The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Department of Building and Real Estate

The "Community Question" in the State-led Urbanization Process of Post-reform China: A Case Study of Shanghai

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CERTIFICATE OF ORGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

The fate of community in industrialized and urbanized society, generalized by Barry Wellman as the “community question” in the 1970s, has been extensively researched by urbanists and sociologists. The concept is mainly about examining the transformation of social networks when rural residents move to urban areas, and the ways urbanization processes affect social networks. There have been three diverging arguments on the “community question” namely, community lost, saved or liberated. Since the market-oriented economic reforms in 1978, Chinese cities have experienced rapid urbanization processes. Urbanization in China is perceived to be unique because of the country’s peculiar institutional settings and urbanization policies. Therefore, this research focuses on the “community question” with regard to Chinese urbanization. It examines whether the unique urbanization process in post-reform China will lead to a response to the “community question” different from that in other countries.

In order to answer this question, this research, with the example of urbanization led by state-initiated land requisition in Shanghai, attempts to achieve four major endeavors. First, by dividing the urbanization process into three stages of rural village, semi-urbanized village and urban resettlement housing district, to identify the unique features of the urbanization process led by state-initiated land requisition in post-reform China. Second, based on the identified unique features, to develop a conceptual analytical framework to investigate the interaction between urbanization process and social networks. Third, to evaluate the status of farmers’ social networks at the three stages according to the questionnaire data analysis and, through critical comparisons,

to generalize the transformation trend of social networks in the urbanization process. Fourth, to carry out dynamic analysis between urbanization processes and changes in social networks by applying the developed analytical framework to explain the transformation of farmers' social networks. In this study, the triangulation research methodology is employed such that a qualitative approach is used to help explain the quantitative findings derived from questionnaire-based surveys.

The unique features of the urbanization process led by land requisition in post-reform China are identified as:

(a) The urbanization process involves not only significant changes in physical form and land-use structure but also re-structuring of political and economic systems, because of the dualistic socio-economic structure separating urban and rural areas;

(2) Complex interplay between the state and market in the urbanization process has led to peculiar physical and social changes, and resulted in two unique neighborhood patterns of semi-urbanized village and urban resettlement housing district.

This study finds that the transformation of farmers' social networks in the urbanization process of post-reform China is generally in line with the well-established argument of "community lost". However, there are still some different manifestations in the case of Chinese urbanization.

(1) There are some peculiar changes in the structure of farmers' social networks during the urbanization process, such as the constitution of farmers' social networks, places and means of social contact;

(2) The decline of interpersonal social ties among farmers is non-linear in the urbanization process, which is different from the common assertion of linear transformation in literature;

(3) The dynamics between urbanization processes and social networks in post-reform China is dissimilar with that in other countries.

Finally, by applying the conceptual analytical framework that is developed based on the unique features of urbanization processes, this study has successfully explained the different manifestations on the "community question" in post-reform China. Thus, this conceptual analytical framework can be regarded as a strategic tool in understanding the "community question" in post-reform China, and also it provides research direction for similar research.

Keywords: community question, post-reform China, social networks, urbanization, land requisition

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Chapter 1 Introduction

This chapter is a brief introduction of the research with the presentation of an overall picture. It comprises research background, research issues, research aim and objectives, research questions, significance of research, research framework and structure of the thesis.

1.1 Research background

1.1.1 Rapid urban expansion in Chinese cities

Since the market-oriented economic reforms initiated in 1978, the political economy system in China has witnessed an obvious transformation, moving from a centrally planned economy to a socialist market economy. Because of this transition, Chinese cities have experienced fast-paced development and rapid urban growth. They expanded outwards rapidly, extending their urban boundaries further, and established numerous satellite towns and industrial parks far beyond their urban perimeters (Cook, 2008). This expansion in Chinese cities has been speeded up since the late 1990s. For example, from 1996 to 2006, the developed areas of Chinese cities grew from 20,214.2 to 33,659.8 square kilometers, with a growth rate of more than 50% (NBSC, 1997, 2007).

Concomitant with the fast-growing cities and the expansion of built-up areas, there has been rapid economic development and massive rural-to-urban migration (Zhang, 2000; Zhou and Ma, 2000). On one hand, along with the introduction of market mechanisms and the implementation of an open-door policy, the Chinese economy has achieved a high average growth rate of 9.8% from 1979 to 2007 (NBSC, 2008). On the other hand, outward expansion of urban areas corresponds to the removal of barriers in rural-to-urban migration (Zhou and Ma, 2000). People have swarmed into cities in large numbers for the better employment and living environment, leading to extremely high levels of population density. For example, in the early 1980s, 18% of the population in China lived in cities, but this figure rose to 39% by 2003 (Zhao *et al.*, 2006).

As a result of this rapid economic development and massive immigration, cities have had to expand into rural areas on a large scale to acquire more space for urban development and to accommodate ever-expanding industrial production and swelling population. This trend is particularly prominent in eastern coastal cities, like Shanghai, Guangzhou and Shenzhen, due to their advanced economic development and high population growth rate during the post-reform period.

1.1.2 Urbanization of rural areas

Accompanying the rapid urban expansion, there has been an increasing trend in rural land conversion for urban development (Zhou and Ma, 2000; Tan *et al.*, 2005). Table 1, taking Shanghai for example, indicates land area changes between 1999 and 2007. The total area of urban construction land in Shanghai grew from 115,300 hectares in 1999 to 242,900 hectares in 2007, an astonishing growth rate of more than 100%. At the same period, cultivated land in Shanghai had decreased from 290,900 to 206,000 hectares. Moreover, the area of farmland requisitioned for construction was more than double in 2006, compared with that in 1999.

Table 1-1 Land area changes in Shanghai, 1999-2007 (unit: 10000 hectares)

	Urban Construction Land Area	Cultivated Land	Farmland Requisitioned for State Construction Projects
1999	11.53	29.09	0.44
2000	14.57	28.59	--
2001	17.81	28.06	--
2002	18.25	27.04	--
2003	--	25.73	0.88
2004	--	24.57	0.61
2005	--	23.73	0.97
2006	24.01	20.80	0.92
2007	24.29	20.60	--

Source: MOHURD (1999-2007); SMSB (2000-2008)

Along with such massive encroachment of rural land by urban development, a large number of rural villages were removed and affected farmers were resettled in urban areas. Meanwhile, the economic, social, cultural, and physical characteristics of urban areas had spread into traditionally rural areas and transformed their original landscapes and lifestyles as cities keep expanding (Friedmann, 2006). Thus, the suburban landscape of Chinese cities has changed from a traditionally agricultural environment to a rapidly urbanizing area. This kind of phenomenon has become prominent in recent

years, as more and more Chinese cities are keen on urban expansion.

1.2 Research issues

1.2.1 The "community question"

Since the 19th century, most European and North American countries have experienced rapid industrialization and urbanization, and evolved from relatively stable agrarian to dynamic urbanized societies. This rural-to-urban transition had resulted in huge transformation in societies. The examination of changes in societies under the effects of urbanization had attracted a number of researchers. In this setting, the fate of rural communities, which existed among rural villages in the past, in industrialized and urbanized societies, has been extensively studied by many urbanists and sociologists. This kind of research was generalized by Barry Wellman as the "community question" (Wellman and Leighton, 1979).

Social networks are perceived as the vital component in defining the nature of community, and distinguishing community and residential districts (Bridge, 2002). Therefore, changes of social networks are extensively adopted as the examining indicators of fate of community. The research framed by the "community question" is mainly about (1) transformation of social networks

when rural residents move to urban areas; and (2) the ways macro urbanization processes affect personal social networks.

There have been extensive theoretical and empirical studies on the "community question", and three diverging arguments were generalized as "community lost", "saved" or "liberated" (Schiefloe, 1990; Bridge, 2002). The community lost argument maintains the decline in traditional forms of personal relations under the advance of urbanization and industrialization. On the contrary, the argument of community saved contends that most of people living in cities remain with extensive social contacts, and that communities still persist in industrial and urbanized societies. The community liberated argument affirms the prevalence of social relations in urbanized societies, but maintains that they are liberated from the confines of local neighborhoods through modern communication technologies.

1.2.2 Urbanization led by state-initiated land requisition

Since market-oriented economic reforms were introduced to China, the country has undergone the transition from planned economy to market economy. Market forces began to play an important role in Chinese urbanization. However, the legacy of the state-controlled model has also left a

strong impact on it, even in the post-reform period. Thus, a unique dual-track urbanization model with mixed effects of the state and market has emerged in post-reform China (Shen *et al.*, 2006). Chinese urbanization is, in part, driven by central and planned control that inherited from the planned economy and, in part, is the result of industrialization and economic development which result from the market economy.

The urbanization led by state-initiated land requisition should start from local governments' initiation of land requisition. There are two kinds of land ownership co-existing in China: national ownership and collective ownership. The former ownership applies to towns and cities, and the latter one to rural areas (Yeh and Wu, 1998; Wang and Li, 1999). For the state-owned land, land use right can be traded in the market under a leasehold system (Zou and Oskam, 2007). Whilst, for the collective-owned land, the circulation of land use right is limited to the exchange of contract rights among farmers with their land tenure (Po, 2008). Its land use right cannot be traded in the market directly, only after the nature of land is changed from collective-owned to state-owned. That is to say, state requisition is the only mechanism to fulfill this transformation. This urbanization process, although arising from economic growth and population immigration, can only be achieved through state-controlled rural land

requisition system inherited from the formerly planned economy. Therefore, although the market remains exerting impacts in the urbanization process, this urbanization pattern can only be initiated and achieved through the state. The urbanization led by state-initiated land requisition is simplified and called as "state-led urbanization" in the thesis.

1.2.3 The "community question" in Chinese urbanization

The "community question", in nature, focuses on the relationship between urbanization and social networks. Due to the country's peculiar institutional settings and urban policies in the post-reform period, many researchers perceive urbanization in China to be unique, because it neither involved the ''over-urbanization'' scenario witnessed in many developing countries, nor followed the ''parallel-urbanization'' experience of developed economies (Song and Timberlake, 1996; Zhang, 2008). Therefore, this research attempts to examine the "community question" with regard to Chinese urbanization in post-reform China.

1.3 Research aim and objectives

This research aims to understand whether the unique institutional settings and urban policies in post-reform China will lead to responses to the

“community question” different from those that in other countries. Its more specific objectives are listed as follows:

(1) To review the extensive empirical and theoretical studies about the “community question”;

(2) To divide the urbanization process led by local governments’ land requisition into three stages of rural village, semi-urbanized village and urban resettlement housing district, and identify the unique characteristics of such urbanization process;

(3) To develop a conceptual analytical framework for the examination of interaction between the urbanization process and social networks based on the unique features of the urbanization process;

(4) To evaluate the status of farmers’ social networks at the three stages and generalize their transformation trend in the urbanization process through critical comparisons;

(5) To apply the analytical framework in explaining the transformation of social networks in the urbanization process.

1.4 Research Questions

This research attempts to answer the overall question of "whether the unique institutional settings and urban policies in post-reform China will lead to responses to the 'community question' different from those in other countries?" Specifically, there are three sub-questions needing to be answered in the following studies.

(1) What are the unique features of the urbanization process led by state-initiated land requisition in the post-reform period?

(2) How do farmers' social networks change during the urbanization process? Is this transformation trend in post-reform China different from that in other countries?

(3) If yes, what unique features of the urbanization process lead to such difference, and how do these unique features cause such difference?

1.5 Significance of the research

1.5.1 Research on "community question" with Chinese urbanization

Now, China is in the transitional period from the planned economy to the

market economy, which provides an amazing experiment site to conduct new studies and test the existing theory. Through this research, the transformation trend of farmers' neighborhood social networks during the urbanization process will be identified in the Chinese case. Moreover, a conceptual analytical framework will be developed in this study, which will be helpful for understanding the dynamics between the macro-urbanization process and the transformation of interpersonal social ties among farmers in post-reform China.

Given the particularity of Chinese urbanization in the post-reform period, the research findings may largely improve the current theory and enrich empirical understanding of the "community question". It is significant both in terms of its theoretical and empirical facets.

1.5.2 Building of cohesive communities

A social interaction system is regarded as a vital element in defining the nature of a community (Bridge, 2002; Mesch and Levanon, 2003). Its function is to provide sociability and support and to facilitate solidarity activities and build sentiment (Wellman and Leighton, 1979). Rural villages are usually regarded as small, isolated, homogeneous communities with densely interactive social networks (Wellman, 1979; Keith, 2001). This is particularly true in

Chinese villages due to their adoption of a hermetical land system. Durkheim (1964) used the term “mechanical solidarity” to characterize this kind of rural community. He considered that this solidarity develops out of frequent social contact and interaction within a group. It works to foster similarity in daily lives and common beliefs and sentiments. A group with mechanical solidarity is likely to provide mutual aid and support and to protect values of the community.

This research is able to help policy makers and planners to understand the status of farmers’ social networks at neighborhood level in the urbanization process led by land requisition. Moreover, it may help them to find effective and long-term solutions (both in terms of policy and planning) to maintain the precious traditional forms of the social interaction system among resettled farmers in urban areas and build interactive and vibrant resettlement communities for them.

1.6 Research framework

The thesis is composed of 8 chapters, in which each has its own focus. The thesis framework is displayed in Figure 1-1. It is followed by the brief introduction of individual chapters.

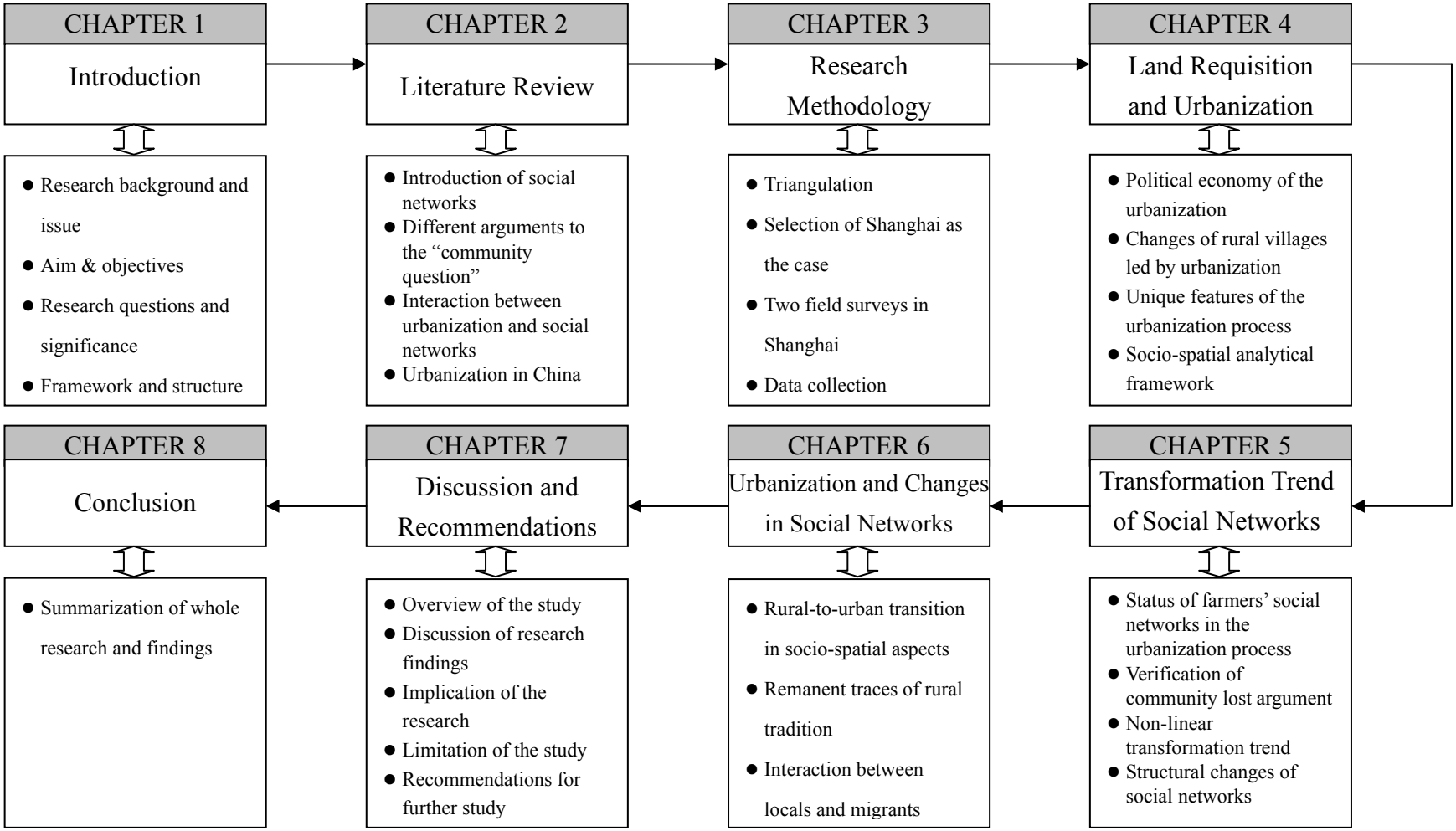

Figure 1-1 Research framework of the thesis

Chapter 1 is an overall introduction of the research. It introduces the background of this study, specifies the issues of this research, identifies the research aim, objectives, questions and significance, and presents framework and overall structure of the thesis.

Chapter 2 reviews the theoretical and empirical studies about the "community question". In addition, the research about urbanization in China is reviewed. Based on the examination of existing literature, the research gaps that will be bridged in this study are put forwards at the end.

Chapter 3 focuses on the research methodology. It introduces the methodology of triangulation, and specifies the reasons for selecting Shanghai as the example. Also, two field surveys conducted in Shanghai along with data collection methods are presented.

Chapter 4, based on the first field survey, highlights the urbanization process led by governments' land requisition in Shanghai. By dividing the urbanization process into three stages of rural village, semi-urbanized village and urban resettlement housing district, it seeks to identify the unique features of the urbanization process in post-reform China. Moreover, a conceptual analytical framework will be developed to examine the dynamics between urbanization

and social networks in post-reform China based on its unique features.

Chapter 5 is the section for data analysis and presentation of results according to the data derived from the questionnaire-based survey. It tries to evaluate the status of farmers' social networks at the three stages and, through critical comparisons, to generalize the transformation trend of social networks in the urbanization process.

Chapter 6 is the section for qualitative research sections, which adopts the analytical framework developed in Chapter 4 to explain the outcomes of data analysis in Chapter 5. It also includes the process of dynamics analysis between macro urbanization process and changes in social networks.

Chapter 7 is the discussion and recommendation section of the study. It begins with a brief overview of the whole study. The major research findings are discussed in the following part, and then the implications of these findings are presented. At the end, it describes the limitations of the research and the agenda for further study.

Chapter 8 is the conclusion section with the summarization of all the research and findings in this study.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

This chapter reviews the theoretical and empirical studies on the "community question", which include (1) the general introduction of social networks; (2) the reasons that social networks are selected as the primary indicator to examine the fate of community; (3) the transformation of social networks under the effects of the urbanization process; (4) the ways that the urbanization process affects social networks. Furthermore, the research relating to urbanization in China is reviewed. Based on the examination of existing literature, the five research gaps are put forward that will be bridged in this study.

2.1 Introduction of social networks

Since the 19th century, industrialization and urbanization have transformed most European and North American countries from relatively stable agrarian to dynamic urbanized societies. In this context, the changes of societies under the effects of urbanization had attracted a large number of researchers. Following this trend, the fate of community has been extensively studied by urbanists and sociologists. Barry Wellman generalized this kind of research as the "community question" in the 1970s (Wellman and Leighton, 1979). Because of the essential role in defining community, social networks are regarded as the

indicator to examine the fate of community. Specifically, the "community question" mainly focuses on the transformation of social networks when rural residents move to urban areas, and the ways urbanization processes affect personal social networks (Schiefloe, 1990; Bridge, 2002).

2.1.1 Definition of social networks

A social network is defined as "a specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons, with the additional property that the characteristics of these linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behaviour of the persons involved" (Mitchell, 1969, p.2). Following this definition, scholars simplified this concept as a set of people connected by a set of socially meaningful relationships (Wellman, 1997), or as individuals establishing and maintaining relationships (Johnson and Gilles, 2000).

These linkages or relationships are known as social ties, which are the basic units of social networks (Licoppe and Smoreda, 2005). The introduction of social ties plays a fundamental role in the explanatory power of social networks analysis, because social behaviour becomes accountable from the objective and external perspective of the networked distribution of ties (Licoppe and Smoreda, 2005).

2.1.2 Structure of social networks

There are different analyses regarding the structure of social networks. The most comprehensive one is rooted in the writing of Wellman (1997), who divided the structure of social networks into six dimensions: density, boundedness, range, exclusivity, social control and tie strength. The meanings of each dimension are as follows: (i) Density is a variable describing the proportion of all possible ties (between two network members) that actually exist, namely, the frequency of social contact among members within a network; (ii) Boundedness refers to the proportion of members' ties in social networks that stay within certain boundaries, like housing districts and villages (Laumann *et al.*, 1983); (iii) The range of a network is a combination of network size and heterogeneity, which together indicate how many different kinds of people are in a network and describe how large and diverse is the population within its boundaries; (iv) Exclusivity indicates whether people interact primarily one-on-one or if their individual contacts are available to a wider set of persons; (v) Social control looks at how external sources create, constrain and manage a person's contact and exchange; (vi) The strength of relationship is a multidimensional construct encompassing the usually correlated variables of a relationship's social closeness, voluntariness, breadth

and to a lesser extent, frequency of contact.

Furthermore, Campbell and Lee (1992) examined the social networks from the perspectives of size, intensity, and multiplexity. Size is the number of other memberships in a network. Intensity is comprised of intimacy or closeness of relationships, the frequency of their interaction and the duration of their relations. Multiplexity is the extent to which ties in a network provide more than one kind of exchange. In addition, Sparrowe *et al.* (2001) identified social networks in the dimensions of density and centralization. Density describes the overall level of interactions of various kinds reported by network members. Centralization reflects the extent to which interactions are concentrated in a small number of individuals rather than distributed equally among all members.

2.1.3 Measuring of neighbor-base social ties

There are a variety of social ties within social networks, such as relatives, friends, neighbors, and co-workers. Of all ties, neighbor-based social linkages are perceived as the vital component of personal networks (Campbell and Lee, 1992; Guest, 2000). The importance of neighbors as a source of social support is due to their proximity, which increases the frequency of contacts with each other (Wellman *at al.*, 1997; Mesch and Levanon, 2003). For example,

neighbors often exchange small services, like babysitting and borrowing. Although neighborly ties are not necessarily strong, physical access makes them easier for people to deliver services even if the relationship is not so close.

