



Urban Furnace: The Making of a Chinese City

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ABSTRACT

Urban transformation and the production of urban-rural difference have been defining characteristics of reform-era China. In recent years, the Chinese state has taken measures to relieve urban-rural inequity and coordinate urban and rural development. Beginning in 2003, these efforts took the form of “urban-rural coordination,” a national regime of policy reform that included local experiments throughout China. One of the earliest and most significant of these experiments was located in Chongqing, a provincial-level municipality in China’s southwest.

In this dissertation, I explore Chongqing’s urban-rural coordination program as part of a larger process through which urban-rural difference is produced, contested, and mobilized in China. I pursue this project through an investigation of Hailong, a peri-urban village that has undergone rapid transformation over the last decade. An experiment within an experiment, Hailong is a site of intense contestation, as planners, party and state leaders, and residents advance alternately competing and complementary visions of Hailong’s future. Far from a typical village, Hailong’s experimental status and peri-urban liminality clarify the contestation of urban and rural, exposing the politics of urban-rural production. While the specifics of Hailong’s transformation are unique, the village therefore offers a window into urban-rural dynamics common across China, making it a privileged case for investigation.

Through my investigation of Hailong, I pose the following question: How is urban-rural difference produced, and to what ends? Using a combination of ethnography and spatial analysis, I explore the spatial, temporal, and social dimensions of the political processes that produce urban-rural difference. My investigation reveals urban-rural difference as both an expression of the spatio-temporal unevenness of power and a means to consolidate and contest that power. This contradicts the predominant view that urban-rural difference is a natural outcome of economic unevenness—or, more specifically in the case of China, marketization. Rather, institutions such as markets and planning constitute tools of coordination and discipline mobilized to enforce compliance with actors' power projects, or alternatively, to contest them. Through this analysis, urban-rural coordination emerges as a political project that simultaneously expands state power and depoliticizes that expansion through its representation as a technical question of market relations.

The dissertation is divided into two parts. In Part I, I consider the rationalities and practices of the principal actors involved in Hailong's transformation: village planners, village leaders, and village residents. In Part II, I investigate the intersection of these various projects in Hailong's ongoing planning and redevelopment, and I conclude with a discussion of the role of the village collective as a crucial institution in the contestation of urban-rural difference.

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Nick R. Smith
Cambridge, MA
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Introduction:

Urban-Rural Coordination

1.1 Urban Furnace

Dripping sweat and chugging water, I crouched on a low, wooden stool in front of a hardware store at the southern end of Hailong Village. Feng Shunde, the elderly man who had waved me over as I walked by, took a plastic stool from a nearby stack and placed it next to mine. “Tired?” he asked, as he sat down. “A little,” I admitted, my legs aching from the four hours I had just spent hiking through Hailong’s back hills. “It’s too hot!” Feng chided, “What are you doing walking around in the middle of the day?” I looked up at the knot of a dozen or so men seated around us—mostly elderly, a few middle-aged, all clustered under the lengthening shade of a nearby tree. Their conversations hushed, and they listened intently for my answer. The owner of the hardware store pulled up a stool. “Research,” I replied, as simply as I could. “Research,” Feng enunciated the word with an exaggerated Chongqing accent for the benefit of our audience. Then he added, “Researching what?” My response to this question varied depending on context, but that day, in front of the hardware store, I opted for the simplest answer: “Urban-rural coordination” (*chengxiang tongchou*).

From across the circle, one of the other men, Xu Jianguo erupted, incensed: “Urban-rural equal pay (*chengxiang tongchou*)!? What equality? What pay?” I was familiar with the fiery rhetoric of Chongqing’s residents, but the invective behind Xu’s exclamation caught me by surprise. Moreover, it seemed he had misheard me, mistaking “urban-rural coordination” (*chengxiang tongchou*) for its near-homophone “urban-rural equal pay” (*chengxiang tongchou*).¹ Laughing, Xu’s neighbors pointed this out as they

¹ “Coordination” and “equal pay” are pronounced identically except for their tone markers. In “coordination” *tongchou* is pronounced third-second, while in “equal pay” *tongchou* is pronounced second-second.

tried to calm him down, but Xu refused to be placated and waved them off: “I know what he said. It doesn’t matter how you say it, it’s just a way to swindle us villagers.” At this point, it seemed the knot of men drew a little tighter and the laughter grew a bit less jovial. Several of the men cast nervous glances toward the owner of the hardware store and, behind the counter, his wife, who worked for the village administration.

Xu’s creative mishearing and the intensity of his reaction briefly exposed the political tension underlying “urban-rural coordination,” a national policy regime for which both Chongqing and Hailong were experimental sites. First introduced by China’s State Council in 2003, urban-rural coordination was designed to overcome the stark urban-rural divisions upon which contemporary Chinese society was built; however, like many national policy initiatives, it relied on the interpretation of local governments for its implementation. In 2011, as I visited the villages of Chongqing, the result often seemed to be greater urban-rural disparity, not less. In an unguarded moment, Xu voiced the frustration shared by many of his fellow villagers: that urban-rural coordination was just another tool for exploiting rural people and resources.

A cornerstone of President Hu Jintao’s “scientific development” platform, urban-rural coordination (more literally translated as “planning urban and rural as a whole”) connoted the comprehensiveness and objectivity of scientific rational planning. Xu’s poetic mondegreen thus destabilized the state’s representation of urban-rural relations as a purely technical problem waiting for a sufficiently well-planned solution. Instead, Xu’s outburst pointed to the messily political nature of China’s urban-rural relations, including issues such as equity and the distribution of resources (poetically encapsulated in the

word “equal pay”), wicked problems that scientific rationality could not resolve easily (Churchman 1967; Rittel and Webber 1973).

Before I could ask Xu to expand on his feelings, Feng leaned over and did his best to distract me from the embarrassing rant. “It’s too hot,” he explained again, “It gives us locals fiery tempers.” I nodded absently, trying to overhear the back-and-forth between Xu and the other men, but Feng continued, “Have you ever heard of China’s ‘three great furnaces?’” The furnaces—Nanjing, Wuhan, and Chongqing—were all cities located on the Yangtze River, where street pavement, the river’s humidity, and southern China’s climate combined to produce boiling summer temperatures. Chongqing residents took pride in their city being the hottest of the three, and I was often reminded that the city’s heat was not merely a matter of temperature: “In Chongqing, the weather is hot, the women are hot, and the food is hot!” But that didn’t keep Feng and others from complaining about the sticky heat—the summer of 2011 was Chongqing’s hottest on record, with three straight weeks at or above 40⁰C. As I walked toward the bus stop through the obstinate heat of early evening, Feng’s interjection stuck with me, not because the temperature explained Xu’s outburst particularly well, but because the metaphor of the furnace rang true with the poetics of Xu’s challenge to the technical rhetoric of urban-rural coordination.

As an “urban furnace,” Chongqing (and, within it, Hailong) was not just a source of heat, it was also a site of production—a place where the urban was manufactured and made. Urban-rural coordination was part of that process, producing a specific arrangement of urban-rural relations. At the same time, urban-rural coordination served to obscure that production by institutionalizing a common-sense understanding of urban

and rural as naturally occurring outcomes of social and economic structures. In this respect, it resembled “the anti-politics machine,” in which international agencies rhetorically construct development as a technical problem, thereby depoliticizing the inherently political process of development (Ferguson 1994: 194, 225-226, 255-256). Xu’s brief commentary exposed the politics underlying the production of urban-rural difference in China—rather than naturally occurring entities awaiting technical optimization, urban and rural emerged as contested categories open to interpretation and appropriation.

It was, in part, the common-sense quality of urban-rural difference that made it ripe for contestation. By reifying urban and rural as always-already existing, the presumption of urban-rural difference—what I term “methodological urbanism,” the uncritical acceptance and application of urban and rural as privileged categories of social and spatial meaning—placed them beyond the reach of analysis and critique.² As a result, urban and rural remained underspecified and ambiguous (Brenner 2013: 90), creating an opening for people like Xu to make alternative claims on their meaning. Nevertheless, power differentials meant that certain urban-rural formulations gained greater efficacy (Castells 1983: 302-305), leading to a gap between the totalizing malleability of urban-rural common-sense and the reality of urban and rural as politically produced—a gap that fed the fire of Xu’s frustration.

² The term “methodological urbanism” parallels similar characterizations of “methodological individualism,” “methodological nationalism,” and “methodological territorialism” (von Mises 1949: 41-43; Agnew 1994; Amelina et al. 2012).

The politics of urban-rural production mean that it is not enough to redefine urban and rural or to replace them with new categories.³ As Raymond Williams argues, our changing perceptions of urban-rural relations are inevitably colored by our specific cultural and historical positionalities, including our nostalgia for an idealized past that is always out of reach (1973: 1-45). Contemporary redefinitions of urban and rural are thus no less motivated than those they replace. And no matter how accurate, such conceptual refinements—whether interpreted as categories of analysis or of practice—are inevitably re-appropriated and made operative in the service of power. There are no “right” definitions, only those with greater or lesser social efficacy. To pretend otherwise is to reproduce the naturalization of urban-rural difference and succumb to the temptations of methodological urbanism.

Taking urban-rural difference as a political fact (rather than as a natural one), it is possible to pose a more fundamental question: How is urban-rural difference produced, and to what ends? The framing of this question, which focuses on the processual contestation of urban and rural, emerges out of the tradition of political anthropology (Swartz et al. 1966: 7-8). It also draws on Susan Fainstein’s exploration of the production of the urban built environment in New York and London, not as an uncomplicated response to demand but as a complex social intersection of interests (2001: 15-18). And it builds on the work of Henri Lefebvre, who defined the urban as a horizon of transformation unfolding through space and time (2003 [1970]: 16-17, 66-67). An

³ I use the term “politics” here in its generic sense to indicate the differential exercise of power, and I use the term “power” in an anthropological and Foucauldian sense as a “mode of action on actions” constituted through everyday practices (Foucault 1990 [1976]: 316; Herzfeld 2001: 122).

investigation of urban-rural difference must therefore deal reflexively with the social, spatial, and temporal dimensions of its production.

This is the starting point for the following work, a project I have undertaken through a combination of ethnography and spatial analysis. Through this project, I explore China's current regime of urban-rural coordination as part of a larger process through which urban-rural difference is produced, contested, and mobilized. My investigation reveals urban-rural difference as both an expression of the spatio-temporal unevenness of power and a means to consolidate and contest that power. This contradicts the predominant view that urban-rural difference is a natural outcome of economic unevenness—or, more specifically in the case of China, marketization. Rather, institutions such as markets and planning emerge as tools of coordination and discipline mobilized to enforce compliance with actors' power projects, or alternatively, to contest them.

Positing urban-rural difference as a function of the unevenness of power rather than the unevenness of the economy has important consequences, allowing us to move beyond the totalizing normativity of capitalism to investigate the specific and varied processes through which urban-rural difference is produced. Most of all, this approach allows us to stop seeing Chinese urbanization as aberrant and Chinese planning as failing, and enables us to start truly evaluating and criticizing their own logics and contradictions. Unlike several recent studies, which have concluded that the only way to fix Chinese planning is to completely overhaul China's social and political system (an improbable outcome, and one over which China's planners have little control) (Leaf and Hou 2006: 574; Yu 2014: 274), this work is oriented toward the possibility of reform within the

context of China's existing institutions. To this end, I seek to provide a set of analytical tools and critical insights that may help Chinese planners and policy makers reflexively reevaluate their theoretical assumptions and practices.

I pursue this project through the lens of a single ethnographic case study—Hailong Village, a village that is being made into a city. An experiment within an experiment, Hailong is a site of intense contestation, as planners, party and state leaders, and residents advance alternately competing and complementary visions of the kind of city Hailong might be. Its position between urban and rural—both urban and rural and simultaneously neither—flouts the common-sense stability of urban-rural difference. Far from a typical village, Hailong's experimental status and peri-urban liminality clarify the contestation of urban and rural, peeling back the government's obfuscating rhetoric of social harmony to expose the messy politics of urban-rural production. While the specifics of Hailong's transformation are unique, the village therefore offers a window into urban-rural dynamics common across China, making it a privileged case for investigation. Moreover, by grounding my research in Hailong's ongoing social and spatial transformation, I am able to pursue urban-rural coordination not only as represented in the abstract confines of official government policy but as enacted through actors' transformative and transgressive practices.

The work is organized into two parts and seven chapters, for which the remainder of the introduction provides a structural and conceptual frame. The introduction begins with an overview of urban-rural coordination and its institutional context (1.2). This includes a discussion of the two basic premises of my argument, that urban-rural coordination constitutes a political project aimed at the expansion of state power and that

it depoliticizes this project by representing it as a technical question of market relations. I then describe my methodology (1.3), including my reflexive combination of ethnographic and spatial analysis and my selection of Hailong as a case study.

Each of the three chapters in Part I consider the rationalities and practices of the principal actors involved in Hailong's transformation: village planners, village leaders, and village residents. Chapter 2, "The Planning Bureau," focuses on Chongqing's planners and their responses to urban-rural coordination, which destabilized some of the core assumptions in Chinese planning. Through their efforts to stabilize the scientific quality of planning, these planners revealed the logic by which urban-rural difference was produced and reproduced as a function of expanding municipal power and the withering of collective village institutions. In Chapter 3, "The Hailong Experience," I investigate the narrative construction of Hailong's development by the village's leaders, who sought to strengthen Hailong's collective institutions as an alternative to the municipal government's ongoing urban power project. Chapter 4, "Living on the Edge," explores Hailong residents' experiences of urban-rural transformation and their reluctance to participate in the transformative projects of either the municipality or the village collective. Through their everyday practices in the pursuit of survival and stability, residents challenged hegemonic norms of urban-rural difference and suggested alternative urban-rural formulations based on the rescaling of collective institutions.

In Part II, I investigate the intersection of these various projects in Hailong's ongoing planning and redevelopment. Chapter 5, "Relaunch," considers the statutory planning process for the redevelopment of the village, through which new political coalitions were built and competing urban-rural power projects were consolidated.

Spatial planning emerged as a coordinating function of the Chinese party-state that could be traded between different party-state actors, including both local governments and village collectives. In Chapter 6, “Hailong City,” I explore the process of plan implementation, in which Hailong’s statutory plan was creatively transformed into a radical vision of village urbanization and Hailong’s social space was prepared for redevelopment. Through this process, the site of urban-rural contestation was transposed from the politics of planning to the politics of the marketplace, in which market relations were instrumentally created, mobilized, and destabilized in order to consolidate and contest power. Chapter 7, “The Contested Village,” provides a conclusion to the work, thematically summarizing the key findings and discussing the central role played by the village collective in the mediation of urban-rural difference in China. I also explore Hailong’s significance for understanding village planning and the production of urban-rural difference elsewhere in China and the world.

1.2 Urban-Rural Coordination

First introduced in 2003 as part of Hu Jintao’s “scientific development” platform, urban-rural coordination was billed as a program designed to alleviate some of the starkest inequities in Chinese society. The new policy regime called for increased investment in rural development, an end to the mass expropriation and exploitation of rural residents in the name of urbanization, and, ultimately, equilibrium and equity between urban and rural China (Fang et al. 2006). But, as with many well-intended national initiatives, the success of urban-rural coordination has relied on local implementation.

The State Council designated the municipalities of Chengdu and Chongqing as the first two experimental areas for urban-rural coordination in 2007. Approximately 300 kilometers apart, Chengdu and Chongqing are the metropolises of China's southwestern interior (Figure 1.1). They share similar cultures, cuisines, and dialects, as well as a healthy rivalry. This spirit of competition only intensified after 1997, when Chongqing was carved out from Sichuan (of which Chengdu is the capital) and designated as an independent provincial-level municipality. This status, granted to only three other cities in China, placed it under the direct supervision of China's State Council and granted it significant development powers over a wide hinterland. In administrative terms, it transformed Chongqing into one of the world's largest cities, covering more than 82,000 square kilometers (approximately the size of Ireland) and including more than 30 million people. But this urban behemoth was an artifact of the administrative and statistical systems that govern Chinese development. The eponymous municipal seat comprised just 5,500 square kilometers and about 7 million people (Figure 1.2).

Chengdu, which began its implementation of urban-rural coordination as early as 2003, has been widely praised for pursuing a more comprehensive and integrated set of policies, including the adoption of many European and American planning norms (Ye and Legates 2013: 69-93). But, as Chongqing officials were fond of pointing out, Chengdu was a special case. Its relatively small size (1,617 km² and 6.7 M people, compared to Chongqing's 82,403 km² and 28.9 M people), flat topography, and rich soil made rural development a simpler task. According to Chengdu's critics, the municipality's experimental policies might work in Chengdu or China's coastal provinces, which enjoyed fertile agricultural land and high levels of wealth, but they

would not help where they were needed most, in the country's mountainous and underdeveloped interior.

By contrast, Chongqing, with its mountainous topography, weak agricultural base, and large rural population, was more representative of the rest of China. "An important part of experimentation is propagation," one Chongqing official argued. "And Chongqing is like a microcosm of China. All of the nation's problems are concentrated here, and the gap between urban and rural is extremely wide. So, the results of our experiments should be applicable for the entirety of the country. If Chongqing can coordinate urban and rural, all the other parts of China should be able to do it, too."

1.2.1 Dimensions of Urban-Rural Difference

Chongqing's experimental reforms sought to coordinate urban and rural along three main dimensions of difference: administration (including planning), land, and population. This section provides a brief introduction to the institutions of urban-rural difference in each of these areas, as well as Chongqing's programs of coordination. Subsequent chapters will consider each of these dimensions in more depth.

The Chinese state is frequently portrayed as a nested hierarchy, wherein each level of territorial administration both encompasses and supersedes those below it (Cartier 2005; Ferguson and Gupta 2002: 982). A unit's administrative rank determines the political and economic resources to which it has access and the powers that it can exercise. In theory, each unit only has two relationships—up and down to the units immediately above and below (Ma 2005). Underlying the national central state, there are six levels of state administration: provincial, sub-provincial, prefectural, sub-prefectural,

county, and township (Figure 1.3).⁴ Different permutations of this framework reflect China's system of urban-rural differentiation. For instance, a county-level unit could be a rural county, an urban (sub-municipal) district, or a county-level municipality. Designation as an urban municipality is based on statistical benchmarks, such as population, and grants the unit certain policy and development powers. State units are thus incentivized both to move up the nested hierarchy and to attain urban status (Ren 2014).

The township or sub-district is the lowest administrative level of state government. Below this are institutions of collective governance, which are not formally part of the state. In urban areas this is the community or neighborhood, while in rural areas this is the administrative village, which is further subdivided into "natural villages" or communities, smaller, more-or-less contiguous settlements of a handful of households. Administrative villages arose in the early twentieth century as a means to organize and modernize the rural population, and their contemporary manifestation evolved from the disbanding of rural production brigades in the 1980s (He, Xu. 2003). They can vary from several hundred to several thousand people. Theoretically autonomous entities, these villages are governed by ambiguously defined collective institutions (Pils 2005: 242; Oi 1999). In practice, each village is run by the party secretary of the local branch of the Chinese Communist Party, integrating the village into the top-down system of party

⁴ Throughout this work, I use the term "local governments" to describe this entire hierarchy of administration, from the provincial-level municipality of Chongqing to the town of Baishiyi. Wherever possible, I specify the particular governmental actor that is acting. My use of the term "local governments" reflects the ambiguity that often surrounds such action. For instance, a particular action may be undertaken by the town government, but that action may be at the direction of the municipal government as communicated (and, sometimes, reinterpreted) by the district government.

discipline and direction, which parallels the institutions of state government (Hsing 2006a: 105).

The distinction between the rural state, administered by county and township governments, and the collective rural, governed by collective village institutions, is reflected in terminology. The word *xiangcun*, which concatenates the characters for township and village and is translated into English as both “rural” and “country,” designates the former, while *nongcun*, combining the characters for agriculture and village and translated as both “rural” and “village,” designates the latter. Villages, or *cun*, are included in both of these words—the state-governed countryside and the collectively-governed agricultural rural—just as they occupy an ambiguous space distinct from but subject to the authority of the party-state.

As a function of state administration, planning is also organized along urban-rural lines. China’s urban planning regime only governs urban land, disregarding the rural hinterlands of municipal territories (Yeh and Wu 1999: 242). This produces notable spatial disjunctures, where pockets of rural land develop according to a regulatory regime separate from that governing the surrounding city. In 1993, the State Council issued regulations for the planning of rural villages and towns, but such plans were rarely produced and they were typically managed by a separate bureaucracy—the construction bureau rather than the planning bureau.

The 2007 Urban-Rural Planning Law brought urban and rural planning under a unified legal framework, for the first time extending China’s statutory planning regime to rural areas. Combined with urban-rural coordination, this legal change precipitated an institutional realignment within Chongqing’s municipal bureaucracy. Rural planning was

moved from the Bureau of Housing and Urban-Rural Construction to the Municipal Planning Bureau, thus integrating urban and rural planning within one administrative bureaucracy. To manage this new portfolio, the planning bureau established the Rural Planning Management Division. While planning for urban and rural areas was still separated into distinct systems (Shi 2008), these changes consolidated government control over rural planning activities, including village plans. This arrangement was codified in the planning law, which specified that the plan for each administrative territory was to be organized by the government of that territory. The only exception to this rule was village planning, which was to be organized by the supervising township government, not the village collective.

Much like planning, Chinese land is divided into two separate urban and rural land regimes, granting ownership rights over urban land to the state, while rural land is collectively owned (Ho and Lin 2003: 683-685; Li et al. 2010: 17-18; Lin 2009: 11, 28-30). Both types of land are governed by the Land Management Law. In principle, state ownership is exercised by the State Council on behalf of the state and the people. But, effective control is exercised by local governments, such as municipalities, which are agents of the State Council (Lin 2009: 28-32, 55-62, 75; Hsing 2010: 34). These local governments manage land resources within their territorial boundaries, including the allocation and sale of use rights. Use rights to urban land can then be exchanged on the secondary market and, subject to planning restrictions, developed for industrial, commercial, residential, and other uses (Wu et al. 2007: 69-110).

Collective ownership of rural land is substantially more constrained. First, it is ambiguous which collective actor has the right to exercise ownership. In some cases this

has been the natural village, in others the administrative village or the village's economic cooperative, and in still other cases the collective economic organization of the governing township (Brandt et al. 2002: 73; Ho 2001: 401-409; Lin 2009: 28-29). This situation is further complicated by the managerialism of village leaders and the influence of their township superiors, who together exercise effective control over collective land. This has led some scholars to characterize collective ownership as local government ownership or cadre ownership (Cai 2003: 663-665; Putterman 1995: 1052).

Collective land is divided into construction land and agricultural land, for which village households can hold use rights, and wasteland, which is unused or unallocated land that is often unofficially used for construction or other purposes. Construction land is used for village infrastructure and services or is allocated to each household as housing construction land (*zhaijidi*). Agricultural land is allocated to village households for subsistence or on a contract basis, as governed by the Rural Land Contracting Law. But use rights to agricultural land do not necessarily grant villagers the right to choose how the land is to be farmed—they have the right to use it and to collect income from its use, but decisions about what types of crops to plant or where to sell them are sometimes made by collective or government authorities (Li et al. 1998: 64-65; Lin 2009: 28-29).

The alienation and development of this land is also strictly circumscribed. While villagers' use rights can be transferred to other village households or leased to non-village households, they may not be directly exchanged in China's land markets, which are limited to urban land (Li 2003; Li et al. 2010: 17-18). Neither can collectives lease or transfer land to outside investors, though black market transfers are widespread (Hsing 2006a: 109-114; Lin 2009: 95-96; Wu et al. 2007: 69-110). Moreover, agricultural land

cannot be converted to non-agricultural purposes without the permission of the state (Cai 2003: 665). This, combined with the unpredictability of land tenure, has meant that the exchange of rural use rights has been relatively limited (Zhu et al. 2006: 784-785).⁵

By contrast, the state, as represented by local governments, has the power to unilaterally expropriate rural land, convert it to urban construction land, and sell its use rights to developers. In principle, this process can only be undertaken for development that is in the public interest, but the public interest is vaguely defined (Hsing 2006a: 105; Li 2003). Moreover, the requirement that all agricultural land must first be expropriated and converted to urban status before being leased or developed creates a state monopoly over the rural land market. This right of expropriation effectively amounts to residual state ownership, in which all collective and household land rights are liquidated and transferred to the state (Guo 2001: 424-425; Pils 2005: 257). The fiscal pressures on local governments and the substantial urban-rural rent increment have thus resulted in widespread expropriation (Ding 2007: 3-11; Lin 2009: 12; Sargeson 2004).

In order to restrain the conversion of agricultural land to urban uses, the state has instituted a system of strict land quotas. Inspection and approval procedures used in the 1980s proved ineffective, since offenders would often co-opt supervising levels of government through the sharing of proceeds (Ho and Lin 2003: 686-695). In 1998, the central state rewrote the Land Management Law to institute a quota system overseen by the Ministry of Land Management and its subsidiary bureaus. Instead of an application process, the quota system assigns land conversion caps for each territorial unit and requires that new agricultural land be reclaimed to ensure that there is no reduction in

⁵ The State Council recently announced guidelines for the establishment of markets for rural land rights, but the scope of these markets is still limited.

total cultivated land (Ibid.). Quota assignments often become the subject of bargaining between different levels of government, and the regulatory efficacy of the land management bureaus is constrained by the fiscal and political power of the local governments within which they are embedded (Hsing 2006b: 588; Wu et al. 2007: 113-157).

In Chongqing's marquee land reform policy, the municipality allowed rural construction land to be converted into a tradable asset known as a "land note." Under this system, construction land that was returned to agricultural use produced a financial instrument that permitted the buyer to use an equal amount of agricultural land elsewhere in the municipality for construction (Tian 2010). Functioning much like a transfer of development rights, these land notes were traded on an open market, providing additional development capacity beyond that allocated through the land quota system. This system ensured that capacity was allocated to its highest and best use, and it enabled rural villagers—even those in remote areas—to monetize their land use rights (Yuan 2014).

In addition to administration and land, China's approach to population management also constituted an important dimension of urban-rural difference. In his 2012 address on the state of the nation, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao heralded "an historic change in China's social structure": China's rate of urbanization had for the first time exceeded 50 percent (2012). More specifically, Wen was referring to China's "urban population," which in 2011 reached 690.79 million, or 51.3 percent of total population. Yet, in the months following Wen's address, Li Keqiang, Wen's successor as premier,

questioned the accuracy of this statistic (2012). According to Li, China's real urbanization rate was only 35 percent.⁶

This discrepancy was a function of China's notoriously opaque urban statistics, which define the urban population according to artificial administrative designations (Zhou and Ma 2005). The statistic quoted by Wen counted all those residing within the administrative boundaries of state-designated cities and towns for longer than six months in a given year. This included approximately 200 million people who lived and worked in administratively-designated urban areas but lacked administrative recognition as urban citizens through the household registration system (Chan 2012: 66-69).

Household registration (*hukou* or *hujū*) is a system of social and political discipline tying people to their official place of residence and conditioning their access to resources and life chances (Chan 2010; Solinger 1999: 27-148). Dating back to disciplinary institutions of the Warring States period (5th century BCE), household registration was reinstated by the Maoist regime in 1958, and its strictures have continued into the reform period (Wang 2010: 337-342). Through household registration, the state collects information on its citizens, tracks their places of residence, regulates migration, and allocates resources (Ibid.).

The disparities between urban and rural registration are particularly stark, leading to a differentiated model of citizenship (Solinger 1999: 5-7; Wu and Rosenbaum 2008). For instance, those with urban registration are granted access to state-sponsored services and welfare, colloquially referred to as the "five articles of clothing," including employment insurance, health insurance, retirement insurance, education, and housing.

