be established by the central government to assess local governments' performance on SRPs. Moreover, it is also necessary for the central and local governments to realize that urban redevelopment featured

by neighbourhood demolition and forced residential relocation should not be by definition the first option for local governments to combat neighbourhood decline, to achieve urban area beautification or to improve living conditions. It seems to be a direct and relatively easy way to tackle the above mentioned challenges by demolishing neighbourhoods and provide the residents with in-kind or monetary compensation. However, considering the chaos and challenges (e.g. the conflicting interaction between different stakeholders, tightened financial situations and disruptions to relocatees) involved in the current urban redevelopment, governments should be aware of the importance of 'regular' neighbourhood management and maintenance before the actual physical deterioration taking place in these neighbourhoods.

References

Day, Jennifer, and Cervero Robert. (2010). Effects of Residential Relocation on Household and Commuting Expenditures in Shanghai, China. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 34 (4):762-788

Fang, Yiping. (2006). Residential Satisfaction, Moving Intention and Moving Behaviours: A Study of Redeveloped Neighbourhoods in Inner-City Beijing. Housing Studies 21 (5):671-694.

Feijten, P. & van Ham, M. (2009) Neighbourhood Change... Reason to Leave? Urban Studies 46(10):2103-2122.

Fried, M. (1963) Grieving for a lost home, in: L. J. Duhl (Ed.) The Urban Condition, pp. 151–171 (New York: Basic Books).

Gilroy, R. (2012) Physical threats to older people's social worlds: findings from a pilot study in Wuhan, China. Environment and Planning A, 44,"458-476.

Goetz Edward & Chapple Karen (2010) You gotta move: advancing the debate on the record of dispersal, Housing Policy Debate, 20(2),: 209-236.

Goetz, Edward (2013). Too Good to be True? The Variable and Contingent Benefits of Displacement and Relocation among Low-Income Public Housing Residents. Housing Studies 28 (2):235-252. doi: 10.1080/02673037.2013.767884.

He, Shenjing. 2012. Two waves of gentrification and emerging rights issues in Guangzhou, China. Environment and Planning A 44 (12):2817-2833. doi: 10.1068/a44254.

He, S. & Wu, F. (2007), Socio-spatial impacts of property-led redevelopment on China's urban neighbourhoods. Cities, 24(3):194-208.

He, Shenjing, and Zhen Liu. 2013. A follow-on study on the impact of urban redevelopment on local residents induced by the Asian Games: an investigation in the three affected communities in Guangzhou. [In Chinese] Geographical Research 32 (3):243-275.

Hin, Li Ling, and Xin Li. 2011. "Redevelopment of urban villages in Shenzhen, China – An analysis of power relations and urban coalitions." Habitat International 35 (3):426-434. doi: 10.1016/j.habitatint.2010.12.001.

Higgins, E. T., & Stangor, C. (1988). A" change-of-standard" perspective on the relations among context, judgment, and memory. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 54(2): 181.

Hillcoat-Nallétamby, S. (2014). The meaning of "independence" for older people in different residential settings. Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences, 69(3):419-430.

Hu, Yi, Pieter Hooimeijer, Gideon Bolt, and Dongqi Sun. 2015. "Uneven compensation and relocation for displaced residents: The case of Nanjing." Habitat International 47:83-92.

Lawton, M. P., & Nahemow, L. (1973). Ecology and the aging process. In C. Eisdorfer & M. P. Lawton (Eds.), The psychology of adult development and aging: 619-674.

Lawton, M. P. (1985). The elderly in context: Perspectives from environmental psychology and gerontology. Environment and Behavior, 17(4): 501-519.