However, the measuring of neighborly social ties is different from one scholar to another. For example, Ross and Jang (2000) argued that neighbor-based social ties consist of informal integration with neighbors and formal participation in neighborhood organizations. Informal integration is assessed by the degree to which visiting and talking with neighbors and mutual help among neighbors by lending things, watching houses, giving a ride and so on. Formal participation in neighborhood organizations includes the degree to which people participate in tenants' groups, neighborhood improvement associations, block crime watch, and other community service organizations. Knies (2009) selected the prevalence of support provided by neighbors and of visits between neighbors as the common indicators of social ties with neighbors. What is more, in the writing of Nation *et al.* (2009), neighboring interaction was embodied as participation in four neighborly activities of speaking, visiting, watching property, and borrowing.

2.2 Social networks as the examining indicator of the "community question"

Community is seen as possessing "common named boundaries, more than one institution identified with the area, and more than one tie of shared public space or social network" (Schoenberg, 1979, p.69), "a limited territory within a larger urban area, where people inhabit dwellings and interact socially" (Warren, 1981, p.62), or "geographic units within which certain social relationships exist" (Downs, 1981, p.15). Apart from these, Schwirian (1983) defined a community as a population residing in an identifiable section of a city whose members are organized into a general interaction network of formal and informal ties and express their common identification with the area in public symbols.

Most definitions of community involve two general components: the physical and the social (Keller, 1968). As early as the 1950s, Hiliery had pointed out that community tends to include three ingredients: networks of interpersonal ties (outside of the household), sociability and support among members, residence in a common locality and solidarity in sentiments and activities (Wellman and Leighton, 1979). Later on, Schwirian (1983) simplified a community into four basic elements of place, people, interaction system,

shared identification and public symbols, which mean (i) a geographic area physically distinguishable from other adjacent areas; (ii) a population with unique social, demographic, or ethnic composition; (iii) a social system with rules, norms, and regularly recurring patterns of social interaction that function as mechanisms of social control; and (iv) aggregate emergent behaviors or ways of life that distinguish the area from others around it.

Social networks are perceived as an indispensable component in defining the nature of community (Bridge, 2002). Some scholars even adopted social networks as the key indicator to distinguish community and neighborhood or residential area. For example, Schwirian (1983) distinguished community from a residential area by the degree of social organization among the residents. He argued that unlike a community, a residential area has few or no patterned relations among residents; residential areas may become communities and vice versa depending on the viability and extent of the network of social relationships among residents. Guest and Wierzbicki (1999) contended that the degree of social interaction among neighbors is a key indicator of the strength of localized communities in urban society. Mesch and Levanon (2003) argued that neighborhood interactions are an important component of the local community. Also, Knox and Pinch (2006) maintained that neighbourhoods are

territories containing people of broadly similar demographic, economic and social characteristics, but are not necessarily significant as a basis for social interaction. Communities exist where a degree of social coherence develops on the basis of interdependence, which in turn produces a uniformity of custom, taste and modes of thought and speech.

These arguments reveal the range of common perceptions about the interdependent relationship between communities and social networks. Communities are different from neighborhoods or residential areas with possession of additional elements of an interaction system and shared identification (Figure 2-1). Moreover, dense and bounded social networks, be they neighborhood, kinship, friendship or other based, are inclined to form solidarity in activities and sentiments (Wellman and Leighton, 1979). In view of these points, the transformation of social networks is examined under the effects of urbanization while researching on the “community question”.

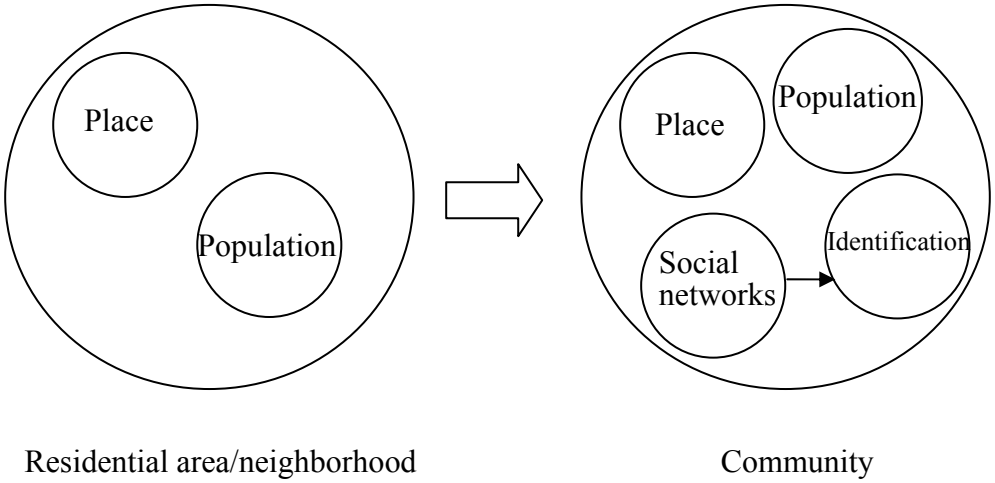

Figure 2-1 Difference between residential area/neighborhood and community

2.3 Transformation of social networks in urbanization

Many scholars have paid particular attention to the "community question", which concerns the impacts that massive industrial and urbanized transformations of North American and European societies had on a variety of primary social ties (for example, Wellman, 1979; Wellman and Leighton, 1979; Schiefloe, 1990; Sampson, 1999; White and Guest, 2003). There have been wide-ranging debates on the transformation of social networks in industrialized and urbanized societies. These theoretical examinations, as well as the empirical findings, are grouped into three diverging arguments, namely, community lost, community saved and community liberated.

2.3.1 Community lost

The community lost argument was the first response to the "community question" by urban and sociological scholars, and it is still significantly influencing current debates. Most portrayals of the community lost assertion associate its origins with the writing of Ferdinand Tönnies in 1887, who used the concept "Gemeinschaft" to characterize the cohesive nature of life found among pre-industrial societies and "Gesellschaft" to describe the opposite conditions within communities of industrialized societies (Schiefloe, 1990; Knox and Pinch, 2006). Subsequently, this viewpoint was reinforced by early scholars such as Durkheim, Simmel, Sumner and Wirth (Sampson, 1999).

The community lost argument invokes the idea that the industrial and urbanized social systems have largely weakened primary relations, making individuals more dependent on formal organizational resources for sustenance (Wellman and Leighton, 1979). The rise of community lost argument has sharpened perceptions of decline in traditional forms of personal relations under the advance of urbanization and industrialization (Wellman and Leighton, 1979; White and Guest, 2003). Instead of being fully incorporated into a single solidary community, urbanites are seen as being limited members of multiple social networks, sparsely knit and loosely bounded (Wellman, 1979). Their

weak, narrowly defined, and disorganized ties are rarely available for help in dealing with contingencies. Urbanites are now bound to the city by webs of secondary affiliations (Sampson, 1999).

Urbanization processes brought about a destruction of the traditional, established patterns of social relationships and social control characterized in earlier and non-urban forms of life (Schiefloe, 1990). As a result, the decline in social ties hastens the eclipse of community and feeds the process of social disorganization (Wellman, 1979; Sampson, 1999). This disorganizing effect of attenuated communal solidarities has been reflected in substantive accounts of such diverse areas as collective action, crime, migration, poverty, and suburbia in urban communities (Wellman, 1979).

Specifically, White and Guest (2003) generalized the decline of social ties in the following four aspects: (1) the decline of non-voluntaristic ties, those that were primarily rooted in features of birth liking kinship; (2) the loss of voluntaristic ties, those that were primarily chosen by individuals as an aspect of their daily lives through work, recreation and so on; (3) the decreasing density or diffuseness of social ties, in that the various others in an individual's network don't know each other; (4) the decline in the strength or quality of social ties, as measured by the frequency of interaction.

The loss of community in the urban settings stems from a range of sources. They include:

(1) Heterogeneity of urban life and conflict of values that can arise from the juxtaposition of people from a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, notwithstanding their common economic experiences (Knox and Pinch, 2006);

(2) Disruption of social relationships that occurs as one cohort of inhabitants ages, dies and is replaced by younger families, who, even though they may be essentially of the same class and lifestyle, represent an unwitting intrusion on the quieter lives of older folk (Knox and Pinch, 2006);

(3) Disruption associated with the presence of undesirable elements, such as "problem families", transients and prostitutes, which may be the crucial factor to cause the anomie and disorganization of urban neighborhood (Knox and Pinch, 2006);

(4) The mutuality of urban neighborhoods is undermined by stresses and tensions that result from the shortage of space. High densities lead to noise problems, inadequate play space and clothes-drying facilities and are associated with personal stress and fatigue (Knox and Pinch, 2006);

(5) Community is undermined by market and market values. As market

invasion gives rise to growing instability in lives and the disruptions of social relationships. Meanwhile, the growing centrality of individual consumer and materialistic desires are regarded to be part of the loss of community (Maitland, 1998; Muniz and O'Guinn, 2001);

(6) Length of residence has the strongest effect on neighborhood social ties and participation in local activities. High mobility, including personal mobility, occupational mobility and residential mobility, operate as a barrier to the development of extensive friendship and kinship bonds and widespread local associational ties (Kasarda and Janowilz, 1974; Adams, 1992).

2.3.2 Community saved

Contrary to the community lost assumption, some researchers observed that most people living in cities maintain their extensive social contacts. They have frequent social connections with family, friends, and are socially involved in the neighborhood. Accordingly, from the 1950s, the lost argument began to be challenged by the claim of community saved.

The community saved argument contends that neighborhood communities still persist in industrial society as important sources of support and sociability (Wellman, 1979; Schiefloe, 1990; Sampson, 1999). Many of empirical studies

had also demonstrated the continued vitality of primary ties that had been pronounced lost in the urban settings, including the writings of “Streetcorner Society” (Whyte, 1955), “Family and Kinship in East London” (Young and Wilmott, 1957) and “The Urban Village” (Gans, 1962).

In detail, the “saved” argument maintains that communal contacts still survive in industrial bureaucratic social systems. These locally based communities often serve as important sources of sociability and assistance (Wellman, 1979; Schiefloe, 1990). In the meanwhile, it should be recognized that in the urban settings, social relationships do not exist in the densely knit, self-contained solitary structures characterized in pre-industrial societies. Single-stranded ties broaden in scope as new aspects of the informal relationship develop, and densely knit, self-contained clusters of ties emerge in initially sparse networks (Craven and Wellman, 1973; Wellman, 1979).

The remaining existence of locally based communities in urban settings is largely due to their continued effect in providing support and sociability, communal desires for informal social control, and ecological sorting into homogeneous residential and work areas (Wellman, 1979; Schiefloe, 1990; Keith, 2001). In addition, the other important reason for the survival of social networks in cities is the economic division of society that leaves many people

vulnerable to the cycle of poverty, and the shared experience of hard times easily generates a mutuality of feelings and maintains community among urban residents (Knox and Pinch, 2006).

2.3.3 Community liberated

Although the arguments of lost and saved communities end up with differing conclusions as regards city life, they share one important assumption that locally based social involvement is the basic and natural origin of interpersonal social relations (Schiefloe, 1990). However, beginning from 1970s, the development of public transportation and communication technology have liberated communities from the confine of neighborhood, which dispersed network tie from all-embracing solidary communities to non-spatial communities (Mesch and Levanon, 2003). This kind of idea is referred as the community liberated argument. Contrary to the assumptions of community lost or saved, the liberated argument has abandoned the neighborhood community as the starting point of analysis and directly investigated the structure of primary ties (Wellman, 1979; Schiefloe, 1990).

The liberated argument affirms the prevalence and importance of primary ties but maintains that personal ties are liberated from the confines of

neighborhood through modern transportation and communication (Craven and Wellman, 1973; Wellman and Leighton, 1979; Schiefloe, 1990). It is evident that urban dwellers rely less on local neighbourhoods for psychological support, cultural nourishment and economic assistance. They can go shopping, working and make friends throughout geographical space and cyber space (Sampson, 1999). Urban residents, for example, may not know their neighbors intimately, but are likely to have interpersonal networks spreading throughout the city, state and even world.

A series of empirical investigations have demonstrated clearly that neighborhood-based ties are only part of urbanites' social networks. Moreover, these relationships are usually weaker than other ties (Wellman, 1996). The only social support that neighbors give tends to be small services such as lending household goods or short-term childcare (Wellman and Wortley, 1990). That is to say, local social ties have declined, whereas non-local ties persist or even increase (Guest and Wierzbicki, 1999; White and Guest, 2003). Generally, the community liberated argument emphasizes the changes of social ties under urbanization, rather than their demise.

The possible reasons resulting in this kind of phenomenon include: (i) the separation of residence, workplace, and kinship groups involves urbanites in

multiple social networks with weak solidary attachments; (ii) highly residential mobility weakens existing ties and retards the creation of strong new ones; (iii) transportation and communication developments reduce the social costs of spatial distances, enabling the easy maintenance of dispersed primary ties; (iv) the scale, density and diversity of the city, in combination with widespread facilities for interaction, increase possibilities for access to loosely bounded, multiple social networks; (v) the spatial dispersion of primary ties and the heterogeneity of the city make it less likely for an urbanite to be densely knit into solidary communities (Wellman, 1979; Wellman and Leighton, 1979).

2.3.4 Comparison of the three arguments

There have been three diverging arguments towards the transformation of social networks when rural residents move to urban areas, which were summarized as community lost, saved and liberated. The community lost argument asserts the absence of local social interaction, and the community saved argument asserts their persistence. The community liberated argument, in contrast, denies the confines of neighborhoods and maintains that local social ties have declined, whereas non-local ties persist or even increase. The three arguments have been presented as competing alternative depictions for the community question. The comparisons of the three arguments are shown in

Table 2-1.

Table 2-1 Comparison of community lost, saved and liberated arguments

Social Network structure	**Community lost**	**Community saved**	**Community liberated**
Breadth	few strands	multiple strands	uneven
Relationship	Formal role	Kin, neighbors	Kin, neighbors, friends, workmates
Intensity	weak	strong	both
Membership	Limited members in several social networks	Heavily involved members in single neighborhood	Limited members in several social networks
Scale	neighborhood	neighborhood	beyond neighborhood
Contact mode	in-person	in-person	in-person, telephone, internet
Availability of social support	rare	abundant	moderate
Source of social support	formal ties	relatives, neighbors	relatives, neighbors, friends, workmates

Sources: generalized from Wellman, (1979); Wellman and Leighton, (1979); Sampson, (1999)

2.4 Transformation trend during the urbanization process

2.4.1 Overview of longitudinal research

Based on such extensive examinations of the status of community in the

urban environment, there are three diverging responses regarding the "community question". Apart from these snapshot-style studies, there is another set of research investigating the transformation trend of social networks in the transition process from rural to urban or in urban settings over time. For example, Fischer (1982) has tried to approximate the changes of social networks by comparing the strength of neighborhood friendship ties in relatively urban versus relatively rural communities, and found support for the conventional assumption that the more "advanced" areas have weaker ties than the more "traditional" rural areas. While Lev-Wiesel's (2003) study of Israeli communities verified that quality and quantities of social interaction were greater among residents of rural communities than for the city dwellers.

Furthermore, from the 1970s, a new urbanization process began to emerge in developed countries: urban dwellers moved to suburban areas and cities rapidly spread outwards. Following this trend, low-density, auto-dependent neighborhoods prevail in suburban areas along with urban sprawl. Some researchers cast their lights on this new neighborhood pattern in suburban areas and compared it with that in rural and urban areas. For example, Ewing (1997) stated that strong communities of place, where neighbors interact, have a sense of belonging, and have a feeling of responsibility for one another, are harder to find

in suburban neighborhoods. One of the major criticisms of sprawl put forward by Burchell *et al.* (1998, p.86) was that "low density development weakens households' connections to both their immediate neighbors and to the larger metropolitan community, and encourages unsociable values. Sprawl weakens the linkages of... nearby neighbors". The findings of Freeman's (2001) study suggested that automobile-led sprawl is inimical to neighborhood social ties. Wilson and Baldassare (1996) reported less social contacts among residents of urban areas than that of suburban dwellers. Nation *et al.* (2009) argued that there are differences in the amount and type of neighboring found in urban, suburban, and rural areas: the results of their study suggest that most of these differences can be explained by individual characteristics and differences in the types of neighborhood problems that exist in various localities.

In addition, some scholars have paid attention to the changes in social networks in urban settings over time. For example, Ruan *et al.* (1997) used the data collected in two separate surveys more than 5 years apart to show differences in the networks reported by Chinese urban people. They attributed the changes of social interaction to the massive external socioeconomic changes in China during the period. Feld (1997) adopted data from friendship ties within a bounded population to examine how the initial strength of ties,

especially in terms of their embeddedness in shared social networks, affects the continuity of ties across time. Wellman *et al.* (1997) analyzed the changes of intimate ties in personal neighborhood networks through interviewing the same Torontonians in 1968 and 1978, and the results show that there is much turnover in these networks, with only 27% of intimate ties persisting. They explained it by the changes of respondents in aging and marital situations. Guest and Wierzbicki (1999), using the General Social Survey in America, analyzed trends in socializing with neighbors and with friends outside the neighborhood from 1974 to 1996, and it shows a linear trend toward less socializing within the neighborhood and more outside it. The writing of Miguel *et al.* (2006) explored the relationship between industrialization and changes in social networks across Indonesian districts during 1985-1997. The results show that the increase in local industrialization is associated with denser social networks over time, which is explained by migration and income growth and inequity.

2.4.2 Linear transformation trend

It is noticeable that, among these longitudinal studies about the "community question", there is a common argument that interpersonal social ties change in a linear way along with the advance of urbanization and industrialization, no

matter whether such ties increase or decrease. For example, Fischer (1982) argued that people in the more "urbanized" areas have weaker social ties than those in the more "traditional" rural areas. The writing of Guest and Wierzbicki (1999) has shown a linear trend toward less social ties within the neighborhood and more outside the neighborhood from 1974 to 1996. Also, Miguel *et al.* (2006) proved that an increase in local industrialization is associated with denser social networks over time.

2.5 The ways that urbanization affects social networks

Different from the preceding research that focuses on the status of interpersonal social ties under the effects of urbanization, some scholars have made attempts to explain in what way urbanization processes affect personal social networks. This kind of research, in general, generalizes urbanization processes according to changes in several simple indicators, and identifies the correlation between these indicators and social networks. The selection of the appropriate indicators to measure urbanization processes, therefore, becomes a vital step in this kind of research work.

For example, Beggs *et al.* (1996) adopted "size" as the variable of metropolitan and non-metropolitan to identify the personal networks that

contrast rural from urban. However, as argued by White and Guest (2003), the simple "size" notion is conceptually attractive but not very useful in research. The single indicator of size tells us little about the geographical context and experiences of those people within it. For example, residents of a rural town of 10,000 people have very different lives from those residing in a suburb town of 10,000 people. In view of this, White and Guest (2003) identified urbanization as the three variables of size of place, metropolitanization and centrality, and made use of the regression method to find the relations of these variables to the structure of social ties, but the results indicate that urbanization has little relationship to social tie.

What is more, Wilson and Baldassare (1996) characterized residence in urban areas by the indicators of high population density and cultural diversity. Thomese and Van Tilburg (2000) found that, in terms of population density, the more "urban" the neighborhood, the less old residents were oriented to their direct neighborhood and the greater the propensity for larger core networks outside the neighborhood, but within an hour's travel. Miguel *et al.* (2006) outlined three leading factors possibly linking industrialization and social networks: increased migration, rising incomes, and rising income inequality.

Generally, there is no common consensus among researchers on the selection

of indicators for identification of urbanization. A majority of researchers selected such physical indicators as size of place and population density to identify the transition from rural to urban areas. But the indicator of size of place has been proved useless in the writing of White and Guest (2003). Other indicators include migration, income and culture. Table 2-2 reviews the various indicators adopted by scholars to measure urbanization processes.

Table 2-2 Summarization of indicators measuring for urbanization

Author (s)	**Indicator(s) to measure macro urbanization process**
Beggs *et al.* (1996)	size of place
Wilson and Baldassare (1996)	population density and cultural diversity
Thomese and Van Tilburg (2000)	population density
White and Guest (2003)	size of place, metropolitanization and centrality
Miguel *et al.* (2006)	increased migration, rising incomes, and rising income inequality

2.6 Urbanization in China

Many researchers perceive urbanization in China to be unique because it has

not involved the ‘‘over-urbanization’’ scenario witnessed in many developing countries, in which increases in the urban population have outpaced economic development (Song and Timberlake, 1996; Zhang, 2008). At the same time, Chinese urbanization is different from the ‘‘parallel-urbanization’’ experience of developed economies, in which urbanization is caused by economic restructuring and technological progress (Zhang, 2008). The unique characteristics of urbanization in China are largely due to the country’s particular institutional settings and urban policies (Shen, 2000). In a retrospective look at Chinese urbanization history since the foundation of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, two distinct forms of urbanization can be identified, one directed by the state during the pre-reform period and the other driven by economic growth after the economic reforms (Shen *et al.*, 2002).

In the Maoist era (1949-1977), state-sponsored urbanization prevailed, as the state was the major investor in urban development (Shen *et al.*, 2006). There was also an anti-urban bias during that period, which was largely due to the urban sector’s limited capacity in terms of employment provision and production functions (Zhang, 2002). Industrial facilities were scattered in inland areas for national defense and regional balance considerations (Chang, 1994). The restriction of population mobility through the household registration

system (*hukou*) enabled the state to control the size of cities (Li and Piachaud, 2006). Accordingly, both the level and growth rate of urbanization were extremely low. The pre-reform model of urbanization was called "urbanization from above" (Ma and Fan, 1994).

The market-oriented economic reforms implemented since 1978 have greatly accelerated the urbanization of Chinese cities. In contrast to the pre-reform period, urban development is no longer solely controlled by the state, with market forces now also playing an important part (Li and Piachaud, 2006). Both urban population and urbanization levels have increased sharply in the more than 30 years since. Many studies of Chinese urbanization shed light on the post-reform period, with a number of them focusing on the driving forces behind urbanization since the introduction of the market mechanism. Explanations include population mobility and rural-urban migration (Goldstein, 1990; Chan, 1994; Chan and Hu, 2003; Zhang and Song, 2003; Li, 2004; Xu and Tao, 2004), the inflow of foreign direct investment (FDI) and local economic development (Lo, 1989; Pannell, 1995; Song and Zhang, 2002; Zhang, 2002), and rapid industrialization in rural areas (Tan, 1986; Ma and Fan, 1994; Zhou, 1997; Wang, 1999; Zhu, 2000a; Shen and Ma, 2004; Shen *et al.*, 2006).

The multiple impetuses of urbanization along with market-oriented economic reform have been extensively discussed. However, the legacy of central-planned control has continued to exert strong influence over urbanization in China in the post-reform period. Some researchers have maintained that urbanization in China is, in part, driven by central planning and control and, in part, the result of industrialization and economic development (see, for example, Wang, 1999; Shen, 2000; Zhu, 2000b; Li and Piachaud, 2006; Shen *et al.*, 2006). In view of these dual driving forces, Shen *et al.* (2006) argued that a comprehensive dual-track urbanization approach is more realistic for urbanization research in transitional China.