⁶ Portions of the discussion on population management were first published in the *Journal of Urban Affairs* (Smith 2014a).

By contrast, those with rural registration are granted use rights to agricultural land, housing construction land, and natural resources, also known as the “three articles of clothing.”

Though the Chinese state has liberalized migration controls, resulting in a “blind flood” of rural-urban migrants, the ability to change one’s formal registration status remains highly restricted. The exclusion of rural-urban migrants from state-sponsored welfare and services reduces the costs of rapid urbanization, and the discipline to which they are subjected prevents the development of the large shantytowns characteristic of urban transformation in other parts of the world (Chan 1994: 112; Chan 2010: 359-360). This discrimination is particularly evident in the areas of housing, health, and education, with significant disparities in both access and quality.

The companion to land reform, Chongqing’s household registration reform provided a pathway for all the municipality’s rural residents to acquire urban household registration. In its first phase, the program primarily targeted rural-urban migrants, allowing migrants (including those from other provinces) who worked in an urban area for a fixed period of time and had stable accommodation to acquire urban registration without any additional financial investment (Tian 2010). The program, which aimed to add 10 million new urban residents by 2020, represented China’s most ambitious experiment in household registration reform.

Chongqing’s reform program required participants to give up their rural land use rights. This included converting their housing construction land into agricultural land (under the land reform program, as discussed above) and transferring control of their agricultural land back to the village collective, thereby enabling the commercialization

and industrialization of agricultural production. Compensation for this transfer varied from one-time payments to annual rents and shareholding rights. This compensation was then intended to subsidize participation in urban social insurance programs. Since participants had to give up their housing construction land, household registration reform also involved permanent relocation, either through the commercial housing market or through the municipality's ambitious public housing program, which sought to construct 40 million square meters of new public housing in just three years.

1.2.2 Urbanization by Other Means

To move beyond official policy and gain a better understanding of urban-rural coordination as it was conceived by the municipal government, I turned to Tian Ye, a senior official in the Municipal Bureau of Housing and Urban-Rural Construction and head of Chongqing's urbanization leadership group. Sipping tea in the café of Chongqing University's College of Architecture and Urban Planning, Tian bragged that he was the best person to ask about Chongqing's approach to urban-rural coordination. In other cities, visiting delegations of researchers or officials would be met by an entire panel of experts, each of whom would introduce his or her bureau's role in urban policy. In Chongqing, Tian boasted, he was the one who explained things to the supposed experts. When visiting delegations came, he would often meet them alone. If the visitors expressed surprise, Tian would encourage them to wait and listen—if he was unable to answer their questions, he would gladly find someone else who could. But, he insisted, it never came to that: "Everyone comes to me to understand urbanization in Chongqing."

In Tian's opinion, "Urban-rural coordination and urbanization (*chengzhenhua*) are not so different. If you view urban-rural coordination as an outcome, then urbanization is the only way to achieve that outcome. But," he qualified, "in truth, urban-rural coordination is also a process." What Tian elaborated was a political program to push the country asymptotically toward total urbanization. As a process, urban-rural coordination would increase China's urbanization rate from 50 percent to 70 percent and beyond. Once the country's urbanization rate exceeded 70 percent, Tian admitted, further urbanization would be quite difficult. At this point, he claimed, urbanization would slow and urban-rural coordination as process would give way to the condition of urban-rural coordination as accomplished fact.

At a national level, this equivalence between urban-rural coordination and urbanization was reflected in the subsequently released National Plan for a New Form of Urbanization, which incorporated the principal aspects of urban-rural coordination into a more explicit and wide-reaching national urbanization program. Thus, while my investigation focuses on a set of historically and geographically circumscribed policy experiments, it also speaks to a larger, more-or-less continuous state-led project of urbanization.

The prominent role of the Chinese state in the production of urban transformation can be traced as far back as the early imperial period, when cities often existed only as a function of their administrative designation and city walls spatially inscribed the social distinction between an urban political elite and the rural and suburban populace (Lewis 2006: 150-170; Wheatley 1971: 32-38, 74-76, 174-187). Similarly, the government's isolation of foreigners and their trade in treaty ports created concentrations of economic

activity and social privilege, feeding the production of urban-rural difference during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Esherick 2000: 10-11; Mann 1984; Murphey 1974).

In Maoist China, strict limits on urban growth and rural-urban migration were used to maintain control over population centers and reduce the consumption costs of rapid industrialization (Chan 1994: 60-82; Lü et al. 2001: 112-113, 131-132, 153-155; Kirkby 1985: 14-21). Urban and rural operated as isolated spheres, with only limited social and economic exchange, which was highly choreographed by the state. Moreover, these connections privileged urban areas, treating the rural as a labor reservoir and a source of cheap agricultural produce to support industrial production (Chan 1994: 69; Kirkby 1985: 14, 214).

With the advent of reform in 1978, economic liberalization led to rising rural incomes and a burgeoning labor surplus. In the 1980s, the state encouraged the establishment of township and village enterprises as a way to absorb the excess labor force by letting villagers “leave the land but not the village” (Chan 1994: 110-112; Huang 2008). While this initiative served to keep urban populations manageable, they also led to rapid rural transformation (Ma and Fan 1994; Zhu 1999: 92; Zhu 2002: 15). Commonly referred to as “bottom-up” or “*in situ*” urbanization, these new agglomerations challenged the state’s monopoly over urbanization for the first time since the founding of the People’s Republic, and subsequent policies sought to re-exert state control. The “cities leading the counties” program reinforced urban dominance by placing large rural hinterlands under the direct control of municipal governments (Cartier 2005: 30; Chan 1994: 105; Hsing 2006a: 106; Ma 2005: 486-490). The recent “new socialist countryside”

campaign has used state financed rural development schemes to promote urbanization and reduce the rural population (Ahlers and Schubert 2009: 57-58).

The majority of these policies have constructed urban-rural difference as a way to benefit urban areas and populations at the expense of those defined as rural. Even when providing opportunities for the improvement of rural livelihoods, these initiatives were consistently aimed at relieving pressure on cities and preventing potentially destabilizing phenomena such as slums, homelessness, and food shortages. In this light, the state's urban bias and its continuous reproduction and recalibration of urban-rural difference can be seen as integral parts of its effort to maintain political control over its population and ensure regime stability (Wallace 2014: 1-7).

This tendency was further reflected in Tian Ye's account of urban-rural coordination, which, he argued, primarily focused on the development of small cities and towns. According to Tian, urban-rural coordination did not seek the urbanization of collectively governed rural villages but the strengthening of the state-administered network of cities and towns. When I expressed an interest in the implications of urban-rural coordination for villages, Tian emphasized that the "rural" (*xiang*) in "urban-rural coordination" (*chengxiang tongchou*) was distinct from the "rural" (*nong*) of collectively governed villages. In Tian's strict interpretation, urban-rural coordination only included the *xiang*, the state's rural administrative network, such as counties, towns, and townships. Most villages would only benefit indirectly, as development "trickled down" and as strengthened towns "carried" surrounding villages.

What Tian described was a program of structural rural dependence, in which excess urban capital was exported to passive rural areas: "It's not a mutual exchange. It's

a kind of luxury. The city gives the countryside what it has left over, and we coordinate that transfer.” Through such transfers, urban-rural coordination would bring public services and infrastructure to rural areas and thus shrink the prosperity gap between urban and rural. But rural areas would not be given the capabilities to provide these public goods for themselves—they would perpetually rely on the wealth of cities for their survival.

Tian anticipated claims of continuing urban-rural inequity, like those voiced by Xu Jianguo: “Some people say public services should be equalized. I strongly object to this idea. Equalization is an ideal state. It’s something you would never be able to realize. A city is a nucleus. How can it be equal with the rays that radiate from it?” Tian then described the network through which urban wealth trickled down through small cities, central towns, regular towns, and finally out to villages. “So the big city can’t be equal with the villages,” he continued. “Public services can’t be equalized. They should be balanced.” Urban-rural difference and urban superiority were thus baked into the very logic of urban-rural coordination. In its implementation, urban-rural coordination would not eliminate urban-rural difference, it would reproduce it.

Rather than equality, Tian claimed that the objective of urban-rural coordination was social harmony, another central principle of Hu Jintao’s national policy platform. If the gap between urban and rural was too wide, conflicts might arise, and rural populations might begin to oppose the state-led program of development: “If we can’t collaborate, how can we develop?” By providing public goods for the rural population, the government was thus purchasing obedience. Moreover, by ensuring structural rural dependence, the government was also strengthening its ability to discipline disobedience.

This project was not limited to the material—urban-rural coordination also entailed rural obedience at the level of ideology. As Tian explained, “The urban I can understand rationally. But I don’t understand the rural. So we are forcing urban rationality onto rural areas.” Villagers’ thinking would be transformed in order to enable their integration into urban institutions and their adoption of urban norms, and the messy disorder of the rural would be made intelligible to local governments, enabling more effective direction and control. Under the guise of rationalization and harmoniousness, urban-rural coordination was thus aimed at the radical extension of state power.

1.2.3 Uneven Development

Implicit in Tian Ye’s description of urban-rural coordination was the logic of market reform, with the circulation of capital, labor, and goods formally extending from urban to rural areas. The forced rationalization of rural areas therefore meant the imposition of market rationality. For Tian, the link between marketization and urbanization was a natural one, built on a powerful narrative in reform-era China that portrayed urban-rural difference as the product of economic unevenness, with rural areas losing out because of their inability to fully participate in China’s market institutions. By bringing market mechanisms to rural areas, urban-rural coordination was thus eliminating barriers to a naturally occurring process of market-driven urbanization.

But in its implementation, Chongqing’s urban-rural coordination program suggested that economic unevenness could not be so easily separated from the unevenness of power. Rural areas were already fully engaged in market mechanisms, just not always those approved and controlled by the state. Urban-rural coordination therefore

entailed the substitution of a specific version of market rationality, in which state direction and decision-making prevailed. Rather than constituting a natural process, marketization was thus instrumentally mobilized as a tool of discipline and control, ensuring the continuation of structural rural dependence. While market mechanisms contributed to the production of urban-rural difference, they were only an intermediate cause. But as a policy narrative, the naturalism of market-driven urbanization effectively depoliticized the expansion of state power.⁷

The narrative of market-driven urbanization is tightly intertwined with the narrative of transition, in which reform-era China has been portrayed on an inexorable march of liberalization from command-and-control statism toward free-market capitalism (Castells 2000: 369). For many of China's urbanists, this transition has entailed the waning of the political interference that kept urbanization rates artificially low during the Maoist period and a return to natural, market-driven urbanization processes (Wen 2004; Zhu J. 2005; Ge 2006; Chen and Meng 2008; Zhou et al. 2009). According to this view, the extreme rapidity of China's urbanization during the reform era has resulted from the necessary process of regaining the nation's natural urban-rural equilibrium.

The logic of transition is inherently comparative: as China's economy becomes more like those of Europe and America, its pattern of industrialization and urbanization does as well (Zhu 1999: 149-156; Yu 2014: 53-55, 248). Chinese urbanization is thus normatively judged based on its adherence to dominant Euro-American models, in which free-market capitalism produces urban-rural difference through natural processes of

⁷ This draws on the arguments of Herbert Marcuse (1964, 1970) and Jurgen Habermas (1970), who identify the technical rationality of capitalism as a self-legitimizing ideology that removes its own ideological character from the arena of political debate.

agglomeration, uneven development, and crisis (Gordon 1978: 28-29; Harvey 1985: 171-176; Massey 1995: 7; Smith 2008: 1-9; Glaeser 2010; Brenner 2013: 98-109). This comparison is extended to analyses of urban planning, the primary role of which is presumed to be the regulation of China's increasingly marketized economy (Leaf and Hou 2006: 565-567; Hou 1999; Shi 2004: 24; Yu 2014: 53; Zhu J. 2005). This leads scholars like Li Yu to argue that "the social, economic and political forces driving [China's] city and regional planning system are not significantly different to those in the West" (2014: 248).

But it is not at all clear that China is transitioning to anything resembling a free market economy, and the synchronic intermingling of "pre-" and "post-reform" practices points to the emergence of new institutions that do not conform to either communist or capitalist models (Nee 1992: 3-5, 22-24; Lin 1995: 302-305; Smith 2014d). Despite the introduction of market reforms, the role of state power has remained decisive, with local governments simultaneously acting as builders of, regulators for, and participants in market institutions (Chan 2010: 63-66; Shi and Chen 2005: 46; Hsing 2006a: 109-112; Wu et al. 2007: 11-14, 83, 109-110; Xu and Yeh 2009: 562, 567; Xu et al. 2009: 908-910). Jean Oi has termed a particular variant of such behavior the "local corporatist state," a government or collective that acts like a corporation headed by the party secretary as chief executive officer (1992: 100-101, 114, 123-125; 1995: 1137-1139).

Chongqing's pursuit of urban-rural coordination represented a prime example of the importance of politics in the shaping of economic processes and the production of urban-rural difference. The central role of political power became clear through my conversations with Huang Guoyang, a senior official in Chengdu's Municipal Planning

Bureau. Despite his position in Chengdu, Huang claimed to have privileged insight into Chongqing's urban policy. He had attended Chongqing University, and his network in the city was extensive: "I know Chongqing," Huang said proudly. "I'm familiar with the highest levels of leadership, including their party secretary and mayor."

Huang described how Wang Yang, then Chongqing's Party Secretary, had gotten Chongqing designated as an experimental site for urban-rural coordination back in 2007. Unlike Chengdu, which had begun pursuing urban-rural coordination as early as 2003, Chongqing had little experience in the area. But Wang had served as Vice Director of the State Council Secretariat, a role in which he was responsible for managing relations with the all-important National Development and Reform Commission, and he used his high-level political contacts to ensure that Chongqing was awarded experimental status. Huang explained how shocked he and his colleagues were in April 2006 when word came down that Chengdu might get passed over in favor of Chongqing: "It was all backwards! But what could we do? Chengdu just didn't have as many political resources." In the end, the State Council took the unprecedented step of approving two simultaneous policy experiments: "Chengdu had already done a lot of work in this area, so the central government had to approve Chengdu. But the central departments couldn't not give Wang Yang face. So they approved both."⁸

With a tinge of bitterness in his voice, Huang compared the municipalities' two reform programs. Chongqing's development might be faster, he conceded, but the quality of Chengdu's development was better—even his contacts high in the Chongqing

⁸ The use of the double-negative here is an accurate representation of the phrase Huang used in Chinese and reveals his judgment of the political perversion of the policy experimentation process. Wang's political maneuvering forced the State Council *not* to do what they should have done, which was *not* to grant Chongqing experimental status.

government thought so. Huang insisted that all of Chongqing's achievements were driven by politics: "Chongqing has demonstrated some superior aspects. But all of these advantages come down to one thing: political superiority. All of the projects in Chongqing depended on national policies, on the central government's financial support, on state-owned enterprises that invested in Chongqing. All of this was due to Chongqing's political superiority."

For Tian Ye, such political favor was inseparable from the natural process of economic transformation. "Development," he claimed, "is always based on difference. We can't all develop together." Tian pointed to the "ladder-step" process of reform, whereby the central government allowed coastal provinces to develop before the interior: "China has always been like this. Otherwise, there would be no Shenzhen. Shenzhen would never have developed without relying on preferential policies." Chongqing was just getting in line for its turn to benefit from the largesse of the central government, and by using backroom politics to pursue growth, the municipal government was playing by a set of long-established rules. "If Chongqing wants to develop," Tian concluded, "we also need to rely on preferential central policies."

But to Huang, Chongqing's reliance on political maneuvering was excessive and unsustainable. For evidence, he pointed to the municipality's finances for the prior year. Chongqing's municipal government claimed that it had run a fiscal surplus, yet its annual expenditures had exceeded its annual income. "How was this possible?" Huang exclaimed. China's central government had transferred 115.7 billion RMB to Chongqing's municipal government, more than making up for the deficit. Chongqing's leaders were quick to point out that the fiscal transfer from the central government was

the smallest of all the western provinces. But, Huang rebutted, on a per capita basis, it was by far the largest. Again, it came down to politics. “It’s all very simple. Everyone understands. If Chongqing’s Party Secretary [Bo Xilai] were not a member of the Central Committee, could Chongqing get all this money? No way!”

This politically driven system of government investment reproduced itself within the municipality, and Huang asserted that almost all investment in Chongqing’s rural areas came from the government. As it happened, much of this money was funneled through Tian Ye’s office, which directed tens of billions of RMB in municipal subsidies to city and town governments. In addition, one hundred towns classified as “central towns” by the municipal government were each allotted 200 *mu* of land to increase their development capacity. And four specially designated “important towns” (including Baishiya, the town in which Hailong was located) were given even more in financial subsidies and policy leeway. Tian pointed to this uneven distribution of resources as one of the key components of urban-rural coordination.

In what became known as the “Chongqing model,” state-owned enterprises also took a leading role in driving the municipality’s economy, with the government redistributing proceeds through the provision of public goods and services (Huang 2011: 578-585). In particular, the “eight big companies” that dominated Chongqing’s real estate development sector were all state-owned. These firms borrowed cheap money from state-backed banks, while smaller, private firms were faced with interest rates that were two-to-four times higher. Huang saw these practices as violations of market principles, derisively using a four-character idiom to describe the government’s role: “the rich scramble after profit.”

But the distinction Huang drew between state and market was an artificial one. The interpenetration of politics and economics may have been particularly evident in Chongqing, but it was not unique. Chongqing clarified a mode of operation that was common across China. Even in Chengdu, the municipal government played a prominent role in directing development (Ye and Legates 2013: 123-147). Huang's complaints about Chongqing's backroom politics had a hint of sour grapes—the protestations of a player whose team had played the game less well (Herzfeld 2005: 147-182). And there was some *schadenfreude* as he pointed out the reversals heaping up on Chongqing in the wake of Bo Xilai's recent downfall. It was the uneven distribution of power that had allowed Chongqing to develop so rapidly, but that power could also be redistributed. The ebb and flow of power—its accumulation in certain places and its dissipation in others—is what ultimately explained the production of socio-spatial unevenness and urban-rural difference in Chongqing and in Hailong.

1.3 Methods

Huang's narration of the origins of Chongqing's urban-rural coordination program pointed to the deeply rooted politics of urban-rural difference and the common-sense naturalism by which these politics are obscured. Independent scholars are not immune to these politics, embedding the assumptions of urban-rural difference in the theories and norms that guide their research. In order to investigate the production of urban and rural, it is therefore necessary to destabilize these implicit conceptual foundations. To do so, I propose a reflexive approach to research, one that questions these assumptions, theories, and norms by focusing on the practices of the diverse actors

who contribute to the production of urban and rural in China. Through the mutual interrogation of these practices (including my own) I trace the processes through which urban and rural are produced.

Though more often represented as “reflective planning,” the tradition of reflexivity in planning scholarship is long (Davidoff 1965; Forester 1999; Friedmann 1973; Healey 2006; Sandercock 1998; Schön 1983). Among these, it is Leonie Sandercock’s work that comes closest to recognizing the alternative theories and rationalities of non-planners (1998: 53-54, 77-80). In opposition to the Enlightenment tradition of modern planning, she pursues “insurgent planning histories” that privilege the subaltern voices of underrepresented communities. Building on these foundations, a new generation of planning scholars have pursued even more radically reflexive approaches, destabilizing—and sometimes even denying—the rational norms of planning knowledge (Arkaraprasertkul 2012; Howe and Langdon 2002; Lissandrello and Grin 2011; Mack 2012). Through a combination of ethnography and spatial analysis, I seek to contribute to this tradition, engaging the theories and practices of diverse actors in order to explore the process of urban-rural production.

1.3.1 Ethnography

As the “study of common sense” (Herzfeld 2001: 1), anthropology offers a particularly effective set of ethnographic approaches for exploring the naturalism of urban-rural difference. And by emphasizing process, ethnography enables an investigation of the politics through which urban-rural difference is produced (Swartz et al. 1966: 8). Moreover, by treating actors’ representations and practices as rhetorical acts,

ethnography allows us to approach urban-rural difference as a field of political contestation. Instead of investigating the extent to which urban and rural fit an objectively perceived reality, we can approach urban-rural difference as a socially efficacious binary that is repeatedly produced and reproduced as it is mobilized by actors in pursuit of diverse objectives (Herzfeld 2005: 20, 27). Instead of asking *what* urban and rural are, we can ask *how* they come to be and *why*.

This ethnographic approach eschews positivist reductionism and postmodern relativism in favor of what Michael Herzfeld calls the “militant middle ground” (2005: 217; 2014: 7). Grounded in realist representations of the messy indeterminacy of social experience, this brand of ethnography avoids the easy closure of binary definition, which would reproduce the common-sense assumptions that are the subject of analysis. Instead, ethnography demands that those who study socio-spatial transformation reflexively recognize our engagement in the production of urban-rural difference by denying any ability to withdraw ourselves as authoritative observers and interpreters (Bourdieu 1977: 2).

This approach to ethnography means sharing theoretical and ethnographic authority with our interlocutors. Of the various social sciences, anthropology has proven particularly adept at achieving interpretive symmetry (Bloor 1976: 7), granting actors the ability to make up their own theories (Herzfeld 2001: 7). The power of the ethnographer to control the ethnographic representation never disappears, but interpretive agency is shared with other actors, whose alternative theorizations are considered just as valid as the ethnographers’ (Van Maanen 2011: 118-120, 136-137, 160-165). Through their embodiment in actors’ lives, these diverse theories have claims to authenticity that the

formal theories of planning may lack (Marcus 1986: 180, 190-191). Ethnography thus becomes an interpretation of interpretations, re-presenting and re-combining the theories and rationalities of diverse actors engaged in the co-production of the text (Van Maanen 2011: 165).

Discovering these theories requires listening to, participating in, and observing actors' practices and representations without predetermined and overly structured research instruments. But it also requires an epistemological position that rejects the possibility of completely knowing what urban and rural are or prescribing what they will become. Ethnography must remain open to the uncertain and unfolding nature of urban production.

To engage actors in the exploration of these diverse theories, it was necessary to inhabit the socio-spatial milieus of the actors with whom I was collaborating, including village planners, officials, and residents. But inhabitation did not necessarily mean that I slept in their communities. Though my research focused on a single site of transformation, the production of this transformation was diffuse, and I chose to reside in a place where I could easily access the various locations of production. For fourteen months, from June 2011 to August 2012, my wife, Sara, and I lived in Huayu Plaza, a residential development in the heart of Three Gorges Square in Shapingba (Figure 1.4). Three Gorges Square was one of Chongqing's secondary centers, a rambling pedestrian area full of high-priced malls, tiny boutiques, hot pot restaurants, and noodle shops. It was also home to the main campus of Chongqing University, where I was affiliated as a visiting scholar. Moreover, it was halfway between Hailong—a 45-minute bus ride to the west—and the offices of Chongqing's planning and policy apparatus, located in

Niujiaotuo and Guanyinqiao—a 45-minute subway ride to the east. I would often alternate between the two, visiting Hailong two or three times a week and commuting into the city to meet with municipal officials on alternating days. Three Gorges Square was a convenient place to locate, and it seemed to make sense to my participants.

More than my place of residence, inhabitation meant embodying a set of social practices that convinced actors I could be trusted to understand their views of the world, including speech, apparel, and gesture (Herzfeld 2009). Some of these practices were the same wherever I went, but for some actors they were different, and I adjusted my behaviors accordingly. For instance, Chongqing residents took pride in their taste for spicy food, and, when eating in a group, I always sought out the spiciest morsels. At meals with planners and municipal officials, I cooled the fires with a soft drink, tea, or some beer. With village officials, beer or *baijiu* (a clear Chinese liquor made from sorghum) were required. In village homes I drank soda or beer. In each of these situations, the proper sequence of mutual toasting was paramount.

I learned the local rules of *majiang*, as well as a popular card game called “landlord.”⁹ I lost regularly at both, eliciting jokes, eye rolls, and exasperation from my playing partners, but my basic competency in local pastimes kept me at the table and helped cement relationships. I also picked up the fundamentals of the local dialect. I never learned to speak it fluently, and I continued to use Mandarin in most conversations, in part because my interlocutors expected me to do so. But I knew enough dialect so that I rarely had to ask people to repeat themselves, and my mastery of basic phrases and

⁹ As I write this introduction from Cambridge, Massachusetts, I periodically pull out my phone to play a computerized version of landlord. The ritual of the game helps me feel situated, in touch with the reality of Chongqing tens of thousands of kilometers away.

pronunciation seemed to put people at ease. The disjuncture between Mandarin and Chongqing dialect also provided unanticipated moments of insight, when actors would slip into dialect in order to obscure an embarrassing piece of social trivia. I gave gifts at the Chinese New Year and at weddings, I won the loyalty (or at least the indifference) of most of the village dogs, and I stopped wearing my baseball cap, which had protected me against the punishing sun of Chongqing summer. Strangers never mistook me for anyone other than a foreigner, but with my closest collaborators, even I sometimes forgot that I was an outsider.

At least in part, this intimacy achieved through the strong relationships that I built with individuals and families during my research. In Hailong, I had particularly close ties with the Wang, Lin, and Li families. I regularly ate meals at their houses, I attended their festival celebrations, I went to their families' weddings, and I spent countless hours chatting in their homes and courtyards. I also built strong relationships with several village officials and with a handful of planners, all of whom invited me to dinners and outings and some of whom introduced me to their families. I stay in touch with these people online, and I visit with them during my annual trips back to Chongqing. They were the most important participants in my research, and their views and experiences are prominently represented in the following chapters. More importantly, their networks and endorsements were crucial both for expanding the reach of my research and for winning the trust of new participants.

Over the course of eighteen months (January 2010, June 2011 to August 2012, June to July 2013, and June 2014), I conducted more than 200 interviews. This included 33 conversations with planners and municipal officials, 45 with Hailong officials, and

121 with Hailong residents, of which 111 included registered villagers and 23 included migrants.¹⁰ I conceived of these interactions as conversations rather than interviews. They were minimally structured—I usually had a list of open-ended questions that I used to define a topic of conversation, and then I allowed my conversation partner to guide us to those areas he or she felt were most important. Later in my research process, these conversations were sometimes supplemented by more directed follow-up interviews, in which I asked targeted questions of fact or interpretation.

These conversations were also the basis for my collection of documents. Hailong had an archive, but it was closed due to the village's status as a centrally sanctioned experimental site. I also visited the municipality's Construction Archive, but its official remit was limited to the urban construction area, meaning it had little related to village development (another instance of China's urban-rural divide). So my access to documents relied on my personal relationships. I collected plans for Hailong and for those administrative areas encompassing it, municipal reports related to village planning and urban-rural coordination, and government reports related specifically to Hailong. I also photographed all public announcements posted in Hailong during the period of my research. In short, I produced my own archive.¹¹

In analyzing my research materials, I treated interviews and documents as equivalent sources. I did this for two reasons. First, officials would often hand me documents instead of or in illustration of verbal descriptions. Documents therefore served

¹⁰ See Appendix A for a full list of interviews. The names of all participants have been changed to protect their privacy. The only exceptions to this rule are public figures whose conversations with me were limited to public declarations.

¹¹ See Appendix B for a full list of documents collected.

as extensions of our conversations, not as separate domains of knowledge. More importantly, I sought to prevent government documents from taking on a legitimacy or authority unavailable to the verbal accounts of residents. Whenever possible (and with the permission of participants), I recorded and transcribed interviews so that I could read and analyze them in the same medium as I read government documents.