Li, K. (2015). Li Keqiang: Peng-hu-qu Wenti Bujiejue Hetan Shehui Gongping (Li Keqiang: How can we achieve social justice if the shantytown problems are not solved), Available at: http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2015-06/17/content_2880958.htm.
Li, X., van Ham, M., & Kleinhans, R. (2016). Understanding the Experiences of Relocatees During Forced Relocation in Chinese Urban Restructuring (No. 10140). IZA Discussion Papers.
Li, X., Kleinhans, R., & van Ham, M. (2017). Shantytown redevelopment projects: State-led redevelopment of declining neighbourhoods under market transition in Shenyang, China. Cities,73:106-116..
Livingston, M., Bailey, N. & Kearns, A. (2010) Neighbourhood attachment in deprived areas: evidence from the north of England, Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 2010 (25):409–427.
Luo, Yannan. 2012. Institutional Arrangements and Individual Action: The Spontaneous Moving Back of Urban Inhabitants of Resettlement and Space Reconstruction of The Original Community. master's thesis, East China Normal University.
Manzo, L.C., Kleit, R.G. & Couch, D. (2008) "Moving Three Times Is Like Having Your House on Fire Once": The Experience of Place and Impending Displacement among Public Housing Residents. Urban Studies, 45(9):1855-1878.
MOHURD. (2013) Jie du'Guowuyuan Jiakuai Peng-hu-qu Gaizao Gongzuo de Yijian (Decoding the suggestions on accelerating the redevelopment of the shantytowns from the state council). Available at http://www.gov.cn/zwhd/2013-07/12/content_2445702.htm.
Oakley, D., Ruel, E., & Wilson, G. E. (2008). A choice with no options: Atlanta public housing residents' lived experiences in the face of relocation. Atlanta: Georgia State University.
Popkin, S. J., Galster, G. C., Temkin, K., Herbig, C., Levy, D. K., & Richer, E. K. (2003). Obstacles to desegregating public housing: Lessons learned from implementing eight consent decrees. Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, 22(2):179-199.
Popkin, S.J., Levy, D.K., Harris, L.E., Comey, J., Cunningham M.K., & Buron, L.F. (2004) The HOPE VI Program: What about the residents? Housing Policy Debate, 15(2): 385-414.
Popkin, S. J. (2006). No simple solutions: Housing CHA's most vulnerable families. Northwestern Journal of Law and Social Policy, 1:148-166
Posthumus, H. & Kleinhans, R. (2014) Choice within limits: how the institutional context of forced relocation affects tenants' housing searches and choice strategies, Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 29 (1):105–122.
Qian, Junxi, and Shenjing He. 2012. Rethinking social power and the right to the city amidst China's emerging urbanism. Environment and Planning A 44 (12):2801-2816. doi: 10.1068/a44373.
Shao, Q. (2013). Shanghai gone: Domicide and de fiance in a Chinese megacity. Rowman & Littlefield.
Shin, Hyun B. 2014. Urban spatial restructuring, event-led development and scalar politics. Urban Studies 51 (14):2961-2978. doi: 10.1177/0042098013515031.
Sichuan News. 2009. Report about the demolition and self-burning event in Chengdu city. Si-chuan News. Accessed 3 September 2009. http://scnews.newssc.org/system/2009/12/03/012464005.shtml.
Vale, L. J. (1997) Empathological Places: residents' ambivalence towards remaining in public housing, Journal of Planning Education and Research, 16(3):159-175.
Van Der Meer, M., Fortuijn, J. D., & Thissen, F. (2008). Vulnerability and environmental stress of older adults in deprived neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, 99(1): 53-64.
Weinstein, Liza, and Xuefei Ren. 2009. The changing right to the city: urban renewal and housing rights in globalizing Shanghai and Mumbai. City & Community 8 (4):407-432.
Wu, F. L. (2012) Neighborhood Attachment, Social Participation, and Willingness to Stay in China's Low-Income Communities. Urban Affairs Review, 48(4): 547-570.

TOC

Curriculum Vitae

Xin Li was born in December, 1986 at Tianchang village in Hebei province, China. In 2010, she obtained her bachelor degree in Urban and Rural Planning and Resource and Environment Management at Northwest University, Xi'an, China. She then started her Master and PhD study at Northeast Institute of Geography and Agroecology, Chinese Academy of Sciences in Changchun. During that time she found her special interests about urban socio-spatial changes, urban (re)development and neighbourhood changes. In 2013, she received a scholarship from China Scholarship Council to support her PhD research at Department of OTB – Research for the Built Environment, Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment, Delft University of Technology. With this PhD project, she further developed her interests in neighbourhood effect, residential mobility, social inequality, poverty, and housing and ageing issues.

TOC

List of publications

1 **Li Xin**, Kleinhans Reinout, & van Ham Maarten. (2018). Shantytown redevelopment projects: State-led redevelopment of declining neighbourhoods under market transition in Shenyang, China. Cities,73,106-116. (SSCI).

2 **Li Xin**, van Ham Maarten, & Kleinhans Reinout. (2016). Understanding the Experiences of Relocatees during Forced Relocation in Chinese Urban Restructuring. (SSCI). Resubmitted to Housing Theory and Society.

3 **Li Xin**, Kleinhans Reinout, & van Ham Maarten. (2017). Ambivalence in Place Attachment: The Lived Experiences of Residents in Declining Neighbourhoods Facing Demolition in Shenyang, China. (SSCI). Resubmitted to Housing Studies.

4 **Li Xin**, van Ham Maarten, Kleinhans Reinout, & Zhang Pingyu. (2018). The Impact of Impending Demolition on Ageing in Place in Declining Neighbourhoods in Shenyang, China. (SSCI). Under Review, Geoforum.

5 **Li Xin**, Zhang Pingyu, Li Jing. (2014). Selection of Central Cities of the Sanjiang Plain Reclamation Area in Heilongjiang Province [黑龙江省三江平原垦区中心城市选择] (in Chinese), Scientia Geographicasinica, 34 (6): 681- 686.

6 **Li Xin**, Zhang Pingyu, Liu Xiaoqiong, Liu Lin. (2012). An Analysis on Spatial Differentiation of County-level Economy in Shenyang Metropolitan Area Based on BP Neural Network [基于BP神经网络的沈阳经济区县域经济空间分异分析] (in Chinese) Economic Geography, 32 (12): 79-84.

7 Zhang Pingyu, **Li Xin**, Shenyang Tiexi Model—Repacking Old Industries (2013). Old Industrial Cities Seeking New Road of Industrialization: Models of Revitalizing Northeast China. Edited by Mark Wang, Zhiming Cheng, Pingyu Zhang. World Scientific.

TOC