Most of the research in this area has concentrated on Chinese urbanization in the post-reform period, with studies overwhelmingly focused on the various driving forces behind the rapid urbanization witnessed since market-oriented economic reforms were introduced, including rural-to-urban migration, rural industrialization, FDI flow, and the like. However, state-sponsored urbanization has largely been ignored (Shen *et al.*, 2006). Moreover, little attention had been paid to the urbanization led by governments' land requisition, even though the phenomenon is increasingly prominent in Chinese cities.

2.7 Overall summary and research gaps

2.7.1 Summary of the research on the "community question"

Because of the essential role in defining community, social networks are regarded as the indicator to examine the fate of community. Specifically, the "community question" mainly focuses on (1) the transformation of social networks when rural residents move to urban areas, and (2) the ways urbanization processes affect personal social networks. There have been three diverging arguments towards the transformation of social networks when rural residents move to urban areas, which were summarized as community lost, saved and liberated. The three arguments have been presented as competing alternative depictions for the community question.

It should be acknowledged that all three arguments have validity in the specific socio-spatial circumstance, and the nature and cohesiveness of social networks vary a lot from one case to another. Therefore, it is difficult to generalize which situation reflects the existence of the three arguments.

Apart from these snapshot-style studies, there is another set of research concerning the transformation trend of social networks in urban settings over time, or the rural-urban contrast in social networks during the urbanization

process. It is noticeable that, among these longitudinal studies, there is a consistent view that the transformation trend of personal social ties is linear along with the advance of urbanization and industrialization, no matter which argument they support.

In addition, some researchers have paid attention to the way that macro urbanization processes affects social networks. The common approach for these studies is to simplify urbanization into several indicators and identify the relationship between these indicators and change in social networks statistically. Accordingly, the selection of appropriated indicators to measure urbanization has become a vital step in the research. However, the indicators adopted in existing research work cannot reflect the complexity of urbanization processes.

2.7.2 Research gaps

Based on the review of such extensive empirical and theoretical studies on the "community question", five research gaps are identified in this research. They are listed as follows:

Research gap 1: Examination of the "community question" in Chinese cases

This is the research focus of the thesis and at the same time the biggest research gap to cover. Since the market-oriented economic reforms in 1978,

China is in the transitional period from the planned economy to market economy. Due to the country's peculiar institutional settings and urban policies in the transitional period, many researchers perceive urbanization in China to be unique. However, few researchers have made attempts at the "community question" with Chinese cases except for Ruan *et al.* (1997), which refers to the transformation of social networks under the effects of urbanization processes. Therefore, it is both theoretically and empirically imperative to conduct this kind of research to understand whether the unique institutional settings and urban policies in post-reform China will lead to a unique response to the "community question".

Research gap 2: Transformation trend of social networks in urbanization processes

Most of the research on the "community question" adopted snapshot approaches, namely, investigating the status of interpersonal social ties at certain points in time urban areas (Suitor *et al.*, 1997). Very little research has examined the transformation trend of social networks in the urbanization process (Guest and Wierzbicki, 1999). In this study, a middle stage in the urbanization process will be taken into consideration, namely the semi-urbanized village. Thus, a cross-sectional transformation trend of social

networks during the urbanization process can be recognized through the critical comparisons among them. More importantly, this study is to identify the unique features of the transformation trend in Chinese urbanization that are different from those in other countries.

Because of the characteristic of transition from planned economy to market economy, the urbanization process and resulting changes in post reform China are completely different from that in other countries. In view of this, the transformation trend of social networks during the Chinese urbanization process should be dissimilar to the common assertion of linear transformation presented in preceding literature reviews.

Research gap 3: Dynamics between urbanization and social networks

The extensive research on the "community question" has provided us an increasingly clear image of personal social networks in urban settings. However, how do the changes led by urbanization processes encourage or inhibit social contact? The interaction between urbanization and social networks is still under-researched (Nation *et al.*, 2009).

There has been some research works contributing to understanding of this issue, such as Beggs *et al.* (1996), Wilson and Baldassare (1996), White and

Guest (2003), Miguel *et al.* (2006). They all simplified urbanization processes as the changes in two or three indicators, and identified the correlation between these indicators and social networks. The differences in the urbanization level depend, to a large extent, on self-selection of compositional characteristics (White and Guest, 2003). However, the selection of only two or three indicators cannot reflect the complexity of macro urbanization processes. Therefore, a new analytical framework is needed to acquire better understanding about the interaction between urbanization processes and social networks.

Research gap 4: Investigation of rural communities (reference object)

Many of the writings on the "community question" take an ideal type as their reference. This ideal type is the rural community characterized by the cohesive nature of life, where the network includes everybody and the relations are strong and primary. This reference type is a theoretical creation, but has taken as a normative idea how a real community ought to be (Schiefloe, 1990). The arguments of the rural-urban-contrast types are almost without exceptions based on normative and nostalgic imaginations of rural communities and lack empirical facts.

Such thinking has resulted in the tendency to consider local communities as

the natural social habitat for people. When empirical studies demonstrate that it is not the same in urban surroundings, this is taken as a proof that community is lost or liberated, and that the urban way of life is unnatural and socially inferior, making people superficial in their relations to others and estranged from their social and material surroundings. In view of this, Schiefloe (1990) even argued that the community lost, saved or liberated arguments are basically incorrect.

The previous research pattern of rural-urban contrast is mostly based on normative and nostalgic imaginations of rural communities. Thereby, such research is both theoretically misleading and empirically incorrect. In order to bridge the gap, the reference type of rural villages will be added into the examination. Thus, the rural-urban contrast in this study is based on real examination of the status of social networks in rural communities, instead of normative and nostalgic imaginations.

Research gap 5: Control of individual and neighborhood features

Such extensive theoretical and empirical studies about the "community question" have contributed a lot to the understanding of the relationship between urbanization and social networks. Nonetheless, we should not over-trust these research results. One of the most important reasons is that the

gaining of different results depends, to large extent, on the selection of samples, as various individual characteristics and neighborhood conditions may affect social contact significantly (Nation *et al.*, 2009). For example, well-educated individuals tend to have different patterns of social contacts from less-educated individuals (Fischer, 1982; White and Guest, 2003). The writing of Campbell and Lee (1992) contributed to the understanding of how personal neighbor networks vary with particular individual statuses: gender, age, family-cycle stage, and socio-economic status. Lev-Wiesel (2003) has also proved that the differences of social ties can be explained by individual characteristics. Besides, Nation *et al.* (2009) suggested that the differences in neighboring can be explained by individual characteristics and differences in the types of neighborhood problems that exist in various localities.

In order to comprehend the exact effects of urbanization on social networks, it is crucial and significant to control the neighborhood and individual variables of rural and urban cases while conducting rural-urban contrast research on the "community question". Thus, the changes in social networks can be explained as the transformations led by the rural-to-urban transition. Otherwise, the outcomes will be divergent from one case to another, depending on the sampled respondents and neighborhoods. This study will make attempts to fill this

research gap.

Chapter 3 Research Methodology

This chapter presents the methodology applied in the research. Triangulation is selected as the research methodology in this study with the understanding that qualitative approaches are used to help explain the quantitative findings derived from questionnaire-based surveys. Details of qualitative and quantitative research methods are introduced in this chapter.

3.1 Triangulation

The methodology of "triangulation" is well known for its widely utilization in land survey for verifying measurements derived from methods that may be susceptible to errors. It integrates survey and fieldwork together, i.e. combining quantitative and qualitative methods (Shapiro, 1955). Since the 1950s, scholars have applied both quantitative and qualitative methods as a triangulating strategy.

Recently, Chan (2002) has applied the triangulation for research on social science subjects successfully. The following are the main points highlighted by him for the use of triangulation methodology. The triangulation method combines the advantages of both quantitative and qualitative methods (Csete and Albrecht, 1994). The quantitative data analysis outcomes of survey are used

to supplement the analysis of qualitative data derived from fieldwork. Thus, fieldwork and qualitative data may become more useful and meaningful when interpreting it according to critical qualitative information, just as statistics are most useful when comparing with content analyses or interview results (Jick, 1979). Triangulation, in this respect, can lead to a prominent role for qualitative evidence. Triangulation can be adopted for within-method (cross checking) and between-method (validity checking of qualitative results and quantitative data analysis) approaches (Webb *et al.*, 1966). There are four ways in which qualitative and quantitative methods can be combined in a triangulating approach, which were summarized by Steckler *et al.* (1992) as follows:

Model 1: Qualitative methods are used to help develop quantitative measures and instruments.

Model 2: Qualitative methods are used to help explain quantitative findings.

Model 3: Quantitative methods are used to embellish a primarily qualitative study.

Model 4: Qualitative and quantitative methods are used equally and in parallel.

In this study, the Model 2 of triangulation is employed to investigate the

"community question" in Chinese urbanization (Figure 3-1). The quantitative methods are used to evaluate the status of farmers' social networks in the urbanization process caused by state-initiated land requisition in post-reform China, based on a questionnaire-based survey and statistical analysis. Meanwhile, the qualitative methods are adopted to explain the quantitative research findings according to focused interview, observation and archive studies.

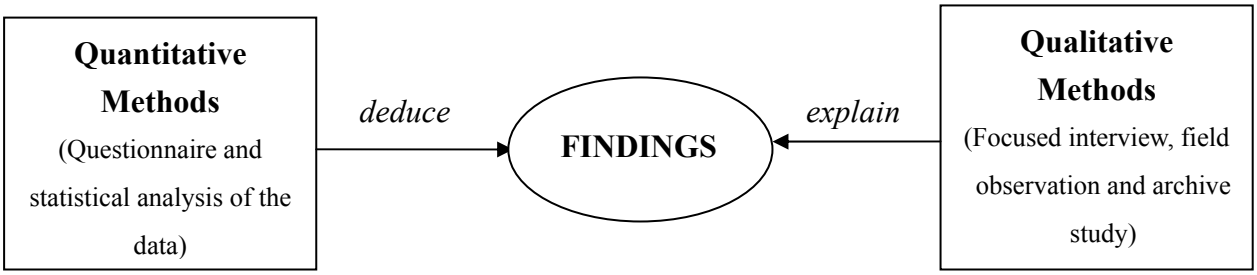

Figure 3-1 Triangulation model for this research

3.2 Qualitative research methods

3.2.1 Selection of Shanghai as the case

Shanghai is located in the eastern coastal areas of China, and is the center of Yangtze River Delta. Shanghai is selected as the study area for this research, as it is one of the most vibrant metropolises in China. After the market-oriented economic reform, Shanghai has undergone dramatic urban expansion. For

example, the developed areas in Shanghai have grown from 390.2 to 885.7 sq.km from 1995 to 2007, with the growth rate of more than double during that period (NBSC, 1996, 2008). The transformation of rural villages arising from the urbanization should be sufficiently intensive and diverse in presenting an exemplary case. In addition, the research about Shanghai may provide a good reference for other expanding cities because of its leading role in urban development in China.

3.2.2 Two field surveys in Shanghai

Two rounds of fieldwork were conducted for this study in Shanghai in November and December of 2008, and October and November of 2009 respectively. The first round covered a general investigation covering all the suburban districts[1] of Shanghai that is undergoing urban expansion and urbanization of rural areas (as shown in Figure 3-2). This round tried to examine the detailed transformations of rural villages during the urbanization process led by land requisition, and to identify the unique features of the urbanization process. The second round, based on the first endeavor, focused on

[1] Suburban districts consist of Nanhui, Qingpu, Songjiang, Minhang, Pudong and Jiading Districts. Baoshan District is excluded in the survey, as most areas of this district have become industrial zones for several years.

the typical areas and examined the key aspects of the analysis. The questionnaire survey was also conducted in the second round of fieldwork.

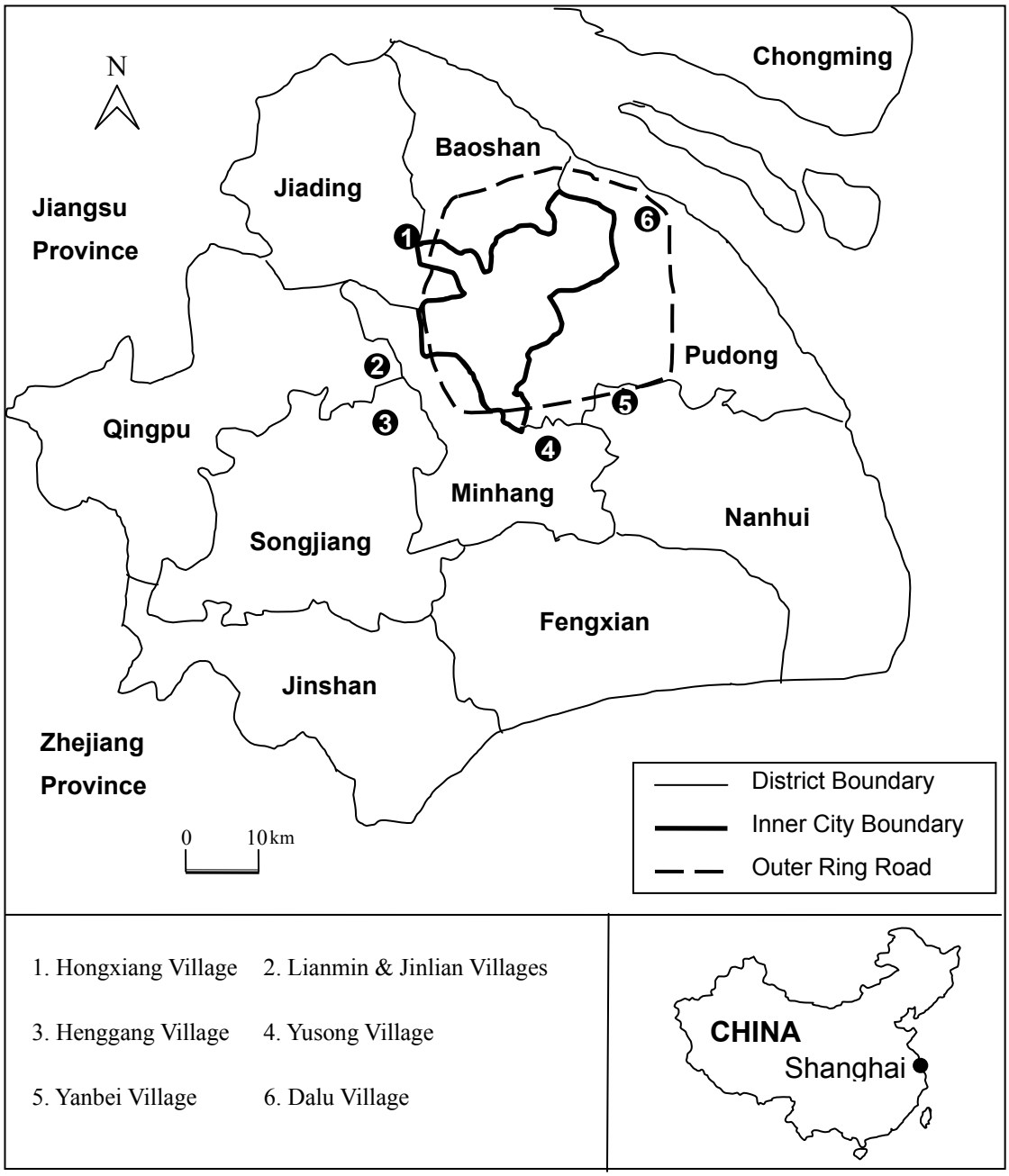

Figure 3-2 Sites of field work in the first survey

The data was obtained through focused interviews and field observations. In addition, some relevant official documents were collected from local governments or their websites. The qualitative methods are used to explore many hidden and meaningful stories behind the tedious figures derived from

questionnaire surveys. They serve as a record of group perspective in a contextual account of the daily events and farmers' activities. It can provide a lot of first-hand information that maybe difficult to collect through the questionnaire survey, or that may be unreported and unquestioned during the survey.

3.3 Quantitative research methods

In this study, three improvements have been introduced in the quantitative research design while compared with existing studies. They include the following: (i) the rural-urban contrast is based on a real examination of the status of social networks in rural villages, instead of normative and nostalgic imaginations of rural community; (ii) an intermediate stage of the urbanization process is added to the examination to acquire the cross-sectional transformation trend of social networks; and (iii) the features of sampled neighborhoods and individual variables of respondents that may affect social networks significantly are controlled to gain exact effects of urbanization on social networks.

3.3.1 Three sampled neighborhoods

There are three distinct and representative stages identified in the

urbanization process led by state-initiated land requisition, which are rural village, semi-urbanized village and urban resettlement housing district. Accordingly, three neighborhoods at each stage of the urbanization process were selected to examine the status of social networks among their residents. Based on the first survey among six districts in Shanghai, three neighborhoods in the Nanhui District[2] of Shanghai were selected, as they are common as other similar neighborhoods and can meet the research requirement. These sampled neighborhoods are Fengle Village (rural village), Yanbei Village (semi-urbanized village), and Zhoukang New Village (urban resettlement housing district), as shown in Figure 3-3.

[2] The Nanhui District has been incorporated into the Pudong district from 2009.

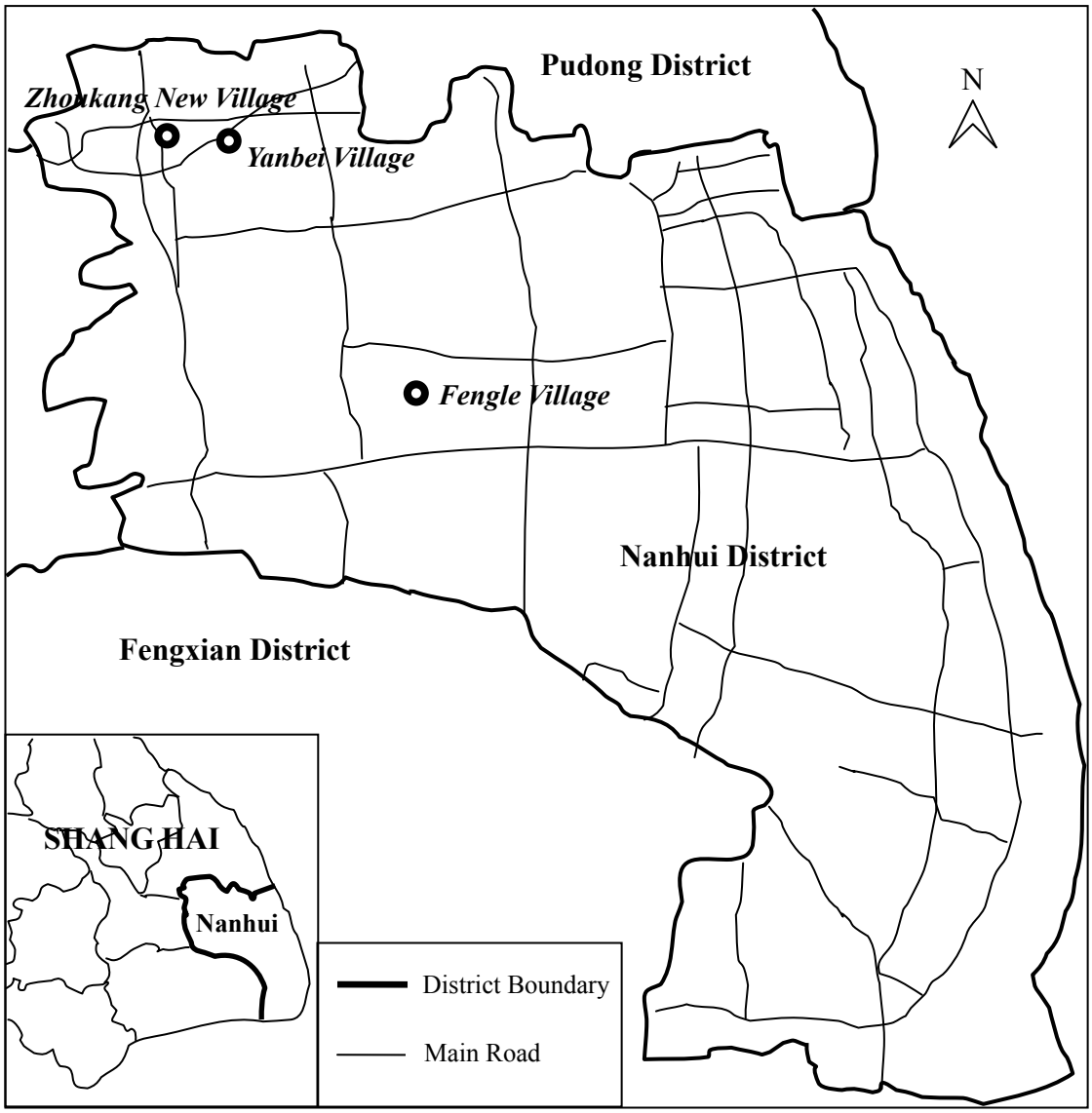

Figure 3-3 Location of three sampled neighborhoods in Nanhui district

Zhoukang New Village is an urban resettlement housing district. It was built in 1999 to accommodate farmers from nearby villages that had been demolished for urban development. The residents in Zhoukang New Village consist of the former farmers from Xiunan Village, Kangqiao Village and Sanjiao Village, with the accommodation for 740 households and a population of around 2,200. Along with further urban expansion, farmland in Yanbei

Village was requisitioned around 2003 for urban purposes, but the farmhouses in Yanbei Villages are still maintained. Thus, Yanbei Village had developed into a typical semi-urbanized village with a population of 1,663. In contrast, Fengle Village, with a population of 1,342, is still far away from the edge of urbanized areas, and has received little influence from the city.

3.3.2 Questionnaire and data collection

The data collected for quantitative analysis has been primarily questionnaire survey based, supplemented by fieldwork and focused interviews. This questionnaire, referring to the widely recognized questionnaire design in the writing of Wellman (1979), attempts to reveal the status of farmers' social networks in the three sampled neighborhoods at the different stages of the urbanization process. Because of the innumerability of ties within personal social networks, he suggested to focus on primary ties of one's social networks.

According to the questionnaire (see in Appendix I), question 1 (please specify no more than six persons outside your homes that you feel closest to within the village/district) reveals the number of respondents' primary social ties, which is parallel with breadth of social networks. Question 2 (please rank the strength of the closeness of the above relationship with you) and question 3

(the basis of establishment of your above relationships) tries to disclose attributes of these primary ties. Question 4 (how often do you keep in contact for each of relationship) corresponds to the intensity of social networks. Question 5 (what kind of assistance is available in each of the relationships) shows the availability and sources of social supports. Question 6 (where do you usually meet for each of the relationships) and question 7 (by what means do you contact for each of the relationships) reveal the places and means of social contact. Question 8 (would you like to have more contact with neighbors) exposes the respondents' willingness for more social contact.

As most of respondents (farmers) are uneducated or low educated, the questionnaire survey adopted the Q & A method. All helpers had been trained before the interview with an explanation of the aim of the interview, the meanings of the questions, the ways of content recording and so on. The data is derived from a random sampling survey of 276 respondents in total, with 92 respondents from each of the three sampled neighborhoods. The respondents in Fengle Village, Yanbei Village, and Zhoukang New Village are named as Group 1, 2 and 3 respectively.