Finally, my ethnographic research practices also included participant observation, both the most important part of ethnography and the most elusive. Participant observation often bled into or co-existed with more formal conversations, and many of my most rewarding research moments were conversations in which I was little more than an observer. But participation observation also involved a range of other idle moments and organized activities, including the everyday (meals, games, and chores), the professional (meetings, field visits, and work), and the celebratory (festivals, outings, and weddings). In addition to conversations, I observed, noted, and photographed participants' behaviors, comportment, gestures, clothing, and movements, paying particular attention to the use of spaces, objects, and buildings. These observations provided context for my understanding of conversations and an important input into the process of spatial analysis.

1.3.2 Spatial Analysis

In addition to ethnography, I also turn to spatial analysis as a method of reflexive research. As a privileged medium for the expression and intersection of the rationalities and practices that produce urban-rural difference, space is an integral part of understanding these processes. Citing Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, John Archer argues that "built space becomes the reference system within which knowledge is produced and

applied, the physical forms according to which people establish and discipline their lives” (2005: 431). And in her argument for space as a medium of multiplicity, Doreen Massey observes that “the spatial, crucially, is the realm of the configuration of potentially dissonant (or concordant) narratives” (2005: 9, 71). Space therefore accommodates the intersection of diverse rationalities pursued through reflexive research. Everyone must work through this common medium—planners and non-planners alike. Though space enables some of these rationalities to be stabilized, its constant ongoing production ensures that alternative rationalities are never entirely excluded.

If space accommodates diverse rationalities, how are they to be elucidated? A reflexive approach to spatial analysis requires special attention to representational conventions, which encode specific rationalities and politics (Blau 1999: 200-204). For instance, Robin Evans observes how architectural plans describe desired human relationships but obscure the real human bodies and relationships that use and occupy space (1997 [1978]: 56-57). Similarly, because orthographic drawing does not correspond to a situated perception of the world, it privileges the instrumental rationality that produces it (Evans 1995 [1989]: 21). By contrast, the sketch has the “capacity to absorb so many other interpretations, to be whatever one wants to see in it, and to multiply ambiguities and inconsistencies” (Evans 1995 [1989]: 33-34). Furthermore, it is necessary to avoid reducing space to the merely visual, thereby excluding the alternative rationalities embedded in smell, sound, and taste (Fabian 2002: 108).

To balance these various demands, a reflexive approach to spatial analysis requires a diversity of conventions and representations, each with its own biases and privileged rationalities. This included both my own representations and those produced

with and by others. From planners and officials I collected plans and design renderings of proposed transformations (including both preliminary and final drafts), as well as maps of existing spaces. In the course of research conversations, I had village residents produce cognitive maps (Lynch 1960: 140-143), respond to existing maps, and give tours of village spaces. I also produced sketches and formal design studies of village spaces, representative buildings, and spatial practices.

As a foundational reference, I produced a base map through a detailed ground survey of the village. I began with a topographic survey map provided by a village official and produced in CAD. I then conducted a detailed survey of every structure and pathway in the village, noting differences on the map and photographing all buildings and open spaces. For each structure, I also noted information such as material, height, age, cost, ownership, and use, as available. I also added more interpretive layers, including my experiences of smell and sound, my perceptions of privacy, and my understandings of spatial interconnections. Using satellite imagery, I then geo-referenced these layers in GIS. This map provided a basis for GIS-based analysis, including accessibility, morphological diversity, and density (Rowe et al. 2013).¹²

The process of producing this map also served as a structuring device for much of my research. It ensured that I systematically investigated every corner of a village that had a high degree of socio-spatial diversity. Participants' reactions to and engagements with my map tiles served as the starting points for many productive conversations. And the map also provided one of several indexing devices for tracking my research materials—every research conversation, observation, photograph, and design study was

¹² Detailed notes on the methods used in spatial analysis can be found in Appendix C.

located and tagged in the map. This integrated approach both destabilized the apparent facticity of visual representations and spatialized the often-disembodied evidence of ethnographic encounters. Through this approach, I seek an understanding of the social, spatial, and temporal dimensions of Hailong's transformation.

1.3.3 Case Study: Hailong Village

A decade ago, in 2004, I spent a year traveling China looking for a village untouched by modernity, a museum piece that would connect me to the socio-spatiality of late imperial China. In 2008, I found myself looking for the exact opposite—a village in the midst of rapid and total transformation. My first search was a romantic and foolhardy one. It was as if I were trying to re-enact “Peach Blossom Spring,” a Chinese poem in which the poet gets lost in the woods and discovers a secret village cut off from society for centuries. But my search in 2008 was just as challenging. China's villages were transforming too rapidly, and my criteria proved too ephemeral. There was no reliable way to identify a village in 2008 that would be undergoing rapid transformation when I was ready to start research in 2011.

I ultimately developed three criteria for a suitable case study: (1) The village should be located in an area of urban-rural liminality and ambiguity, where urban and rural functions and populations meet and integrate. (2) The village should already have experienced a recent (post-2000) period of rapid transformation, including an economic shift from predominantly agriculture to predominantly industry and services, a population increase of at least 500 percent, and a change in land use of at least 50 percent. And (3) the village should be preparing for a second round of transformation. Rather than looking

for a typical village, I was looking for one that broke the mold, where the stresses and strains of rapid transformation would destabilize China's hegemonic rhetoric of urban-rural relations.

Hailong offered this and more. It was located in a zone of urban-rural ambiguity and integration; it had begun a period of rapid transformation in 2003; and it was in the process of planning for redevelopment (Figures 1.5-6). In addition, Hailong had attracted the attention of central state leaders, who had designated it as a site of experimentation and as a potential model for villages in China's west. It was also located in Chongqing, an area that had been designated as a site of experimentation for urban-rural coordination. Hailong therefore offered an opportunity both to investigate China's planners and policy makers as they experimented with the rules and norms of urban production and to research village residents as they navigated the shifting landscape of urban-rural transformation. Hailong's transformation is still ongoing, but the processes and practices that I explore in the following work are circumscribed within the decade from 2003 to 2013.¹³

Hailong was located 22 kilometers to the west of Chaotianmen, the tip of the Yuzhong peninsula and the symbolic center of Chongqing. It was separated from the central city by Zhonglian Mountain, a north-south ridge that divided the historical extent of Chongqing from its western periphery (Figure 1.7). Two roads connected Hailong with the main city (Figure 1.8). To the south, the mountain road ran from the town of Baishiya over Zhonglian Mountain and down into Xinqiao. By car, the drive to Three Gorges

¹³ As a function of this temporal specificity, I have chosen to document Hailong and its transformation in the past tense. Through this technique of representation, I emphasize the uncertainty and contingency of socio-spatial transformation. The Hailong I describe in the following pages was a place delimited in time as well as space.

Square took approximately 40 minutes. To the north, the Chengdu-Chongqing (Cheng-Yu) Expressway ran underneath Zhonglian Mountain for two kilometers. Via the tunnel, the drive to Three Gorges Square could take as little as 15 minutes, but in heavy traffic, it could take as long as 2 hours.

Travelling back and forth between Three Gorges Square and Hailong, I usually took the 280 bus, which ran from the Shapingba train station to Xinqiao, over Zhonglian Mountain, down to Baishiyi, and then on to Xipeng. The ride to Baishiyi cost 2 RMB and generally took a little under an hour, unless a truck had broken down on the mountain road. The bus was a mobile microcosm of Chongqing's urban-rural divide. It was full of migrants, students, farmers, day laborers, hospital patients, salespeople, grandmothers, and grandchildren—the 280 ferried them all over the mountain, from the city to the periphery and back. The hour-long journey was more than a bus ride. As the bus lugged up the side of Zhonglian Mountain, Shapingba's grey high-rises faded into the settling smog, and the greenery of the forest closed in. At the mountain's peak, the bus spent several minutes in a narrow, unventilated tunnel. Exhaust billowed in the open windows, and I held my breath as best I could. It reminded me of my very first road trip, riding through the hills of west Pennsylvania sandwiched between my father and my grandfather on the armrest of a truck cab. Each time we entered a tunnel, my grandfather warned me to hold my breath: "If you don't, you'll explode!" On the 280, the tunnel felt just as magical and dangerous. Emerging from the suffocating darkness, Three Gorges Square was suddenly far away. As my eyes adjusted to the blinding sun, a new city was being made in front of me. As the bus slalomed down the western slopes of the mountain,

a vista opened into the hazy distance—Hailong, with all its fields, factories, and construction sites.

From Baishiyi, I would hop in a mini-bus bound for Hangu and get off at the Agricultural College, whose campus had been carved out of Hailong's territory. This cost another 2 RMB but only took five minutes. On my way back to Baishiyi at the end of the day, I would flag down one of the many green three-wheelers, glorified motorbikes with attached cabs that served as Hailong's main transportation system (Figure 1.9). Three-wheelers cost 3 to 5 RMB on the way out, but only 2 RMB on the way back, as drivers piled in as many passengers as they could fit. One evening, stranded in the countryside as dark set in, Sara and I shared a three-wheeler with a family of five, clown car-style.

The three-wheelers plied Hailong's winding network of roads looking for fares (Figure 1.10). The Baishiyi-Xipeng (Bai-Peng) Road ran along Hailong's western edge and provided the village with its main access points. Three roads entered Hailong from Bai-Peng Road, and two additional roads entered the village from Hangu in the north, passing under the Cheng-Yu Expressway, which cut through Hailong's northernmost section. Within the village, two principal paved roads ran east-west and two ran north-south. In addition, a rail line ran north-south through the village, dividing Hailong's western third from the village's interior. At the time of my research, the rail line was only rarely used, and the tracks served as the village's main north-south pedestrian corridor (Figure 1.9).

Administratively, Hailong was located in Baishiyi Township, Jiulongpo District, Chongqing Municipality (Figures 1.3, 1.11). To its north, it abutted Hangu Township. Nearby, to Hailong's west, were the Baishiyi Military Airfield and Chongqing's High-

tech Development Zone. Within Hailong, the village was divided into 16 communities, also known as natural villages or work teams. Portions of its territory were controlled by other local state actors, including the Hangu Power Substation, several small military installations, the Chongqing Municipal Agricultural College, state forest-land, two municipal reservoirs, and two public graveyards (Figure 1.12).

In total, Hailong encompassed 427.69 hectares. This included 277.45 hectares of collective land, of which 61.89 hectares were agricultural, 103.45 hectares of state forest, 21.24 hectares for the two reservoirs, and 25.55 hectares of other state-owned land. At its lowest point, Hailong's land sat at 303 meters above sea level; at its highest, it reached 325 meters. The flattest and most productive portion was in the village's western third (Figure 1.13). Two small ridges divided the village's eastern half into narrow valleys. And farther to the east, Hailong's land climbed up into the lower reaches of Zhonglian Mountain.

According to China's sixth census, as of January 26, 2011, Hailong's population was 16,266. This included 2,877 registered villagers (those whose household registration designated them as Hailong residents) and 13,389 long-term residents (people who had been living in Hailong for at least the previous six months). The unregistered long-term population was largely composed of migrant laborers from other parts of Chongqing and neighboring Sichuan who moved to Hailong to work at local factories. As of December 13, 2013, Hailong was home to 203 enterprises, predominantly manufacturers of wooden furniture and automotive parts, and more than 300 owner-operated businesses, mainly small stores and machine shops.

This dramatic socio-spatial transformation—from a scattered collection of agrarian settlements to a dense and vibrant industrial estate, from a population of just 2,000 to a population of more than 16,000, from paralyzing poverty to hundreds of millions of RMB in investment—was the outcome of intense competition and contestation. Planners and policy makers, government and village leaders, and residents all vied to push Hailong’s transformation in one direction or another. It is this ongoing process of contestation to which I now turn.

Part I

Chapter 2:
The Planning Bureau

2.1 Fuzzy Science

During a meeting at the Chongqing Municipal Planning Bureau in October 2011, an argument broke out over the status of Hailong Village. Someone proposed it as a model for village planning in Chongqing, but others protested that Hailong's plan was too irrational and too political to be representative. A new plan for the village had just been completed, and one of the planners explained how complicated the process had been: "In the end, the only way we could resolve the land use issue was through the application of fuzzy science." Rather than referring to principles of uncertainty or approximation, he used "fuzzy science" (*mohu kexue*) as a euphemism for political compromise. The phrase briefly exposed the tensions Chongqing's village planners felt as they navigated the competing demands of politics, markets, and science.

This balancing act was often expressed in terms of "scientific rationality" (*kexue lixing*), an ideology with deep roots in China's political consciousness, where it has long been identified as an antidote to human error.¹ This has been especially true since the advent of the reform period, when China's leaders, reacting against the political excesses of the Maoist period, made "scientism" (*kexue zhuyi*) their guiding ideology (Hua 1995). In the apparent objectivity and

¹ The broader obsession with scientific knowledge can be traced as far back as China's military humiliation during the Opium Wars, which subsequent reformers, particularly those affiliated with the self-strengthening movement, blamed on technological backwardness. The post-1949 regime also drew on Soviet theories for the rational ordering of society through the application of science. Influenced by the rationalist idealism of CIAM (Lu 2006: 94), Soviet master-planning of this period "derived from the desire to employ scientific rationality to create urban space that would be supportive of a new socialist society" (Leaf 1998: 146).

neutrality of science, a new generation of “red experts” found what they needed to counteract the explosive idealism and voluntarism of the Cultural Revolution (Andreas 2009: 234-235; Hua 1995: 1, 6-7).

The urban planning profession, which was liquidated during the Cultural Revolution, eagerly subscribed to this turn toward science (Chen, F. 2007; Yeh and Wu 1999: 182). Using criteria such as comprehensiveness and farsightedness, “scientific quality” (*kexue xing*) became the new standard for Chinese planners, who sought an objective and universal basis for conducting and evaluating planning practice (Chen, F. 2007; Chen, H. 2007; Tong 1997).

Scientific rationality was also seen as a pragmatic necessity for addressing the new challenges of the market economy (Yu 2004). With the loosening of Mao-era controls, urban planners were called upon to guide the unprecedented urbanization sparked by market incentives. This involved identifying the rules underlying market-driven urban development and then applying them to arrive at more desirable urban outcomes (Liu et al. 2008; Shi 2003; Ren, Z. 2005a, 2005b; Yao 2005). The effort was grounded in the new discipline of “urban science” (*chengshi kexue*), which sought to establish scientific laws of urbanization that would help China’s cities develop more rationally (Chen, W. 2003).

Launched by Hu Jintao in 2003, the national policy regime of “scientific development” (*kexue fazhan guan*) confirmed these principles. Faced with rising social costs resulting from two decades of economic liberalization, Hu sought to balance “GDP worship” (*GDP chongbai*) with other societal goals, such as equity and sustainability. By introducing new metrics for development beyond GDP

growth, Hu's platform aimed to rein in the influence of political and market actors, whose alliances were seen as leading to rampant land enclosure and the loss of agricultural productivity (Chen, F. 2004; Geng 2004; Li 1998; Li, N. 2005; Liu et al. 2008; Ren, Z. 2005a; Zhong 2007; Zou 2003). This new regime of development was expressed in four principles: comprehensiveness, coordination (including urban-rural coordination), sustainability, and taking people as the base (*yi ren wei ben*). Rather than a turn toward neo-humanism, this last tenet represented an objectification of individuals' subjectivities, ensuring that all people were equally represented in the larger system of development.

Hu's scientific development platform reinvigorated the tradition of scientific rationality within planning, leading to even greater efforts aimed at synoptic omniscience (Chen, W. 2004a; Huang 2006; Yao 2005; Zhou and Cheng 2005). Only if planners could understand and control all of the spatial, social, economic, and environmental variables involved in urban development could they hope to realize the potential of scientific rationality and the aspirations of scientific development (Gu 2005; Wang G. 2004; Xiong 2006; Zhou 2007; Zhou and Cheng 2005). To do so, planners increasingly embraced the idea of the city as an "open, complex, giant system" (*kaifang de fuza ju xitong*) that could be understood by combining systems theory with new technologies, such as global information systems and remote sensing (Wang 2004; Wu 2004; Li, L. 2005).²

² In Chongqing, this included three separate but related data services: the Geographic Data Center, which provided GIS-based topographic data; the Planning Data Center, which provided data on land rights and purchases, construction activity, and existing buildings; and the City View Institute, which

As urban planning repeatedly failed to satisfy these ideals, critics questioned planning's scientific aspirations, charging that it amounted to little more than a pseudo-science (*wei kexue*) or a mere technical practice. For instance, Chinese planners pointed to master plans that were irrelevant as soon as they were released, with outdated population numbers and growth boundaries that had already been crossed (Chen, W. 2003; He, Xi. 2003; Huang 2006; Wang et al. 2008; Zhou 2009). Referring to such failures, Michael Leaf has argued that Chinese planning lacks regulatory efficacy (1998). Other scholars have made similar observations, pointing to chronic failures resulting from a "loss of control" (*shikong*) (Chen 2000; Dowall 1993: 186-187; Liu et al. 2008; Yao 2005; Zhang 2002; Zhao 2008; Zhu 2004: 1262).

These diagnoses of failure have been rooted in China's narrative of transition and the naturalization of market relations, outlined in Chapter One. Based on the assumption that the primary role of planning is the regulation and control of the market (Chen 2002; Chen, W. 2004a, 2004b; Hou 1999; Shi 2004; Zhou and Cheng 2005; Zhu, J. 2005), planning failure has been ascribed to planners' lack of experience in regulating the market and to the lingering vestiges of the command and control economy (Hou 1999; Ren, Z. 2005a; Zhou 2007). For many, these challenges have only underlined the need to increase the scientific quality of planning (Shi 2003; Yun 2004). Again and again, I heard

integrated a CAD map of the city's buildings with data from the Public Security Bureau relating to the people and businesses located in each building.

Chongqing planners criticize planning as “insufficiently scientific” (*bugou kexue xing*) when discussing the unpredictability of the market.³

Planners have identified China’s development politics as the main obstacle to achieving these goals, decrying the political intervention of state and party leaders, who often prioritize development objectives over regulatory efficacy (Leaf 1998: 152; Tang 2002; Feng 2003; Wu et al. 2007: 15-16; Han and Liu 2009; Yu 2014: 237, 242, 245-247). These corrupt political leaders and developers have conspired to subvert the planning process in favor of expediency, development, and profit. As a result, many planners have argued that “the plan-making process is separated from the ‘real’ decision making process” (Yeh and Wu 1999: 226). Planning politics are thus placed beyond the scope of planning, and planners are relieved of responsibility for any “real” decisions.

Not only does this logic render planning powerless and irrelevant, it ignores the inherently political nature of both planning and markets (Smith 2014d). Rather than autonomous entities governed by universal laws that can be

³ The English-language literature has more commonly called for different kinds of rationality (Abramson et al. 2002; Dowall 1993; Leaf and Hou 2006; Simon and Goldman 1989; Yu 2014). For instance, in his work on China’s planning systems, Li Yu devotes considerable energy to criticizing what he terms Chinese planning’s “techno-rationalism,” but he ultimately insists that “it is still necessary to have rationalization in urban planning” in order to “avoid the worst situation” (2014: 214). Instead of relying on techno-rationalism, Li proposes, planners need to rationalize the diverse perspectives of China’s economic stakeholders (Ibid.: 262). Michael Leaf and Hou Li suggest that China’s planning rationality is “insufficiently informed by the social sciences” (2006: 554), and David Dowall argues that the main problem with scientific planning in China is that it does not reflect market demands (1993: 185). Thus, existing criticisms of Chinese planning’s scientific rationality are not criticisms of rationality per se, but rather arguments for alternative rationalities, including market rationality, communicative rationality, and the rationality of the social sciences.

scientifically derived, markets are planned and produced, resulting in heterogeneous and constantly shifting institutions.⁴ Naturalizing market rationality is thus a function of power, in which the facticity of a politically produced rationality is insulated from further political debate (Bloor 1976: 9; Irwin 2008: 594-595). In turn, this stability makes such rationality useful as an instrument for the depersonalization and legitimation of otherwise political acts (Ezrahi 1990: 43-53, 59-62; Flyvbjerg 1998: 227-236).

In China, without democratic forms of legitimacy, political leaders instrumentally mobilize the apparent objectivity of both scientific and market rationalities to legitimize their policies. Thus, planning and markets are not autonomous entities but equivalent and co-constituted forms of political coordination (Alexander 1992; Lai 1997; Webster 2009: 478-480). In this system, many of the inputs and outputs of both planning and market processes are politically predetermined and then packaged in the aura of science and economics. In a discussion among urban development experts in Chongqing, one planner complained about Bo Xilai's use of expert knowledge: "Bo always made up his mind first, and only then consulted the experts. He would bring in experts from Beijing to support his view."

The importance of political direction was particularly evident with changes in leadership. Wang Yang, Chongqing's party secretary from 2005 to

⁴ For instance, property rights rely on the territorial power of the sovereign state (Webster and Lai 2003: 71), developmental states use import substitution to shape domestic markets (Castells 2000: 283-289; Pempel 1999), and growth machines capture political and planning processes to drive market expansion (Logan and Molotch 2007: 32-36).

2007, focused planning on regional coordination. Bo Xilai, Wang's successor as party secretary, was more interested in city development and prestige construction projects, leading to a substantial shift in planning practice. When Bo fell in 2012, Zhang Dejiang stepped in, returning planning to a more regional orientation. Zhang instructed Chongqing's planners to decrease the number and size of public infrastructure projects and devote more land and resources to industrial and residential development. Gu Yin, a planner in Chongqing's municipal planning bureau, explained how disruptive these changes have been for planners: "This one person can have an enormous effect on urban planning. If the thinking of leadership changes, the whole aesthetics of planning changes. What kind of lifestyle is good, and what kind of lifestyle is bad. What kind of trees are good, and what kind of trees are bad." Gu went on: "Experts might provide some ideas, but the leaders ultimately have the power to decide."

Perhaps the most important of the politically determined scientific assumptions was urban-rural difference. In the early days of reform, the assumed division between urban and rural served as a crucial bulwark enabling extensive rural reforms without endangering the stability of China's cities. Over time, this political fact has become a central tenet of Chinese policy and planning, defining the parameters for the practice of scientific rationality: only that which is urban must be understood and planned, while the rural remains a blank space beyond the planner's gaze. The market is defined along similar lines: while goods, people, and capital can flow across the urban-rural boundary, the rules governing transactions—particularly when it comes to land—are different in the two

domains. Thus, just by redefining the relations between urban and rural, China's political leaders can exert significant control over both planning and market processes. Mo Ying, a prominent Chongqing planner, emphasized this when I asked him how the urban-rural boundary was decided in Hailong: "It's a question of power. What the government says goes. There's nothing scientific about it."

This chapter explores these relationships and their implications for the planning and transformation of peri-urban villages in Chongqing. I start with Hailan and Qianqiu, villages nearby Hailong that demonstrate the market and political dynamics driving village transformation and the demand for village planning (2.1). I then turn to Chongqing's master plan and the use of the urban-rural boundary as a key structuring device for planning (2.2). In the following section, I investigate a research report prepared by the Chongqing Municipal Planning and Design Institute on the planning of peri-urban villages (2.3), a project that exposed the intransigence of the urban-rural dichotomy and the processes of its reproduction. I then consider the establishment of a village planning standard for Chongqing (2.4), in which planners grappled with the conceptual destruction of the urban-rural boundary and the unfixing of three fundamental planning variables: scale, land, and population. Finally, I explore the implications of this village planning apparatus for the ongoing transformation of Hailong Village and its characterization as a "village-in-the-city."

2.1.1 The Market for Village Planning

Sitting in a tepid pool having my toes exfoliated by flesh-eating fish, it was difficult to imagine that the hot spring I was visiting had once been a vegetable field. Started in 2007, the Hailan Sea and Sky Tourism Area was part of Chongqing's long-established hot spring industry (Figures 2.1, 2.2). With a total area of 113,000 square meters, the development offered villa and apartment units, a hotel, banquet and conference facilities, a large lake, and a golf course. In all, it had brought more than 400M RMB of investment to Hailan Village, which owned the land on which the tourism area was built.⁵

Use rights to the best of Hailan's land—that which was flattest, most accessible, and most suitable for development—had been sold to the Liyang Property Development Company for an undisclosed sum. In exchange for parting with their land use rights, Hailan villagers received new houses along a secondary road, which snaked past the development's southern edge and up into the hills. In addition, Liyang built new facilities for the village collective, including a water treatment plant and a trash collection point. According to Hailan villagers, the new houses and amenities had been built just a year ago, years after construction on the tourist development had begun. But when I asked whether they were happy with the changes, villagers clammed up, unwilling to trust a stranger with local politics. From the outside, Hailan's new houses looked clean and new. But they were also cheaply built, with the traditional timber crossbeams painted over a

⁵ A note regarding units: throughout this work I use the units commonly employed in Hailong. For currency, I use *renminbi* (RMB), for which the exchange rate during my fieldwork was approximately 6.3 RMB to the US dollar. For land, I often use square meters or hectares, but I also use *mu*, the traditional Chinese measure of land. 1 *mu* is approximately 667 square meters or 0.067 hectares.

simple brick-and-cement envelope—what would later be derided as the “Bo style” of rural housing, notorious for its slipshod construction and rapid decay.

A student at Chongqing University had recommended Hailan to me as a successful example of village planning. And by the measure that Chongqing planners considered most important, Hailan was a success—its plan had actually been implemented. In a discussion with planning students at Chongqing University, Huang Yuhuan, a senior official in Chongqing’s Municipal Planning Bureau, stressed the economic imperatives to which planners were subject. Like everyone during the reform period, Huang argued, planners were caught in a cycle of production and consumption. When plans were produced, there were two ways in which they could be consumed: they were either implemented or they were used as the basis for a new round of planning production. In Huang’s view, this latter process represented a tremendous waste, which could only be remedied by making plans more comprehensive.

When it came to village planning, the best way to ensure implementation was to orient the plan to the needs of developers. As Mo Ying, a senior planner in the Chongqing Municipal Planning and Design Institute (CMPDI) who was responsible for supervising much of the village planning work in Chongqing,⁶ explained, the only village planning projects that got implemented were those that were commercially developed: “It only gets built if urban capital (*chengshi ziben*)

⁶ CMPDI was a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Chongqing Municipal Planning Bureau. This arrangement allowed the planning bureau to earn income from plan formulation while keeping these activities formally separate from its supervision and management duties.

is willing to go to the village and the villagers all agree to sell them a piece of land.”

Attracting such investment constituted the main motivation for most village planning projects. Town governments used the plans to draw in investors to fund agriculture, tourism, and real estate development. Town leaders thus pushed planners to intensify land use, calling for six- and seven-storey buildings instead of the low-rise houses Mo and his colleagues felt were more appropriate for a rural setting. Mo made a derisive sound with his lips as he complained about this blind pursuit of money: “They want it to be pretty urbanized. With these kinds of demands, planners aren’t much use.” As Mo explained in a later conversation, party secretaries listen to developers, not planning officials.

Unfortunately, planning had not proven effective in attracting such investment, and Mo’s team at CMPDI had been doing fewer and fewer village plans in the preceding months. Mo quoted a frustrated town official: “We’ve spent all this money, and yet we’ve gotten nothing for it!” Costing more than 100,000 RMB for six months of work, village plans were expensive undertakings that could only be justified by the promise of a substantial real estate project.

Wary of villages’ unreliable property rights, developers were often shy of village projects. Without going through the formal (and expensive) conversion process—in which village land was expropriated by the state, converted to urban land, and then made available for development—developers relied on under-the-table agreements with town and village officials to obtain land (Wu et al. 2007: 81-82). Eager to catalyze development, these officials sometimes provided

developers with land in exchange for in-kind planning gain and relocation housing. But these black market transactions also resulted in insecure tenure, with land subject to seizure by the municipal government. Colloquially known as “small property rights” (*xiao chanquan*) because they lacked state-issued approvals and titles, such black market units were sold and leased at deeply discounted rates (Zhang 2007).