3.3.3 Control of neighborhood and individual features

The three sampled neighborhoods are all located in the Nanhui District and under the same administration of local government. According to the archives of the Nanhui District (Xue, 1992; Ji, 2004; Li, 2006), the predecessors of Zhoukang New Village (Xiunan, Kangqiao, Sanjiao Villages), together with Yanbei Village and Fengle Village, have existed since the foundation of the Peoples' Republic of China. They have kept stable for several decades and have not undergone big social and physical transformation prior to urban development in the countryside. Also, there is no large-scale immigration in these villages, except that 4 households, comprising 17 persons, were resettled in Fengle Village because of the construction of the Yangtze Gorges dam. Therefore, it can be deduced that there was a similar social interaction system among these villages. In other words, the residents in the three neighborhoods of Fengle Village, Yanbei Village and Zhoukang New Village had the similar social life patterns in daily life before undergoing the urban expansion. Thus, the neighborhood variables that may affect personal social networks have been controlled in the research.

According to the writings of Fischer (1982), Wellman *et al*. (1997) White and Guest (2003) and Nation *et al*. (2009), individual characteristics, including

age, gender, race, education and income, may be significant to personal social networks. Because of constraints in acquiring data about economic status and the inexistence of racial differentiation in China, this research just concerns the respondents' individual variables of age, gender and education. To some extent, the economic status is highly related to education level.

The structures of respondents' gender, age and education levels in each group are listed in the following Tables 3-1, 3-2 and 3-3 respectively. As the *Sig.* values of the three variables are all greater than 0.05 (as shown in Tables 3-1, 3-2 and 3-3), it can be regarded that there is no difference in respondents' individual features of gender, age and education among the three groups. Thus, the individual variables that may affect personal social networks have been controlled among the three groups. In other words, the influence of various individual variables on personal social networks has been excluded from this research analysis.

Table 3-1 Gender structure of respondents in each group

Gender	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Male	47	51.09%	42	45.65%	45	48.91%
Female	45	48.91%	50	54.35%	47	51.09%

Note: F = .273, Sig = .761 > .05

Table 3-2 Age structure of respondents in each group

Age	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
20—29	10	10.87%	11	11.96%	9	9.78%
30—39	15	16.30%	12	12.50%	13	14.13%
40—49	19	20.65%	19	20.65%	17	18.48%
50—59	31	33.70%	32	34.78%	34	36.96%
60—69	11	11.96%	12	13.04%	14	15.22%
70—	6	6.52%	6	6.52%	5	5.43%

Note: F = .149, Sig = .861 > .05

Table 3-3 Education structure of respondents in each group

Education Level	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
uneducated	6	6.52%	5	5.43%	6	6.52%
Primary school	26	28.26%	25	27.17%	28	30.43%
junior high school	44	47.83%	44	47.83%	41	44.57%
senior high school	8	8.70%	10	10.87%	7	7.61%
university	8	8.70%	8	8.70%	10	10.87%

Note: F = .077, Sig = .926 > .05

In general, the residents in the three sampled neighborhoods have the same social life pattern before undergoing urban expansion and land requisition. Meanwhile, the individual characteristics of gender, age and education, which may affect personal social networks, have been controlled among respondents in the three neighborhoods. Thus, the influence of neighborhood and individual variables on social networks can be excluded in the comparison analysis of the three sampled neighborhoods.

Furthermore, a rural community is added into examination by sampling Fengle Village. Thus, the rural-urban contrast in this research is based on the

real examination of a rural community, instead of the normative and nostalgic imaginations of most existing research work. These two improvements in research design can fill the research gap 4 and 5, therefore, acquiring the exact effects of the urbanization process on social networks.

Chapter 4 State-led Land Requisition and Urbanization of Rural Villages

This chapter, based on the first filed survey in Shanghai, sheds light on the urbanization process that rural villages have undergone through state-led land requisition. It seeks to, by dividing the urbanization process into three stages of rural village, semi-urbanized village and urban resettlement housing district, identify the unique features of such urbanization process in post-reform China. Moreover, a conceptual framework is developed for the dynamics analysis between urbanization process and transformation of social networks with Chinese urbanization, according to identified unique features.

4.1 Political economy of urbanization led by state initiated land requisition

With the introduction of market mechanism and the implementation of the open-door policy, the Chinese economy has achieved unprecedented growth. Meanwhile, farmers have flooded into cities in large numbers, as the restriction on population mobility has been relaxed (Zhou and Ma, 2000). As a result, cities have to expand into rural areas to accommodate ever-expanding industrial production and swelling population. Consequently, urban economic, social,

cultural and physical characteristics spread far into rural areas, transforming their landscape and lifestyle from traditionally agricultural to rapidly urbanizing (Friedmann, 2006).

The market-oriented reforms may have provided the impetus for this urban expansion in terms of economic development and population migration. However, this urbanization has been achieved only through the state-led land requisition that is inherited from the centrally planned economy. Since the 1950s, two kinds of land ownership have co-existed in China: national ownership and collective ownership. The former applies to urban land, and the latter to rural land (Chan, 2000). The land-use rights of state-owned land can be traded in the market under the leasehold system, whereas the circulation of those rights for collectively owned land is limited to the exchange of contract rights among villagers within land tenure (Zou and Oskam, 2007). Rural land-use rights cannot be traded in the market, and can be used for urban purposes only after the land has been transferred from collective to state ownership. The only valid way of accomplishing this transformation is land requisition initiated by local governments.

Moreover, under the effects of marketization, globalization and decentralization, post-reform local states have turned themselves into

"entrepreneurial states" that adopt an entrepreneurial approach to promote urban development (Duckett, 1998; Wu, 2002). As rural land conversion can generate a great deal of revenue, because of the price gap between farmland used for agricultural and urban purposes, local governments seek to collaborate with developers and investors to turn over more rural land for urban development (Zou and Oskam, 2007; Cao *et al.*, 2008). Farmland conversion for such development also promotes local economic development (Han, 2009).

Although market is the one of driving forces, the urbanization led by local governments' land requisition is, in nature, state-sponsored and top-down. The location and progress of the urbanization is completely under the control of local governments through rural land requisition system. Nonetheless, the role of market cannot be neglected, as it still exerts great influence in the urbanization process.

4.2 Land requisition as the major form of urbanization in suburban areas

According to the "The Temporary Regulation on the Statistical Division of Urban and Rural Areas" issued by the National Bureau of Statistics of China in 2006, neighborhood and village committees, as the basic administrative units,

are used as the basis for the division of urban and rural areas in China. Urban areas are under the jurisdiction of the former, and rural areas that of the latter. The revocation of a village committee usually means that the entire village has been appropriated for urban purposes, with all of its farmers moving into cities, and rural land requisition is usually the only means of fulfilling such revocation. When several new urban residential districts are created, for example, through suburbanization of urban dwellers or resettlement of land requisitioned farmers, they are accompanied by the establishment of new neighborhood committees. Therefore, changes in the number of neighborhood and village committees are reflective to a large extent of the progress of land requisition-led urbanization.

Table 4-1 elaborates the changes in the number of these committees in the suburban districts of Shanghai between 1995 and 2008. It can be seen that from 1995 to 2000, the number of village committees declined by only 4.6% to a total of 2039, whereas over the next eight years that number was reduced by38.2%. This greatly increased percentage reflects the substantial number of rural villages that were demolished from 2000 onwards, with many farmers subsequently resettled in urban areas. The change can largely be attributed to rapid urban expansion and land requisition.

Table 4-1 Number of neighborhood and village committees in the suburbs of Shanghai

	Total		Minhang		Baoshan		Jiading		Jinshan		Songjiang		Qingpu		Nanhui		Fengxian	
	NC	VC	NC	VC	NC	VC	NC	VC	NC	VC	NC	VC	NC	VC	NC	VC	NC	VC
1995	683	2138	105	190	167	183	82	249	48	235	88	312	64	326	72	345	57	298
2000	849	2039	238	177	122	233	118	233	72	224	88	219	71	318	61	339	79	296
2001	953	1917	242	175	233	170	119	214	75	219	84	199	73	306	63	338	64	296
2002	962	1495	261	174	248	165	103	176	72	156	81	149	75	185	59	203	63	287
2003	925	1459	286	168	226	165	93	171	59	156	85	140	56	185	60	185	60	289
2004	966	1402	289	166	233	165	89	169	60	139	109	118	57	184	64	185	65	276
2005	1033	1332	303	164	251	116	92	167	62	136	130	115	56	179	64	185	75	270
2006	1074	1328	309	160	246	118	102	164	68	132	134	115	69	184	70	185	76	270
2007	1141	1301	331	161	261	113	110	160	77	131	134	115	70	184	76	185	82	252
2008	1179	1261	334	160	277	111	110	159	77	131	138	115	70	184	89	185	84	216

Note 1: NC (Neighborhood Committee), VC (Village Committee)
Note 2: According to the standard of Shanghai Municipal Statistics Bureau, the suburban districts include Minhang, Baoshan, Jiading, Jinshan, Songjiang, Qingpu, Nanhui, Fengxian.
Source: SMSB, (1996, 2001-2008)

In contrast to the sharp decrease in the number of village committees, the number of neighborhood committees in the suburban districts of Shanghai grew rapidly, with 330 new ones being established between 2000 and 2008. This sharp rise is undoubtedly the result of the mass construction of new residential districts. On the one hand, numerous housing districts were built to accommodate the resettled farmers whose communal land had been requisitioned, which was accompanied by a decrease in the number of village committees, and, on the other, many new urban housing districts emerged in the newly urbanized areas along with the urban expansion.

These changes in the number of neighborhood and village committees give the strong evidence that rural land has been requisitioned on a large scale as a result of urban expansion, which has caused many villages to vanish and vast number of farmers to move into the city. Undoubtedly, land requisition is one of the important driving forces behind urbanization in the suburbs of Shanghai.

According to the "Administration Measures of Employment and Social Security for Farmer with Requisitioned Land" issued by the Shanghai Municipal Government in 2003, farmers' registration status must be switched to non-agricultural when their farmland has been requisitioned. Table 4-2 presents the changes in the registered population of Jiading, a suburban district of

Shanghai. From 2002 to 2007, the registered non-agricultural population of Jiading increased from 235,994 to 433,962. As a result, there was a huge leap (34%) in the urbanization level over this period. More than half (52.8%) of the increase in this population resulted from land requisition and the associated switch in farmers' registration status. This proportion reached as high as 83% in 2004.

Table 4-2 Changes in the registered population of Jiading District (in person)

	Registered Population	Non-agricultural Registered Population	Urbanization Level[③]	Increase in Non-agricultural Registered Population	#Caused by Land Requisition	Rate
2002	505198	235994	46.7%	12214	3030	24.8%
2003	511776	258694	50.5%	24848	11523	46.4%
2004	519555	339527	65.3%	82823	68736	83.0%
2005	527117	406615	77.1%	70028	56158	80.2%
2006	532458	419931	78.9%	16700	6839	41.0%
2007	537931	433962	80.7%	17785	7369	41.4%

Source: JSB, (2003-2008)

[③] There are two different methods measuring urbanization level in Chinese urban research. The one adopts the ratio of urban population to total population. The other one uses the ratio of non-agricultural registered population to total registered population. Because of constraint of available data, we select the latter method in this table.

To provide a better understanding of the effects of land requisition on the urbanization of the city's suburban areas, Minghang, another suburban district of Shanghai, is taken as an example to decompose the increase of the non-agricultural population into several major sources (Figure 4-1). During the 2005-2008 period, land requisition and the associated switch of registration status accounted for 33.8% of the rise in the non-agricultural population, almost equal to the largest percentage that resulted from rural to urban in-migration (34.4%). The third source of the rise in this population was natural growth (23%).

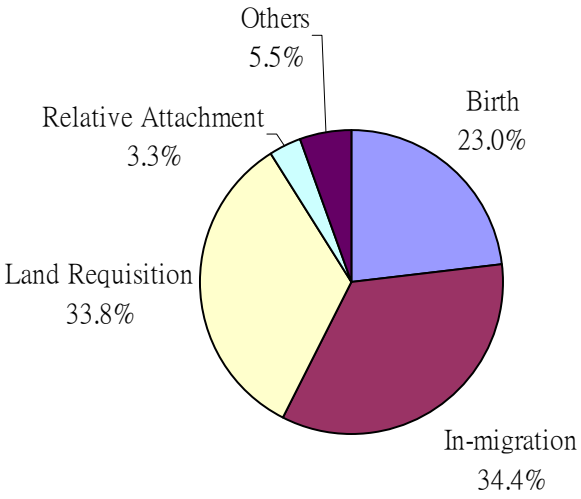

Figure 4-1 Increase in the non-agricultural population of Minhang District between 2005 and 2008 (Source: MSB, 2006-2009)

Due to the absence of an authoritative survey that covers all of Shanghai's suburban districts, the exact proportion of land requisition contributing to the

urbanization in these suburban districts is difficult to ascertain. However, based on these figures, it is clear that land requisition has been one of the dominant sources of the rapid urbanization in the suburban districts of Shanghai.

4.3 Socio-spatial transformation of rural villages in the urbanization process

As a result of outward urban expansion, vast swathes of rural land have been requisitioned by local governments and transformed into urbanized areas. Inevitably, this has resulted in rural villages undergoing a transitional process by which they become urban ones. It involves the significant transformation and restructuring of physical, social, economic and cultural characteristics. In this transformation, villagers are made to become urbanites as well. Two distinct stages can be identified based on the different physical forms that the rural villages take in the urbanization process: semi-urbanized village and urban resettlement housing district (Xu *et al.*, 2010).

4.3.1 Semi-urbanized villages

The most distinctive characteristic of a semi-urbanized village is that it is essentially a rural village without farmland for agricultural production. Since the implementation of the "household contract responsibility system" in the

countryside of China in the 1980s, each rural household has been allowed to acquire tracts of farmland under contract (*chengbaodi*) for agricultural production, a parcel of land for farmhouse construction (*zhaijidi*) and a plot of cropland to meet private needs (*ziliudi*) from the collective organizations (the brigade and the village). In other words, a rural village comprises three elements of farmland (*chengbaodi*), farmhouses (*zhaijidi*) and cropland for private use (*ziliudi*). Because of urban expansion, most or all of villages' farmland (*chengbaodi*) is requisitioned by local governments for urban purposes, but farmhouses (*zhaijidi*) and cropland (*ziliudi*) remain, albeit surrounded by urban development (Figure 4-2).

Figure 4-2 Landscape of semi-urbanized village

Physically, these semi-urbanized villages appear the same as other rural villages, except for the loss of farmland. Also, they are still characterized by a lack of urban infrastructure and services. However, the loss of farmland has led these villages undergoing a variety of social and economic transformations implicitly.

Urban village, in some major cities in China such as Guangzhou and Shenzhen, is a peculiar neighborhood pattern of semi-urbanized village that does not exhibit a universal pattern to help this study. As the middle stage of urbanization process, semi-urbanized village is a temporary existence and will

disappear along with further urbanization. However, the emergence of urban village results from abnormal and continuous existence of semi-urbanized village during the urbanization process. More importantly, almost all local residents move out of urban village, while all farmers remain staying in their farmhouse in semi-urbanized villages. Therefore, urban villages are not taken into examination.

(1) Switch of household registration status and social welfares

Since the 1950s, the household registration (*hukou*) system was implemented in China to facilitate urban-rural division. It divides the population into agricultural and non-agricultural groups according to the birth place. Meanwhile, a two-tier welfare system was established based on the division. Urban residents are provided with many welfare entitlements, whereas rural residents, in contrast, have to rely on the produce of farmland and their extended family for welfare provision (Cheng and Selden, 1994). After the country's economic reforms were introduced, the division of the agricultural and non-agricultural population and associated differentiation in terms of social welfare provision and other factors have been retained.

When farmland is converted into urban use, this division between urban and

rural populations has been broken. Because the former farmers can no longer engage in farming, as compensation, the local government changes their household registration status from agricultural to non-agricultural. Correspondingly, they are entitled to all of the benefits attached to the latter identity. The compensation fund for requisitioned farmland primarily comes from local government and is designed to pay the social security expenses of each farmer affected to provide them with such social well-being as old-age pension and medical insurance. For instance, in the past, elderly farmers had to continue farming or rely on their families for livelihood. Following land requisition, those farmers reaching retirement age receive monthly subsistence pensions that allow them to stop working.

Nevertheless, the social security enjoyed by these farmers remains different from that of urban dwellers. There are two kinds of social security systems in urban Shanghai: city social security (*chengbao*) and town social security (*zhenbao*). The former is applicable to all urban areas, including suburban areas, whereas the latter was initially created especially for farmers whose land had been requisitioned by local governments. Hence, these farmers with farmland loss are eligible only for the town social security (*zhenbao*) system, whereas urban residents are included in city social security (*chengbao*) system. In

general, the city social security (*chengbao*) system affords greater well-being than town social security (*zhenbao*).

(2) Improvement of economic status and living environment

Urban development in rural areas has brought farmers more economic opportunities to increase their income. On the one hand, urban expansion with decentralization of industry and commerce has provided farmers many non-farm job opportunities, such as factory workers, cleaners and traffic wardens. Normally, non-farm occupation signifies better pay and a more comfortable life compared with farming. On the other hand, massive migrant workers, along with outward expansion of urban development, have assembled at the urban fringes. Due to their low rent and proximity to urbanized areas, farmhouses in semi-urbanized villages are extremely popular with migrant workers, the majority of whom settle there. The rents received from migrants have largely improved villagers' economic status.

While farmland is requisitioned for urban development, a portion of land lease income acquired by local governments is used to support infrastructure construction and local living facilities provision in these newly urbanized areas (Zhang, 2000). As a result, transport accessibility to the villages has been

greatly improved with wider streets and more public bus provision. Living facilities such as supermarkets, restaurants and hospitals begin to emerge around villages. Sanitation conditions in villages and the surroundings have been enhanced as well.

(3) Transition to an urban lifestyle

Every rural household in China is entitled to contracted farmland from the village, which serves as the main means of production. Once this farmland has been appropriated for urban development, these former farmers have to find another means of earning their livelihood, such as cleaning, factory work or traffic assistance. The transition from farming to non-farming occupations causes these rural dwellers to abandon farming-related traditions and adopt new and urban lifestyles parallel with non-farm works.

At the same time, local governments have made great efforts to promote the transition to an urban lifestyle. They have adopted a variety of measures to upgrade rural communities, including setting up garbage collection stations and garbage bins, providing public washrooms for migrant workers, prohibiting the raising of livestock, and banning spitting and littering in public places. In addition, many public facilities are constructed within the villages to enrich

residents' lives, such as gyms, activity room for the elderly, and scenic vistas along main waterways. There have also been publicity campaigns to promote modern and civilized manners, customs, lifestyles, and ideologies, including inter-village competitions, billboards, banners, booklets, and performances (Figure 4-3).

Figure 4-3 Propaganda banners promoting civilized manners within a village

In a sense, these measures initiated by local governments function as an urbanization promotion program, with the goal of influencing villagers' attitudes towards land requisition and urban development in the countryside, as noted by Mr. Zhu, the deputy party secretary of the Yanbei village committee:

"Such endeavors provide local residents with a good opportunity to learn more about urbanism, and educate them to welcome urbanization. Now, villagers are beginning to change their lifestyles and notions gradually, and some of them even looking forward to farmland conversion for urban development" (*Personal interview, November 18, 2008, translated from the Chinese by author*).

4.3.2 Urban resettlement housing district

More urban resettlement housing districts will emerge with further urban expansion in the countryside. When entire villages are demolished, including their farmhouses and the cropland set aside for private use (*ziliudi*), the replaced farmers from the same villages are holistically relocated into urban resettlement housing districts, which are built by local governments especially for accommodation of resettled farmers. Each household that is so affected may receive several apartments in urban resettlement housing districts.

Apart from the nature of their residents, these districts are in fact little different from commercial ones, boasting property management offices, activity rooms, green areas and other facilities (Figure 4-4). Such housing districts abut commercial housing districts with which they share supermarkets,

restaurants, hospitals and other facilities. When they are relocated in urban resettlement housing districts, the former farmers move into a completely urban environment. Based on the socio-economic transformations taken place at the stage of semi-urbanized village, there are some new transformations occurred at the stage of urban resettlement housing district.

Figure 4-4 Images of urban resettlement housing districts

(1) Urban administration mode

Along with the shift from the stage of semi-urbanized village to urban resettlement housing district, administrative body changes from village

committee to neighborhood committee, although the members of the latter were, in general, previously members of the former. Moreover, their functions have changed a lot. In rural villages, village committees are responsible for management of collective land and other assets, public affairs, social security, public security and so on. The functions of neighborhood committees, in contrast, are mainly to provide public services for people in urban resettlement housing districts. The other functions handled by previous village committees, such as public security, social security and collective assets, have been transferred to special bureaus in cities.

It is noticeable that, the same as the previous village committees, neighborhood committees have also conducted a variety of civilization campaign and made great efforts to promote the transition to an urban lifestyle. Nevertheless, the functions of neighborhood committees are usually operated through the active participation and assistance of volunteer organizations, including communist party member pioneers, volunteer teams and building controllers. They are responsible for providing public service, publicizing the state's principles and policies, and mobilizing local residents.

(2) Changes in housing benefits

Every local household in a Chinese rural village is entitled to a tract of land on which to build a house. Farmhouses are usually very spacious with multiple rooms and detached with each other, which allow those in semi-urbanized villages have free rooms to lease to migrants. However, farmers have no ownership rights to their farmhouses, and they are banned from trading them in the market. This restriction was inherited from the planned economy, with the goal of restricting villagers' mobility and tying them to the farmland. It has also served to maintain the integrity and isolation of rural villages.

As compensation for the requisition of farmhouses, each rural household is given urban apartments in an urban resettlement housing district with different areas free-of-charge, depending on the number of family members, single-child status and other criteria. Different from previous farmhouses, the resettled farmers have complete ownership rights to their new apartments, and, following a five-year lock-up period, may sell them on the open market (some manage to escape the lock-up period through a contract or notarization). Thus, a small percentage of former farmers sell their apartments and move away from the resettlement districts. The long-lasting spatial proximity among the former farmers from the same villages is therefore breaking down gradually.

Migrants are unlikely to accompany resettled villagers to urban housing

districts, as rents are relatively high. Certainly, there are new migrants who move into these districts, but their number has decreased sharply of late. Because the switch from farmhouse to apartment has reduced the amount of space available for rent, and the price gap between commercial apartments and those in resettlement districts means that only a small number of resettled farmers may sell their apartments as they need to pay addition money to buy commercial ones.

(3) Self-identification of resettled farmers

Once these farmers have been relocated in urban housing districts, the final phase of the urbanization process has been reached. They now live in urban apartments, engage in non-farm occupations and follow an urban lifestyle. It seems that there is no difference between them and other urban residents. However, these resettled farmers still do not regard themselves as urbanites.

On the one hand, many of the resettled farmers still hold previous deep-rooted beliefs that are embodied in their daily way of life and utilization space. For example, many elderly farmers believe that they may die if they stay in aerial apartments and do not have frequent touch with ground. Thus, some elders require living in storerooms because of their location of ground floor

when moving into resettlement housing districts. Also, some resettled farmers even plant vegetables in green areas of the housing districts. These remaining rural customs enable them differentiating from urban residents in terms of thinking and behavior in daily life. On the other hand, the resettled farmers are entitled to town social security (*zhenbao*) benefits, which are worse than the city social security (*chengbao*) enjoyed by most urban residents. These differences make the former farmers perceive that they are not real urbanite yet.

The embarrassment caused by their self-identification results in feeling of marginalization in urban society. These resettled farmers have been discarded by the countryside, but cannot meld into urban society completely. They seldom have contact with outsiders or involve themselves in public affairs. Also, because of different social securities enjoyed by them and other urban residents, the resettled farmers feel to be second-class groups in urban society. This may result in tensions with other groups in future. In this sense, the urbanization process remains incomplete. It will take a long time before the resettled farmers update their ideology and begin to transform their behaviors accordingly.

4.4 Unique features of the urbanization process

4.4.1 Interplay between the state and market and resulting peculiar

neighborhood patterns

Rural land requisition remains totally under control of local governments. Therefore, urbanization led by land requisition is essentially state-sponsored and top-down. Through land requisition in the countryside, local governments have transferred farmers' household registration status (*hukou*) from agricultural to non-agricultural, included them in the urban social security system and relocated them in urban housing districts. The dominant role played by local governments in the urbanization process can thus hardly be disputed.

Nonetheless, the role of the market cannot be ignored in the urbanization process. Urban expansion, together with the decentralization of industry, commerce and urban resident, carries weight in the urbanization process. More specifically, increased migration has improved the household incomes of residents in semi-urbanized villages, and the establishment of the industrial and commercial sectors in newly urbanized areas has provided former farmers with non-agricultural employment opportunities. Urban facilities, such as supermarkets, restaurants and laundries, have begun to emerge and are replacing the functions of their rural counterparts. Also, the suburbanization of urban dwellers has provided resettled farmers with an example of urban living. All of these changes are encouraging the resettled farmers to abandon their

rural traditions and adopt urban lifestyles. Thus, the functions of the market in the land requisition-led urbanization process have mainly been to improve the economic status of former farmers and transform their rural traditions into urban ones.

The co-existence of the market economy and the planned economy in post-reform China makes the state and the market playing roles simultaneously during the urbanization process caused by land requisition. The peculiarity has given rise to two kinds of unique neighborhood patterns of semi-urbanized villages and urban resettlement housing districts, which the rural villages take in the urbanization process.

The semi-urbanized village represents a transitional phase of the urbanization process. It owns both the rural and urban characteristics simultaneously. The local governments have changed the household registration (*hukou*) status of affected farmers from agricultural to non-agricultural. Also, almost all of farmers engage in non-farming jobs. However, the collective-owned rural land system binds these farmers with their farmhouses and rural villages firmly, therefore, retaining most of rural traditions. In fact, the farmers in semi-urbanized villages are difficult to categorize, as they are neither fully rural nor urban, although they are placed in the urban category

based on measurement of the urbanization level, as does their non-agricultural registration status. The mixture of rural and urban characteristics has produced many unique social and spatial manifestations in semi-urbanized villages.

The urban resettlement housing district is the last phase of the urbanization process. Because of the nature of state-led, the replaced farmers from the same villages are holistically relocated in urban resettlement housing districts. Up to now, the former farmers stay in urban environment, living in urban apartments, engage in non-farming works and, to some extent, follow urban lifestyle. Nonetheless, the assimilation of the resettled farmers into urban society has generally lagged behind the physical transformation from rural to urban environment. It is obvious that, under the state-led land acquisition process, the local governments have been heavily involved in instigating and directing many social changes in the rural community, through the provision of urban housing, facilities and promotion of various urban educational campaigns.

4.4.2 Dualistic urban-rural structure and socio-spatial transformation

Since the 1950s, division of rural and urban areas that was designed to facilitate rapid industrialization was implemented in China. Under this system,

national resources were channeled primarily to the cities. The state monopolized all purchase and marketing of agricultural products with low prices, and rural surpluses were used to support urban industry. Also, the household registration (*hukou*) system, one of the most important supporting institutions, was implemented to divide the population into agricultural and non-agricultural groups. Meanwhile a two-tier welfare system was also established based on the division. Urban residents were provided with many welfare entitlements, such as housing provision, education, grain rations, medical insurance, old-age pensions, employment opportunities and the like, whereas rural residents, in contrast, have to rely on the produce of farmland and their extended family for welfare provision (Cheng and Selden, 1994). Thus, a dualistic structure was formed separating residents in city and countryside with huge disparity in social and economic status.

After the market-oriented economic reforms in 1978, some of the measures associated with urban-rural division, such as grain rations and immigration and employment restrictions, were removed. Nonetheless, the disparity between city and countryside was even enlarging. Rural development was almost stagnated compared with fast-growing cities. For example, the ratio of annual income per capita between urban and rural households in 1985 is 1.37, but this

figure rose to 2.53 by 2006 (NBSC, 1996, 2007). Thus, the division of rural and urban areas has been retained, or even enlarged after the economic reforms due to remaining of the imbalance treatment in resource allocation, policy support and some other aspects under the urban-rural dualistic system. Post-reform China is still characterized by a dualistic structure that differentiates city from countryside, with a concomitant huge disparity in social and economic status.

The urbanization process is generally understood as the physical transformation of rural areas into urban landscapes and population shift from the countryside to the city (Wang, 1999). Clearly, rural land requisition initiated by the state has brought countryside the transformation in land-use structure and physical form. It is essential to realize that the separation between rural and urban society in China has largely been a legacy of socialist state intervention. This segregation does not only generate a distinction in physical landscape, but it is also supported by a whole mosaic of interlocking social, welfare and economic institutions. The urbanization process that that rural villages have undergone through state-led land requisition has engendered more than a change in physical forms and land-use structure, but also involves the "re-engineering" of many social profiles (economic, cultural, organizational and so on). The research has identified the transformation in various

dimensions of rural villages that have taken place in the urbanization process led by land requisition in post-reform China, as shown in Table 4-3.

Table 4-3 Socio-spatial transformation of rural villages in the urbanization process

	Rural village	**Semi-urbanized village**	**Urban resettled housing district**
Farmland	Yes	No	No
Farmhouse	Yes	Yes	No
Surrounding Environment	Countryside	City	City
Administrative Body	Village committee	Village committee	Neighborhood committee
Migrant Workers	None	Plenty	A few
Housing	Farmhouse	Farmhouse	Apartment
Employment	Farming	Non-farm jobs	Non-farm jobs
Household Registration	Agricultural	Non-agricultural	Non-agricultural
Social Security	No	Yes	Yes
Lifestyle	Rurality	Rurality and a little urbanity	Urbanity and rurality
Self-identity	Peasantry	Peasantry	Neither urbanite nor peasantry

4.5 Socio-spatial analytical framework

As presented in literature review, the common research approach to examine the interaction between urbanization process and social networks is to simplify

urbanization process as the changes of simple physical or demographic indictors, and identify the correlation between these indictors and social networks. That is so-called the ways that urbanization process affecting social networks. Actually, the selection of two or three indicators cannot reflect the complexity of urbanization process, thereby, unable to identify the real dynamics between urbanization process and social networks. Moreover, this kind of research approach is not applicable with the Chinese urbanization led by urban expansion and land requisition, as its unique features in urbanization process.

(1) The urbanization process involves significant changes not only in physical forms and land-use structure, but also in political and economy systems, because of the remaining of dualistic socio-economic structure separating urban and rural areas in post-reform China.

(2) Due to the co-existence of the planned economy and the market economy, the state and the market exert simultaneous effects in the urbanization process. Complex interplay between the state and market in the urbanization process has led to two peculiar neighborhood patterns of semi-urbanized villages and urban resettlement housing districts; and

Each interaction practice or social bond takes place in certain space and through certain structure (Liepins, 2000). A specific social ideology or structure may govern a certain type of interactions in which people engage (Baumgartner, 1988). For example, Ruan et al. (1997) attributed the differences in personal networks between people in US and China to the macro-structural differences in the two societies. Besides, social networks are fostered through interaction among people in certain place. Accordingly, access to a place and identification of a certain place may influence connections among local residents (Wellman, 1997; Bridge, 2000). Thus, any changes in physical and social forms in rural villages may lead to transformation in interpersonal social ties among farmers.

Moreover, the relationship between physical changes and social changes is dialectically interactive and interdependent (Soja, 1980). It cannot be analyzed separately. As affected farmers live in semi-urbanized villages or urban resettlement housing districts, they may gradually modify surrounding environment to suit their needs and express their values. At the same time, these former farmers may gradually adjust themselves to accommodate the physical environment they live (Soja, 1980; Knox and Pinch, 2006).

Unlike that in other countries, urbanization led by land requisition in post-reform China has been seen as a complex process of physical, social,

economic, cultural and organizational changes of rural villages. Correspondingly, a socio-spatial perspective should be applied in the analysis of dynamics between urbanization process and social networks with Chinese cases, instead of concentrating on physical transformations solely, which had been done by scholars in previous research works. Thus, a conceptual analytical framework is developed from the socio-spatial perspective for the examination of interaction between urbanization process and social networks with Chinese urbanization, based on the unique features of urbanization process led by land requisition in post-reform China.

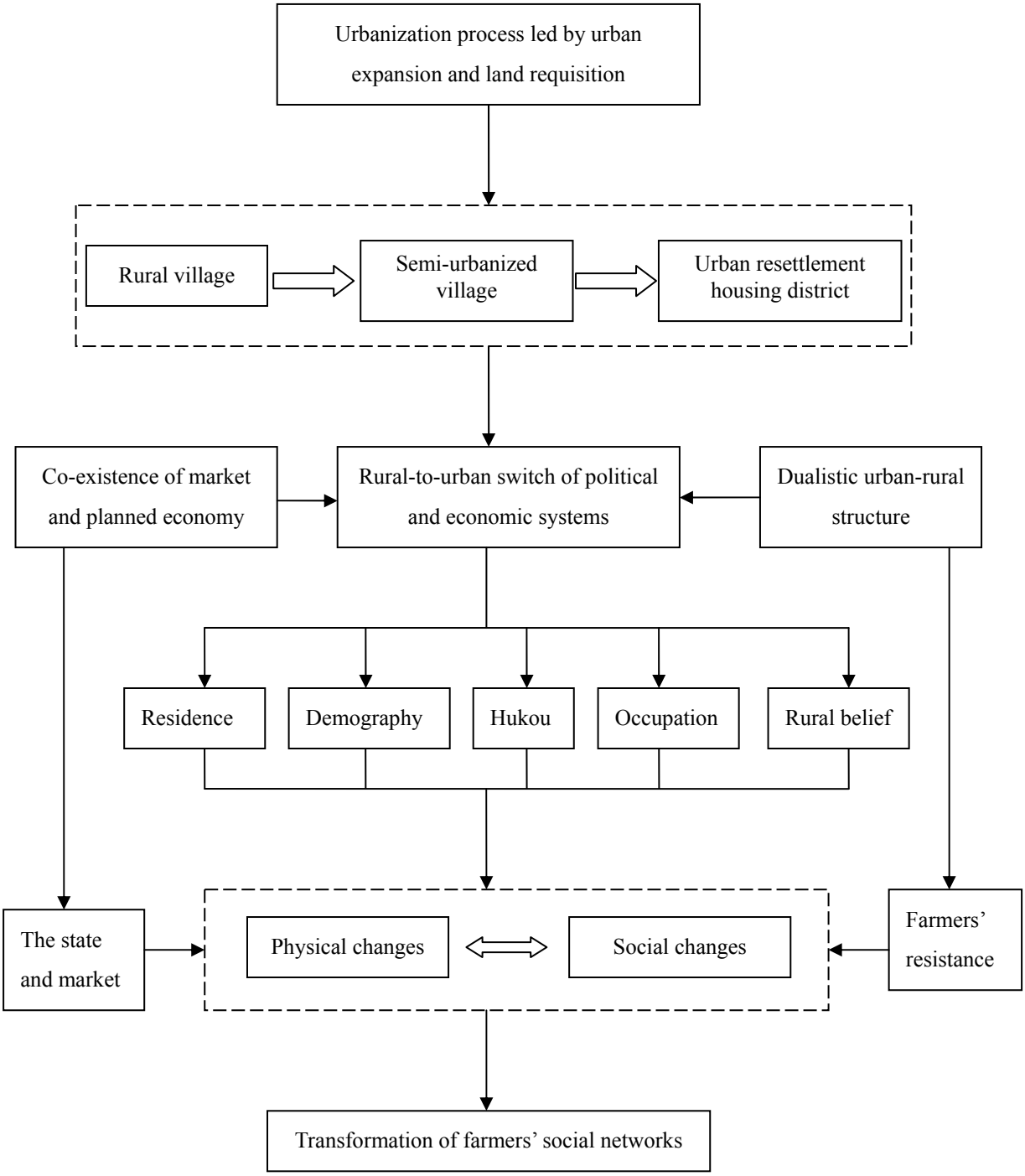

Figure 4-5 Conceptual framework for interaction analysis between urbanization and social networks with Chinese urbanization

As shown in Figure 4-5, the urbanization process led by land requisition can be identified as the three stages of rural village, semi-urbanized village and

urban resettlement housing district based on the different distinct physical form. Due to the remaining dualistic urban-rural structure in post-reform period, this rural-to-urban transition involves transformations not only in built environment and land-use structure, but also in political and economic systems. Based on the comprehensive examination of urbanization process, such rural-to-urban transition process is embodied in five aspects: residence and surrounding environment, demography, household registration status, occupation and rural belief. Because of co-existence of the planned economy and market economy, the state and market engender simultaneous effects on such five aspects and results in a variety of social and physical changes. At the same time, farmers' resistance to this transition has some impacts on such socio-spatial changes. Following this, each social tie takes place in certain space and under certain social context. Such physical and social changes resulted from the urbanization process may encourage or inhibit interpersonal social ties among farmers.

Chapter 5 Transformation of Social Networks in the Urbanization process

This chapter is the section of data analysis based on the questionnaire survey. It seeks to evaluate the status of farmers' social networks in the three sampled neighborhoods being at the three stages of the urbanization process led by state initiated land requisition. Moreover, it attempts to generalize the transformation trend of farmers' social networks in the urbanization process through critical comparisons among the three sampled neighborhoods at different stages of urbanization process.

5.1 Three stages in the urbanization process

The preceding chapter has examined thoroughly the transformation and restructuring of physical, economic, social, organizational and cultural facets that take place in rural villages through land requisition. Based on the distinct physical manifestation, the urbanization process led by state initiated land requisition is divided into three stages of rural village, semi-urbanized village and urban resettlement housing district, as shown in Figure 5-1.

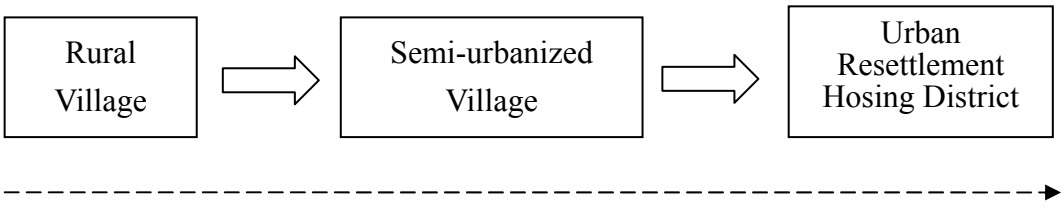

Figure 5-1 Three-stage of the urbanization process

A whole urbanization process starts from the stage of rural village, then moves to the stage of semi-urbanized village, and finishes at the stage of urban resettlement housing district. Semi-urbanized village is the intermediate stage of the transition process from rural to urban. Villages at this stage have both rural and urban characteristics. Urban resettlement housing district is the final stage of this urbanization process. Until this stage, the whole rural-to-urban transition process almost comes to an end. Rural villages may not go through the whole process, and some of them may skip the stage of semi-urbanized village and jump to the stage of urban resettlement housing district directly. Since the urbanization process results from state-initiated land requisition, the progress of the transition among different stages depends on the progress of land requisition, which is completely under the control of local governments.

5.2 Farmers' social networks in the three sampled neighborhoods

Through the analysis of data derived from questionnaire-based surveys in

Shanghai, the status of farmers' social networks at the three stages of the urbanization process, including number of primary ties, nature of social ties, frequency of contact, assistance available from networks, place of social contact, means of social contact and willingness of more contact, are displayed in the following parts.

5.2.1 Number of primary social ties

According to question 1 in the questionnaire, respondents were required to specify no more than 6 people outside their homes they feel in closest contact within the village/district. All respondents reported having at least two primary ties, and the majority of respondents (76.4%) have three or four primary ties in their neighborhoods.

If examining by group, respondents in rural villages (Group 1) have the most social ties. They reported 344 primary social relationships in total, with the average of 3.74 for each person. In contrast, respondents in semi-urbanized villages (Group 2) have the least primary social ties with the number of 278, and the mean intimate ties for each one are 3.04. That is to say, when farmland is requisitioned for urban development and rural villages are transformed into semi-urbanized villages, the affected farmers have largely reduced their social

linkages with other people in villages (*sig.* = .000).

However, along with further urbanization to the stage of urban resettlement housing district, the resettled farmers resumed their social contact. The respondents in urban resettlement housing districts (Group 3) have reported totally 311 primary social ties. The mean social ties grow to 3.38 from 3.04 at the stage of semi-urbanized village. Nonetheless, while compared to those in rural villages, former farmers in urban resettlement housing districts have experienced a decline in personal primary social ties (*sig.* = .005).

Table 5-1 Number of reported primary social ties by group

Reported primary social ties	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
2	6	24	19
3	20	45	24
4	58	20	44
5	8	3	5
Total ties	344	278	311
Mean	3.74	3.04	3.38

Note: Group 1 and 2, t = 6.509, sig. = .000 < .05; Group 1 and 3, t = 3.055, sig. = .005 < .05; Group 2 and 3, t = -2.982, sig. = .004 < .05

5.2.2 Basis of social ties

Table 5-2 reveals the attributes of such reported social ties according to the data derived from question 2 and 3 in the questionnaire. Although farmers have moved from rural areas to urban areas through the state-led land requisition, their core social relationships haven't changed so much, and are still established on the basis of kinship. Social contact with family members and relatives forms the major part of personal social networks for farmers at each stage of urbanization process (35.8% in rural villages, 32.7% in semi-urbanized villages, and 31.5% in urban resettlement housing districts). Moreover, a majority of the kin-based relationships rank the first two strongest ties. The results show that linkages with kin (for example, parents, siblings and children) are significantly more likely to be maintained during the urbanization process than other intimate ties.

When rural villages are transformed into semi-urbanized villages, friendship-based social linkages among farmers decline dramatically. Concomitant with this decline is a significant increase of neighborly ties. It means that farmers reduce their connection with friends and increase contact with nearby neighbors. Moreover, social contact among neighbors becomes the largest element in personal networks when rural villages undergo the

urbanization process. It accounts for 33.1% and 34.1% of personal social networks at the stages of semi-urbanized village and urban resettlement housing district respectively. Meanwhile, workmate relationships within communities have increased slightly when the former farmers engage in non-farming occupations. Generally, the traditional friendship in rural villages based on mutual help in agricultural production and frequent contact at home fades away. At the same time, neighbor- and workmate-based social contacts have experienced growth among the former farmers.

Table 5-2 Strength of intimate relationship by relationship

Strength of Relationship (Ranked)	Group 1*					Group 2**					Group 3***				
	Kin	Friend	Neighbor	Workmate	Total	Kin	Friend	Neighbor	Workmate	Total	Kin	Friend	Neighbor	Workmate	Total
1	70 (56.9)	17 (16.7)	3 (3.7)	2 (5.4)	92 (26.7)	42 (46.2)	13 (23.6)	29 (31.5)	8 (0.2)	92 (33.1)	55 (56.1)	10 (14.5)	27 (25.5)	0	92 (29.6)
2	33 (26.8)	36 (35.3)	17 (20.7)	6 (16.2)	92 (26.7)	23 (25.3)	18 (32.7)	38 (41.3)	13 (32.5)	92 (33.1)	29 (29.6)	23 (33.3)	26 (24.5)	14 (36.8)	92 (29.6)
3	12 (9.8)	29 (28.4)	34 (41.5)	11 (29.7)	86 (25.0)	19 (20.9)	20 (36.4)	17 (18.5)	12 (0.3)	68 (24.5)	11 (11.2)	24 (34.8)	26 (24.5)	12 (31.6)	73 (23.5)
4	8 (6.5)	18 (17.6)	23 (28.0)	17 (45.9)	66 (19.2)	6 (6.6)	4 (7.3)	7 (7.6)	6 (0.15)	23 (8.3)	3 (3.1)	11 (15.9)	23 (21.7)	12 (31.6)	49 (15.8)
5	0	2 (2.0)	5 (6.1)	1 (2.7)	8 (2.3)	1 (1.1)	0	1 (1.1)	1 (2.5)	3 (1.1)	0	1 (1.4)	4 (3.8)	0	5 (1.6)
N	123	102	82	37	344	91	55	92	40	278	98	69	106	38	311
% of total	35.8	29.7	23.8	10.8	100.0	32.7	19.8	33.1	14.4	100.0	31.5	22.2	34.1	12.2	100.0
Mean rank	1.55	2.53	3.12	3.24	—	1.91	2.27	2.05	2.48	—	1.61	2.57	2.48	2.95	—

Note: * $\chi^2 = 130.493$, p = .000; ** $\chi^2 = 21.346$, p = .046; *** $\chi^2 = 77.28$, p = .000

5.2.3 Frequency of contact

Table 5-3 presents the frequency of social contact at each stage of the urbanization process according to data derived from question 4 in the questionnaire. A majority of reported intimate contacts occurred almost every day or once or twice a week. If examining by group, the frequency of respondents' social contact has decreased a lot when moving to semi-urbanized village. The mean frequency of contact has decreased from 3.33 to 3.11 (Sig. = .002 < .05). Nevertheless, after having relocated into urban resettlement housing districts, the former farmers have resumed the frequency of social contact as in rural villages, and the mean frequency of contact increased to 3.27. There is no difference in statistics when comparing the frequency of social contact between farmers in rural villages and urban resettlement housing districts (sig. = .390 > .05).

Table 5-3 Frequency of social contact by group

Frequency	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Less than once a month	4	23	25
Once or twice a month	58	49	29
Once or twice a week	102	81	93
Almost everyday	180	125	164
Mean frequency	3.33	3.11	3.27

Note: (1) Different frequency grades of less than once a month, once or twice a month, once or twice a week and almost everyday are evaluated as 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively. The mean value is calculated based on it.

(2) Group 1 and 2, t = -3.086, Sig. = .002 < .05; Group 1 and 3, t = -0.860, sig. = .390 > .05; Group 2 and 3, t = 2.104, sig. = .034 < .05.