The Liyang corporation had taken a hybrid approach in Hailan. It obtained the land for development directly from the village, without going through the formal expropriation process. But, fearing that they would not be able to sell their apartments without the proper ownership certificates, Liyang paid for state expropriation of the land on which the apartment buildings were built. The rest of the Sea and Sky development might be subject to state seizure, but prospective buyers would be able to invest with confidence. In the sales hall attached to the hot spring, the development company had posted all of the necessary certificates and approvals, including documents from both the planning and land management bureaus. Also displayed were planning diagrams and a three-dimensional model of the development, all of which was used to assure buyers that the area had been thoroughly planned.

2.1.2 The Leftover Village

Mo Ying suggested a better example of village planning, Qianqiu Village: “Qianqiu Village is better done. Its planning and construction was more systematic. Its plan was more effective in guiding development. ... At the very

least, you can say it's a model village." Named the "Village of a Thousand Autumns," Qianqiu comprised approximately three square kilometers and 1,800 registered villagers (Figure 2.1). In 2007, the municipality designated it as one of the first experimental sites for urban-rural coordination, placing it on a list of ten priority projects for urban-to-rural investment. By the end of the year, a consortium of individuals with strong ties to the Jiulongpo District government established the Chongqing Qingye Ainong Ecological Agriculture Company to pursue the opportunity.

As related by one of the company's principal owners, planning was crucial to their investment: "All along, only cities and towns had plans. But if you really want to fix villages, you first need planning" (Wang 2014). Qianqiu became the first village in Chongqing to have a village plan, a land use plan, and an industrial development plan. By rationalizing the village's agricultural fields, these plans enabled Qingye Ainong to rent Qianqiu's land and start an industrially-scaled agricultural enterprise. This strategy followed the prevailing wisdom in Chongqing that agricultural modernization would first require households to give up their land use rights so that land could be defragmented.

In collaboration with the district government, Qingye Ainong also began building a new residential area for Qianqiu's 1,800 villagers. A dense cluster of eight six-storey buildings, the new residential area was designed to reduce the amount of construction land used for housing in the village. The project would free up more than 300 *mu* of construction land, which the company hoped to

consolidate in order to build a hotel and other commercial enterprises, as outlined in Qianqiu's village and land use plans.

But under China's strict land use laws, Qingye Ainong could not obtain the rights to use Qianqiu's construction land. When they started the project, the developers anticipated receiving some policy relief from the local government as part of the experiment in urban-rural coordination. But they were ultimately faced with the standard choices: develop the land illegally, as in Hailan, or undergo the costly state expropriation process. Unwilling to give up on the promise of a new way of achieving village development, the leaders of Qingye Ainong held out for a change in policy.

When it came, in late 2008, the anticipated land reform did not favor the company's vision. Chongqing's "land note" system required that any excess development capacity be traded on the municipality-wide land note exchange (Yuan 2014). This meant that the development capacity made available through Qianqiu's residential development project could either be retained by the village or sold as land notes on the municipal exchange. As a vice-director at the company explained, without the ability to develop the village's available construction land for agro-tourism, the larger agricultural enterprise was unsustainable (Wang 2014). Qingye Ainong's funding quickly dried up. Starting in 2011, the company stopped paying rent on the land in Qianqiu, and work on the half-built residential area ground to a halt. The Jiulongpo government stepped in to pay the rent owed to villagers, and in April 2014 it sent a letter to Qingye

Ainong demanding payment of 12.4M RMB in unpaid rent and debt service (Ibid.).

When I visited Qianqiu in March 2013, I was struck by the sense of order. Each of Qianqiu's fields was demarcated with a neat stone wall and numbered in red. Well-maintained cement paths wound through the fields, providing easy access for agricultural activities. In the distance, the residential area's eight towers loomed impressively out of the fog (Figure 2.3). The villagers I met were less impressed. Each of their houses was marked with a circled "X", indicating impending demolition. But the demolition had never come, and now they were in limbo, waiting for a future that seemed less and less promising. Without a substantial investment from Qingye Ainong, they believed, their new housing would be basic and spare, its quality determined by the largesse of the district government.

Qianqiu pointed to the potential danger of Chongqing's land note system and the importance of politics in shaping the parameters of planning and markets for village land. While the land notes offered an innovative approach to integrating China's urban and rural land regimes, they also risked institutionalizing villages' urban dependence. The production and sale of land notes transferred development capacity from villages to cities, mortgaging the possibility of future development in exchange for a few thousand *kuai*. Taken to its logical conclusion, and in combination with population resettlement policies under household registration reform, this program meant the end of the village as a form of settlement and collective governance.

At best, villages were being forced into perpetual dependence on the state's urban hierarchy. With less profit and financial backing, local developers like Qingye Ainong would never be able to compete with urban development projects for land notes. As the vice-director of the Jiulongpo Development and Reform Committee pointed out, this left villages dependent on government-assigned construction land quotas for their development (Wang 2014). But these quotas were almost exclusively allocated to towns and cities, and they were often determined based on political development priorities.

Rather than advocating for grassroots village development, many high-ranking Chongqing officials assumed the necessity of villages' dependence on the urban state. According to this logic, outlined by Tian Ye in Chapter One, cities' links to the world economy and the national government made them privileged sites of economic activity and financial strength. Villages, which lacked such resources, would require substantial outside investment to support their development. Therefore, the most important task of urban-rural coordination was to strengthen the system of towns and cities so that they could "carry along" surrounding villages.

Under this trickle-down theory, strong government guidance would ensure that the urban surplus was redistributed to support villages. Meanwhile, the rural population, in search of the job opportunities provided by urban growth and encouraged by household registration reform, would increasingly move into the cities, decreasing the cost of supporting the villages. Some Chongqing officials envisioned a future when most villages would cease to exist, and Chongqing's

interim party secretary, Zhang Dejiang, had called for the municipality's most remote villages to be fully depopulated.

This institutionalized urban bias resulted in villages like Qianqiu—capable of grassroots development but held back by local government policies. As a result, the systematic and effective village plan that Mo Ying had praised ended up being poorly suited for Qianqiu's politically determined reality. Rather than a model village, it had become a leftover of the municipality's land note system. Though Mo Ying supported the macro-framework of Chongqing's land reform policies, as a village planner he felt more attention needed to be paid to the micro-effects on villages. No one had thought about what these new incentives would mean for villages. In the end, he complained, planners were stuck doing what they always did—wasting time making new plans to fit the whims of political leaders.

2.2 On the Road with Duan Leishi

Soft-spoken and stuttering, Duan Leishi complained as we sat in his luxury SUV, stranded in the parking lot that was Shapingba traffic. At times, his words were drowned out by the honking of cabs and the roar of overheated busses. As Duan explained, he barely ever came to Shapingba or Jiefangbei, but he had made an exception to meet me and Sara. It was a Saturday and, off from work as a senior official in one of the district planning bureaus, Duan had volunteered to take us on a tour of the city.

Duan, like almost all the planners I befriended in Chongqing, questioned our choice of residence. Sara and I had rented an apartment in Huayu Plaza,

located at the very heart of Three Gorges Square, the pedestrianized commercial district that was the focal point of Shapingba (Figure 2.4). Duan had first reacted with incredulity: “You live *where?*” For planners, Huayu Plaza embodied everything that was undesirable in a residence: it was noisy, crowded, and inconvenient for driving.⁷ It also represented bad planning. As one planner, Yu Zhiyan, explained: “It should never have been built there, right in the middle of Three Gorges Square, with all those people and shopping and activity. The only reason it got built at all was because the director of the planning bureau was corrupt.”⁸ Huayu Plaza was thus a physical embodiment of the threat politics posed to the impartial scientific practice of urban planning.

As we sat in traffic, Duan explained how Shapingba had choked on its own success: “Shapingba was booming before 2000. Now, it’s so bleak! There are too many people! It’s too crowded. Many people are unwilling to come here, and some people have begun fleeing Shapingba, because Shapingba has the worst traffic of any district in the city. There’s traffic when you come, and there’s traffic when you go!” Duan applied the same logic to Jiefangbei, Chongqing’s historical

⁷ These were precisely the qualities that attracted us to Huayu Plaza. Many apartment buildings in Chongqing were isolated, with few opportunities to engage the local community. This was particularly true since we didn’t have a car and were dependent on public transportation. As a transport hub, Three Gorges Square offered easy access to busses and the newly completed subway line, which most planners refused to board due to safety concerns. Huayu Plaza was thus one of the few places where I could easily access transportation to all of my research sites, including Hailong, Chongqing University, and the planning bureau.

⁸ This director was a target of Bo Xilai’s anti-crime (*dahei*) campaign, and was subsequently placed in a white collar prison on the western outskirts of Chongqing, not far from Hailong. He ran a consultancy out of the prison and regularly weighed in on planning issues for the municipality.

and symbolic center, arguing that congestion had led other, more peripheral centers to develop: “In the past, you could see lots of pretty local girls at Jiefangbei, but now there are very few. Young, fashionable people go to Guanyinqiao now.” Hardly peripheral, the Guanyinqiao pedestrian mall was a planning success frequently invoked by Chongqing’s planners, many of whom worked at the nearby Municipal Planning Bureau.

Duan’s explanation of the inevitable decline of Chongqing’s historical centers set the stage for the afternoon. Rather than bringing us to see the city’s landmarks or its most noteworthy neighborhoods, Duan was taking us on a three-hour tour of Chongqing’s two ring roads (Figure 1.8). As we finally escaped from the Shapingba traffic, Duan merged onto the inner ring (*neihuan*), an eight-lane highway that ran approximately 79 kilometers around the center of Chongqing. Jiefangbei was out—the closest we got was a view of the downtown skyline from the opposite bank of the Yangtze River. The ring roads, Duan argued, would give us an introduction to what Chongqing was really about.

2.2.1 The Second Ring Road

Driving the ring roads was much more than simply a tour of the city—it was a tour of the city as imagined by Chongqing’s planners. This much became clear as Duan took out his Galaxy tablet and opened a map application, handing it to me so that I could follow along as we drove (Figure 2.5). Over and over again, he reminded me, “Zoom out, zoom out!” The map was not so much a navigational device as a way to situate our automotive experience in a synoptic aerial view of

the city, our GPS-enabled blue dot faithfully moving clockwise along the grey ribbons of the ring roads.

Duan articulated this imaginary as we merged onto the second ring (*erhuan*) highway: “This highway is the future boundary of the city.” Duan pointed to the west, past the mountains, “Now we’re getting ready to build a third ring road. But the third ring doesn’t have any bearing on the construction of the city. If the city were to reach the third ring, it would be humongous—6 or 7,000 square kilometers! That would be 60 to 70 million people! It would be like a country all its own.”

In using the ring roads as markers of urban growth, Duan was rearticulating Chongqing’s policy and planning rhetoric, which referred to the city’s current phase of expansion as the “second ring era” (*erhuan shidai*). The term was used to describe the increasing intensification of land use between the inner ring and second ring roads, a territory of approximately 1,500 square kilometers.⁹ An important part of this peripheral expansion was “West City” (*xicheng*), a catch-all term for a collection of new urban centers being built on the relatively flat land to the west of the main city. This new city included existing settlements, such as Hailan, Qianqiu, and Hailong, as well as entirely new

⁹ The inner ring demarcates a territory of between 400 and 500 square kilometers, and the second ring encircles a territory of approximately 2,000 square kilometers, meaning that the second ring era constitutes a 400-500% expansion in the city’s area. These boundaries are morphological rather than administrative: the administrative area of the “main city” (*zhucheng*) is approximately 5,500 square kilometers, which means that the second ring divides the city’s territory roughly in half.

districts, such as the university town, the outer limits of which were already pushing up against the second ring road.

The use of the second ring road as a boundary for the city's expansion was not simply a rhetorical device. The municipality's 2007 master plan made the second ring road Chongqing's statutory growth boundary, a process that had begun with the completion of the city's previous master plan in 1998. The State Council had just designated greater Chongqing as a provincial-level municipality in 1997, and Chongqing's leaders felt the city was too small for its important new role as the municipality's capital. Duan Leishi explained: "It was as if a student had been granted an academic degree without any of the knowledge that goes with it. The city's size didn't match its status as a provincial-level municipality."

Chongqing's inner ring road was proposed as a backbone to guide development outward. By the time work started on the 1998 master plan, the path of the inner ring had already been determined, and construction on the road started in 1998, just as the plan was approved. While the inner ring provided a framework for expansion, the mountain ridges flanking the city defined a natural growth boundary beyond which development was unlikely to expand. The 1998 master plan took these physical artifacts as its starting points, filling in development inside of and adjacent to the inner ring road. Only rarely did it refer to the "metropolitan circle" (*dushi quan*), a network of towns and centers beyond the mountain ridges (Figure 2.6).

In the course of formulating the 1998 plan, the idea of the second ring road was proposed, but it remained at a conceptual level. This changed with the

arrival of Huang Qifan, who served as Deputy Mayor starting in 2001 before becoming Mayor in 2009. Huang prioritized the city's expansion as a growth pole to catalyze development in the rest of municipality, but he also insisted on a firm boundary to limit excessive growth. With these competing priorities, Huang identified the previously proposed second ring road as both a target for and an impediment to expansion.

Construction on the second ring road began in 2003, the same year that work started on the formulation of Chongqing's next master plan, ultimately completed in 2007 (Figure 2.7). As in 1998, the starting point for the 2007 plan was a major piece of infrastructure that was already in the process of being implemented. Again, all that was left for the planners was to articulate the urban space that had already been defined. As Mo Ying described in relation to village planning, the only power planners had was over microscopic details: "The big things, like the scale and size of development, are all determined by local government leaders. Once they're decided, only then do you plan."

By first defining a growth boundary separating urban from rural and only then organizing the formulation of a plan, Chongqing's master plans illustrated China's teleological approach to planning. The urban-rural boundary, predetermined by political leaders and in part motivated by a desire to make the city fit its politically-designated administrative status, was a necessary precondition for the planning process. Without it planners would have nothing to plan, since under China's planning system urban plans could only govern urban land. Everything inside the boundary was designated as urban and subject to

planning, while everything outside the boundary was rural and could thus be ignored. The urban-rural boundary was where the object of planning—the urban—was produced and reproduced, not in relation to an urban center, such as Jiefangbei or Shapingba, but in relation to its other, the rural.

This teleological approach also made possible the fiction that the plan constituted an accurate representation of a scientifically certain and soon-to-be-realized future. Socio-spatial heterogeneity and uncertainty were reduced to a frictionless abstraction, a passive container to be filled in by fiat. The imagined future and the real present were collapsed, and the transition between the two was elided into a mechanical process that had been scientifically predicted, controlled, and, thus, already achieved—an extreme example of what James Scott describes as the self-actualizing logic of the representational regime of the state (1998). In describing this growth, Duan even assumed a density of 10,000 people per square kilometer, China’s average urban population density.

Meanwhile, time was imagined to end after the plan’s realization. As Duan asserted, the second ring was the “final boundary” for the city, much as the inner ring was known as the “outer ring” (*waihuan*) when it was first planned. Duan quoted a speech Huang Qifan delivered early in the planning process for the 2007 master plan: “The Chongqing we build today will provide the city’s framework and scope for a hundred years to come.” Harkening back to Chongqing’s history as the Nationalist capital during World War II, Duan insisted, “Only if Chongqing were once again designated as China’s capital could

the city exceed the second ring.” In Duan’s imagination, only a superseding political intervention could alter the plan.

2.2.2 Between Plan and Reality

The designation of the second ring road as Chongqing’s urban growth boundary betrayed planners’ deep insecurity about precisely this issue. Charges of planning failure frequently pointed to the rapidity with which growth boundaries laid out in master plans were transgressed, sometimes even before the plan was approved (Chen, W. 2003; He, Xi. 2003; Huang 2006; Jiang and Fu 2005; Li 2006; Shi 2003). To counter this tendency, the second ring road would provide more than just a red line drawn on a planning diagram. As Duan Leishi described, it would be a “material boundary” (*shiti bianjie*). By the time the 2007 plan was approved, its growth boundary had already been manifested in the form of highway construction sites—there could be no fudging of the lines across eight lanes of traffic.

Huang Qifan’s growth boundary strategy was designed to win State Council approval of the master plan and the city’s proposed five-fold expansion. Duan explained the inter-governmental politics of plan approval: “The local government can’t just expand and expand for hundreds of kilometers. We can’t expand all the way to Chengdu! We have to convince the central government that we won’t just expand all over the place. ... So we strengthened the efficacy of our growth boundary.” Only by creating a physical boundary for the city could Huang win the State Council’s support for such aggressive growth, a lesson he may have

learned during his prior posting as Deputy Mayor of Shanghai's Pudong District, where the East China Sea and the Huangpu River provided insurmountable boundaries for one of the most rapidly growing urban areas in China.

Nevertheless, Duan kept pointing out places where it seemed possible that the growth boundary would be transgressed. As Duan explained, much flatter topography in the north and west had encouraged rapid development that might push beyond the second ring road, while hilly land in the south and east had so far inhibited development, making it improbable that the city would actually reach the growth boundary. But Duan still believed the second ring road was the rational limit for the city. Such divergences were irrationalities introduced by the constraints of an irregular topography that refused to fit the plan.

The possibility of encroachment was particularly evident in the west of the city. Snared in stop-and-go traffic, Duan slowly merged onto the Cheng-Yu Expressway, which connected the inner and second rings, and we inched into the two-kilometer tunnel running under the Zhongliang Mountains. Again, Duan complained about the traffic: "This tunnel is always crowded, because it's designed usage has already been exceeded. It's not because of a lack of foresight, but rather because the speed of development was too fast." Forty minutes later we emerged into the light again, and I peered over the guardrail into Hailong Village, which bordered the highway as it exited the tunnel. Duan apologized for the delay: "If we had taken this tunnel back in the '90s it would have been easy—no traffic at all. It was only in the early 2000s that it started getting crowded."

In Duan's explanation, the scientific rationality of the plan was not to blame but rather the irrationality of development. The tunnel was simply planned for a better reality that no longer existed. It was not lost on Duan that both that reality and the reality of our traffic jam were products of politically determined development goals. It was the early 2000s when Huang Qifan arrived and started pushing for further expansion, making the 1998 plan and the Cheng-Yu expressway (completed in 1995) obsolete. The certainty of scientific rationality only existed within the parameters defined by political power.

As the day wound down and we finished our second loop of the city, Duan suggested we stop for dinner in the half-built university town. We lingered over our spicy hot pot, waiting for rush hour to pass and the tunnel traffic to subside. When we finally returned to Shapingba, Duan presented us with gifts—a scarf for Sara and a copy of Chongqing's latest master plan for me. I happily accepted the gesture, though I already had a stack of copies on my desk. The 2011 master plan revision had been completed just a few months earlier, and every planner I met excitedly offered me one.

The new edition of the plan was the first of its kind in China. Chongqing's rapid growth and its designation as a pilot area for urban-rural coordination had already made large portions of the 2007 plan out-of-date. Instead of organizing an entirely new plan—a process that could take four or five years—the municipal planning bureau decided to revise the 2007 plan. The resulting 2011 revision inserted bold text wherever changes had been made. Huang Yuhuan, the planning bureau official responsible for master planning, hailed it as an important

innovation. By taking this approach, he claimed, Chongqing's planners were recognizing the need for planning to be adaptive and dynamic. When I asked him if they had revised the growth boundary, he shook his head. "No," he admitted, "The growth boundary is the same. That we couldn't change."

2.3 The Village Planning Report

With Chongqing's aggressive expansion toward the second ring road, villages like Hailan, Qianqiu, and Hailong began undergoing rapid transformation. But, as Mo Ying explained, these initial attempts at village development encountered problems because of a lack of planning: "At that time, new village construction was relatively top-down. It was a kind of blind investment with little use for planning." Hoping to remedy the situation and provide guidance for more effective and efficient village investment, Mo and his colleagues at CMPDI began researching the planning of such villages.

Begun in 2009 and completed in 2012, the CMPDI report, entitled "Research on the Planning of Villages in the Suburbs of Large Cities," entailed a strategic focus on the urban periphery. Mo Ying explained the institute's motivations: "In eighty percent of areas, village development has actually been shrinking. It is only in the urban periphery where population, investment, and development have been increasing." In more remote areas, Mo suggested, investors were concerned that development projects might be expropriated as the government sought to redirect development capacity to peripheral areas. "Urban-

rural coordination,” Mo insisted, “is about the urban periphery. In remote places, there’s just nothing you can do.”

As Mo Ying and his colleague Tan Qing were leading research on the report, the very same team of CMPDI planners, led by Tan Qing and overseen by Mo Ying, were simultaneously formulating a new village plan for Hailong, one of the most prominent villages in Chongqing’s urban periphery. Mo and Tan chose a different village, Dabei (Figure 2.1), as a case study for their report, but nearby Hailong loomed large, acting as a real foil for the ideal village the planners were imagining. The CMPDI report thus offers a unique window into the approach Mo and Tan brought to the planning of Hailong.

2.3.1 Reproducing the Urban-Rural Divide

Whereas the relationship between Chongqing’s ring roads and its master plans showed how the urban-rural boundary was used to enable the pursuit of scientific rationality, the CMPDI report illustrated the inverse, demonstrating how principles of scientific rationality were used to reinscribe urban-rural difference. This process was highlighted through the report’s focus on the urban periphery, commonly known as the “zone of urban-rural integration” (*chengxiang jiehe bu*). Through the application of scientific research methods, the authors of the report sought to rationally dis-integrate urban and rural, producing the clarity and legibility required by policy-makers and investors.

Stabilizing the urban and the rural emerged as the central objective of the CMPDI report. Mo and Tan described the urban and the rural as having different

“tasks” (*renwu*) in the dimensions of land use, economic development, social structure, and ecological protection. But in defining these categories, they relied on reductive administrative classifications. While acknowledging the possibility of substantive differentiation among cities based on function, Mo and Tan based their analysis on the Chinese state’s statistical designations, choosing to focus on “large” and “super-large” cities—those with a non-agricultural population of at least 500,000. To justify this choice, they claimed that they were interested only in cities large enough to support the development of agro-tourism, a tautological argument that foreshadowed the report’s predetermined conclusions. In identifying villages as their object of study within such cities, the report’s authors followed a similar route, focusing on their administrative designation as villages and disregarding issues such as size, scale, morphology, and function.

This administrative perspective was again used to define the term “suburban” (*jiaoku*). While recognizing the contentious nature of the term, Mo and Tan uncritically adopted the definition of a Chinese scholar, who identified the suburb as the area included within a city’s administrative boundaries but outside its urban center. Mo and Tan then developed the suburban problematic as the overlapping and contradictory demands of urban and rural, producing an area that was simultaneously both and neither. The periphery emerged as an area of urban-rural integration, functional diversity, and ontological contradiction. This intermingling was blamed for many of the problems that the report was intended to address, including lack of land use control, conflict between industrial and agricultural development, and unstable economic growth.

Mo and Tan used this problem definition to identify a range of relevant theories. As Mo explained, these theories were selected based on the researchers' familiarity: "We used what we understood, things that we thought could help us reason out our own thoughts." This approach was reminiscent of what Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss refer to as the "theory verification" model of social research, in which researchers' existing theories and preconceptions shape the way that data is chosen and interpreted (1967: 10-15). It presupposes the outcome of research, producing knowledge that confirms what is already known or decided, much as Bo Xilai brought experts in to confirm his decisions.

The result was a set of theories that constructed a crisis in urban-rural relations and then proposed interventions that would clarify and stabilize that relationship. Most prominently, this included the "third magnet" of Ebenezer Howard's Garden City. It also used a Chinese adaptation of the Garden City, the "ecological garden city," which argues for the preservation of villages' ecological and agricultural qualities to provide a pastoral escape for city-dwellers. "Landscape cities," an idea developed by a Chinese rocket scientist and systems theorist and inspired by Chinese landscape painting, advocates bringing the garden into the city so that every citizen can enjoy the pastoral qualities of the rural. Finally, Mo and Tan also invoked smart growth theory, which emphasizes growth boundaries as a method to control disordered urban spread into rural areas.

In parallel to these theoretical borrowings, Mo and Tan also turned to existing examples of village development. Instead of presenting models in which urban and rural functions had been recombined in novel ways, they chose villages

that were decidedly rural. This can be seen in a series of photographs of international villages that seem handpicked from Baidu's image search to fetishize the rural as a pastoral playland. These included photographs of a fake donkey, a tractor on a country road, grazing cows, autumn foliage, and an apple orchard, but no tract housing, cul-de-sacs, or highways (Figure 2.8). This kind of rural caricature was not uncommon. For instance, at a CMPDI seminar on urban-rural relations, an unaffiliated planner used the Amish countryside as an illustration of prototypical rural America.

Through these theories and models, Mo and Tan constructed an image of village development that neatly fit hegemonic ideas of Chinese rurality. As described in the CMPDI report, these case studies emphasized the importance of protecting villages' "ecological scenery" and the need to provide easy driving access. Mo and Tan then structured a research process based on these assumptions, arriving at conclusions that confirmed the necessity of clear urban-rural division.

2.3.2 Village Planning Research

In Mo Ying's view, CMPDI's research methods were not particularly scientific: "Our methods are pretty crude (*tu*). Simple perception is the most common. We're a long way from 'big data.' That kind of data just isn't attainable." What Mo was describing was an ethnographically informed research methodology, in which people would come to CMPDI to talk about their problems and he and his colleagues would listen. Like many planners I met in

Chongqing, Mo identified with my description of ethnography as a method focused on site-specificity and mutual understanding. Mo even expressed his desire to make the city and its neighborhoods more livable by investigating the “micro-scale questions of people’s lives”

Despite this anthropological temperament, Mo and his colleagues nevertheless designed a research study sure to produce data that neatly fit into their own urban-rural view of the world. Trained in a discipline that privileged technical expertise and falsifiable facts over interpretation and judgment, and with little exposure to reflexive research practices, the CMPDI planners had difficulty escaping the teleological scientism that reproduced urban-rural difference.

In the CMPDI report, interviews and surveys were used to collect accurate representations of an objective reality. Mo described the process as finding the right “channel” for answering each question: “Some questions we would have to look for a long time. Sometimes the people we asked weren’t the right people. So we’d put it into the survey design. If we still couldn’t understand, we’d find other channels.” Channels were thus made by matching the right research instruments with the right participants, who were then asked to “copy their logical thinking or experience” for the researchers. What Mo narrated was not an inquiry into varying perspectives on village development and planning but a search for authoritative facts that would fit into the planners’ existing interpretive framework. This ensured the perpetuation of CMPDI’s urban-rural assumptions and precluded the discovery of new, alternative theories of village transformation.

This theory-verification approach to research was particularly evident in the village survey instruments, which were used to “understand villagers’ desires and villages’ current development.” The pair of surveys, adapted from standard village planning surveys, further reflected Mo and Tan’s analytical reliance on administrative categories. One survey targeted the village committee, posing questions that positioned village leaders as both the drivers of development and the purveyors of authoritative facts about the village. The other survey was to be completed by representatives of registered village households, which were primarily treated as socio-economic data points to be aggregated and analyzed. By using households as their unit of analysis, Mo and Tan ignored the diverse points of view that might be revealed through sub-household variation in gender and age. Meanwhile, migrants, who were systematically excluded from consideration in village planning activities, were not included in the research process.