While examining it within the category of relationship, a completely different picture is revealed in Figure 5-2. During the urbanization process, kinship ties remain the core relationship and major element in personal networks, but their frequency has gradually reduced among the former farmers. Following the decline in percentage of friendship ties in personal networks, their contact frequency also underwent a drop in the urbanization process. In contrast, the interaction among neighbors becomes more frequent than before when the farmers were resettled in urban housing districts. Moreover, most of

the contact among neighbors occurs almost every day. This trend is in line with the growth of reported neighbor-based ties within urban resettlement housing districts.

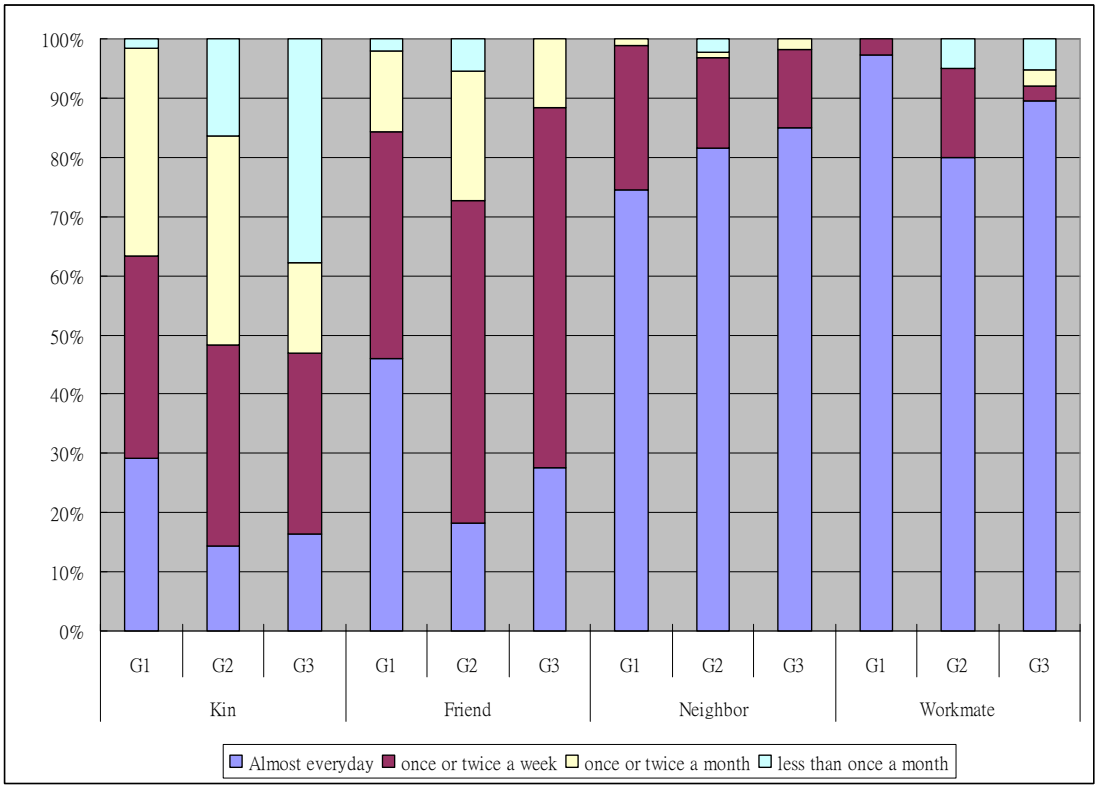

Figure 5-2 Frequency of social contact by relationship

Note: G1, G2 and G3 represent Groups 1, Group 2 and Group 3 respectively

5.2.4 Assistance from networks

Based on the data derived from question 5 in the questionnaire, the available assistance or support from farmers' social networks at different stages of the urbanization process is shown in Table 5-4. Most of available sources of support from farmers' social networks are everyday matters. There is no change

for this trend in the urbanization process. Nonetheless, there is differentiation at the different stages of the urbanization process. The mean value of available assistance for farmers in rural villages is 1.26. This figure decreased to 1.19 at the stage of semi-urbanized village and 1.18 at the stage of urban resettlement housing district. However, there is no difference in available assistance between former farmers in semi-urbanized villages and urban resettlement housing districts statistically (Sig. = .773 > .05).

It is noticeable that a majority of assistance available in emergency conditions come from family members and relatives. This trend hasn't changed during the urbanization process. The percentage fluctuates around 80% when farmers move from rural villages to urban resettlement housing districts.

Table 5-4 Available assistance from networks by group

Assistance	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Everyday matters	241	220	244
Emergency situation	49	32	10
Both	54	26	57
Mean	1.26	1.19	1.18
Emergency help from kin (%)	86.4	81	79.1

Note: (1) Assistances available from everyday matters and emergency situation are evaluated as 1 and 2 respectively. The mean value is calculated based on it.

(2) Group 1 and 2, t = 2.158, Sig. = .031 < .05; Group 2 and 3, t = 0.289, Sig. = .773 > .05; Group 1 and 3, t = 2.573, Sig. = .01 < .05

5.2.5 Place of social contact

Table 5-5 uncovers the places where interpersonal social ties take place among farmers, according to data derived from question 6 in the questionnaire. In rural villages, more than half of farmers' social life took place in their farmhouses or doorways (51.2%), followed by village roads, with a percentage of 17.6%. Along with rural land requisition, farmland as the contact place has disappeared in semi-urbanized villages. Also, social contact occurring in public places has reduced more than half. Except for these, there is no significant

change in other contact places when moving to the stage of semi-urbanized village.

However, when staying in urban resettlement housing districts, resettled farmers have largely reduced their social contact at home or doorways (35%). However, street life still plays an important role even if the former farmers have been relocated from rural villages to urban resettlement housing districts. It is noticeable that entryways of residential building have become the major contact places for the former farmers in urban resettlement housing districts (22.7%). This kind of place does not exist in the other two neighborhood patterns. As for other contacting places like commercial sites and workplaces, there is no significant change during the urbanization process.

Table 5-5 Places of social contact among farmers by group

Contact places	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Farmhouses/apartments and their doorways	251 (51.2%)	223 (58.5%)	182 (35%)
Village/district Roads	86 (17.6%)	67 (17.6%)	118 (22.7%)
Farmland	27 (5.5%)	—	—
Public activity areas	51 (10.4%)	17 (4.5%)	29 (5.6%)
Commercial places	42 (8.6%)	41 (10.8%)	37 (7.1%)
Entryway of residential building	—	—	118 (22.7%)
Workplaces	33 (6.7%)	31 (8.1%)	33 (6.3%)
Other places	0	4 (1.0%)	3 (0.6%)

Note: public activity areas include activity room, elder club, gym, play ground, dancing place within villages or housing districts. Commercial places include village clinic, food market, store, restaurant, mah-jong club, internet bar, KTV, etc. Workplace means the non-farming working place, and farmland is not included in this area.

5.2.6 Means of social contact

Figure 5-3 demonstrates the changes in means of social contact among farmers in the three stages according to data derived from question 7 in the questionnaire. Face-to-face chatting remains the primary means of social

contact in the urbanization process. There is almost no difference in the means of social contact between people residing in rural villages and semi-urbanized villages.

However, along with resettlement in urban housing districts, the means of social contact among former farmers have experienced a huge change. The percentage of playing in means of social contact is 32.5%, which is in contrast to 22.3% and 18.5% at the stages of rural village and semi-urbanized village. Meanwhile, the percentage of other means of social contact moves up. As specified by some respondents, other means include dining, looking after babies, feast gathering and so on. On the contrary, the resettled farmers have reduced the chatting and working as the means of social contact in daily life.

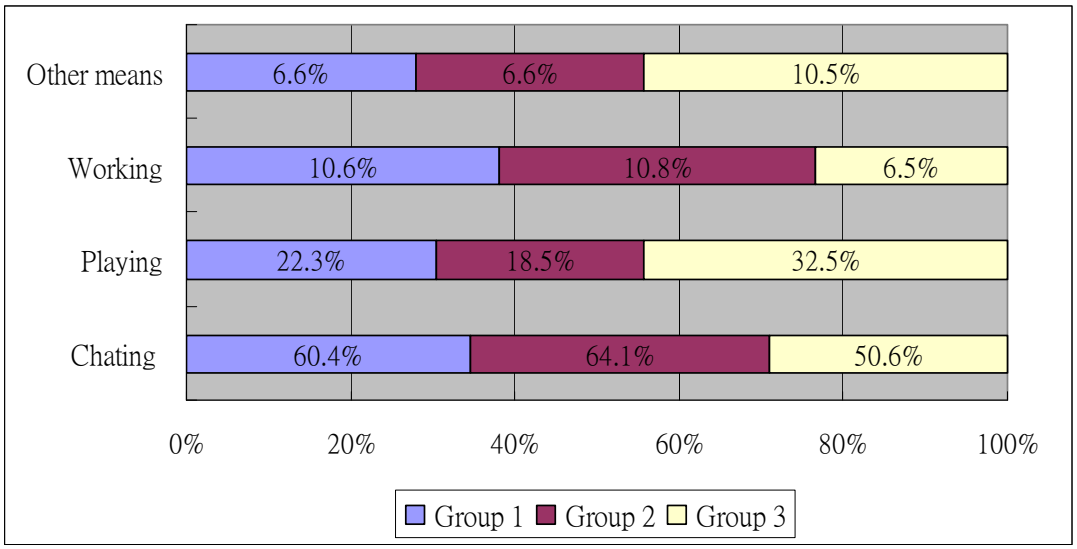

Figure 5-3 Comparison of means of social contact among three groups

5.2.7 Willingness of more contact

Table 5-6 illustrates the farmers' willingness for more social contact according to data derived from question 8 in the questionnaire. More than 70% of farmers in rural villages and semi-urbanized villages want to contact more with other local residents. Especially, the percentage of those who answer with "yes" in Group 2 is highest (77.2%) among the three groups, corresponding to the lowest reported primary social ties in semi-urbanized villages.

However, the former farmers' willingness for more contact has largely reduced when they move to urban resettlement housing districts. More than half (52.2%) of respondents in urban resettlement housing districts are satisfied with their social networks, and do not want more social contact with other residents.

It is probable that as urban resettlement housing districts accommodate farmers from different villages, they are unwilling to contact with people from different villages.

Table 5-6 Willingness for more social contact among three groups

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Yes	69 (75%)	71 (77.2%)	44 (47.8%)
No	19 (20.7%)	17 (18.5%)	48 (52.2%)
Neutral	4 (4.3%)	4 (4.3%)	0 (0%)

5.3 Transformation of social networks in the urbanization process

5.3.1 Quantitative changes in farmers' social networks

When farmers are relocated into urban areas from rural areas, the transformation of their social networks can be apprehended through the comparison of those at the stages of rural village and urban resettlement housing district. That is, after rural-to-urban transition, former farmers have fewer primary social ties in urban resettlement housing districts than in rural villages. Also, less available assistance can be acquired for resettled farmers

from their social networks. Besides, the frequency of such reported primary ties has undergone a slight decrease, although it is not statistically significant. Generally, farmers' personal social networks have experienced a decrease quantitatively in terms of number of primary ties, frequency of contact and available assistance from networks, when they are relocated from rural villages to urban resettlement housing districts because of urban expansion and land requisition (Figure 5-4).

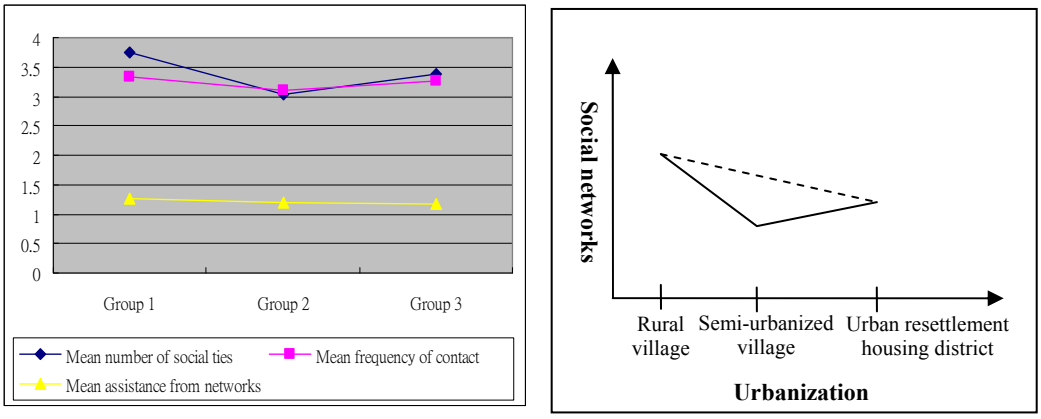

Figure 5-4 Changes of farmers' social networks along with urbanization

If the intermediate stage of semi-urbanized village is brought under examination, the cross-sectional transformation trend of social networks in the urbanization process can be generalized through the critical comparisons of farmers' social networks at the three stages. It finds that, as shown in Figure 5-4, such decline in farmers' social networks is non-linear along with the advancement of urbanization. The interpersonal social ties among farmers

undergo a sharp decrease when moving from the stage of rural village to semi-urbanized village, and reach the lowest point at this intermediate stage. Then, they increase slightly along with the transition to the stage of urban settlement housing district, but are still less than that at the stage of rural village. This transformation trend is different from the common assertion of linear transformation generalized from existing research works.

5.3.2 Structural transformation in farmers' social networks

Apart from the quantitative decline, the structure of farmers' social networks has transformed significantly as well in the urbanization process. The constitution of farmers' social networks changes gradually during the rural-to-urban transition process. The proportion of kin- and friend- based relationships has decreased, which is in contrast to an increase in neighbor- and workmate-based social ties. Moreover, neighborly tie has replaced the kinship-based tie as the largest element in personal networks.

Also, the places and means of social contact among farmers have changed significantly. Social life that takes place at home and in doorways largely falls down when farmers are relocated to urban housing districts. The entryways of each residential building in urban resettlement housing districts have become

an important socializing place for the resettled farmers. Meanwhile, such resettled farmers have reduced chatting and working as the means of social contact in daily life. Social contact based on the common interests has become the major element of social life in urban resettlement housing districts.

Although farmers' social networks have experienced dramatic changes in amount and structure, kinship-based social ties remain one of the most important sources of personal networks, and most help in emergency situations comes from family members or relatives, instead of other relationships. Kinship ties are likely to be long lasting even if farmers move to urban areas. That is probably because, as maintained by Wellman *et al.* (1997), intertwined kinship relationships and the norm that "blood is thicker than water" encourage durable supportive relationships.

Chapter 6 Rural-to-urban Transition and Impacts on Social Networks

This chapter adopts the analytical framework developed in Chapter 4 to examine the dynamics between the macro urbanization process and changes in social networks. It is also the explanation process for the outcomes of data analysis in Chapter 5. According to the conceptual framework, this chapter focuses on physical and social transformations of rural villages caused by the urbanization process, and analyzes the impacts of such transformations on interpersonal social ties among farmers.

According to the conceptual analytical framework, the urbanization process led by governments' land requisition can be divided into three stages of rural village, semi-urbanized village and urban resettlement housing district. This rural-to-urban transition process involves a switch of political and economic systems due to China's dualistic structure, which leads to transformations not only in physical form and land-use structure, but also in various social facets. Such socio-spatial transformations are generalized as the five aspects of residence, demography, household registration identity, occupation and changes caused by remaining rural belief. The impacts of such socio-spatial

transformation on farmers' social networks are analyzed in the following parts.

6.1 Residence switch from rural villages to urban resettlement housing districts

6.1.1 Housing switch from farmhouses to urban apartments

Because of the demolition of rural villages for urban development, the replaced farmers are holistically relocated into urban resettlement housing districts. Their houses, accordingly, change from farmhouses to urban apartments. The significant physical transformation in neighborhood and residence leads to many adjustments, diminishments, or disappearances of rural social life forms, which are attached to the previous built environment.

In rural villages, much social life took place at farmers' farmhouses and on their front grounds. When moving into urban apartments, the available living space has sharply reduced. For the consideration of privacy, people are reluctant to invite their neighbors and friends to their homes and keep doors closed at all times. Meanwhile, the previous front grounds of farmhouses have disappeared in urban apartments. Doorways of urban apartments also act as passages for staircases. Such transformation makes this kind of social life sharply decrease. As shown in the data analysis section, the social ties

occurring in farmhouses and at doorways has reduced from 51.2% to 35%, when farmers move from rural villages to urban resettlement housing districts.

Meanwhile, the vertical disposition of apartments and the multiple-directed pathways within urban neighborhoods replace the former tiled arrangement of farmhouses and relatively one-way village roads. This physical transformation has largely reduced incidental meeting among former farmers in urban resettlement housing districts. Accordingly, the frequency of social contact among former farmers may decrease.

6.1.2 Change in house ownership

The change in ownership from farmhouses to urban apartments results in damage to social connection among farmers. Farmers have no ownership rights to their farmhouses, and they are banned from trading them on the market. This restriction was designed to restrict farmers' mobility, tying them to the farmland. It has also served to maintain the integrity and isolation of rural villages.

In contrast, after relocated in urban resettlement housing districts, these farmers have complete ownership rights to their urban apartments. They can trade them on the open market, following a five-year lock-up period (some

manage to escape the lock-up period through a contract or notarization). Therefore, some households may rent or sell their apartments and move away.

Thus, the long-lasting spatial proximity among the former farmers from the same villages therefore breaks down gradually. Some existing social bonds that occur at neighborhood level may fade away, or even cease, along with increases in distance. At the same time, people from other places flow into the urban resettlement housing districts along with the withdrawal of the resettled households. As maintained in the writing of Miguel *et al.* (2006), the influx of newcomers, who are socially and linguistically distinct from current residents, may erode the existing neighborhood networks.

6.1.3 Changes in surrounding environment

Dense-knit social ties among farmers prevailed in the original rural villages, as the frequent social connections took place along village roads, in village stores and other public places within villages. Small groups of farmers, particularly old people, often gather in these places to chat and play. Nevertheless, after moving into urban resettlement housing districts, such frequent interaction among the resettled farmers only exists in very limited regions, for example, where stores remain run in their original form and in

some open spaces where people can gather. Even then, the number of participant residents has largely dwindled.

Also, village stores, small restaurants and other village facilities only for farmers have given way to well-decorated restaurants, supermarkets and karaoke lounges. These urban facilities are not only for these resettled farmers, but also for urban residents in these newly urbanized areas. Few resettled farmers can gather there for chats and play as these stores are more concerned with turnover rates and are run by people from other places.

Besides, because of accommodation of farmers from several nearby villages, public places, like playgrounds, activity rooms and seniors clubs, are full of people from different villages in urban resettlement housing districts. They are not familiar with each other. Thus, less resettled farmers would like to stay at these public places and chat with strangers. The data analysis outcomes in Table 5-5 also reflect this kind of change, as the social contact occurring in public places has declined to around half in the urbanization process.

Meanwhile, the activity scale of such former farmers is constrained to the surrounding areas of their residential buildings. Correspondingly, chatting and playing among neighbors begins to increase, which is reflected by the rise of

neighbor-based social ties, in number and frequency.

6.2 Migrant workers and demographic changes

6.2.1 Inflow of migrant workers into semi-urbanized villages

Since the 1980s, market-oriented economic reform has led to significant changes in population distribution in China (Cai, 2003). Along with the loosening of restrictions on population mobility, China has experienced a huge flow of rural-to-urban migration. Migration in China takes place in two forms: permanent migration in which household registration (*hukou*) is officially transferred and temporary movement involving no official change in household registration (Wu, 2002). Because of the difficulty in transferring one's hukou, especially to large cities, the latter form accounts for most Chinese rural-to-urban migration (Roberts, 2000; Cai, 2003). Therefore, almost all studies on migrant workers concern the population movements of a temporary nature.

Migrant workers are a special group of people who remain rural residents in terms of their hukou identity and have farmland in the countryside, but engage in non-farming jobs and reside in cities temporarily (Li and Li, 2007). According to a report issued by the National Bureau of Statistics of China

(2009), there were 229.78 million migrant workers in China in 2009. The report also states that most migrant workers come from the western and central inland areas, and gravitate toward the eastern coastal cities such as Guangzhou, Shanghai, and Beijing; these rural migrants are mainly young, male, and educated to junior high school level; they normally work in the construction, manufacturing and service industries characterized by long hours, poor working conditions, and low and unstable pay.

Given that it is extremely difficult for migrant workers to acquire an urban hukou in the cities in which they reside temporarily, they are excluded from employment, housing, social security and many other types of social entitlements in Chinese urban society (Roberts, 2000; Seeborg *et al.*, 2000). In addition, as highlighted by many studies, urban residents generally hold hostile, suspicious and discriminatory attitudes towards migrant workers (Solinger, 1995, 1999; Smith, 1996; Chai and Chai, 1997; Davin, 2000). Thus, the large inflow of rural migrants has transformed Chinese cities into hierarchical societies with two clearly defined and socially segregated groups: locals and migrants (Chan, 1996; Nielsen *et al.*, 2006).

Accompanying rapid urban expansion has been an increasing trend in

farmland requisition by local government for urban development purposes. As this process has unfolded, semi-urbanized villages, as a peculiar neighborhood pattern, have emerged in these newly built-up areas of Chinese cities. The semi-urbanized villages that have materialized appear physically the same as rural villages, except for the loss of farmland. Nevertheless, these villages are surrounded by an urban environment. Local governments have modified the household registration status of affected farmers from peasantry to urbanite. Accordingly, they are entitled to all of the social welfare benefits received by urban residents. In addition, because of their loss of farmland, residents of semi-urbanized villages now engage in non-farming occupations for their livelihood such as cleaning, factory work, or traffic assistance. In general, semi-urbanized villages are in the midst of a transition from rural villages to urban neighborhoods in which urban and rural features co-exist.

In line with the outward expansion trend, urban industry and commerce have become decentralized and have set up operations in these newly urban areas. This has attracted a large number of migrant workers to move to such areas in search of employment. Due to their low rents and proximity to workplaces, farmhouses that have avoided demolition are highly popular among migrant workers. Almost all migrant workers flow into these semi-urbanized villages

and rent rooms there. As a result, as shown in Table 6-1, the migrant workers population in semi-urbanized villages is several times that of local residents.

Table 6-1 Number of locals and migrants in semi-urbanized villages in 2007

Semi-urbanized village	Hongxiang	Xinfeng	Xinyu	Shuguang	Yongle
Local residents	3129	2165	1616	2968	2817
Migrant workers	6143	6578	7000	10350	12000

Source: official website of Nanxiang town, Jiading District (www.guyi.com.cn)

6.2.2 Relationship between locals and migrants

The large inflow of migrant workers into semi-urbanized villages has significantly improved local residents' economic status. The letting of accommodation to rural migrants provides an additional source of income for local people. For example, in Yanbei, a typical semi-urbanized village in the Nanhui district of Shanghai, more than 75% of local households rent rooms to migrant workers. Most households rent between two and four rooms to migrant workers at an average monthly rent of around RMB 300 per room (*personal interview with Mr. Lu, member of the Yanbei village committee, November 27, 2008, translated from Chinese*). This means that most households in Yanbei village are able to earn rental income of RMB 600-1,200 per month, which is

almost equal to the average salary of a local resident from non-farming work. Thus, housing rent received from migrants has clearly become an important source of household income for local residents in semi-urbanized villages.