Research began with the administration of the household survey, which was conducted in two rounds. In the first, the planners asked the village committee to distribute surveys to village households. In the second, the research group returned to the village to answer villagers’ questions about the survey and aid in the completion of the forms. In the report, Mo and Tan openly questioned the quality of the responses from the first round of surveys, which might have been unduly influenced by the village leaders. Nevertheless, they felt that this strategy was necessary, since it allowed them to collect a significantly larger data set. Nearly three times the number of surveys were completed in the first round as in the second.

Mo and Tan expressed a higher degree of confidence in the responses from the second round, since they were able to personally supervise villagers as they completed the surveys. But even under these conditions, village leaders can influence results. In a similar research exercise elsewhere in China, I observed a village's party secretary handpick villagers to meet with researchers. Each of those selected was either an employee of the village committee or a beneficiary of the village's welfare scheme, meaning that they were financially dependent on the party secretary. When a villager encountered a question regarding village development or policy, he or she would look to the party secretary, who would then prompt the villager or simply answer the question himself. This type of intervention can be difficult to avoid when conducting research in rural China, potentially skewing data in support of leaders' opinions and policies and suppressing alternative viewpoints.¹⁰

The researchers' biases could already be found in the framing of the survey questions. Perhaps the most revealing aspect of the survey design was an error in the village committee survey. Both items 16 and 28 posed the same question: "Does this village have a dedicated trash collection site?" Mo Ying confirmed that this was an oversight, an artifact of the process by which CMPDI produced the survey, adding supplemental questions to a pre-existing village

¹⁰ Even when village leaders were not present, villagers may still not have felt free to respond openly. For instance, CMPDI's village household survey included identifying information, such as surnames and telephone numbers, meaning that villagers could not respond anonymously. Moreover, by participating in the process of completing surveys, researchers can profoundly affect respondents' behaviors, guiding them toward answers that confirm the researchers' assumptions.

planning survey. But the repetition revealed a preconception of peri-urban villages as dirty, messy, and unplanned, without proper infrastructure or services.

The other questions regarding the village's current development situation also indicated a view of peri-urban villages as spaces of uncontrolled waste. Aside from questions about resource consumption, including water and electricity, the survey asked about construction approvals, vacant housing, vacant agricultural land, and agricultural land used for construction. These questions targeted perceived inefficiencies in village development, including overbuilding and underutilization.

While these questions focused on the negative consequences of urban-rural integration, the village household survey assumed the village and its inhabitants to be entirely rural. More than half of this six-page form was devoted to questions about agriculture, and only one question considered the possibility of other forms of economic activity.¹¹ In combination with the questions on village development, these questions constructed a presumed mismatch between villagers' agricultural livelihoods and villages' overbuilt physical fabric.

The two surveys also suggested a predetermined view of village planning and villagers' role in the planning process. In the village committee survey, several questions concerned the development and implementation of the village plan. The most striking of these asked how the village balanced the village plan against villager desires, offering four choices that all presumed their mutual

¹¹ Question 4 asked for a breakdown of the household's income, including manual labor, agriculture, animal husbandry, and financial income. This last category condensed a wide diversity of alternative economic activities, including property development, asset investment, and entrepreneurship, into one residual number.

opposition. This view was further reinforced by the questions asked about planning in the village household survey, which limited villagers' responses to options already defined by the planners.

For the most part, the village household survey posed leading multiple-choice questions about village problems and villagers' desires. For instance, the survey asked if the village's roads were clogged by trucks at harvest time, a question that would necessitate a "Yes" regardless of the quality of roads. But the survey neglected to ask villagers if they were satisfied with their current transportation options. There were similarly binary questions about villagers' willingness to relocate and their preference for concentrated or dispersed housing, eliding the complex considerations that go into choices of residential location and housing type. Villagers were also provided with several multiple-choice lists of the types of improvements they would like to see. Each list began with hard public goods that were relatively simple to plan and provide (like roads) and ended with softer planning objectives that were more difficult for planners to quantify and achieve (like democracy).

Aside from these multiple-choice questions, villagers were given very few opportunities to shape their input into the planning process. The village household survey only provided one opportunity for free response. The question asked villagers to provide their planning recommendations, with room to write just a few characters next to each of five categories: production, life comforts, traditional culture, the village's appearance, and governance and democracy.

Thus, even when villagers were asked for their opinions, the categories of analysis were already chosen for them.

The village committee survey ended with two free response questions about future village development priorities, but only after a series of yes-or-no questions enumerating CMPDI's assumed priorities, such as attracting investment, improving infrastructure, and fixing roads. Village leaders were also invited to a discussion group but were only asked for their input after the planners first presented their ideas. Tellingly, none of the free responses were included in the report. Instead, Mo and Tan delivered aggregate statistics that treated village households as data points and village leaders as sources of authoritative facts.

2.3.3 Normalizing Urban-Rural Hybrids

These findings were ultimately used to argue for the reproduction of the urban and rural categories with which the report began. This meant eliminating the variation and hybridity that characterized urban-rural integration. Throughout the report, Mo and Tan repeatedly complained about the unpredictability and stochasticity (*suijixing*) they observed in the population and land use changes of peri-urban villages. In particular, villages (like Hailong) that had pursued industrial development attracted large numbers of factories and migrants, resulting in rapid and unpredictable changes in population and land use.

Mo and Tan employed three rhetorical strategies to eliminate these unstable, non-agricultural development paths. First, they made a formal argument that posited the administrative village as the assumed unit of planning. Since

migrants were not registered residents of these administrative units, planners need not consider them, and the report simply ignored them. For instance, the report assumed a stable demand for residential land, since state regulations calculated residential land quotas based on the registered village population.

Second, Mo and Tan devalued existing village development. According to the report, villagers were hampered by short-term thinking, which led them to build haphazardly and according to whim. Misled by a “blind yearning” (*mangmu xiangwang*) for city life, they too easily adopted urban development patterns, such as concentrated settlement types, tall buildings, and modern architecture. This led to development that was messy and unplanned, with dangerous, windy roads and extensive environmental degradation.

These tendencies threatened villages’ “rural character” (*nongcun xiangtu qixi*) and “cultural scenery” (*renwen jingguan*). Mo and Tan’s final step toward fetishizing the rural as a timeless pastoral ideal involved the valorization of these assets, including buildings like ancestor halls, temples, and shrines. Without these rural qualities, it was argued, villages would struggle to fulfill their role as a bridge between society and nature and between modernity and the past. Village planning was thus intended to preserve the rural characteristics that made villages distinct from the urban.

To systematically cleanse peri-urban villages of unwanted urban influences, Mo and Tan divided these villages into urban and rural types. “Urban industrial” villages—the messy and unpredictable ones—were to be modeled on urban residential areas and eventually incorporated into the city as urban

neighborhoods. Meanwhile, “agricultural” and “touristic” villages were subject to strict development controls and defined in opposition to the urban. New housing, for instance, would not be allowed to exceed three storeys and had to be arranged organically—regular rows of housing blocks similar to urban apartment buildings were forbidden. The report also advocated *beaux arts*-inspired road layouts that framed rural landmarks and local architectural styles, as well as materials that created landscapes resembling traditional garden scroll paintings.

As Mo and Tan concluded, in order to protect villagers from themselves, existing rural development had to be replaced by modern, scientific planning guided by the insights of systems theory. This included three broad planning recommendations that would ensure the separation and intensification of urban and rural functions: growth limits, agro-tourism, and road improvement. Each of these recommendations explicitly quoted the theories and models with which the report began.

In a rescaling of garden city and smart growth concepts to village planning, Mo and Tan advocated limiting village development through a series of related policies, including the consolidation of dispersed settlements, the implementation of village growth boundaries, and the creation of peri-urban green belts through municipal land banking. By explicitly limiting village growth as a way to enable further industrialization and development in established urban areas, these policies reinforced China’s urban bias.

Urban primacy was also inscribed in the report’s recommendation for the development of agro-tourism. As argued in the report, suburban villages were to

be understood as “functional supplements” to the city, producing goods and services that satisfied the needs of urban residents and businesses. Drawing on both “ecological garden cities” and the pastoralism of international models, the authors identified two areas in which suburban villages were well-suited to meet urban demand: agricultural products satisfied the material and bodily needs of urban residents by providing them with vegetables and other fresh consumables, while agricultural tourism satisfied their spiritual and psychological needs by providing opportunities for leisure and escape.

The fetishization of peri-urban areas as the city’s agricultural playland was common in Chongqing planning circles. Po Jincai, the director of the Chongqing Municipal Planning Bureau, articulated the sentiment well: “The development of the city suburbs is in service of the city, including leisure, resorts, agro-tourism, and sight seeing. As a result, urban-rural coordination is easier there.” The outcome of such thinking was particularly clear in the design of the Sichuan Fine Arts Institute’s peri-urban Huxi campus, which had won several design awards. Prominently displayed in the center of the campus was a single *mu* of agricultural land, which was tended year-round by a resident agricultural household. Overlooked by a viewing platform and surrounded by art studios, the fields represented an extreme aestheticization of agricultural labor (Figure 2.9).

CMPDI’s third recommendation, road improvement, was presented as a necessary corollary of agricultural intensification. A denser network of better, wider roads, they argued, was necessary both to attract car-driving tourists and to accommodate the transport needs of industrialized agriculture. The authors further

justified the need for more roads and parking lots by assuming an average of one car per village household, despite the results of their own survey, which showed that few villagers owned cars. Meanwhile, the transportation options most crucial to villagers' daily lives—pedestrian paths and public busses—were treated as an afterthought.

Each of these recommendations privileged the urban and reinscribed the urban-rural division with which the research report began. This urban bias was remarkable given how vociferously the CMPDI report criticized such tendencies in current planning practice including, for instance, the multiplying urban infrastructure corridors that resulted in village fragmentation. Mo and Tan proposed to stabilize villages' rurality as a protection against such encroachments, but these efforts only succeeded in fetishizing villages as passive agricultural settlements, further strengthening urban dominance. Guided by the unreflexive practices of scientific rationality, even efforts to transcend urban-rural difference contributed to its reproduction and reification.

2.4 The Village Planning Standard

For the Municipal Planning Bureau, the accelerating pace of village development and the increasing demand for village planning created a set of unfamiliar challenges. As the bureau's director, Po Jincai, explained, the rural had always lain beyond the planner's gaze: "In the past, there was no oversight of village planning. The planning bureau only managed the urban." But under urban-rural coordination, planners would no longer be able to ignore the rural in their

efforts to rationalize the urban. As Po related, “With urban-rural coordination in 2007, the Municipal Planning Bureau was suddenly responsible for the management of village planning. ... Even now, our work on village planning is still only in its initial stages.” Where the planning bureau had previously been responsible only for the main city of Chongqing and the several hundred cities and towns in the wider municipality, it now had to manage the planning of a vast hinterland of 8,660 villages.

To deal with this challenge, the planning bureau established the Rural Planning Management Division in 2009. In doing so, the planning bureau effectively bracketed off village planning, re-inscribing the administrative separation of urban and rural. The rest of the planning bureau thus continued much as before, ignoring the rural as it pursued the scientific planning of the urban. And the rural division became a perfect reflection, astutely ignoring the urban so as to focus on the rural. As in the past, urban and rural were assumed to have starkly different qualities that were to be separated and subject to different planning processes. As Po explained, “Urban development, the urban economy, and urban planning all follow an urban model. Rural development, rural governance, and rural management all have to follow the rural system.”

Even so, managing the planning of 8,660 rural villages presented an overwhelming challenge for the rural division, which was staffed with just half-a-dozen planners. In response, the rural division held a series of meetings in late 2011 where Chongqing planners discussed the development of a village planning standard for the municipality. During these meetings, the participants focused on

three critical planning variables that had been un-fixed by urban-rural coordination—scale, population, and land. To preserve the scientific quality of planning practice, planners sought to “re-fix” these variables. In each case, their efforts ultimately ran up against the political foundations of scientific rationality—factors that Chongqing’s planners could neither predict nor control.

2.3.1 Scale

In discussing the development of a village planning standard, the number 8,660 was mentioned again and again: “Chongqing has 8,660 villages, and every one is different!” Staffed with only a handful of planners, the rural division was either directly or indirectly responsible for overseeing the planning of each of these unique villages.¹² To put this in context, nearby Chengdu had just 2,888 villages, of which 1,300 were rebuilt between 2003 and 2011. By contrast, the twelfth five-year plan (2011-2015) called for Chongqing to rebuild 2,500 villages in half that time. As Cai Libo, the head of the rural division, emphasized to his colleagues, “This is a very large number.”

In response, the rural division embarked on the development of a village planning standard for the municipality. With a sufficiently scientific standard, Chongqing’s villages could be treated as 8,660 data points rather than 8,660 idiosyncrasies. Site visits would no longer be necessary, providing the

¹² The Rural Planning Management Division is charged with the formal examination and approval (*shenpi*) of plans for just the 871 administrative villages within the main city (*zhucheng*). For the 7,789 villages in the wider municipality, its supervisory responsibilities are more ambiguous, including the right to advise (*fayan quan*) on village planning but not the right to approve or reject plans.

understaffed rural division the leverage it needed to oversee all of these villages. Moreover, by minimizing the degree of subjective judgment involved in reviewing village plans, a planning standard would ensure their scientific quality.

But collecting the data for such a standard proved challenging. While the statistics bureau already gathered basic data such as population, economic output, and total area for villages, more specialized data was lacking. For instance, the length and type of roads and paths, the quality of wastewater drainage, and the extent of public services were all crucial planning inputs that were actively monitored and readily available to planners in urban areas. But rural areas lacked the institutional capacity, and no one was formally responsible for collecting such data in villages. In many rural areas the necessary data did not exist; where the data did exist, they were neither comparable nor reliable. As one planner complained, “By the time accurate and reliable data could be collected from all 8,660 villages, they would already be hopelessly out of date.”

In the face of these challenges, the Chongqing University researchers hired by the planning bureau supplemented their findings with more readily available data, but some planning bureau staff objected. For instance, they argued against the inclusion of data that was not directly related to planning (“We don’t want to go replace local governments!”). They also resisted comparisons to existing planning standards in other provinces (“Chongqing’s mountains topography makes it unique. Our Chongqing standard should be defined by Chongqing!”). These objections further revealed planners’ concerns about the uncontrollable scale of their work. To keep their task from becoming impossibly

complex, the rural division had to draw clear professional and geographic boundaries.

The most active discussion focused on whether to include information about townships, the territorial units that encompass and oversee villages. Many of the meeting's participants insisted that including data about townships would only confuse the matter: "We're talking about villages, so you should just focus on village planning." Others argued that villages were inevitably influenced by the townships to which they belonged: "Village and town development are closely related. If we don't have information about the urban situation then it's very difficult to say how villages should develop." Clarity and comprehensiveness seemed irreconcilable, and a scientific village planning standard moved even further out of reach.

2.3.2 Population

To planners responsible for managing village planning in Chongqing, the greatest challenge to scientific clarity was population mobility. China's household registration system was the cornerstone of the administrative wall between urban and rural. Since migrants had no formal access to state-sponsored urban services, planners had no need to plan for them. For instance, when calculating the quantity and location of schools, low-income housing, and medical centers, planners could disregard the complexities of highly unpredictable migration numbers (Leaf 1998).

Household registration reform changed all that. By providing a pathway for all the municipality's rural residents to acquire urban household registration, Chongqing's household registration reform program made urban services, infrastructure, and welfare formally available to millions of its residents. Most importantly, personal choice became a significant factor in determining household registration and official residential location. For the first time, planners had to explicitly account for unpredictable location preferences in planning settlements.

This new "indeterminacy" (*bu queding xing*) was the source of much anxiety among planners in the rural division: "In rural areas, population is the most difficult issue. The direction, mode, and tendency of population movement are all extremely difficult to make clear." Chongqing's village planners were concerned with both the destination of this movement and its origin, since empty villages were at risk of overbuilding. In the words of one of the planners, "The most difficult problem is the mobility of the population. I suspect that the decrease in the rural population will only get more intense over the next decade."

The effort to collect village-level data thus offered an opportunity to eliminate this uncertainty. Planners suggested using the data to establish a "regular pattern" (*yiding guilü*) of population movement or to predict the "static state" (*tingzhi zhuangtai*) of population distribution after migration slowed. As one planner claimed, if such a fixed future could be predicted, it might negate the need for so much village planning: "Look at the developed countries. Their rural population barely changes. For instance in America, out of every fifty people, perhaps only one is rural. China might not ever be able to reach this level, but we

need to think ahead. Otherwise, we'll have to keep redoing our plans over and over again.”

Driven by household registration and the municipality's policies of rural depopulation, this movement in population was intended to drain further resources from village development. The population estimates used in village planning determined the amount of available construction land and thus the scale of village development. Mo Ying described how the population numbers for village plans were politically determined by the government: “It's not a purely technical question. It's based on the opinion of the government bureau. Of course, the planner can make a suggestion based on his experience. But ultimately it's up to the bureau to decide.”

2.3.3 Land

Under China's urban-rural land system, village land could not be used for industrial or residential development unless it was first expropriated by the government. Rural land thus remained inert. With few opportunities for commercialization or intensification, planners were able to effectively ignore the rural, treating it as a peri-urban land bank for the city (Lin 2009:81-82). In combination with China's strict land use quota system, this also meant that land development was a zero-sum game: by limiting opportunities for village development, government leaders were increasing opportunities for city growth.

To change village land use, village planners had to negotiate with officials at the Land Management Bureau, which governed land use planning and the land

quota system (Wu et al. 2007: 134-152; Yu 2014: 222-235). In Chongqing, conflict between the planning and land management bureaus was exacerbated by mismatched land use categories. As Mo Ying argued, the Land Management Bureau had an overly restrictive understanding of village development, in which construction land could only be approved for housing, roads, and public infrastructure: “Nothing else counts. But in a village plan, we have many types of construction: ecological buildings, public buildings, industrial development. Even a 400-year old historic landmark would be difficult to get approved!” Mo suggested that this left too little room for planning discretion: “If you want to plan a village, there needs to be a grey area for some things.”

Chongqing’s land reform policies had removed much of this grey area. As Cai Libo explained, “We can always increase the scale of urban planning and exceed the [land use] quota. But the scale of rural planning can’t be made bigger—it needs to obey the quota.” Where planners had once been able to negotiate the intergovernmental trading of land use quotas across administrative boundaries, under the land note system this was no longer allowed. Land for village development could only be obtained through the land note exchange. Cai continued, “The change in government policy has therefore had a profound impact on village planning.”

Cai emphasized land rationalization as one of the key components of village planning: “In every one of the many village plans we’ve done, if the land use plan isn’t clear, there’s no way to do the village plan.” Without careful attention to land use, Cai argued, “future conflicts with city and town plans were

likely to arise.” Thus, the only way to ensure that village plans could be implemented was to first ensure that they did not affect urban plans. The interests of the city were paramount, meaning that village planning could never be truly scientific. Mo Ying explained how the basic variables of village planning—the amount of land and the number of people—were always politically determined: “It’s a matter of coordinating the opinions of the land management and planning bureaus. One might say this much, the other says that much. They go back and forth. Once they’ve decided, then the planner formulates a plan. But at that point the planner doesn’t even have any space to speak.” Laughing, Mo continued, quoting the rhetoric of the command and control economy, “It’s a question of the distribution of resources.”

2.5 A Village-in-the-City

As the first of the meetings at the planning bureau drew to a close, an intense discussion broke out about Hailong Village—the argument with which this chapter began. Cai Libo outlined the importance of land use planning and pointed to Hailong as an example: “It took us more than a year to do its plan precisely because of the lack of clarity around land use. We had to go through endless negotiations—it’s a model village, so we had to be very cautious.” Laughing, Cai explained how, after many rounds of negotiation, they used “fuzzy science” to arrive at a compromise. The result was a unique plan that might require its own category in the village planning standard: “It’s really a special case. It’s half urban and half rural (*yi ban shi cheng, yi ban shi cun*)!”

At this point, Tan Qing, who led the formulation of Hailong's plan, testily interjected: "You really can't call Hailong a model village!" Cai rushed to agree: "Well, yes, it is quite unique." But Tan pressed on. After more than a year of working on Hailong's plan, it was only yesterday that Tan finally understood what was going on. The Land Management Bureau was still refusing to approve the plan, and the only way they would ever agree to do so was if the central government designated Hailong as a model village. As far as the Land Management Bureau was concerned, Hailong was a "village-in-the-city" (*chengzhongcun*) and should be treated as such—its land would be expropriated and the village would be liquidated. Hailong could not be a model village, Tan explained, because it would not even be a village.

For planners and government officials, villages-in-the-city were unacceptable contradictions. A product of China's bifurcated land use system, villages-in-the-city arose when pockets of collectively owned rural land were surrounded by urban expansion. These villages developed outside of the urban planning regime, resulting in densely settled, sometimes cluttered, but often vibrant neighborhoods distinct from the formally planned fabric of the surrounding city. Villages-in-the-city thus threatened both the stability of urban-rural difference and the state's control over urban transformation.

These villages have often been labeled as sites of "bottom-up" urbanization, a term used to describe informal transformations that occurred outside of formal state-led planning processes (Cui and Ma 1999; Gu et al. 1998;

Lin 2009: 173; Liu 1997; Ma and Lin 1993; Zhu 2002: 10).¹³ Long invoked as a spatial metaphor to describe social and political relations in China, top-down/bottom-up was first applied to urbanization in the early 1980s, when Tingwei Zhang used bottom-up to describe new, apparently spontaneous development initiatives pursued by market-enabled town and municipal governments independent of the existing “top-down” socialist planning apparatus (1983: 59, 61). In their later discussion of town-based “urbanisation from below,” Laurence Ma and Ming Fan compared their analysis to the “development from above or below” framework proposed by Walter Stöhr and David Taylor (1981). In contrast to Stöhr and Taylor, who suggested that bottom-up development requires intentional planning, Ma and Fan insisted that in China bottom-up development “carries the connotation of unplanned, spontaneous growth and self-generation” (1994: 1628). In the context of village transformation, Shengzu Gu and Zhengyou Li similarly saw top-down transformation as the result of state-led planning, while bottom-up transformation arose from spontaneous development led by state and non-state actors (1998).

In addition to indexing urban-rural difference, top-down/bottom-up easily intersected with normative dichotomies, such as desirable/undesirable, modern/backward, rational/irrational, efficient/inefficient, and clean/messy. Top-down and bottom-up were repeatedly represented as incompatible tendencies that produce conflict, competition, and fragmentation in the built environment (Fan and Lei 2009; Wei and Yan 2006). Bottom-up transformation was also blamed as

¹³ Portions of the following discussion were previously published in *Cities* and in *Village in the City: An Informal Portrait of South China* (Smith 2014b, 2014c).

a source of inefficiency, messiness, and ecological destruction that threatens the healthy development of the city (Li and Li 2008; Li and Lin 2007; Liang and Wen 2011); and villages were portrayed as incapable of planning or managing their own transformation without top-down intervention (Cheng 2003; Liu and Zhang 2003; Shi 2011; Tian 2005).

In keeping with this discourse, villages-in-the-city have been described as “malignant tumors” in the city’s organic body (Lü and Zhou 2006; Yang 1996). “Dirty, messy, and inferior” (*zang luan cha*), the villages threatened to degrade the city’s form and harbored urban ills such as crime and vice (Shao 2010; Shen and Zhong 2007; Zheng, J. 1997). This “infection” adversely influenced the scientific quality of the city’s development (Chen 2008; Li and Lin 2007; Shao 2010; Xu 2007; Xu and Liu 2007). The negative characterization of these villages was even reflected in the neologism used to describe them: through its concatenation of the characters for city (*cheng*) and village (*cun*), the new term portrayed the villages as contradictory, illogical, and aberrant pieces of the city.

Planning thus emerges as a tool of political discipline, delegitimizing alternative projects of urban transformation and normalizing them into the goals and priorities of those wielding the state’s planning powers. These disciplining strategies can target a range of actors, whether or not they are part of the party-state apparatus. For instance, You-tien Hsing describes how municipal governments used planning rationality to undermine the development projects of state-owned enterprises and consolidate control over urban land (2006b:582-585). Most often, they have been used to target village collectives with valuable land

holdings inside or alongside the city. The result has been the widespread demolition of existing village settlements and their transformation into new towns, new villages, and new urban neighborhoods that are seamlessly integrated into the formal urban fabric (Chen 2008; Gu and Li 1998; Ke 2013; Wang et al. 2009; Xu 2007). In the words of two Chinese planners, the “perverse” urbanization of the villages is turned into the “true urbanization” of the city (Shen and Zhong 2007).

Po Jincai reiterated these arguments when I asked about Chongqing’s approach to villages like Hailong: “These villages have become urbanized, so Chongqing treats them as urban. Their land is expropriated just as if they were a part of the city, turning village land into state land. Then, everything built on the land is demolished. After that, the land is made available to developers just like any other urban land.” As Po grew increasingly agitated by my question, one of his colleagues, the chief planner for a nearby city, tried to defuse the situation, insisting that villages-in-the-city were not really a problem: “Chongqing is not like Shenzhen. All our villages serve the interests of the city.”

I experienced similar misdirection whenever I mentioned Hailong to one of Chongqing’s planners. Hailong was dismissed as either a “political experiment,” a “special case,” or “not worth investigating.” The most vociferous of these objections came as I was leaving the planning bureau after the meeting to discuss a village planning standard. Xi Rencai, a professor at Chongqing University, formally introduced me to Cai Linbo. As soon as Xi mentioned my

interest in Hailong, Cai shook his head: “I would advise him not to do Hailong. You just said he’s already doing it?”

Xi back-pedaled: “He just wants to understand the situation.”

Cai turned to face me: “I advise you not to do it.”

Xi tried to sound upbeat: “He’s a visiting scholar at Chongqing University.”

Cai ignored him and continued, adamant: “I advise you to choose a different village. Didn’t you just hear our discussion?”

Xi: “It’s just one case study.”

Cai: “Choose a different one. This case, it’s too complex. We worked on it for a year, and it’s only now that I’ve understood the true situation.”

It was a difficult blow to take in my first weeks of fieldwork. Cai’s warning felt like a repudiation of my research, confirming all the doubts I had about the project. Despite Xi’s best efforts, I never got to meet with Cai again. He was either too busy or out of town. But his warning backfired. Rather than convincing me to drop Hailong, it only sparked my desire to explore further. And like Cai, it took me more than a year of work before I felt I understood the village. Contrary to Tan Qing’s prediction, Hailong did not just disappear. It was never swallowed up by the city or rationalized according to principles of scientific rationality. Instead, it became a battleground for Chongqing’s fraught peri-urban politics, as party-state leaders, municipal planners, and residents continually renegotiated the relationship between urban and rural.

Chapter 3:
The Hailong Experience

3.1 Origin Stories

Just a decade earlier than my conversation with Cai Linbo, Hailong was still a collection of impoverished agrarian settlements. Little had changed since the 1940s, when a unit of the United States Army Air Force was stationed at a neighboring airfield (Figure 3.1). Aside from the villagers' own irrigation systems, the US Army likely built the village's first piece of infrastructure, a two-track dirt road that connected the airfield with a water pumping station up the adjoining mountain ridge (Figure 3.2). For Hailong's oldest villagers, the construction of this road was one of their earliest memories. They also recalled the Americans' barracks and the dance halls they frequented. Built of cement, roofed with slate, and whitewashed to a sparkle, the foreign buildings awed them. As children, they had only ever known their own mud-and-timber houses (Figure 3.3). Few had the chance to travel into the city of Chongqing, where they might see a budding metropolis clustered around the Liberation Monument. Just fourteen kilometers to the east, downtown Chongqing was hours away by car. The road ran from Baishiye over the Zhonglian Mountains, which separated what was then Baxian County from the main Chongqing plain (Figures 1.8, 1.10). Of course, no one in Hailong had a car.