However, leaving such tenancy relationships to one side, the inflow of migrant workers into semi-urbanized villages has also given rise to considerable tensions between local residents and migrant workers. First, robbery, burglary, and other crimes have increased sharply in such villages following large-scale immigration. Local inhabitants blame migrant workers for the rise in crime. Second, semi-urbanized villages do not have the infrastructure required to absorb so many newcomers in a short time. This has inevitably created some challenges in providing adequate facilities for local dwellers to use. For example, sewerage and waste disposal problems are common in such villages. The increasing number of motorcycles on narrow village roads put children and the elderly in danger. Third, local residents think that migrant workers are uneducated, uncivilized, ignorant, and unsanitary, as they spit and litter everywhere, make noise in public places, and engage in other forms of undesirable behavior. Because of these beliefs, local residents generally hold hostile, suspicious and discriminatory attitudes towards migrant workers.

Hence, the large inflow of migrants into semi-urbanized villages presents local residents with a dilemma. On the one hand, they rent rooms to migrant workers and therefore become economically reliant on them. On the other hand, the increasing number of migrant workers is perceived as a threat to their way of life. It is in this context that local residents have adopted the strategy of allowing migrant workers to move into villages, but separating them spatially and socially. They have made every effort to exclude migrant workers from their social life. This form of accommodation is viewed as the best choice for local people to achieve the goal of earning rental income from migrant workers while protecting their way of life from the threat of large-scale immigration.

To avoid the threat posed by large-scale immigration to their social life while continuing to receive rental income, local residents of semi-urbanized villages have adopted various exclusionary practices against migrant workers at the household and village levels. As a result, migrant workers and local dwellers are separated from each other both spatially and socially. Semi-urbanized villages are divided into two different configurations — the local community and the migrant enclave — that are isolated from each other but co-exist within each such village.

(1) Exclusion at the household level

Local households that rent out rooms try to separate such rooms from their own living space. Some households transform standalone rooms previously used as kitchens or storerooms into rental accommodation (Figure 6-1), and forego the opportunity to earn more by renting out part of their own houses to rural migrants. Other households focus on the economic benefits of the demand created by a burgeoning population by leasing out part of their own houses to migrants. No matter the manner of room renting, they partition off their houses into two isolated parts and build second entrances especially for migrant workers. Both of these types of alterations to the physical form of farmhouses, involving the creation of entrances for rented rooms different from those of the owner's living area, indicate that local people attempt to avoid contact with migrant workers in their daily lives.

Figure 6-1 Transformation of a kitchen into rented rooms with different entrances

In addition, local households prohibit migrant workers from sharing living facilities with them. Local residents have installed unattached water piping and electrical power systems in rented rooms. Landlords and migrant workers use different rubbish bins, dry clothes in different places, and have other similar segregated living arrangements. Moreover, rented rooms do not normally include washrooms and migrant workers are not allowed to share washrooms with locals. Due to concerns over sanitation, village committees of semi-urbanized villages have been obliged to build a number of public

washrooms scattered around the villages especially for migrant workers.

Although local dwellers and migrant workers stay in the same farmhouses, they are clearly separated from each other in their utilization of space and facilities. Local residents are successful in avoiding contact with migrant workers other than when rent is paid. At the same time, migrant workers feel that they are discriminated against and seldom communicate positively with locals.

(2) Exclusion at the village level

At the semi-urbanized village level, the segregation against migrant workers extends to many other aspects of daily life. There are two kinds of stores in such villages: those run by migrants and those run by locals. Local people never go to rural migrants' stores and migrant workers seldom shop in local residents' stores. Migrant workers are denied access to some public amenities that are provided for local residents such as activity rooms and seniors clubs. The children of migrants and locals are also required to attend different schools. Figure 6-2 shows a primary school specifically established for the children of migrant workers.

Figure 6-2 Special primary school for the children of migrant workers

Migrant workers are also excluded from village administration. In each semi-urbanized village with an inflow of migrants, there is an administrative station for house rental and public security (*fangwu zulin zian guanlizhan*) overseen by the village committee. This station is specifically responsible for migration affairs such as applications for "Temporary Residence Permit" (*zanzhuzheng*), the collection of sanitation fees, birth control, and the prevention of epidemics. In addition to these matters, migrant workers have nothing to do with other affairs in semi-urbanized villages.

6.2.3 Transformation of local farmers' way of life

To maintain their rental income and existing social life simultaneously, local residents have adopted the strategy of segregating migrant workers within semi-urbanized villages. Although they allow migrant workers to move into their villages, they also take various steps to exclude migrant workers from their social life. This strategy might appear to have enabled local people to retain the economic benefits of migrant workers while protecting their way of life from the threat of large-scale immigration. In fact, the large influx of migrant workers has resulted to major changes in the lives of local residents.

(1) Conflicts among local residents over immigration

To increase their rental income, some local households have built additional rooms adjacent their existing houses to accommodate migrant workers. The construction of new rooms normally leads to disputes with neighbors over land boundaries, ventilation, daylight, and other issues. In addition, the accommodation of migrant workers inevitable affects the lives of neighboring residents. It may lead to problems of noise, drainage, and overcrowding. Local residents often complain or quarrel with each other over these kinds of issues.

In addition, each semi-urbanized village has a small group of local residents

who are concerned about hygiene conditions and public security and are therefore inclined to oppose the letting of housing to rural migrants. They consider that the costs of large-scale immigration outweigh the benefits for local communities. Nevertheless, a majority of local residents are concerned solely with the economic benefits of new arrivals and accordingly support the inflow of migrant workers. Different opinions on immigration may result in implicit enmity among local people within semi-urbanized villages.

(2) Socio-spatial transformations to prevent crime

The increasing number of migrant workers has resulted in a rise in crime within semi-urbanized villages. To prevent crime, local households have installed iron grills in front of windows, transformed open grounds of farmhouses into enclosed yards with fences and iron gates (Figure 6-3), and keep their doors closed at all times. Meanwhile, local inhabitants have begun to go out less often for the consideration of safety of themselves and their home. In particular, elderly people are confined to stay at home for most of the day to prevent rampant burglary.

Figure 6-3 Farmhouse with a newly constructed fence and gate

Much of the traditional social life among local dwellers has normally taken place in front grounds and doorways of farmhouses. Relationships or connections were strengthened by mutual visits and shared social life. Nowadays, the fencing off of such spaces and the fact that people venture out less often has resulted in a dramatic decline in social contact among local residents. Increasing crime due to the large inflow of migrant workers has prompted local residents to make physical alterations to their farmhouses and to adjust their social habits to avoid becoming a victim. However, these changes have led to a sharp decrease in mutual visits and shared social life among local

residents.

(3) Shrinkage of local residents' activity space

Through a series of exclusionary practices initiated by local residents, semi-urbanized villages have been clearly partitioned into two separate territories for locals and migrants respectively. Local residents consider that migrant workers should be restricted to staying in their rented rooms and that the remaining areas of the village belong to them. They believe that both groups should stay in their own quarters and avoid crossing the boundary to avoid embarrassing contact. However, migrant workers frequently encroach on areas local residents consider their own. Instead of staying indoors at all times, migrants often move around the area adjacent to their rooms to go for a walk, do some exercise, bask, and chat with friends. Some migrant workers also frequently show up in open spaces like playgrounds and roadsides.

Because most local households accommodate migrant workers and the migrant worker population is often several times greater than that of local people, migrants who frequent the area around their rented accommodation make local residents feel that they are surrounded by migrant workers (Figure 6-4). They are likely to come into contact with rural migrants if they go

outdoors. Thus, local residents are inclined to reduce the extent to which they move around their houses and to stay at home to avoid interacting with migrants. Furthermore, many local residents no longer frequent open spaces as the number of migrant workers using them increases.

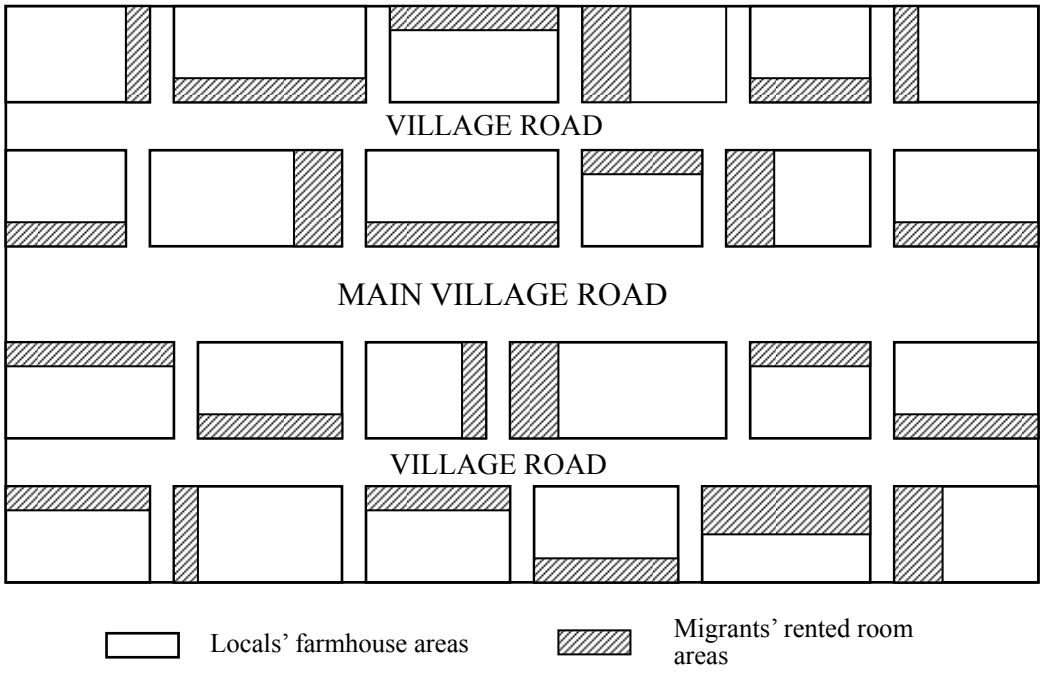

Figure 6-4 Sketch map of division of villages into local and migrant areas

As a result, while the areas used by local residents to engage in social activities have shrunk to a considerable extent, those used by migrant workers have expanded. Local people are constrained to staying at home and using indoor public areas such as activity rooms, seniors clubs, and village stores run by locals, which are inaccessible for migrants. The level of interaction among

local residents has therefore decreased significantly as the areas they use for activities have shrunk.

6.2.4 Migrant workers and non-linear transformation trend

With the aim of protecting their way of life from the threat of large-scale immigration, local residents of semi-urbanized villages have adopted various practices to exclude migrant workers from their social life both spatially and socially. Nonetheless, the large inflow of migrant workers has led to significant changes in their way of life. These include: (1) disputes arising from migrant workers becoming prominent among neighbors and the implicit enmity emerging between groups with different opinions on immigration; (2) farmers making physical alterations to their farmhouses and modifying their own social behaviors in response to fears about crime, including the closure of such interaction places as open grounds and doorways of farmhouses, and reductions in the frequency with which people venture out; (3) areas within which farmers use to participate in activities in semi-urbanized villages have shrunk considerably. They are constrained to staying at home and some public places that are inaccessible to migrants.

Such socio-spatial transformations have led to a dramatic decrease in the

amount of social contact among local residents within semi-urbanized villages. Frequent interaction among locals used to be an important component of rural social life. However, the inflow of migrant workers into semi-urbanized villages has destroyed this social interaction system inherited from former rural villages. Furthermore, the destruction of social interaction systems will gradually undermine the common beliefs and values in semi-urbanized villages that act as the fundamental building blocks of local communities. This may eventually lead to cracks in solidarity and social fragmentation within communities.

With further urban expansion and land requisition, the farmers in semi-urbanized villages are holistically relocated to urban resettlement housing districts. However, migrant workers are unlikely to accompany the former farmers to move there, because rents of urban apartments are much higher than those of farmhouses. Certainly, there are new migrants with good payment who move into these urban districts, but the number of migrants has decreased sharply of late. On the one hand, the switch from rural farmhouses to urban apartments has largely reduced the amount of space available for rent. On the other hand, the price gap between commercial apartments and those in resettlement districts means that only a small number of resettled farmers may

sell their apartments and move to somewhere else, as they need to pay additional money for commercial housing.

At the stage of semi-urbanized village of this urbanization process, large influxes of migrant workers have brought destructive impacts on interpersonal social ties among farmers. Following further urbanization, the interpersonal social ties have resumed after the farmers are relocated into urban resettlement housing districts, as migrant workers do not move in districts along with the farmers' resettlement due to the inflated house rents. Thus, this research has clearly explained why the transformation trend of interpersonal social ties among farmers is non-linear in the state-led urbanization process, and why social ties reach the lowest point at the stage of semi-urbanized villages. It is argued that inflows of migrant workers into semi-urbanized villages result in non-linear transformation of farmers' social networks and the lowest point at the stage of semi-urbanized village.

6.3 Identity switch from peasantry to urbanite

Since the 1950s, the household registration (hukou) system was implemented in China to facilitate urban-rural division. According to this system, population is divided into agricultural and non-agricultural groups. Meanwhile, a two-tier

welfare system was established based on the population division. Urban residents are provided with many welfare entitlements, whereas rural residents, in contrast, have to rely on the produce of farmland and their extended family for welfare provision (Cheng and Selden, 1994). After the country's economic reforms were introduced, the division of the agricultural and non-agricultural populations, and associated differentiation in terms of social welfare provision and other factors, has been retained.

Accompanying the loss of farmland, household registration (*hukou*) status of the affected farmers has been transferred from agricultural to non-agricultural by local governments. The social entitlements attached with the urban identity, such as social security and medicine insurance, are provided at the same time. The gain of social welfares enables former farmers to be more dependent on formal bureaucratic forces. The importance of assistance available from personal social networks begins to decrease. Interpersonal social ties become less useful when the former farmers are in the situations of difficulty or emergency. As shown in the data analysis section, after the switch of household registration status to urbanites, the mean value of available assistance from farmers' social networks declined from 1.26 to 1.19. Accordingly, they lack the passion to maintain the frequent, tight-knit and interactive bonds that prevailed

in rural villages.

The transformation in social contact caused by the identity switch is more prominent among elderly farmers. The availability of social security and medical insurance enables former farmers reaching retirement age to receive monthly subsistence pensions, instead of continuing farming or relying on their families for livelihood. In the case of Shanghai, they would acquire a fixed pension of RMB 600 – 680 Yuan per month, which can meet their basic subsistence in Shanghai. It allows them to take more time in various activities and public affairs within neighborhoods.

Thus, participation in various leisure activities is prominent among most elderly farmers in urban resettlement housing districts. These activities are normally organized by neighborhood committees to enrich residents' lives and promote an urban lifestyle. On top of this, neighborhood committees organize elderly residents to establish a lot of volunteer teams serving public affairs and propaganda of the state's principles and policies. The interaction among elderly people based on common interests has become an important component of social life for most elderly people in urban resettlement housing districts.

6.4 Occupation switch from farming to non-farming

The rural village is characterized by its self-contained features, as farm production and living both take place within village areas. The mutual reinforcement of work-based ties and neighbor-based ties leads to dense-knit and interactive connections among farmers. Now, because of non-farming employment, the separation between work and residence makes interaction among former farmers happening out of work time. Inevitably, it leads to a sharp decline in social ties among farmers in semi-urbanized villages and urban housing districts.

Moreover, this separation may cause what Lockwood (1966) called the increasing privatism, which refers to a turn from communalism to the pursuit of private goals. The communities inherited from the previous rural villages become emptied-out as social bonds among farmers are fragmented and drop sharply. Consequently, interpersonal connections in urban housing districts are predominantly neighborly ties, consisting of non-intimate, convivial relations between people who know each other to nod and wave to, or engage in limited conversation. This is one of the reasons that neighbor-based ties have become the major element of former farmers' social networks.

Also, transition from farming to non-farming occupations makes these former farmers abandon the farming-related traditions and adopt the urban lifestyles parallel with non-farming work. Non-farming work generally allows more and more fixed leisure time than farming, which allows more free time. As with most elderly residents, some of these former farmers begin to join various leisure activities, such as dancing, jogging, tai chi and ping-pong. The interaction among resettled farmers based on common hobbies becomes an important way to establish social ties.

Along with active participation in leisure activities for the elderly and adult, interaction based on common interests has become one of major ways to establish and keep contact for resettled farmers in urban resettlement housing districts. The huge increase in proportion of playing as the means of social contact (from 22.3% to 32.5%) also proves this trend.

6.5 Remnant traces of rural tradition

When relocated to urban housing districts, former farmers now live in urban apartments, engage in non-farm work, and follow an urban lifestyle. However, a majority of resettled farmers remain holding deep-rooted rural beliefs and customs, which are embodied in their way of life and utilization of space. The

remaining rural traditions, interacting with the urban built environment, result in some special manifestations in social life among the resettled farmers.

6.5.1 Daily gathering at entryways of residential buildings

One of the distinct manifestations is the daily gathering at entryways of each building in urban resettlement housing districts. Many elderly farmers believe that they may die if they stay in aerial apartments all day and do not have frequent touch with ground. Thus, a proportion of elders even demand to live in storerooms because of their location on ground floor when moving into urban apartments. Nevertheless, a majority of them choose to sit at the entrances of their buildings to reach the goal of touching ground (Figure 6-5). Entryways of buildings in urban resettlement housing districts thus become popular gathering places for the elderly to chat and play. Later on, other residents begin to join them. Gradually, entryway areas of each buildings become an important interaction place for resettled farmers in urban resettlement housing districts, which are different from other commercial districts. The data analysis outcome also proves this phenomenon. Almost one quarter of social ties among former farmers form at this place in urban resettlement housing districts.

Figure 6-5 Daily gathering at entryways of residential building

6.5.2 Wedding and funeral ceremonies

Wedding and funeral ceremonies are another distinct manifestation. In rural villages, where each household has a substantial amount of space, weddings and funerals are normally held at home, sometimes spilling out into their farmhouses' front squares, with the erection of marquees and make-shift tables. Relatives and neighbors usually help out with the banquet preparation, guest services and in other ways. Most local residents in the same villages may join

these kinds of ceremonies. They normally last for two or three days.

After being resettled in urban housing districts, former farmers try to adhere to this rural custom. Most urban resettlement housing districts provide a hall especially for the ceremonies of weddings and funerals. When no time slot is available at these halls, they erect marquees and hold the ceremonies in public areas of the housing districts (Figure 6-6). Apart from relatives, the people who participate in these ceremonies or provide assistance are all previous neighbors and friends from the same villages. Residents from other villages seldom join in, unless they become intimate friends after moving into the same districts. To some extent, this kind of ceremony provides a place to gather and socially interact for people from the same village who, although living in the same housing districts, seldom meet and make contact.

Figure 6-6 Funeral ceremony at public place of urban resettlement housing district

6.5.3 Quarrels among neighbors

Apart from these two distinct manifestations, the shift from detached farmhouses to high-density apartments has largely reduced the amount of space available. The remaining rural habits, formed in former detached and spacious farmhouses, result in frequent quarrels or implicit resentments among neighbors in urban housing districts, over various issues such as noise from upstairs, water dropping when drying clothes and pipeline or wire routes. Gradually, along with increasing contractions of space, the neighborhood

mutuality, inherited from rural communities, may be undermined by such stresses and tensions among neighbors that result from the reduction of available space and remaining rural traditions.

Thus, the social interaction among neighbors in urban resettlement housing districts is in a dilemma. On the one hand, the switch from farmhouses to urban apartments has largely reduced available private space and enhanced spatial proximity between neighbors. Meanwhile, the accommodation of farmers from different villages in urban resettlement housing districts makes such former farmers reducing visiting and lingering of public places around their residential buildings. As a result, the social contact among neighbors is inevitable to increase in number and frequency. On the other hand, as presented in the preceding section, the spatial proximity of urban apartments and the remaining rural habits lead to increasing quarrels and implicit resentments among neighbors.

Thus, such frequent and primary social ties among neighbors in urban resettlement housing districts are not in a single social network, in which people densely interact with each other to form solidarity. Instead, because of existence of common stresses and tensions in each residential building, there

are multiple social networks among neighbors. In order to keep connections with different neighbors, most resettled farmers choose to be a member of all social networks, instead of heavily involving in one of them.

Chapter 7 Discussion and Recommendations

This chapter summarizes the whole research with succinct discussion and recommendations. It begins with a brief overview of the whole study. The research findings are generalized in the second section. The third section entails the implications of the research for policy makers and planners. The limitation of this study and recommendations for further study are also identified at the end.

7.1 Overview of the study

The rapid industrialization and urbanization that took place since the 19th century in most European and North American countries have attracted a large number of researchers to investigate their impacts on societies. In this context, the fate of communities in industrialized and urbanized societies has been extensively studied by many urbanists and sociologists. This kind of research was generalized by Barry Wellman in the 1970s as the "community question". Social networks, as the key element in defining the nature of community, are employed as the examining indicator of fate of community. Specifically, the research of the "community question" is mainly about: (1) the transformation of social networks when rural residents move to urban areas; and (2) the ways

macro urbanization processes affect personal social networks. There are three diverging arguments regarding this issue, namely, community lost, saved and liberated.

Since the market-oriented economic reforms initiated in the 1980s, Chinese cities have experienced rapid urbanization. Because of the country's peculiar institutional settings and urban policies in the post-reform period, urbanization in China is perceived by many researchers to be unique as it has neither involved the ''over-urbanization'' scenario as in many developing countries, nor has it been identical with the ''parallel-urbanization'' experience of developed economies.

This research aims to examine the "community question" with the cases of Chinese urbanization in post-reform period. It tries to answer the question "whether the unique urbanization in post-reform China will lead to a response to the "community question" different from that in other countries?" In order to acquire a better answer to this question, this study, with the example of urbanization led by state-initiated land requisition in Shanghai, attempts to achieve four major endeavors.

The first endeavor is to examine the urbanization process led by

state-initiated land requisition. By dividing the urbanization process into three stages of rural village, semi-urbanized village and urban resettlement housing district, it attempts to identify the unique features of the urbanization process led by state-initiated land requisition in post-reform China.

The second endeavor is to develop a conceptual analytical framework especially for the investigation of dynamics between the urbanization process and social networks with Chinese cases, according to the unique features of the urbanization identified in the first endeavor.

The third endeavor is to evaluate the status of farmers' social networks at the three stages of the urbanization process based on the questionnaire-based survey and, through critical comparisons, to generalize the transformation trend of social networks in the urbanization process.