China's national reform movement, launched in 1978, brought little benefit to Hailong. One of the village officials recalled her childhood in the 1980s: "When my brother and I were young, there was never enough food to eat. ... When I was little, noodles, bread, and dumplings were all luxuries. And when I was in high school I dreamed of buying a cake. I wanted to eat cake so badly." In the summer, her father would wake her up at three in the morning and send her down the well to collect what little water had accumulated overnight: "That well was so deep and dark. I was terrified. I

kept thinking a snake would come out and get me.” According to Yang, it wasn’t much different for her neighbors. They had to raise corn to feed the pigs and grain to give to the state. They couldn’t eat their chickens, because they had to sell them for money. Even then, most families only earned a couple of hundred *kuai* each month.

As the new millennium began, Hailong was still mired in poverty. Crime was common, corruption was rampant, and villagers frequently petitioned upper levels of government with their grievances. Two different villagers had recently been given death sentences. The village still lacked basic infrastructure, such as running water and cooking gas. The water station had long since been boarded up, and road leading to it had fallen into disuse, split in two by the construction of a municipal highway. Eighty percent of families lived in the same mud-and-timber houses they had inhabited during the war. As Zhao Changfu, a member of the village’s Elders Party Branch, wrote, “The road was dirt, and our houses were dirt. On sunny days you were covered with dust. On rainy days you were covered in mud” (Hailong Party Building 2012).

Yan Jing, the village’s party secretary, told vivid stories of the abject poverty he encountered when he was elected to lead the village in 2002. Just days after his election, he discovered one of the villagers had been making his elderly mother-in-law sleep in a pigsty because they were so poor. A few days later he visited all of Hailong’s elderly villagers. As he left each house, he presented the residents with a ten-*kuai* note. He claimed many of these elders burst into tears, telling Yan that he treated them better than their own children did. This image of poverty was echoed by Wen Jiancai, one of Hailong’s two assistant party secretaries and Yan’s right hand in pushing forward the

village's development. For the first several months I was in Chongqing, her QQ away message read: "To be a villager in China is pitiable, lamentable, detestable."¹

Hailong's financial situation was even more worrying. In 2001, the village collective owed 724,623 RMB (87,547 USD) in debt, including 80,000 RMB in agricultural taxes and 3,000 RMB in restaurant bills. Average per capita annual income was only 1,578 RMB (191 USD), and an estimated 70% of working-age villagers had migrated away in search of work. With no one to tend the fields, 40% of Hailong's agricultural land was left fallow, a startling percentage in a village where agriculture accounted for more than 90% of gross product. Of the 23 villages in Baishiye Township that relied on government financial transfers for survival, Hailong was known as one of the weakest and most troubled.

Over the next decade, everything changed. By 2004, the village collective had clawed its way out of debt. In 2006, the collective earned a staggering 2.03M RMB, and villagers earned an average of 4,800 RMB, fully three times the average income five years earlier. By 2009, both these figures had doubled again: collective earnings were 4.12M RMB, and average villager income rose to 9,643 RMB (Figures 3.4-5). Villager income was now 30% higher than the average for Jiulongpo District, and double the average for the municipality. In 2010, collective earnings doubled again, to 8.3M, while villager income rose by another 24%, to 12,000 RMB. Meanwhile, Hailong's gross product doubled from 1B RMB in 2009 to 2.2B RMB in 2010. Perhaps most striking of all, just nine years after being nearly 1M RMB in the red, the village collective owned 80M RMB in assets in 2010.

¹ QQ is an online messaging application that is popular in China.

This spectacular growth has been rooted in a fundamental restructuring of the village's economy (Figure 3.6). In 2002, Hailong was almost entirely agricultural. Seven years later, in 2009, its economy had been almost completely industrialized. This shift was due to the arrival of approximately 150 manufacturing firms, which had invested a total of 1.2B RMB in Hailong by 2009. The growth in manufacturing also drove demand for housing and services, with more than 13,000 new residents living in a village with an original population of just 1,954.

Hailong's leaders routinely celebrated this narrative of progress, emphasizing both the village's abject poverty and its subsequent rise to wealth. They built an exhibition hall dedicated to telling Hailong's story to visiting leaders and researchers (Figure 3.7). On my first visit to Hailong (and, again, on my second visit a year later), I was ceremoniously led through the exhibition hall by a village official. The exhibit began with a recapitulation of the village's progress narrative: "A transformation from traditional agriculture to secondary and tertiary industries. A transformation from a dirty, messy, inferior, and scattered settlement to an integrated community. ... A transformation that has achieved a move from poverty to affluence, attesting to the maturation of Hailong's people and the development of Hailong Village." The passage was accompanied by before-and-after photos of buildings, roads, and infrastructure. Later in the exhibit, large graphs portrayed the village's skyrocketing economy, complete with dramatic red arrows.

The "Hailong experience" (*hailong jingyan*), as the story of the village's transformation came to be called, was a constructed narrative. It took a diverse and variegated village and reduced it to one storyline of ineluctable progress. Hailong was

undoubtedly poor prior to 2001, but it was not uniformly so. Many villagers migrated to China's booming coastal provinces, and their remittances provided much-needed capital for village households. A handful of villagers, most prominently Yan Jing, amassed substantial wealth as entrepreneurs. As early as 1990, Hailong's first two-storey brick-and-mortar house had already been built. And some middle-aged villagers recalled exchanging love notes via beeper when they were teenagers in the early 1990s.

And though Hailong's dramatic economic transformation over the last decade was undeniable, not everyone benefited. Numerical averages disguised widespread inequality and the persistence of poverty. As one village official noted to me in a moment of candor, pointing at the graphs of rising income, "These numbers are just rough proportions. They are averages. Not everyone has seen their income rise so much."² Just as some villagers built "western-style villas" in the 1980s, other villagers still lived in mud-and-timber houses in 2010.

This chapter explores the construction of the Hailong experience by the village leadership, complete with misrepresentations and inaccuracies. It combines evidence gathered from my conversations with village officials and residents, my observations of village operations and events, my analysis of village transformation, and a variety of textual and visual accounts produced by village officials, party-state officials, and journalists.³ These secondhand sources were given to me in the course of conversations

² Hailong's development statistics may be misleading in other ways as well. Local leaders in China are notorious for "joking the stats" in order to portray their localities in a better light and improve their chances for promotion.

³ The textual and visual evidence considered in this chapter is drawn from the following sources: a monthly village newspaper begun in January 2012; a magazine, entitled *Hailong Party Building*, including contributions from village officials and party

with village officials, who used them to supplement their accounts and to avoid answering certain questions directly. I thus treat these sources ethnographically, as part of the ongoing construction of Hailong's narrative of progress. Like the statistics in the exhibition hall, much of this evidence is unreliable, but the objective is not to arrive at an authoritative and accurate measure of Hailong's development. Subsequent chapters will explore alternative accounts that contest the truthfulness of the Hailong experience.

The focus of this chapter is instead on how the story was told and what its telling revealed about the motivations and strategies of Hailong's leaders as they pursued the transformation of the village. In other words, the question is not the extent of Hailong's development but how and why this development was achieved. As Ye Jianhua, a member of the Jiulongpo District Standing Committee, wrote: "The sky is still the same sky; the earth is still the same earth; the villagers are still the same villagers. How could Hailong Village achieve such a great leap of rapid development in so few years" (Hailong Party Building 2012:60)?

This question speaks to an ongoing debate over how to catalyze development in rural China. Among Chinese scholars and policy makers, it is widely believed that the linchpin to transforming rural livelihoods is the charisma and capability of village leaders (He, Xu. 2003: 256-263). The Hailong experience lends credence to this belief, but not for the reasons typically used to explain village development. Hailong's party secretary, Yan Jing, played a central role in the village's transformation, personally guiding many

members, officials from the central and municipal governments, and journalists; research reports produced by the central, municipal, and district governments; the Hailong Exhibition Hall; and videos and other promotional materials produced by the village. When directly quoted, I cite these materials in the text. A full list of primary documents can be found in the appendix.

of the decisions and processes that enabled Hailong's success. But Yan was even more important as a figurehead, an embodiment of the village's institutions and aspirations. By adopting the idiom of charismatic party leadership and channeling the networked power of party patronage, Yan provided political cover for a more radical village power project—the construction of collective institutions capable of wresting control over urban transformation from the hands of the local government.

The chapter therefore starts with Yan, his election as the village's party-secretary and his philosophy of development (3.1). I then turn to the strategies employed to achieve the village's transformation, including land collectivization, incorporation, and the development of infrastructure and industry (3.2). In parallel with the process of transformation was the institutionalization and development of the village's party organization, including questions of professionalization, corporatization, and mass work (3.3). I then consider Hailong's implications for urban-rural coordination, including the production of new developmental ontologies, the emergence of collective alternatives to state welfare programs, and the construction of a new village environment (3.4). Lastly, I discuss how senior state and party leaders interpreted the Hailong experience and what practices they have advocated for emulation, including questions of leadership, party building, and land use control (3.5).

3.1.1 The First Election

In most versions of the story, the Hailong experience started in 2001, before Hailong even existed. Prior to this, Hailong was, in fact, two villages, Hailuo and Longtai. In 2001, under Chongqing's "capable village leader" (*nengren zhi cun*) program,

Baishiya began combining villages in order to destabilize existing power structures and install new, more capable leaders (Luo 2004).⁴ At the insistence of the Baishiya government, Hailuo and Longtai merged in March 2002, officially forming the village of Hailong.⁵

The first challenge faced by the new village was to select a new, “capable” leader. Hailong’s party branch met for six consecutive days and took three votes with no decisive result. According to village lore, relations between the party branch and the villagers were so tense—villagers would regularly swear or spit when encountering a party member—that none of the current party members were willing to stand for election. Others suggested that Hailong’s existing leaders were simply too old to right the ship, and the village lacked a new generation of leaders. Villagers even held their own meeting outside the party branch election, insisting that they would not allow the current village leaders to continue in their posts. For a week, Hailong was struck by “paralysis.”

In the face of this crisis, one of the existing party secretaries approached Yan Jing’s father to ask if Yan would consider standing for election. Yan’s father scoffed derisively, “If none of us can fix this village, how could he?” Desperate, the party secretary then contacted Yan directly. Confident but humble, Yan responded, “If you all will place your trust in me, I will surely set this village right.” Yan was then “directly

⁴ Baishiya was particularly eager to improve local governance since its leaders had been repeatedly reprimanded for having the district’s lowest family planning compliance rate, a widely used metric for the efficacy of rural governance.

⁵ Hailuo, the Chinese word for “conch,” took its name from a rock formation that would make the sound of a conch shell when the wind blew over it. Longtai, or “dragon platform,” was named for the adjacent mountain. The name Hailong, which literally means “pipefish” but could also be translated as “sea dragon,” was created by concatenating one character from each name.

elected by general acclamation” (*gongtui zhixuan*), and upon review by the Baishi yi government, he was installed as the village’s assistant party secretary. As his deputy, Wen Jiancai, pointed out, this constituted a kind of probation for Yan, who had been away from the village for years. But in reality, he was in charge, since there was no one installed above him. Wen compared him to Sun Wukong, the monkey king in *Journey to the West*—like the monkey king, Wen argued, no one in the heavens of China’s government could control Yan Jing.

3.1.2 Yan Jing

Who was Yan Jing, and what made him a likely candidate to take on the leadership of Hailong (Figure 3.8)? Yan graduated from high school in 1980, just as Deng Xiaoping’s economic reforms were gaining steam. After graduating, Yan took up farming. Ten years later, in 1991, he moved to Qingdao, where he entered the construction trades. He eventually established a construction team of 70 workers specialized in electric and plumbing contracting, doing work for both the Qingdao Beer brewery and the Beijing Asia Games.

Over the course of the 1990s, Yan acquired a reputation as a capable and successful businessman, largely due to his acquisition of flashy consumer goods. He was widely known as the first in Longtai to own a cell phone, the first to purchase a 125cc motorbike, and the first to build a western-style villa. According to the dominant narrative of Yan’s ascent to power, his apparent success attracted the attention of his

fellow village party members.⁶ But alternative accounts suggest that he had already demonstrated his savvy for negotiation and governance. In 2001, villagers of Longtai strongly opposed the drilling of wells for the Tianci Hot Springs, a resort and spa built on land that had once belonged to the village. As many as five hundred villagers blocked construction, attacking village and town officials. Yan, as a concerned member of the local party branch, visited the site of the conflict and successfully negotiated a peaceful end to hostilities. Well before the 2002 election, Yan was already known to the leaders of Baishiye as a capable and dexterous leader.

After his election, Yan attained unrivaled power within the village, even challenging the authority of leaders in the municipal bureaucracy. He claimed to exercise this power benevolently, portraying himself as a virtuous and cultured man committed to self-sacrifice in the service of his fellow villagers. Yan was fond of saying that “Power is not to be enjoyed; it is a burden and a responsibility.” And he situated his service in the traditions of the Chinese Communist Party. As Wen Jiancai related, the party had inspired Yan to take on the mantle of leadership in order save his fellow villagers. He believed that the party owed China’s villagers, who had suffered from decades of discriminatory policies. And, Wen claimed, it was this spirit of service and self-sacrifice that convinced her to join Yan in running the village: “At the time, I was not a party member, so I didn’t have this kind of awareness.”

Yan sometimes invoked the example of Lei Feng, a stock figure in Chinese communist ideology that had been revived in 2011 to spur national unity. At a celebration for the Chongyang Festival, a holiday honoring the elderly, Yan lectured his former

⁶ The ascent of successful entrepreneurs to leadership positions within village collectives and rural governments has been widely documented (He, Xu. 2003: 235; Yan 2009).

elementary and high school teachers: “You know, America also has Lei Feng, but their Lei Feng is not our Lei Feng. Their Lei Feng is about teamwork. Our Lei Feng, the real Lei Feng, is about self-sacrifice.” Yet, in one of Yan’s most often repeated aphorisms, he paraphrased John F. Kennedy: “Ask not what Hailong can do for you; ask what you can do for Hailong.” I never asked Yan if he was aware of the origins of this phrase, but his subordinates used it as Hailong’s unofficial call to arms, treating it as an example of Yan’s charisma and genius.

Yan was a boundless source of such aphorisms. Scarcely a day went by in Hailong that I did not run into one, plastered on the side of a building or spilling from the lips of a village official. They gave Yan an air of culture and sophistication, an impression he actively cultivated. In Hailong’s newspaper, he composed short poems and parables, each of which was a thinly veiled morality tale. He professed a love of books, the *erhu*, and Chinese folk songs. Meanwhile, he claimed to eschew all vice—he indulged in neither alcohol nor tobacco, and though he admitted that he sometimes played cards, he only played for a five- or ten-*kuai* ante. Above all, he prized his reputation for studiousness, and he constantly urged his subordinates to read.

Was this the real Yan Jing? His public persona was tightly controlled, his conversations little more than sound bites. It was hard to catch a glimpse of the man behind the image, but it was equally clear that the two were not the same—Yan chafed against the caricature he had drawn of himself. He was a short man, sturdily built with broad shoulders, closely cropped hair, and deeply set eyes. When he spoke at public events, he barked his words, thrusting his jaw forward, flashing his teeth, and widening

his eyes. Even informal conversations felt as if Yan was issuing battle orders. He was not overweight, but whenever Yan sat on a couch, he always took up two seats.

As I spent more time in Hailong, other clues about Yan emerged. A boozy lunch with a group of village officials was particularly revealing. Whether due to our growing familiarity or the free-flowing *baijiu*, they began speaking frankly, even indiscreetly, about their leader. They started referring to Yan as the “big bully” (*da hengren*), a derogatory term used for people who are overbearing and arbitrary in their use of power. The village committee became the “bully committee” and the village election an election for best and biggest bully. Someone took it too far: “The State Council is the highest bully committee in the country!” There was a hush, and then the conversation continued: “Of course we’re bullies! It’s the only way we can get things done. How are we supposed to get all this demolition done otherwise? If they won’t move out, we’ll beat them out!”

Later, the conversation turned to Yan’s temper. One of the officials admitted that he didn’t like playing cards with Yan, and there were several nods around the table. He got angry when he lost. He was known to threaten people with a *bangbang*, a wooden carrying pole commonly used in Chongqing. Someone claimed that he had seen Yan throw dog feces at people. Another said Yan had joked to him before a card game: “If you win, I’ll beat the life out of you. If you lose, you’ll have nothing to worry about.” All agreed that if you couldn’t avoid playing cards with him, it was best to lose.

In other contexts, Yan’s temper was seen as a sign of his strong leadership. In her reflections on her time in Hailong, one of the college graduates assigned to work for the village recalled her first interaction with Yan. She had failed in her designated task and as Yan walked into the room, he yelled, “What have I raised, a drove of pigs? I want results,

not excuses!” She took the reprimand to heart, citing it as the most important lesson of her young career: one’s responsibility always outweighs one’s ability.

3.1.3 A Developmental Epistemology

Yan came of age in the late 1970s and early 1980s, as Deng Xiaoping rose to power and remade the Chinese nation. As Hailong’s leader, he saw himself following in Deng’s footsteps. When Yan and his team started formulating an approach to development in the early 2000s, they studied Deng’s southern tour of 1992, reading the leader’s speeches as he catalyzed a new round of reform and liberalization. Prominently displayed in the village’s exhibition hall was the following quote from Deng:

“Development is the absolute principle.” Like Deng, Yan pursued Hailong’s development at all costs, doing whatever was necessary to pull the village out of poverty. To do so, he adopted Deng’s pragmatism, ignoring established dogma in favor of practical experience. Paraphrasing Deng, Yan claimed that development required “freeing oneself from old ideas, pragmatically pursuing truth, dedicating oneself to learning, and daring to blaze new trails.” Again and again, Hailong’s leaders invoked the following maxim of Deng’s: “seek truth from facts.”

Yan revered knowledge and the power of ideas: “Money and power are temporary. Only knowledge is forever,” but he distrusted anyone who told him what to think, instead advocating grounded, practical reasoning. He insisted, “Only if we keep freeing ourselves from old ideas will our economy keep developing.” As he conversed with his former teachers, Yan admitted, “I don’t have much formal education, but I’m schooled in life. My knowledge is gained from social practices.” He went on to explain

that all knowledge is created from the abstraction of social practices, and book learning is just one representation of that knowledge. According to Yan, true knowledge could only be found in experience.

A similar sentiment had already been expressed to me by one of his subordinates, who quickly labeled me as a theorist: “You develop theory and we act. Theory summarizes action, and then we implement what you theorists summarize. . . . But there are many problems that theory cannot resolve. Then, all you can do is act.” As Yan and his team pursued Hailong’s development, they rejected the limitations of common wisdom and abstract theory, and they disregarded formal rules and processes. Instead, they acted on what they saw in front of them. As an independent accountant hired by the village said to me, “Yan has courage and vision. Even where there’s no path, no established way of doing things, he pushes forward.”

Driving down one of Hailong’s narrow, winding (but paved) roads, a village party member proudly told me, “We made these roads ourselves. We laid them out and paid for them, and a construction company came and built them.” But as Wen Jiancai admitted, they had absolutely no knowledge of planning when they began: “None of us were qualified. At that time, we didn’t have this idea of ‘planning.’” There was no time to plan, Wen continued, “If Secretary Yan had understood all this from the beginning, Hailong Village would simply not exist. Planning just 3 *mu* of land could take you a year or longer! He wanted to use 1000 *mu*. He could turn into a mummy and still be at it!” Similar arguments were made against democratic deliberation and environmental remediation. All of these processes would take time and resources that Hailong could ill afford on its headlong rush toward progress.

This sense of urgency was deeply rooted in Hailong's mythology. One of Yan's most famous quotes, prominently displayed in the middle of the exhibition hall, read, "Opportunity is a thief. If you don't seize it, it will take everything from you!" Not included in the exhibition hall was the remainder of the quote: "No matter how many complaints we receive, our determination to develop our collective economy cannot be shaken." Instead, a nearby wall incited visitors to action: "Today is an opportunity. All you can do is seize it and produce something. You can never just wait." In the developmental ethos that Yan cultivated, there was no time for reflection or theorizing, no time for planning or deliberation. Complaints, debates, and second thoughts could only distract from the necessity of acting, of seizing the opportunity that was just about to slip through your fingers.

"Seizing opportunity" was another of Deng's maxims, but for Yan it was inflected by his experience in Xiaogang Village. Early in his tenure as party secretary, Yan used some of his own money to visit Xiaogang, a village in Anhui Province that gained national acclaim as "the first Chinese village to reform." In November 1978, 18 households in Xiaogang signed an agreement to end collective farming and divide agricultural land by household, violating national policy. In fact, Xiaogang was not the first village to take this bold step, but it was the most brazen in its actions, and the attention of China's leaders soon made it famous. These experiments laid the groundwork for China's rural land contracting system, whereby rural households were assigned individual use rights to plots of agricultural land. Land contracting became one of the pillars of the reform period, increasing agricultural investment and output, raising rural

incomes, and freeing large portions of the rural populace for non-agricultural labor (Zhu et al. 2006: 798, 807, 817).

Yan admired the Xiaogang villagers for the courage they displayed in creating an opportunity and seizing it. But he criticized them for then letting it slip away, losing the opportunity for real development. On his visit, Yan was shocked by the villagers' continued poverty and the lack of any economic activity. Instead of working to better themselves, people in Xiaogang seemed to spend most of their time leading tours and celebrating their past accomplishments. Several years before, a manufacturer from Jiangsu had built a factory in Xiaogang, but they ended up pulling out because the village was unable to provide any infrastructure. Meanwhile, Xiaogang's leaders were nowhere to be found—they were all away from the village. The villagers with whom Yan spoke expressed distrust for their leaders, who they believed were corrupt. These villagers insisted on dividing up Xiaogang's collective assets rather than let the leaders misuse them. Yan observed, "They wouldn't listen to reason, just profit."

When Yan returned to Hailong, he penned an essay, entitled "Xiaogang's Idea of Development," in which he summarized his findings and drew lessons for Hailong's future. Xiaogang became a foil for Hailong's project of development, a cautionary tale of what could happen if the village's leaders did not act to seize the opportunities before them. Yan wrote, "In 1978, if someone had just put aside petty differences, sought truth from facts, and drawn up a blueprint for the village's development, they could have become 'China's first 100 million *yuan* village.'"

Yan identified three key lessons from Xiaogang that formed the basis for Hailong's approach to development: (1) The village cannot rely on the state for

development. Instead, the village must take the initiative to invest in its future. This requires individuals to sacrifice their own interests in the short term so that the collective can develop over the long term. Without collective resources, the village will never have the capability to catalyze development. (2) The village cannot rely solely on land for development. Instead, it is necessary to partner with capital, using the village's physical, financial, and human resources to produce an environment attractive to investment. Most importantly, (3) the village must be united. Only through teamwork and strong leadership can the challenges of poverty be overcome. Hailong's leaders might be the lowest of the low in the Chinese Communist Party, but their actions will decide the village's fate.

3.2 The Unfunded Mandate

In the eyes of Yan and his colleagues, Xiaogang was not just a cautionary tale. The village symbolized the single greatest challenge facing Hailong's development: land fragmentation. The rural land contracting system was instituted to help ensure the stability and subsistence of rural households, but it simultaneously fragmented village resources, eviscerating the material basis of the village collective. Without resources, the collective had no means of motivating, organizing, or leading its villagers for development. Scholars of rural development in China have referred to this as the hollowing out of a village's social resources (He, Xu. 2003:50-52). Collectivization reinforced social cohesion and solidarity, producing a "society of acquaintance" (*shuren shehui*), where everyone knew each other. With the advent of land contracting, villagers' shared interests eroded and households developed stronger connections with the outside,

producing a “society of semi-acquaintance” (*ban shuren shehui*) that was no longer capable of coordinated action.

According to Hailong’s leaders, land fragmentation had also led to widespread waste and declining agricultural yields. Hailong villagers averaged just 0.5 *mu* of contracted land per villager, and much of the village’s land was hilly and unproductive. With more and more villagers migrating away from Hailong in search of work, agriculture was left to the old and infirm, and an increasing share of the village’s land was left fallow. As one village official confessed, “I don’t even think I would know what to plant.”

Meanwhile, village leaders pointed to an increasing number of expensive functions and responsibilities that they were expected to provide. Wen Jiancai vented her frustration: “Sometimes I feel that upper level politics are meaningless. They give all the important things to the lower levels to do: sanitation, policing, elderly care, you name it.” Wen went on to lament the simultaneous withering of the village collective: “The great strength of China’s villages is their unity. But when the land got divided up, all of a sudden villagers didn’t feel they needed the village leaders anymore. It used to be that you had to get a form signed for any major life event. ... Now, the village would never know if you got married, or had a kid, or got divorced.” She concluded with a sigh and a shake of her head: “Our country is getting individualized, just like the West.”⁷

⁷ A similar fate had met Hailong’s lineage organizations. As Wang Ande explained to me, all the ancestor halls were razed by Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution, which was particularly virulent in Chongqing (this was also the moment when Hailuo Rock, Hailuo Village’s namesake, was destroyed for being a symbol of backward superstition). But the ancestor halls and the lineage organizations that ran them had already withered away. After their land was confiscated and collectivized in the 1950s, they had no material basis to survive.

3.2.1 Land Collectivization

To drive development, it was first necessary to recollectivize Hailong's land. Unlike Xiaogang, Hailong sought to "subordinate factional interests to the interests of the whole, short-term interests to long-term interests, and individual interests to collective interests" (Hailong Exhibition Hall). Like Xiaogang, Hailong's transfer of land use rights was outside the bounds of law and policy when both law and policy were in the process of changing. At the time, China's Land Management and Rural Land Contracting laws strictly circumscribed the transfer of contracted rural land. Collectives could appropriate contracted land, but only for the purposes of periodic redistribution, a practice that was discouraged. Contracted land could also be exchanged between individual households, but only if the use remained agricultural. And under no circumstances could agricultural land be converted to industrial use, unless the land was first expropriated by the state and converted into urban land. Hailong's leaders claimed to respect the spirit of national land policy by satisfying unmet local demand for industrial land. But one village official admitted that it was most likely illegal, at least in the beginning: "It appears to have the feeling of being illegal. The land was transferred secretly, without permission."

As in Xiaogang, much of what Hailong did was later legitimized by provincial and national policy, if not in law. In particular, the conversion of contracted agricultural land into a financial asset became a central part of the urban-rural coordination experiments in both Chongqing and Chengdu, and the financialization and free transfer of rural land was recently endorsed by the State Council. Hailong's Exhibition Hall proudly

displayed the following phrase: “Land has been transformed from a means of production into a form of capital.”

Under the system established by Hailong’s leadership, village households were encouraged to rent contracted agricultural land to the collective’s land management corporation. In cases where land needed for development was held by households that were unwilling to participate in the scheme, the land was simply expropriated by the collective and transferred to the corporation. Hailong first used this process in 2003 to transfer 30 *mu* of land to the collective, with just five households participating. The next opportunity to transfer land came a few months later in February 2004. By 2006, 1,330 *mu* had been transferred, and by 2009 approximately 700 households had transferred more than 1,500 *mu*.

Households received 1,200 RMB annually per *mu* of land transferred, a sum that ensured villagers received more money from renting their land than they could earn by farming it. But the amount never changed after land transfers began in 2003, despite rising food and land prices in Chongqing. Meanwhile, the land management corporation claimed to lease the land to manufacturers for 2,400 RMB per *mu* per year, double the rate paid to village households. But in 2011 managers of local manufacturers reported that they paid between 6 and 7 RMB per square meter per year for factory space, which would make 1 *mu* of improved land worth between 4,000 and 5,000 RMB annually, approximately four times the rent paid to village households. According to the land transfer agreement, this rent increment was appropriated by the village collective to pay for its operations and for the provision of infrastructure and services. As Wen Jiancai noted, many villagers were upset at the large rent gap, but the village leadership has also

been praised by municipal leaders for carrying out land collectivization without one villager petitioning higher levels of government.⁸

3.2.2 Shareholding

Hailong's leaders needed more than just land to catalyze development. They also needed capital in order to improve the land and attract manufacturers. This proved to be a problem. Given Hailong's weak financial health and its crippling debt, Chongqing's banks refused to grant the village a loan. Instead, the collective established a shareholding corporation, raising 1.33M RMB from the village's residents in April 2003. To inspire people to contribute, Yan himself put up the first chunk of money, several tens of thousands of *renminbi*. Together, Hailong's existing party members contributed approximately two-thirds of the total funds, more than 900,000 RMB across only 47 people—an average of 20,000 RMB per person (Liu et al. 2010). The large sums raised pointed to the uneven distribution of wealth within the village, even before Hailong's transformation began.

The next round of investment came in 2007-2008, when the collective raised more than 2M RMB. Most recently, in April 2010, villagers invested 6.12M RMB in just 20 days. Due to China's incorporation laws, which limit the number of shareholders in any one corporation to 50, the latest round of fundraising was based on the 16 village communities. Households gave their money to the community in which they resided, and

⁸ Villagers viewed this as an unjust transfer of wealth, but the rent differential could also be viewed as a form of land tax, redistributing the proceeds of development for the benefit of the community and ensuring the provision of public goods (George 1884; Hagman and Mischynski 1978).

the community invested it on their behalves. In these two rounds, each household's total investment was capped at 50,000 RMB, equivalent to five 10,000 RMB shares.

Each round of fundraising entailed the establishment of a new shareholding corporation with new by-laws. This meant that the various shares held by Hailong's villagers were not equivalent. For instance, each 10,000 RMB share bought in the 2003 round started earning a 10,000 RMB annual dividend after three years, a whopping 100% annual return on investment. By contrast, each 10,000 RMB share from the 2007-2008 round earned only 1,800 RMB in the second year and then 2,400 RMB thereafter, a return of only 24%. As of 2012, investors in the most recent round had so far only received the contractually guaranteed interest rate equivalent to what they would have earned had they deposited their money in a savings account. Many villagers complained about this arrangement, which exacerbated intra-village wealth disparities in favor of the very people who ran the collective enterprises and determined the annual dividends.

3.2.3 Infrastructure and Industry

Armed with land and money, Hailong's leaders began building the infrastructure necessary for industrialization. In 2003, Yan organized the Village Construction Team, modeled on the contracting outfit he had run in Qingdao and Beijing. Shortly thereafter, Hailong started construction on its first paved road, stretching 4.6 km east-to-west and connecting the village's interior to Chongqing's larger road network (Figure 3.9). In the course of building it, one villager resisted, refusing to allow the road to cut through her lotus pond. As the construction project approached her property, the villager gathered all her family members and sat at the edge of her property blocking the bulldozer's path.

According to legend, Yan Jing kneeled in front of her and cried, begging her to join them in developing the village. After several minutes, the woman got up and quietly left, and three months later the road was finished. Some said Yan appealed to heaven, and heaven answered. Others claimed he lost face by kneeling in front of a villager. To his detractors, Yan retorted, “If I can push development forward, what does face matter? The only way I can lose face is if there’s no development.”

Hailong’s second road was started several months later, in November 2003. In total, the collective built three main roads in the village, totaling 7.7 km and making the majority of the village’s flatter, eastern half accessible to car and truck traffic (Figure 3.10-11). In addition to roads, the collective provided infrastructure for running water, cooking gas, internet, wastewater, and trash collection. As of 2011, Hailong claimed that all households were provided with running water and cooking gas, and 62% of households were connected to the internet. The village also built factories, dormitories, and storefronts for rent, totaling more than 2M square meters of built space.

Hailong’s industrialization actually began a year earlier, in 2002, when the first manufacturer arrived in the village. In May of that year, just weeks after being elected as leader of the village, Yan began renting his own house out as a factory. Shortly after that, Yan allowed the village collective to become a partner in his rental contract, foregoing nearly 5,000 RMB in rent each month. The first purpose-built factory was intended as an upgraded facility for this first enterprise, and much of the infrastructure the village constructed was to ensure that the village’s first manufacturer did not jump ship, as had happened in Xiaogang.

In 2003, Hailong got its first big opportunity. Chongqing had recently instituted a policy of industrial peripheralization (*tui er jin san*), whereby manufacturing would be moved out of the city center and into suburban areas. Many small manufacturers in nearby Shiqiaopu, just minutes away on the new Cheng-Yu Expressway, were suddenly in need of new factories.⁹ The collective established the Hailong Small and Medium Enterprise Incubator, and by the end of 2003, they had attracted 13 companies to locate in the village, with a total output of 6.2M RMB (Figures 3.12-15). Hailong's second big break came in 2007, with the designation of Chongqing as an experimental region for urban-rural coordination. The collective carried out a second round of land consolidation and factory construction, and it established a consulting firm to assist companies in the village. By 2009, 153 enterprises had been established in or relocated to Hailong, with an annual output of 1.1B RMB. These manufacturers were primarily producers of wooden furniture and machine parts, particularly for Chongqing's booming automotive industry. But Hailong also attracted a range of other industries, including food processing, telecommunications, and automotive assembly. One of Hailong's first manufacturers produced parts for China's human spaceflight program.

3.3 Party Building

Closely tied to the village's physical and economic development, Hailong's party organization was also expanding and strengthening its institutional capacity. From the beginning, Hailong's development was driven by the local party organization, led by Yan

⁹ The Cheng-Yu Expressway, which connected Chongqing with nearby Chengdu, had been completed in 1995. The expressway cuts right through Hailong's territory, connecting the village with the city center via a two-kilometer long tunnel cutting through the Zhonglian mountains.

Jing as party secretary. But the village's development was simultaneously conceived as a way to strengthen the party. Echoing the grassroots party-building initiatives of the central state, Wen Jiancai claimed that they were "trying to make the party relevant to people again" by providing economic leadership. Party leadership was central to the narrative of the Hailong experience, and banners filled with party slogans hung from the village's streetlights (Figure 3.16). In 2012, the village published "Hailong Party Building" (*hailong dangjian*), a magazine dedicated to celebrating the village's progress and the role of the local party organization.

The involvement of the party in Hailong's development went far beyond the top leadership. All village officials were either party members or party applicants, including the nine members of the village committee. Many staff members held concurrent positions in the party committee, the village committee, and the village enterprises. In most cases the organizational distinction between these bodies was purely formal. Most decision-making powers were delegated to the party committee and its leadership.

Meanwhile, the village's party organization steadily grew, from 47 in 2001 to 207 in 2009 and 239 in 2011, a five-fold increase. The party organization also grew in stature, starting as a party branch and then becoming a general branch in 2005 and a party committee in 2007. Before development, the party branch had to pay its members to attend meetings—even then, only half would show up. By the end of the decade, party members from neighboring villages were asking permission to attend Hailong's party meetings. For those who wanted to participate in guiding Hailong's development, or even for those who just wanted a job in the village apparatus, party membership was a necessity.

3.3.1 Professionalization

When Yan took the reins of leadership in 2002, he cleaned house. He decried the poor quality of the existing village officials: they were old, uneducated, and incompetent, and many were suspected of corruption. According to Yan, Hailong's new shareholding corporation would need "expertise" that could not be found in the village population. Yan began a campaign to raise the "quality" (*suzhi*) of village party members, including changes to political ideology, scientific reasoning, and basic skills.¹⁰ Where Hailong's party members had once been focused on "mass work," they would now need to be proficient in operations and management.

Yan began by asking the oldest village officials to step down as he recruited a new generation of talent. The village pursued "five lines" of recruitment: educated and skilled villagers, the best and brightest of the migrants working in the village, villagers who had migrated to other areas of the country, people selected by upper levels of government, and anyone else who was qualified. No longer would village officials only be selected from the village population: as long as you were useful, Hailong wanted you.

Wen Jiancai was a good example of Yan's recruitment program. Wen, born and raised in Hailong, had studied accounting at Guangxi University and then worked for a Taiwanese company in Guangdong Province in the late 1990s. By 2003, Wen had returned to Baishiyi, where she was working for an architecture company. Yan convinced her to join the party and serve as an accountant for the village collective. She became the

¹⁰ Quality, or *suzhi*, is a floating signifier used to index conformity with established social norms, including questions of education, class, and bodily comportment. For an extended discussion of quality, see Chapter 4.

first college graduate to work for the village, eventually rising to become the assistant party secretary in charge of economic development. On the way, she instituted one of Hailong's marquee systems of professionalized management, the village's financial review procedure, discussed below.

Hailong also took full advantage of Chongqing's college graduate training program, whereby young party members were sent to serve in rural areas for two years after graduating from college. The village got two college graduates in 2008 and again in 2010, but Wen expressed ambivalence about the program. The college graduates brought expertise to the village; on the other hand, none of them stayed. After two years, they moved on to their next assignment, and Wen sometimes felt that she invested too much time and energy training them. As an alternative, the village corporation began paying for young villagers to attend college, with the understanding that they would come back to work for the village upon graduating.

In addition to recruiting new talent, the village instituted a system of training and continuing education for all officials and party members. In keeping with Yan's experience-based epistemology, this included regular trips to visit other examples of path-breaking village development. But the core of Hailong's training regimen was rooted in militarization. In his career as an entrepreneur, Yan had worked for several senior military leaders, and he believed in the power of military management. He was fond of pointing out that of all the Fortune 500 CEOs, the largest proportion had graduated from West Point, not Harvard.¹¹ Each newly elected village committee was

¹¹ According to the rankings on www.bestcolleges.com, this was a false claim. In 2013, Harvard ranked first with 25; West Point had none.

required to read a book entitled “Learning Management from Mao” and then write an essay in response.

The highlight of continuing education for Hailong’s party organization was the village’s semi-annual military training exercise. Initially held offsite at a boot camp, military training eventually took over Hailong’s central plaza for several weekends each year. Training was run by representatives from the Baishiyi air base, and all Hailong party members were required to attend. It was impressive to watch hundreds of villagers dressed in military fatigues march down Hailong’s main street (Figure 3.17). Even the clumsiest had been trained to swing their arms and step in unison with the group. The exercises emphasized self-discipline, but most of all they were intended to instill teamwork and unity. On the day I attended, a professor from a nearby university lectured the party members on the importance of teamwork and the most recent techniques for enhancing collaboration. At the end, all of Hailong’s party members shouted one of Yan’s favorite phrases: “Coordination is the greatest ability! Teamwork produces the greatest force!”

3.3.2 Corporatization

Just as Hailong’s party organization became increasingly professional and disciplined, it was simultaneously corporatized, taking on the functions of a commercial services company and turning the party and its members into active market participants. Hailong’s party organization, represented by its attendant shareholding corporations, quickly moved beyond its role as a “property rights manager” to become a “professionalized service team.” This began as early as September 2003, when the village

set up a 60-person team to provide standardized factories, stores, and dorms for rent to enterprises as well as a range of contracting, security, and sanitation services. According to village leaders, this initiative moved the village “from its original mode of primitive accumulation toward the corporatized operation of capital.

This shift was accelerated by an accident on April 2, 2006, when a villager-built factory collapsed. Referred to as the 4-2 incident, the collapse resulted in 2 fatalities and more than 100,000 RMB in hospital fees. In response, the village’s leaders began to develop a variety of management and service functions that could ensure the quality and safety of buildings in the village. In 2006, they established a consulting company to help manufacturers identify suitable rental properties and grow their businesses, and in 2007, they founded the village’s land management corporation. Soon after, in 2008, the village announced the “Western Hailong” (*xibu hailong*) brand, under which the village’s various corporations would operate.

By 2011, a staff of eleven “professional experts” was providing a range of services to businesses located within Hailong, including legal, accounting, management, construction, secretarial, advertising, computing, and marketing. In addition, partnerships with Chongqing companies enabled the village to provide more specialized services, including fundraising, management consulting, quality control, insurance, advertising, and accounting. Hailong aimed to become a one-stop shop for everything a small or medium enterprise might need to succeed. As the party organization proclaimed in its monthly newspaper: “Serving the party means serving business. ... If a business needs something, we are there to serve it.”

Just as Hailong's party organization was seeking to better serve the businesses located in the village, it was simultaneously integrating those businesses into the party organization. It did so by recruiting new members from local businesses—particularly owners and senior managers—and by sending existing party members to work in new businesses. By ensuring that party members working in local businesses were highly trained, Hailong sought to demonstrate the party's value proposition to business leaders. In June 2007, once party branches had been established in many of the factories located in the village, Yan applied to restructure Hailong's party organization. The village's general party branch was integrated with the party branches of local businesses, and the conglomerated organization was upgraded to become a party committee. From this point forward, Hailong's party organization, the primary decision-making body for the village's political, economic, and social governance, included all party members who lived, worked, or owned businesses in the village. Once a grassroots political organization beholden solely to Hailong's villagers (and its upper-level party supervisors), the party committee had transformed into an institution simultaneously representing the potentially conflicting interests of business owners and the migrants who worked for them.

Lastly, Hailong's party organization sought to actively support its own members in assembling capital. Of the 60-odd village households that established businesses, the majority were owned by party members, including 10 of the original 47 members of the party branch. In addition, the high dividends paid to Hailong's original investors created a significant concentration of wealth within the party. This affluence was not often

flaunted, but signs of indulgence could be seen among party members, including designer watches, expensive smartphones, extravagant meals, and luxury vehicles.

Many villagers suspected that this wealth was due to corruption among the village leaders. In particular, people pointed to Yan's Mercedes Benz and BMW, as well as his multiple properties, including a luxury villa in Hainan, China's resort island. In addressing his former teachers, Yan professed his innocence—he was guilty only of success, not corruption. When he became party secretary, he transferred his business holdings to his wife, who also ran Hailong's only internet café. Yan's daughter also started a manufacturing company in the village, so the family was already well off. Yan himself earned close to 200,000 RMB a year, 15 times the income of an average villager. This included a monthly salary of 4,000 RMB for his service as party secretary, 6,000 RMB a month for being director of the land management corporation, annual bonuses of between 20,000 and 30,000 RMB from the village and town governments, as well as dividends from his holdings in the village corporations, worth between 40,000 and 50,000 RMB annually.

Yan's income may have been legitimized, but there were plenty of questionable business exchanges taking place within Hailong's growing party organization. This was hardly surprising given the amount of capital flowing in and out of the village on a daily basis. Corruption and bribery were deeply embedded in China's real estate and construction industries, a fact that did not change despite Xi Jinping's much-heralded corruption crackdown. As was explained to me by someone whose job it was to negotiate and deliver payoffs to government officials in charge of lucrative construction contracts, bribes and kickbacks had taken increasingly creative and untraceable forms. No longer

would an official selling a construction contract accept a bag full of cash; instead, a tenured position would be secured for the official's son or daughter at an unrelated company. Nevertheless, I once overheard two Hailong officials discussing the exchange of a cash-filled envelope on the ninth hole of a local golf course.

At the center of Hailong's underbelly was Wang Ye, a gregarious and popular party member who acted as the village's fixer, though he held no formal position in the village bureaucracy. Officially, Wang worked in trucking and construction management, businesses for which he would periodically take long trips to distant provinces. But he was also connected with a wide network of local officials in Chongqing, and if one needed a low-show job to make some extra money, he was the man to see.¹² For his fortieth birthday, Wang held a lavish celebration with more than 70 people, including dignitaries from most of the neighboring townships. One night in January 2012, Wang invited me out to karaoke in Baishiye. In one room, I sang red songs with a group of Hailong villagers. In the next room, women from Wang's prostitution ring entertained officials from Xipeng, where Wang was in the process of bidding for a construction contract. He referred to them (the women, not the officials) as his "seven wives," while his real wife managed the proceedings, ensuring that no one was neglected.

Wang was close with the village's core leadership team, many of whom referred to him as Brother Ye, and he was the only person I ever saw speak unguardedly to Yan Jing. On the evening of Wang's birthday, I watched him publicly shame Yan into drinking a glass of beer, even though Yan claimed not to indulge in alcohol. And during military training exercises, Wang was the only party member excused from wearing

¹² A low-show job is a position for which one is illegally paid for more hours than one is present. In most cases, no work is done, even when the person is onsite.

fatigues and participating in drills. Sometimes, sitting in the passenger's seat of Wang's fully equipped BMW, I wondered if Yan was really in charge of Hailong's transformation.

3.3.3 Mass Work

Yan may have claimed to abandon the traditional “mass work” activities of his predecessors, but the indoctrination, mobilization, and appeasement of villagers continued as important party functions. In Yan's new party organization, mass work simply took on more professionalized forms. In part, Hailong's new mass work systems were a response to early resistance against collectivization. Villagers, accustomed to rampant corruption in the village collective, continued to suspect their leaders of malfeasance. One villager walked into a meeting of village officials and yelled, “Village officials the world over are all crows—they're all black! Collectivization just means taking everyone's money and putting it in your wallets” (Hailong Party Building 2012:54)! These were precisely the narrow interests Yan had disparaged in Xiaogang. According to Yan, they simply didn't understand what he was trying to do.

By 2009, a village survey found that satisfaction with Hailong's leadership was near 100%. My interviews with villagers suggested that this number was substantially inflated, but Yan and his colleagues were still successful in winning the support of a large number of villagers. In addition to providing villagers with higher incomes and public goods, the collective also sought to win over villagers by instituting systems of participation and transparency. These systems, including the financial review process, the publication of village accounts, and the policy review process, were instituted in 2004 to

reform the image of village officials and eliminate the perception that “all crows are black” (Hailong Exhibition Hall).

The financial review process required seven levels of sign-off for any village expenditure. Even Yan was not exempt from the system, which was intended to prevent misappropriation of funds. More important still was the monthly, quarterly, and annual publication of the village’s accounts, which were displayed on signboards outside the village offices. Wen explained that by publishing the village’s accounts in a form that was accessible to non-experts, village officials could more easily earn villagers’ trust. But this apparent transparency only applied to the accounts of the village collective, not to its subsidiary shareholding corporations, where the real money was. Village leaders may have succeeded in convincing some villagers that they were being open and honest, but they were only sharing a small piece of the story.

Village leaders also instituted a deliberative decision-making process for “all substantive issues affecting the village’s economic and social development and villagers’ personal interests.” The six-step process included three layers of review within the party organization, one layer of review by the villager representative committee, publicization, and implementation. The only deliberative part of this process not controlled by the party organization was in the villager representative committee, an institution that is often captured by village party secretaries (Oi and Rozelle 2000: 521-522).

These systems were hailed by upper-level leaders as valuable democratic institutions rarely encountered in China’s villages. Municipal leaders even praised Hailong for their rigorous implementation of these systems. But, as one village official admitted to me, decisions were rarely made according to the formal process. He argued

that truly democratic deliberation was too messy, because villagers only acted in their own self-interest. Instead, many important decisions were delegated by the village committee to one or more of the shareholding companies. There, decision-making was streamlined, with Yan or Wen often acting unilaterally. Annual shareholder meetings for these organizations were also pointed to as instances of democratic participation and transparency, but these events were tightly stage-managed and excluded any villagers who had not invested. As one of the accountants hired by the village complained, “Their management is not good. They don’t have any procedures.”

In addition to these systems of transparency, the village leadership used propaganda to mobilize residents. This included signboards, banners, and household visits, as well as a monthly village newspaper. In 2012, the village even produced a television commercial that was aired on a local station during the popular New Year’s Eve variety show. Hailong’s leaders also viewed the village-sponsored sightseeing trips as a form of propaganda. Cai Guangyu was explicit about the manipulation of villagers’ perceptions. After arguing that village officials must serve the people and act in accordance with the villagers’ wishes, he explained that not all their needs could be satisfied. Many villagers were simply too selfish. Instead, Cai insisted, it was necessary to educate villagers to take on new values—the values of the party.

3.4 Coordinated Urban-Rural Integration

In 2007, when the State Council designated Chongqing as an experimental area for urban-rural coordination, Hailong took on the language of the new policy regime. Before long Hailong had been designated as an experimental village for urban-rural

coordination. It was even located in a township (Baishiyi) and a district (Jiulongpo) that were also granted special experimental status.¹³ The urban-rural coordination regime promised institutional support and regulatory flexibility for Hailong to continue its march toward development. In 2008, Hailong completed Chongqing's first village-level development plan for urban-rural coordination.

But did Hailong really fit into Chongqing's urban-rural coordination regime? The rhetoric of the village leadership expressed ambivalence. In the preface to the Hailong Exhibition Hall, Yan Jing wrote, "We are the forerunner of urban-rural coordinated development." The phrase suggested not only a temporal but a logical precedence: Hailong's development was not a part of urban-rural coordination, urban-rural coordination was a part of Hailong's development. Later in the exhibition hall, the display background changed from a generic horizon to a skyline of urban silhouettes—a pastiche of landmarks, from the Eiffel Tower to the Sears Tower (Figure 3.18). Superimposed on it was the phrase, "Hailong Village has excellent conditions for pushing forward the coordinated development of urban-rural integration (*tongchou chengxiang yitihua fazhan*)." The phrase intersected the terms for urban-rural coordination (*tongchou chengxiang*) and urban-rural integration (*chengxiang yitihua*), a formulation I had never seen. As explored in Chapter Two, urban-rural coordination and urban-rural integration were by no means complementary, and in municipal policy circles, urban-rural

¹³ The Chinese government's use of local experiments or pilot projects to develop new policy approaches is well established, allowing higher-level officials to fine-tune reforms before codifying them (Heilmann 2011). Experimental status can also be used to provisionally legitimize local initiatives that fall outside the bounds of established rules and norms. Hailong's designation as an experiment in urban-rural coordination combined both of these processes.

coordination was frequently invoked as the antithesis of urban-rural integration.¹⁴

Hailong's leaders seemed to have had other ideas.

This ontological instability reflected a fundamental ambiguity in urban-rural coordination. An intoxicated village official shouted during dinner one night, "None of China's top leaders know! None of them know how to implement urban-rural coordination!" As articulated by the State Council, urban-rural coordination could mean any number of things, and the specifics of its implementation depended on the discretion of local governments. When Hailong's leaders discussed the implications of urban-rural coordination for the village's development, a divide emerged. One group of officials thought urban-rural coordination simply meant Hailong's inevitable annexation by the expanding city. In the meantime, the village would be best served by preparing villagers for their relocation to other areas and their integration into urban life. A rival group sought a more active role. They wanted to take advantage of the new policy regime to bring the benefits of urbanization to the village and its residents.

The latter group, led by Yan Jing, won out. Hailong took the initiative to blaze what it called a "new path" for the scientific development of the village's economy and society: "In the process of urban-rural coordinated development ... industrialization (*chanyehua*) will promote agriculture, urbanization will drive the village, and industrialization (*gongyehua*) will enrich villagers" (Hailong Exhibition Hall).¹⁵ Each of these items quoted the wording of urban-rural coordination policies promulgated by both

¹⁴ By contrast, much of the English-language literature on urban-rural coordination has interpreted the two processes as complementary (Ye and Legates 2013: 65).

¹⁵ The two terms for industrialization distinguished between a process of Taylorization (*chanyehua*), applied in this instance to the modernization of agricultural production, and a transition to the secondary sector (*gongyehua*).

the central state and Chongqing's municipal government (Tian 2010). But Hailong's leadership explicitly rescaled these policies to the territory of the village (*cun yu*). Instead of waiting to be passively urbanized by Chongqing's regional program of urban-rural coordination, whereby the economic dynamism of the city, including capital and industry, would be used to carry along agricultural villages, Hailong proposed to coordinate these forces *within* its own territory. In doing so, Hailong's leaders were appropriating urban-rural coordination to fit their existing development program. At the same time, they were destabilizing the municipal government's interpretation of the national policy regime.

3.4.1 New Developmental Ontologies

Xiaogang was not the only village Yan visited as he considered Hailong's developmental trajectory. He claimed to have visited more than 40 other villages and towns across China in an effort to study best practices in rural development. As Hailong acquired more resources, it regularly paid for other village officials to accompany him on these trips. Like many of his initiatives, Yan's study tours were conceived in the tradition of Deng Xiaoping. As Wen Jiancai explained, "Deng succeeded where Mao failed because he had experience outside of China." To succeed as a leader, whether of a nation or a village, it was necessary to see different ways of doing things. Otherwise, how could you innovate?

The villages Yan visited were of varying levels of development and notoriety, but they all satisfied at least one of two basic criteria. Some villages were notable for strong local leadership that had succeeded in catalyzing groundbreaking change. Dazhai, in Shanxi Province, was famous as a Mao-era model of agricultural productivity and

grassroots infrastructure construction (Chang 2013). Other villages had pursued village-based urbanization. For instance, Nanshan Village, in Shandong Province, had developed a “villagers’ new town” (*nongmin xincheng*). According to a Hailong official, Nanshan demonstrated that villages could develop on their own without any need for local government intervention.

Through his travels, Yan repositioned Hailong in China’s developmental ontology. Hailong would no longer be stuck in the trap of China’s urban-rural dichotomy, in which rural villages were fetishized as agricultural, poverty-stricken, and passive. Those were the villages that had no choice but to rely on local government for their development. Instead, Hailong was situating itself in a new category of villages that had the initiative and resources to develop themselves. These villages transcended the structure of urban-rural difference, simultaneously combining urban and rural functions in the territory of a single village. These were not the “villages-in-the-city” (*chengzhongcun*) derided by China’s planners and policy makers. Instead, they might better be called “village cities” (*nongcun cheng*).

Above all, Hailong’s leaders identified with Huaxi Village, also known as “The First Village under Heaven” (*tianxia diyi cun*). Hailong’s officials traveled to Huaxi in 2006 and 2007, and many Hailong villagers subsequently made the trip to this highly developed village in the Yangtze River Delta. Back in the heyday of township-village enterprises in the 1980s, Huaxi was one of the first villages to pursue an aggressive village-scaled development program. The village, which offered cheap rents and easy access to booming markets in Shanghai, Suzhou, and other cities in southern Jiangsu,

industrialized rapidly. Its residents became known as China's wealthiest villagers (Hou 2013; Zhou 2006).

I visited Huaxi in April 2012. As we drove up from Suzhou, through the canals, industrial estates, and rice paddies of southern Jiangsu, Huaxi was visible for miles. Towering above the verdant landscape, tens of kilometers from the nearest town or city, Huaxi's 100-storey skyscraper was an unmistakable monument to the village's hubris (Figure 3.19). A luxury hotel occupied the top of the building, but for 100 RMB, tourists could visit one of several element-themed floors, each of which represented a different quality of Huaxi. A migrant worker from Hunan Province operated the elevator as we soared to the 68th floor. By far the most popular, the metal floor was completely covered in gold leaf. I walked clockwise through the series of gold rooms, each designed as if it were a piece of a Chinese garden. Peering out the vertiginous windows, I could see Huaxi's strict functional zoning. Clustered around the skyscraper, the village's commercial center jockeyed for space with the factories to the south, which belched out smoke and barges laden with shipping containers. Tracts of residential villas stretched as far as the eye could see. And on the northern horizon rose an artificial mountain, Huaxi's agro- and eco-tourism complex, complete with zip-lines and helicopter rides. Outside, Huaxi had been wholly urbanized. But on the 68th floor, a simulacrum of its rural past was preserved in gold.