The fourth endeavor is to adopt the analytical framework developed in the second endeavor to explain the data analysis outcomes derived from the third endeavor. Meanwhile, this is also the analysis process of dynamics between the urbanization process and transformation of social networks.

Triangulation research methodology is employed in this study such that qualitative approach is used to help explain the quantitative findings derived

from questionnaire-based surveys.

7.2 Discussion of research findings

7.2.1 Unique features of the urbanization process

This section responds to the research question 1: *What are the unique features of the urbanization process in post-reform China?*

Along with rapid urban expansion in Chinese cities, massive rural land has been converted for urban development through state-initiated land requisition. This conversion leads to a transition process for rural villages to become urban ones. Through comprehensive examination, the unique features of the urbanization process caused by state-initiated land requisition are generalized as:

(1) Because of dualistic urban-rural structure, China is divided into two separate components of city and countryside with huge disparity in social and economic status. The urbanization process led by state-initiated land requisition has engendered rural villages with more than a change in physical forms and land-use structures, but also involving the "re-engineering" of political and economic systems.

(2) Due to the co-existence of the planned economy and the market economy in post-reform China, the state and market have exerted simultaneous effects in the rural-to-urban transition process. The interplay between the state and market has resulted in two neighborhood patterns with peculiar features that rural villages take in the urbanization process, namely semi-urbanized villages and urban resettlement housing districts.

7.2.2 Transformation of farmers' social networks in the urbanization process

This section responds to the research question 2: *How do farmers' social networks transform during the Chinese urbanization process? Is the transformation trend in the Chinese case different from that in other countries?*

In this study, three improvements have been introduced in the research design regarding the investigation of changes in farmers' social networks in the urbanization process, in contrast to the existing research worker. It includes: (1) the rural-urban contrast of personal social networks is based on the real examination of farmers' social networks in rural villages, instead of normative and nostalgic imaginations of rural communities as seen in most research work; (2) an intermediate stage of the urbanization process is added to the

examination to acquire the cross-sectional transformation trend of social networks during the urbanization process; and (3) the features of sampled neighborhoods and individual variables of respondents, which may affect personal social networks, are controlled in the comparison of three stages to gain exact effects of urbanization on social networks.

(1) Support for the community lost argument with the case of Chinese urbanization

Through the comparison of farmers' social networks at the stage of rural village and urban resettlement housing district, this study has provided strong support for the argument of community lost with the case of urbanization led by state initiated land requisition in Shanghai. Table 7-1 displays the transformation of social networks when farmers move from rural villages to urban housing districts.

Table 7-1 Transformation of farmers' social networks in the urbanization process

Farmers' social networks	**Transformation in the urbanization process**
Breadth (number of primary ties)	Fewer primary ties
Relationship	Kinship, friend, neighbors, workmates (changes in proportion)
Intensity (frequency)	Slightly weaker
Membership	Limited members in several social networks
Scale	Neighborhood (no change)
Contact mode	In-person (no change)
Availability of social support	Less social support
Source of social support	From relatives to bureaucratic ties and relatives

Specifically, after the rural-to-urban transition process, former farmers have fewer primary ties. The proportion of various ties, along with their decrease, has changed in social networks. The frequency of interpersonal ties among farmers underwent a slight decrease, although it is not statistically significant.

Also, after having relocated to urban resettlement housing districts, such formers farmers from the same villages do not involve themselves in a single social network; instead, they become limited members in several social networks, for instance various interest groups. Besides, less social support is available for farmers from their personal networks, and some begin to seek assistance from bureaucratic forces.

That is to say, the industrial and urbanized social systems have largely weakened the traditional forms of personal social ties among resettled farmers, and dismantled the solidarity and cohesiveness inherited from previous rural communities. Also, such systems have transformed former farmers into individual citizens of Chinese urban society.

(2) Different features in transformation trend of social networks

Along with the loss of communities in the urbanization process, the transformation of farmers' social networks presents some different features in the case of Chinese urbanization.

In most studies, there is a common assertion of linear transformation of social ties along with the advancement of urbanization. However, as shown in this case study, the transformation of interpersonal social ties among farmers is

non-linear in this urbanization process. The number of primary social ties, frequency of social contact and available assistance from social networks decrease from the stage of rural village to semi-urbanized village and reach the lowest point at this intermediate stage, then, they increase as they go on to the stage of urban settlement housing district.

In addition, the structure of farmers' social networks has experienced some peculiar changes. In the urbanization process, former farmers have reduced their social contact with kin and friends, but enhanced it with neighbors and workmates. Moreover, neighbor-based ties have replaced kinship-based ties as the largest element in personal networks. Nonetheless, kin-based social ties remain one of the most important sources of personal ties, and most assistance in emergency conditions comes from family members or relatives, instead of neighbors.

Besides, social contact that takes place at home and in doorways has fallen significantly. Entryways of residential buildings in urban resettlement housing districts have become an important socializing place for former farmers. At the same time, the resettled farmers have reduced chatting and working as the means of social contact in daily life. Social connections based on common

interests have become the major element of social life in urban resettlement housing districts.

7.2.3 Interaction between urbanization process and social networks

This section responds to the research question 3: *If yes, what unique features of Chinese urbanization process lead to such difference, and how do these unique features cause such difference?*

A conceptual analytical framework has been developed for the examination of interaction between the urbanization process and social networks, based on the unique features of the urbanization process led by state-initiated land requisition. At the same time, the application of a conceptual framework also serves as the explanation of data analysis outcomes.

According to the analytical framework, the urbanization process led by state-initiated land requisition is divided into three stages of rural village, semi-urbanized village and urban resettlement housing district. This rural-to-urban transition process involves transformations not only in physical form, but also in political and economic systems, due to the dualistic socio-economic structure inherited from centrally controlled China. Based on the comprehensive examination of such urbanization process, the rural-to-urban

transition process is embodied into five aspects: residence and surrounding environment, demography, household registration identity (hukou), employment, and remaining rural traditions. Because of co-existence of the planned economy and market economy, the state and market engender simultaneous effects in these five aspects and leads to various physical and social changes. At the same time, farmers' resistance to urbanization plays an important role in such changes. Each social tie takes place in a certain space and through certain structures. Thus, the socio-spatial changes in these five aspects may encourage or inhibit social bonds among farmers. Table 7-2 lists such social and physical changes in these five aspects.

Table 7-2 Physical and social transformations in urbanization process

	State	Market	Farmers
Residence and surroundings	● Switch from farmhouses to urban apartments ● Complete house ownership ● Public places with people from different villages	● Provision of living facilities	
demography		● Influx of migrants in semi-urbanized villages	● Segregation to migrants
household registration identity	● Switch from peasantry to urbanites ● Gain of social security ● Organization of leisure activities	● Interest groups and clubs	
employment		● Provision of non-farm jobs ● urban lifestyles attached with non-farm jobs	
Remaining rural traditions			● social and spatial changes led by remaining of rural traditions and customs

Through the examination of impacts of such socio-spatial transformation on social networks, this research has successfully explained the peculiar changes in farmers' social networks presented in the data analysis section. That is to say,

the way the urbanization process affects social networks is understood through the application of the conceptual framework in this research.

Besides, by applying this framework, this study has also explained the non-linear transformation trend of social networks in the urbanization process. It finds that this is largely due to the influx of migrant workers into semi-urbanized villages in the urbanization process. The inflow of migrant workers brings a series of physical and social transformations to semi-urbanized villages, which include: (1) disputes arising from migrant workers becoming prominent among local neighbors and the implicit enmity emerging between groups with different opinions on immigration; (2) farmers making physical alterations to their farmhouses and modifying their own social behaviors in response to fears about crime, including the closure of such interaction places as open grounds and doorways of farmhouses and the reductions in the frequency with which people venture out; and (3) the areas farmers use to participate in activities within semi-urbanized villages have shrunk considerably. They are constrained to staying at home and some public places that are inaccessible to migrants.

Such socio-spatial transformations led by the influx of migrant workers have

caused a dramatic decrease in social contact among farmers in semi-urbanized villages. Following further urbanization, the interpersonal social ties among farmers have resumed after having relocated into urban resettlement housing districts, as migrant workers are unlikely to move there due to inflated house rents. That is why the transformation trend of interpersonal social ties among farmers is non-linear and reaches the lowest point at the stage of semi-urbanized villages.

The basic and core reason to such difference is the property rights delineation in post-reform China. The blurred property rights system underpins the whole arguments in terms of peculiar transformation of social networks during the urbanization process. It can be imagined that if property rights in rural land had been more readily defined and protected, land requisition would not have emerged as a core element in the urbanization process in China, and such difference will gradually dismiss.

7.3 Implication of the research

7.3.1 The "community question" research in Chinese urbanization

China is now in the transition process from the planned economy to the market economy, which provides an amazing experiment site to conduct

various studies and test the existing theory. Chinese urbanization is perceived as unique due to the country's peculiar institutional settings and urban policies in the transitional period. This study has conducted research into the "community question" in Chinese urbanization. Some new research findings have been acquired in the case of urbanization led by state-initiated land requisition in Shanghai. For example, the transformation trend of farmers' social networks is non-linear in the urbanization process, instead of common assertions of linear transformation. A conceptual analytical framework has been developed for the examination of the interaction between urbanization social networks in Chinese cases based on the unique features of Chinese urbanization, which provides a research direction for such kind of analysis in post-reform China. These new research findings have definitely improved the understanding of the "community question" and enriched the existing theory.

7.3.2 Building cohesive communities for resettled farmers

A social interaction system is regarded as a vital element in defining the nature of a community (Bridge, 2002; Mesch and Levanon, 2003). It provides sociability and support to facilitate solidarity activities and builds sentiment among local residents (Wellman and Leighton, 1979). Rural villages are usually

regarded as small, isolated, homogeneous communities with densely interactive social networks (Wellman, 1979; Keith, 2001). These features are particularly prominent among Chinese villages due to their adoption of a hermetical land system.

However, this study has proved that the macro urbanization process has largely weakened resettled farmers' primary social relations, and dismantled the solidarity and cohesiveness of rural communities. This research outcome is significant and helpful for us to plan vibrant and cohesive communities for resettled farmers, in which there are wide-spread and dense networks and mutual supports. Moreover, the understanding of the dynamics between urbanization and social networks is able to guide planners and policy makers to maintain the precious social connections among farmers into urban resettlement housing districts, and avoid turning them into other commercial housing districts, where few social interactions among residents exist, and they do not know each other and seldom provide mutual support.

The unique findings on the community question in China will be important neighborhood planning design guidelines for building cohesive community. For example, as concluded in the thesis, the social connection based on common

interest has become a major ways of personal social interaction among residents in urban resettlement housing district. Thus, the local governments can organize some interest groups or invite teachers to cultivate their interest, therefore, promoting their social contacts. Also, the understanding of new emergence of entryways of residential building as the important socializing place for former farmers is largely beneficial for spatial planning for resettled farmers.

7.4 Limitation of the study

7.4.1 Applicability of the research outcomes

To what extent can the research outcomes of this study be generalized in the Chinese context? This research only provides partial evidence, as it is primarily a case study with the example of urbanization led by state-initiated land requisition in Shanghai. The particularity of Chinese cities may affect the accuracy and applicability of this research. For example, some cities may adopt money-based resettlement for farmers who are replaced by urban development, instead of house-based resettlement, as we see in this case. The switch of resettlement method definitely results in differentiated social and physical transformation, thereby leading to differences in changes of interpersonal social

ties among farmers.

Similarly, there are a variety of urbanization categories in post-reform China, such as urbanization led by rural industrialization, rural-to-urban migration, economic development and land requisition. These urbanization patterns are completely different from each other in their transition processes, physical and social transformations, and the like. Thus, diverging effects of urbanization on social networks may be acquired due to different urbanization patterns.

What is more, the conceptual framework, which is developed in this study for the examination of the interaction between social networks and urbanization, should not be taken as a rigid formula to reach fixed and objective outcomes. Rather, one must look at it as a strategic device that is helpful in explaining the changes of neighborhood social ties and understanding the dynamics between macro urbanization processes and social networks.

7.4.2 Weakness of qualitative research methods

As in any study using qualitative or interpretative methods, the results are largely influenced by what researchers are willing to express and the interpretation is necessarily predisposed by the researcher's point of view. In this research, triangulation research methodology is employed such that

qualitative approach is used to help explain the quantitative findings derived from questionnaire-based surveys. This kind of research model, to some extent, may make up the defects of qualitative methods. Also, more than one round of field survey is helpful to reduce the mistakes and prejudices in qualitative research. However, it is recognized that these efforts still cannot eliminate the weakness of qualitative methods completely.

7.4.3 Under-research of social networks

The study of the "community question" involves two separate areas of study on urban and social aspects: urbanization and social networks. That is the reason that this issue had attracted a large number of urbanists and sociologists simultaneously. Because of constraints of my academic background, this research emphasizes particularly on the scope of urbanization. Little improvement has been made in the sphere of social networks. This study does not consider much about the defects of existing research work on social networks, such as structure of social networks and measurement of social ties. It just follows the existing and common opinions on social networks in the study.

7.5 Recommendations for further study

This study has conducted exploratory research about the "community question" in post-reform China in the case of state-initiated urbanization in Shanghai. Specifically, it has generalized the transformation of farmers' social networks in the urbanization process, and developed and applied an analytical framework to examine the interaction between urbanization and social networks.

In view of the particularity of Chinese cities and urbanization modes, to seek a generalization, more extensive empirical work with examples from different urbanization modes in other Chinese cities are needed to provide in-depth understanding of the "community question" in post-reform China.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

There have been extensive studies on the fate of community in industrialized and urbanized societies, which was generalized by Barry Wellman in the 1970s as the “community question”. Social networks, as the key element in defining the nature of community, are employed as the examining indicator of fate of community. The research on the “community question” is mainly about the transformation of social networks when rural residents move to urban areas, and the way macro urbanization processes affect social networks. There are three diverging argument regarding to this issue, namely, community lost, saved and liberated.

Since the market-oriented economic reforms in 1978, Chinese cities have experienced an unprecedented urbanization process. Urbanization in China is perceived by many scholars to be unique, because of the country’s peculiar institutional settings and urbanization policies. Therefore, this study attempts to examine the “community question” in Chinese urbanization. It aims to understand whether the unique urbanization in post-reform China will lead to a response to the “community question” different from that in other countries.

This study finds that the transformation of farmers’ social networks in the urbanization process led by state initiated land requisition in post-reform China is generally in line with the well-established argument of “community lost”. Nevertheless, there are some unique research findings on the “community question” with the case of Chinese urbanization, which include:

(1) The structure of farmers’ social networks has experienced some peculiar

changes along with the decline process of community. For example, neighbor-based ties have replaced kinship-based ties as the largest element of personal networks. Social contact that takes place at home and in doorways has fallen significantly. Entryways of residential buildings have become an important socializing place for former farmers. At the same time, the resettled farmers have reduced chatting and working as the means of social contact in daily life. Social connection based on common interests has become the major element of social life in urban resettlement housing districts.

(2) The transformation trend of interpersonal ties among farmers is non-linear, reacheing the lowest points at the stage of semi-urbanized village, and then slightly increasing with the move to the stage of urban resettlement housing district. Such a trend is different from the common assertion of linear transformation in the existent research work. This is largely due to the influx of migrant workers into semi-urbanized villages, which brings destructive impacts on rural interaction systems.

(3) The interaction process between urbanization and social networks in post-reform China is also dissimilar from that in other countries. Because of the existence of the dualistic socio-economic structure in post-reform China, the

rural-to-urban transition process involves a switch of political and economic systems, which are embodied in five aspects: residence and surrounding environment, demography, household registration status, occupation and remaining rural traditions. The state and market, together with farmers' resistance to urbanization, engender simultaneous effects in these five aspects and result in a variety of physical and social changes, due to the co-existence of the planned economy and market economy. Such peculiar physical and social changes lead to quantitative and structural changes in farmers' social networks.

Also, based on the unique features of urbanization process in post-reform China, a conceptual analytical framework has been developed for the examination of interaction between the urbanization process and social networks. By applying the proposed analytical framework in a dynamic analysis between the urbanization process and social networks, this research has successfully explained the transformation of farmers' social networks generalized from questionnaire-based data analysis. This conceptual analytical framework provides strategic device and research direction for such studies regarding the "community question" in Chinese urbanization.

Appendix Sample of Questionnaire (English & Chinese version)

Questionnaire No.

Dear Sir/Madam:

Thank you for your attention. Now, I am carrying out the research about the effects of urbanization on social ties among farmers. The enclosed questionnaire is a part of my PhD research to understand structure and changes of farmers' social network in urbanization process. I would be most grateful if you could contribute to this issue by answering the following questions. The information you provided will be kept confidential, and only used for academic analysis. The data collected are analyzed collectively, not individually. Your views are extremely important for my research.

Best regards,

Ying XU

---

(1) Please specify persons outside your homes that you feel closest contact in the village/district (no more than 6)

(2) Please rank the strength of closeness of the above relationships with you.

Do they come from the same village with you? (This question is only for respondents in urban resettlement housing districts)

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

(3) The basis of establishment of your above relationships.

1. (1) kinship (2) living nearby (3) common interest (4) work together (5) others _____

2. (1) kinship (2) living nearby (3) common interest (4) work together (5) others _____

3. (1) kinship (2) living nearby (3) common interest (4) work together (5) others _____

4. (1) kinship (2) living nearby (3) common interest (4) work together (5) others _____

5. (1) kinship (2) living nearby (3) common interest (4) work together (5) others _____

6. (1) kinship (2) living nearby (3) common interest (4) work together

(5) others _____

(4) How often do you keep in contact for each of the relationships?

1. (1) Almost everyday (2) once or twice a week (3) once or twice a month (4) less than once a month

2. (1) Almost everyday (2) once or twice a week (3) once or twice a month (4) less than once a month

3. (1) Almost everyday (2) once or twice a week (3) once or twice a month (4) less than once a month

4. (1) Almost everyday (2) once or twice a week (3) once or twice a month (4) less than once a month

5. (1) Almost everyday (2) once or twice a week (3) once or twice a month (4) less than once a month

6. (1) Almost everyday (2) once or twice a week (3) once or twice a month (4) less than once a month

(5) What kinds of assistance is available in each of the relationships?

1. (1) everyday matters (2) emergency situation

2. (1) everyday matters (2) emergency situation

3. (1) everyday matters (2) emergency situation

4. (1) everyday matters (2) emergency situation

5. (1) everyday matters (2) emergency situation

6. (1) everyday matters (2) emergency situation

(6) Where do you usually meet for each of the relationships?

1. (1) home or doorway (2) street (3) club (4) store or public place (5) entrance of residential building (6) other _____

2. (1) home or doorway (2) street (3) store or public place (4) club (5) entrance of residential building (6) other _____

3. (1) home or doorway (2) street (3) store or public place (4) club (5) entrance of residential building (6) other _____

4. (1) home or doorway (2) street (3) store or public place (4) club (5) entrance of residential building (6) other _____

5. (1) home or doorway (2) street (3) store or public place (4) club (5) entrance of residential building (6) other _____

6. (1) home or doorway (2) street (3) store or public place (4) club (5) entrance of residential building (6) other _____

(7) By what means do you contact for each of the relationships?

1. (1) chat (2) play (3) work (4) other_____

2. (1) chat (2) play (3) work (4) other_____

3. (1) chat (2) play (3) work (4) other_____

4. (1) chat (2) play (3) work (4) other_____

5. (1) chat (2) play (3) work (4) other_____

6. (1) chat (2) play (3) work (4) other_____

(8) Would you like to have more contact with neighbors?

Particulars of the respondent:

Gender: Age: Education level:

Thank you so much for your cooperation!

---The End---

调查问卷

编号：

先生/女士：

您好，

感谢您百忙之中抽空回答此份问卷。我现正研究城市扩展对农村社区的社会关系的影响。此问卷调查旨在了解农民社会关系的结构以及利用。非常感谢您能回答以下问题。您提供的所有资讯将被完全保密，且仅用于学术统计及分析。您的观点对我的研究来说非常重要。谢谢您的配合！

一、请列举出在你们村里/小区，除你家里人以外你感觉交往比较多的人（不超过 6 个）

二、请对以上每一个人的交往密切程度进行排序

您和他以前是不是一个村 (适用于拆迁安置小区的农民)?

（1）

（2）

（3）

（4）

（5）

（6）

三、你们之间往来建立的基础是什么?

（1）1、血缘关系　2、住得比较近　3、共同兴趣　4、一起干活　5、其他_____

（2）1、血缘关系　2、住得比较近　3、共同兴趣　4、一起干活　5、其他_____

（3）1、血缘关系　2、住得比较近　3、共同兴趣　4、一起干活　5、其他_____

（4）1、血缘关系　2、住得比较近　3、共同兴趣　4、一起干活　5、其他_____

（5）1、血缘关系　2、住得比较近　3、共同兴趣　4、一起干活　5、其他_____

（6）1、血缘关系　2、住得比较近　3、共同兴趣　4、一起干活　5、其他_____

四、你们之间交往的频率如何

（1）1、几乎每天一次　2、每周一两次　3、每月一两次　4、少于每月一次

（2）1、几乎每天一次　2、每周一两次　3、每月一两次　4、少于每月一次

（3）1、几乎每天一次　2、每周一两次　3、每月一两次　4、少于每月一次

（4）1、几乎每天一次　2、每周一两次　3、每月一两次　4、少于每月一次

（5）1、几乎每天一次　2、每周一两次　3、每月一两次　4、少于每月一次

（6）1、几乎每天一次　2、每周一两次　3、每月一两次　4、少于每月一次

五、你可以从你交往的人得到什么样的帮助？

（1）1、日常小事　2、重大事情

（2）1、日常小事　2、重大事情

（3）1、日常小事　2、重大事情

（4）1、日常小事　2、重大事情

（5）1、日常小事　2、重大事情

（6）1、日常小事　2、重大事情

六、你们之间的往来一般发生在什么地方？

（1）1、家里　2、路上　3、楼道口　4、老年活动室　5、商店　6、其他_____

（2）1、家里　2、路上　3、楼道口　4、老年活动室　5、商店　6、其他_____

（3）1、家里　2、路上　3、楼道口　4、老年活动室　5、商店　6、其他_____

（4）1、家里　2、路上　3、楼道口　4、老年活动室　5、商店　6、其他_____

（5）1、家里　2、路上　3、楼道口　4、老年活动室　5、商店　6、其他_____

（6）1、家里　2、路上　3、楼道口　4、老年活动室　5、商店　6、其他_____

七、你们一般通过什么样的方式交往？

（1）1、聊天　2、玩耍　3、工作　4、其他_____

（2）1、聊天　2、玩耍　3、工作　4、其他_____

（3）1、聊天　2、玩耍　3、工作　4、其他_____

（4）1、聊天　2、玩耍　3、工作　4、其他_____

（5）1、聊天　2、玩耍　3、工作　4、其他_____

（6）1、聊天　2、玩耍　3、工作　4、其他_____

八、你觉得你需要更多或者更少与其他村民的接触？

个人情况

性别：　　年龄：　　教育程度：

非常感谢您的配合！

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