As I exited the golden garden, I was confronted with a solid gold bull, a symbol of Huaxi's success and affluence. Tourists shoved and elbowed each other to purchase photographs of themselves standing next to the bull, waving 100-*kuai* notes to catch the photographer's attention. Even without the golden bull, the wealth in the village was

palpable. Villagers drove luxury sedans in and out of gated communities peppered with McMansions worthy of America's wealthiest suburbs. The oldest and least desirable housing was now occupied by "new villagers" (*xin cunmin*), residents of neighboring villages that had been annexed by Huaxi and turned into industrial estates. Huaxi villagers were even forbidden from opening stores in the village—all villagers were provided with salaried positions in the village corporation.

When Hailong villagers visited Huaxi, they first went to Xiaogang. Village officials pointed to the signs of poverty in Xiaogang, which they blamed on the village's disunity and lack of initiative. Then they were taken to Huaxi, with its golden bull raised high toward the heavens. Wen Jiancai described how these visits affected Hailong's villagers: "We were stunned by the comparison. We all wanted to make our village as beautiful as Huaxi. ... The village was made of gold. It was like a mirage in the desert." After finishing her tour of Huaxi, one elderly villager exclaimed, "Everything is so wealthy. We have to work harder!" Huaxi showed Hailong's villagers what was possible if they followed Yan's lead and committed themselves to his vision of development. The Hailong Exhibition Hall included a panel on the village's visits to Huaxi with the following conclusion: "Huaxi followed their own path. We, the people of Hailong, also want to follow our own path."

3.4.2 Household Registration

Like the leaders of Huaxi, Hailong's leaders sought to provide their villagers with all the advantages of urban life. Hailong villagers were to be transformed into the equivalent of urban citizens, a process known as "population urbanization" (*shiminhua*).

This was also the stated objective of Chongqing's urban-rural coordination program, a key element of which included household registration reform. Under Chongqing's program, rural residents were given the opportunity to switch to urban registration status. This meant giving up their rural land use rights in exchange for access to China's system of urban welfare goods, including social insurance, education, and housing (Tian 2010).

Hailong's development program included all of these benefits, but without the need to change one's household registration. Wen Jiancai explained: "Our next objective is to turn our villagers (*cunmin*) into urbanites (*shimin*). What does this mean? It means that even without transferring your household registration, you will be able to enjoy the status of an urban citizen. Just like in urban-rural coordination, you'll get health insurance, senior care, you name it." Cai Guangyu was more explicit about Hailong's ambitions. According to him, the importance of household registration would simply disappear—no one would care because all the things that household registration represented would already be provided. When I asked Cai if Hailong was able to achieve this because of its participation in Chongqing's household registration reform program, he became frustrated by my lack of understanding: "We're participating alright. All those rural migrants coming to Chongqing under urban-rural coordination? Hailong can give them housing and jobs." In 2012, Hailong even began a streamlined application process for rural residents wishing to transfer their household registration to the village—eleven people applied.

Hailong's leadership prided itself on the smooth integration of migrants into the village's existing population. Unlike many of China's urbanizing villages, where social, cultural, and economic difference led to social conflict between villagers and migrants

(Fan and Wang 2008: 210; Siu 2007; Wang 2010), Hailong's villagers and migrants lived together "harmoniously" and the village administration claimed to view and treat villagers and migrants equally (*yi shi tong ren*). In part, this was due to their common social and cultural origins. Most migrants in Hailong came from Chongqing or neighboring Sichuan, which shared a common dialect and cuisine—until 1996 Chongqing had been a part of Sichuan Province. As Wen Jiancai argued, relative economic equality also fostered harmony among the village population: villagers made around 10,000 RMB a year, while migrants could make as much as 7,000 or 8,000 RMB, meaning there was little difference in average income.

Most of all, village officials emphasized the benefits of their approach to party building. By uniting social and economic governance, incorporating business owners and migrants into the village party committee, and integrating urban and rural party elements, Hailong's leaders were building a party organization that embodied urban-rural coordination. As far as Hailong's party committee was concerned, it made no difference where your household registration was—as long as you were a party member living and working in Hailong, you were included in its institutions of governance. The exhibition hall displayed the following phrase: "The Communist Party is one family. It doesn't distinguish between urban and rural."

Hailong inverted the logic of urban-rural coordination. By providing the full slate of urban welfare and services, village officials sought to make household registration reform irrelevant for villagers. Rather than becoming a source of rural-urban transfers, Hailong's leaders even saw the village as a *destination* for the migrants targeted by the reform program. Under Chongqing policy, these new urban citizens were meant to be

living in the city proper, either in market-rate housing or in one of the public housing projects being built by the municipality. Chongqing's urban-rural coordination program was meant to eliminate villages like Hailong, not spur their expansion.

3.4.3 All the Benefits of Urban Registration

In transforming Hailong villagers into urban citizens with rural registration, the village first had to ensure their livelihoods. As land was collectivized, villagers would no longer be able to rely on farming for subsistence. Instead, they would need new, urban incomes. Hailong's leaders explicitly conceived of this process in terms of trickle-down economics. According to this logic, the industrialization catalyzed by the village collective would in turn provide commercial opportunities for villagers (Figure 3.14). If the 13,000 migrant workers living in Hailong each spent just 10 RMB per day in the village, that would amount to 130,000 RMB in daily income, or as much as 40M RMB annually. The village thus made a concerted effort to enable villager entrepreneurialism, investing 600,000 RMB to help villagers start service businesses, including restaurants and grocery stores.

The village collective also provided villagers with information on job opportunities to help qualified villagers find work in Hailong's factories. And they provided training programs to improve villagers' skills and help them adapt to wage labor. In addition, the village distributed rents to villagers whose land had been collectivized and dividends to those who had invested in Hailong's shareholding

corporations. Where incomes had once come primarily from agriculture, in 2010 villagers earned money from a diversity of sources (Figure 3.5).¹⁶

In addition to boosting incomes and increasing employment opportunities, the village collective also invested in the provision of social insurance, the hallmark of urban citizenship. Every year, the collective devoted 60 percent of its total income to the provision of services and welfare, a third of which was used for a “citizen care fund”, which was primarily devoted to financing health insurance and old age insurance. Universal health coverage for Hailong began in 2005, when the village spent 21,340 RMB to cover 2,134 people. Villagers only had to pay an annual fee of 10 RMB, with the remaining principal paid for by the collective. Coverage included free treatment at the village’s medical clinic and partial reimbursement for higher levels of care.

In February 2007, Hailong also became one of the first villages in Chongqing to offer retirement insurance. Approximately half of all villagers participated, including a large number of the elderly (men over 60 and women over 55), who could buy in with a onetime fee of 4,000 RMB. These villagers then received at least 80 RMB per month, which they could withdraw directly from their bank accounts. Other villagers were required to pay a monthly fee until they reached the eligible age, though the collective still subsidized their coverage.

To ensure Hailong villagers were indistinguishable from urban citizens, the village also pursued a program of socialization, in which villagers were trained to behave like urban people with high “quality.” For instance, one of the village’s initiatives sought to turn villagers into wage laborers. As Wen Jiancai complained, rural people did not

¹⁶ Residents’ strategies for income diversification are further discussed in Chapter 4.

know how to behave as employees: they lacked an understanding of the rules of capital, often asking for special exceptions, including time off and pay advances. But village officials also aimed to reform a wider range of “uncivilized behaviors.” By giving them access to the internet and by taking them on trips to developed urban areas, such as Beijing and Taiwan, village leaders sought to introduce villagers to different customs and lifestyles: “We took them to see how people in developed areas do things: how they live, what they do during the day, what they do at night. We tried to change their thinking, to change their backward, fossilized ideas.”

By far the most direct attempt to reform villagers’ behavior was the establishment of The Hailong Ladies Marching Band (Figure 3.20). Taking a page out of the musical *The Music Man*, Yan Jing established the band in order to get village women away from the *majiang* tables, where they spent much of their newly abundant leisure time. At *majiang*, the women gambled and gossiped, developing bad habits that they might then pass on to their families. Wen Jiancai explained the logic: “In Chongqing, the men are hen-pecked. If you can fix their wives, then everything else will be okay. ... The wives have the final say. Sixty percent of our landlords are women, so working on them was most important.” The village spent 200,000 RMB on instruments and hired a retired music instructor from Baishiyi to lead the band. More than 50 villagers joined, and the group has traveled as far as Shanghai to participate in band competitions.

3.4.4 Easy Street

In addition to providing its people with all the status markers of urban citizenship, Hailong’s leaders sought to enable villagers to “lead the life of people inside the city”

(*guoshang chengliren de shenghuo*), an idea distinct from the “population urbanization” discussed above. Rather than being a question of employment, social insurance, and compartment, an urban lifestyle depended on access to an urban living environment and material public goods. As Hailong’s leaders accumulated sufficient assets, they provided these amenities in the form of a new village center, which they named “Easy Street” (*kangju jie*).

Squeezed between the rail line and the Hangu power station, the village center followed one long street for the span of a kilometer (Figure 3.21-22). As I walked south from the village’s main road, the entrance to a large wet market lay to the left. Three-storey townhouses ran along the right. Then, a few meters down the road, they crowded in on both sides. Tiled sidewalks buffered the concrete road, with cars parked up on the curb where they could fit between the trees. Shop fronts were filled with restaurants, beauty parlors, an internet café, massage parlors, unmarked *majiang* parlors, a karaoke bar, small grocery stores, clothing stores, beauty parlors, pharmacies, a state gambling outlet, cell phone stores, clothing boutiques, and a police station. A half-kilometer in, the street opened up, with a small carpark and a basketball court on the right, and a series of larger buildings to the left. First came the three-storey office building for the village committee, with a library and a kindergarten in the ground floor. After that, a taller building housed the offices for the village’s corporations on its first three floors and a small guesthouse above. Finally, a long low building included both the Hailong Exhibition Hall and the village meeting hall. Beyond, two six-storey apartment buildings had been added several years later, seemingly as an afterthought.

Outside the exhibition hall meeting halls, the core of the new village center, Hailong Plaza (*hailong guangchang*), sprawled in all directions (3.21, 3.23). The village had spent 11.63M RMB building the plaza, which measured 3,520 square meters. It was the largest open space in Baishiyi, and cadets from the nearby military base often went there to drill. Even more than tall skyscrapers, large open plazas were a ubiquitous symbol of Chinese urbanity. All such plazas referred back to the awe-inspiring scale of Tiananmen Square in Beijing, but plazas may have been even more prized in Chongqing. Known as the “mountain city,” Chongqing’s hilly topography made large flat spaces especially valuable. Many of the place names in the city included the character for flat (*ping*), and the major urban centers were all oriented around wide flat plazas. Hailong’s plaza situated the village in this hierarchy of urban places.

The village logo overlooked the plaza from high on an adjacent building, and a statue symbolizing the progress and affluence of Hailong’s people stood in the plaza’s center. Opposite, the exhibition hall celebrated the village’s accomplishments and predicted its future. This was the fulcrum of Hailong’s transformation. During the day, it was eerily empty, too hot to venture out of the shade. But at night, as the sun set and the heat dissipated, Hailong’s residents gathered. Villagers and migrants chatted and milled about. Some played ping-pong or badminton. The floodlights flickered on. A sound system was wheeled out from the nearby police station. Soon, a thumping bass started rumbling from the industrial strength subwoofers. And the people of Hailong danced. They danced in lines and in pairs. They danced to traditional folk songs and Chinese pop songs. Some hummed along, others laughed as they learned unfamiliar steps. Grandmas

and grandchildren, landlords and laborers, villagers and migrants—hundreds of people came down to Hailong Plaza to “dance on the flat” (*babawu*).

In the exhibition hall, the village center was poetically described as the “butterfly” that had emerged from the “larval worm” that Hailong had once been. As we were sitting in her office on the second floor of the village corporation building, Wen Jiancai had pointed out the window at the plaza: “Why would I want to live in the city? My office here is just as good. And the air is cleaner than what you breathe in Chongqing. Plus, it’s easy to park your car.” The sentiment was echoed by another villager, “The roads aren’t muddy. We have running water and television. The air is better, and the vegetables are fresher. Years ago we envied city life. Now the city people envy us.”

3.5 A New Village Model

As Hailong began to implement its vision for an urban future, it attracted the attention and acclaim of senior state and party leaders. Wang Yang, then the party secretary of Chongqing, visited the village twice. Soon after the first visit, which came early in Wang’s tenure, Yan Jing was recognized by the municipality as an outstanding party cadre. The second visit came in 2007, just as Wang was stepping down as Chongqing’s party secretary, and he used the occasion to confirm Hailong’s approach to urban-rural coordination. A year later, in January 2009, Yan was flown to Beijing, where he was inducted into the ranks of the “Outstanding Personages of Chinese Reform.” Yan boasted about his visit to Beijing: “Xi Jinping met me at the airport with a red carpet and a limousine. A motorcade escorted us through the city to the People’s Hall, where I met with President Hu.”

A little over a year later, in May 2010, Xi Jinping sent a research team from the Policy Research Center and the Organization Department of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. Led by Zheng Keyang, a veteran party member and an expert on party building, the four-person team spent five days speaking with officials, touring the village, and visiting village households. The subsequent report was delivered to the six members of the Central Committee Secretariat.¹⁷ In his response, Xi Jinping, who would soon become China's President and General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, praised the report and recommended it to his colleagues on the Secretariat.

With the attention of the nation's future president, the leaders of both Chongqing and Jiulongpo commissioned their own investigations. In its report, the Chongqing Municipal Committee recommended that the Hailong experience be propagated to other villages in Chongqing. Similarly, the Jiulongpo District Committee advocated turning Hailong into a new model for party building, scientific development, and rural development. Yet, Hailong's approach to urban-rural coordination starkly diverged from—and even ran counter to—the municipal government's policies. This contradiction is at the heart of Hailong's success in controlling its own urban transformation.

This chapter began with a rhetorical question from Ye Jianhua, a member of the Jiulongpo District leadership: “How could Hailong Village achieve such a great leap of rapid development in so few years?” His answer was simple: “A good, capable party secretary” (Hailong Party Building 2012: 60). State and party leaders at all levels agreed, pointing to Yan Jing's leadership as the single most important factor enabling Hailong's miraculous development. In his comments on Zheng Keyang's report, Li Yuanchao, then

¹⁷ The Secretariat functions as the executive leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, reporting directly to the Central Politburo.

the Director of the Central Committee's Organization Department, summarized the key takeaway of the Hailong experience: "A good party secretary drove a team. A team drove all the people of the village." Zheng's report expressed much the same sentiment, tracing the origins of Hailong's progress to Chongqing's "capable village leader" (*nengren zhicun*) program, under which Yan was named as party secretary. On the first page of the report, he quoted the ecstatic praise of Hailong's villagers: "Without Yan Jing, there would be no Hailong" (2010: 1).

What did it mean to be a good and capable village leader?¹⁸ The reports on Hailong offered little in the way of specifics. Party secretaries needed to be educated, accomplished, and willing to think in new ways. Morality was also necessary—village leaders needed to have a strong sense of responsibility, a willingness to serve the people, and a stout resistance to corruption. Meanwhile, in comments at a meeting with Hailong villagers, Qin Qinglin, a member of the Chongqing Municipality Standing Committee, revealed what was perhaps the only real qualification: "The village committee is a self-governing organization. It is not an organization of the state. . . . We need village leaders to be faithful, resourceful, moral, and respectful so that they can become leaders in whom the party and the masses can trust and upon whom they can rely. For village

¹⁸ He Xuefeng, a scholar of rural politics and governance, has developed a typology of village leaders: the good (*hao ren*), the capable (*neng ren*), the strong (*qiang ren*), and the evil (*e ren*). In He's framework, a good leader is benevolent, and his legitimacy rests on his friendly relations with villagers. A capable leader is often a villager who has acquired management skills while working in business, but his desire for recognition and popularity prevent him from making hard choices. Capable leaders thus pursue pragmatic policies that enrich the whole village without harming the interests of any one group. The strong leader rules through power and fear. He is willing to take responsibility for his decisions and readily confronts factions that stand in the way of the common good. Finally, the evil leader shares the characteristics of the strong leader, but he acts selfishly, appropriating the village's wealth for himself (2003: 256-258). Yan Jing exhibited characteristics of all four types.

development, this is of the utmost importance.” In other words, good and capable village leaders were people who would represent the interests of the state and the party.

In addition to leadership, evaluations of the Hailong experience also emphasized the importance of grassroots party organizations. Like other developed villages Zheng Keyang had researched, Hailong’s social and economic development seemed to be mutually constituted with the development of its party branch. Hailong’s strong party organization was important for leading the village’s development, but village development also strengthened its party organization. Senior leaders, including Xi Jinping and Li Yuanchao, were excited by the role the party played in Hailong’s transformation. It spoke to their own efforts to reinvigorate the party’s grassroots by “establishing advanced party organizations and producing excellent party members” (*chuangxian zhengyou huodong*), an initiative launched in 2007. Most importantly, Hailong showed how grassroots party building could complement the nation’s pressing rural development priorities.

The co-constitution of urban transformation and party legitimacy suggests You-tien Hsing’s analysis of the local politics of Chinese urbanization (2010). The Chinese state’s systems for rotating and promoting local leaders, as well as its post-1994 system of local taxation and fiscal transfer, produced a mode of “state-led urbanization,” in which local government leaders were incentivized to produce rapid urbanization and land development (Chan 1994; Fan 1999). Hsing argues that local state legitimacy has become so dependent on urbanization that local politics are now defined by urban construction projects. The decisions of local government leaders drive local processes of urbanization; equally, local processes of urbanization drive the decisions of local government leaders.

Hsing refers to this dialectical relationship as the “urbanization of the local state” (2010:6-7).

In light of Hailong’s transformation, Hsing’s analysis can be extended in two respects. First, rather than the “urbanization of the local state,” the Hailong experience could best be portrayed as “the urbanization of the local party.” This is a subtle but important distinction, highlighting the fact that neither the village party branch nor the village collective is a state institution. Nevertheless, Hailong’s governance institutions underwent an analogous process of transformation, in which they led a project of urbanization that then drove the organization’s politics. Wen Jiancai once said to me, “The more the collective grows, the stronger the collective becomes.” As with the local governments described by Hsing, this process was driven by a set of specific economic and political incentives. From the beginning, Yan’s legitimacy and reputation as a leader depended on his ability to deliver economic growth. More fundamentally, by recruiting Hailong’s party members as the original investors in the village’s shareholding corporation, Yan created a financial incentive for the local party organization to want economic growth, too. As these investors raked in hefty annual dividends, the party and its project of urbanization came to be seen as paths to affluence.

Expanding Hsing’s “urbanization of the local state” argument to include party organizations also allows us to analyze this process as a field of intra-party contestation, in which multiple party-state actors compete to control urbanization and reap the institutional rewards.¹⁹ The dialectical relationship between urbanization and legitimacy

¹⁹ In her work, You-tien Hsing foregrounds the competition between party-state actors—particularly state-owned enterprises and municipal governments—to control urban land,

means that party-state actors continually seek to extend their control over urbanization at the expense of other actors. Thus, Hailong's project of urban transformation was a direct challenge to the legitimacy and power of Chongqing's municipal government.

In the meeting Bo Xilai led to evaluate the Hailong experience, the Chongqing Municipality Standing Committee nevertheless claimed that the support of China's national leaders represented a confirmation of Chongqing's experiments in urban-rural coordination. Chongqing claimed that Hailong's practices, including incorporation, land collectivization, and urbanization, supported implementation of the municipality's programs of household registration reform and land reform. The village demonstrated the urban-rural coordination policies pursued by Chongqing and should therefore be established as a model for propagation to the rest of the municipality.

In particular, Chongqing advocated Hailong's approach to land management. The municipality's report encouraged the incorporation of village shareholding companies in order to "corporatize" (*gongsi hua*) villages. Like Hailong, villages could then collectivize village land by allowing households to voluntarily transfer their land use rights to the corporation, with the village retaining the increment in land rent. Chongqing further suggested that collectives be allowed to both financialize their land holdings and develop land designated as housing construction land. As in Hailong, a portion of the income from these activities would be used to support village services.

But in many respects, the Hailong experience was antithetical to the policies implemented by Chongqing under urban-rural coordination. In fact, many of the practices that Chongqing identified for emulation ran counter to the municipality's own policies. In

but not competition to control the process of urbanization, which is limited only to local governments (2006b: 577-582; 2010: 33-59).

Chongqing's reform program, villages were to be transformed into industrialized farms with minimal populations. Through the municipality's household registration and land reform programs, villages were left with less and less construction land and fewer and fewer villagers. Taken to its logical conclusion, Chongqing's urban-rural coordination program meant perpetual urban dependence and the end of the village as a form of settlement and collective governance.

Hailong's practices differed from the Chongqing program in two fundamental respects. First, the village collectivized land without any change in villagers' household registration. Villagers remained residents of the village, with all their rural rights and privileges intact. Indeed, Hailong's leaders conceived of land collectivization as a way to prevent villagers from ever having to transfer their household registration away from the village. Second, by illegally converting its agricultural land for industrialization and urbanization, Hailong used land collectivization to increase its available construction land, not diminish it. Hailong's land collectivization program was pursued in order to strengthen the collective and ensure its longevity.

Chongqing's claim that Hailong demonstrated the positive potential of its urban-rural coordination policies was thus disingenuous. The very reasons for Hailong's success were disallowed under the municipal program. The writers of the Chongqing report may have simply misunderstood Hailong's approach. Or the Chongqing report may have been an attempt to spin the Hailong experience so as to highlight the municipality's policies for an audience of senior party-state officials. It may also have been an effort by Bo Xilai to criticize the policies of his predecessor and rival, Wang Yang, who had initiated Chongqing's urban-rural coordination program. In any case, Chongqing's urban-rural

coordination program was unlikely to produce the kind of profound economic and urban transformation found in Hailong.

Most of all, the report highlighted the success of Hailong's political positioning, which prevented the municipal government from explicitly opposing its practices. By framing Hailong's transformation as an instance of grassroots party building, the village's leaders appealed to an issue that was of growing concern among China's party leadership—the continued relevance of the communist party to people's everyday lives and livelihoods. And by embodying this project in the person of Yan Jing, Yan and his colleagues were better able to navigate the personal networks of political patronage through which the party distributed power and authority. In doing so, Hailong was able to escape its subordinate position in the Chinese state's hierarchy of governance, instead using the parallel apparatus of the party to jump scales and directly appeal to the support of senior party leaders. Their endorsement in turn made it politically costly for local leaders in the municipal and district governments to repudiate Hailong's practices. This strategy provided political cover for a program of institution building that established the village collective as source of legitimacy and power capable of competing with the municipal government for control over urban transformation and the production of urban-rural difference. Through this process, Hailong emerged as an alternative to, rather than a subordinate of, local government. As one of Hailong's officials repeatedly admonished me whenever I mistakenly referred to the Hailong government, "We are *not* the government. There is no government here."

Chapter 4:
Living on the Edge

4.1 Precariousness

The narrative of progress told by village leaders was not the only story of the Hailong experience. Beyond the walls of the village exhibition hall, Hailong residents expressed divergent interpretations of the village's transformation—narratives of loss and exploitation that contested the official narrative of progress. Many village residents, particularly the elderly, were straightforward about their opinions—straight talk, after all, was a point of pride among Chongqing people. But others were more circumspect, fearing retaliation from village leaders for expressing opposition or dissatisfaction. These residents frequently employed allegory and metaphor, revealing alternative rationalities for understanding and navigating transformation.

Zhu Jianguo was a master of the allegorical. Zhu found me trudging along one of Hailong's back roads as it snaked up the hill in front of his house. As I passed, he asked what I was doing with an edge of suspicion in his voice. I gestured behind me, toward the landscape of houses, factories, and fields that stretched out from the foot of the hill. "Village development," I told him. "I'm here to research Hailong." Zhu looked at me, still suspicious. Then he launched into an impassioned critique of Chongqing's bus system. It took me a couple of beats to catch up—I thought perhaps he had misheard me or that we were having two different conversations.

"What do you think of these buses without ticket attendants?" Zhu asked. For me, ticketless buses were a matter of convenience. Like the 280 bus that I took from Shapingba to Baishiyi on my way to Hailong, ticketed buses ran from the central city into the suburbs, and fares were based on distance traveled. I would elbow through the crowd, clutching a bundle of one *kuai* notes as I lurched toward the ticket attendant. Then began

a comedic dialogue, as I guessed the stop closest to my destination, and the attendant struggled to interpret my overly standard pronunciation of Chongqing's esoteric place names.¹ All along, a bus full of fascinated audience members looked on. Destination agreed, I handed in my *kuai* notes and received a tiny slip of paper, with the admonition to keep it on my person. I never saw these tickets collected, and I would constantly find them floating out of my pockets. On a ticketless bus, by contrast, I simply swiped my refillable transit pass in front of the card reader, took a seat and hopped out at my destination. So I rejoiced when, in the spring of 2012, the 280 went ticketless. All fares were reduced to the citywide one-*kuai* fare, integrating Baishiyi and Hailong more tightly into the networks emanating from the central city.

Zhu dismissed the question of convenience with a brush of his hand. It was irrelevant to his point, and my cheery support for ticketless transportation only confirmed his suspicion that Americans were behind the invention: "What does it mean for 'serving the people' (*wei renmin fuwu*)?" he insisted. "You have the bus driver. He's driving and he's collecting fares. How could he possibly focus on anything else! What about people's safety? It's reckless. It's a question of right and wrong. You have the old, weak, sick, and disabled (*lao ruo bing can*). ... A ticket attendant should take them by the hand, but there's no one there!" I nodded in understanding. I had seen these attendants in action on the 280 bus. They helped the elderly onto the bus, asked younger passengers to give up their seats, and ensured that cargo was properly stowed. Zhu shook his head. "These ticketless buses. They're a new thing. Something they brought from America."

¹ Chongqing's bus stop designations were notoriously difficult to navigate, even for locals. In some cases, more than 20 separate bus stops shared the same name. In 2012, the Chongqing government attempted to rationalize the system, but to little avail. In most cases, ordinal numbers were simply added to the end of each stop name.

But Zhu was angry about more than Chongqing's bus system. He used the ticketless bus as a metaphor for Hailong's transformation, weaving together many of the most important issues articulated by his neighbors. Hailong's leaders had prioritized rapid growth but in doing so, they had neglected the safety and security of the village's residents. The moral responsibility to "serve the people," a stock phrase frequently invoked by China's leaders, had been abandoned in favor of capitalist profit, represented by the metonym of the United States. As a result, the weak and elderly were left to fend for themselves, exposed to even greater precariousness by the rapidity and unpredictability of Hailong's transformation.

Zhu concluded with the poignant image of a blind man waiting for the bus: "Your eyes aren't good. You can't see where you are. You ask, 'Where am I? Where am I? Where am I going?' How will you know what bus to take? How can it be otherwise when none of the buses have attendants?" Again, Zhu was speaking of his fellow residents, who had no idea where Hailong's transformation was headed. Without someone to look after them, they struggled to make choices for the future and risked being left behind, forgotten and helpless.

Zhu's vivid imagery revealed deep anxieties felt by Hailong residents as they encountered rapid village transformation, pointing to a fundamental mismatch between Hailong's transformation and the transformation of its people. The uncertainty of rapid transformation produced experiences of precariousness among residents, but village transformation simultaneously eroded the mechanisms they had developed to deal with such precariousness. This second-order precariousness resulted as party-state actors sought to normalize transformation along urban-rural lines, insisting on a pre-defined

equivalence between urbanization and marketization and imposing higher-order collective identities. By normalizing residents into hegemonic urban and rural roles, these efforts undermined residents' existing survival strategies.

Through their own reworking of urban-rural difference, residents crafted new engagements with market institutions. Their informal welfare strategies included kinship- and community-based mutual support networks, which enabled residents to cope with risk through *ex post* consumption smoothing. These networks were embedded in the socio-spatial fabric of the village as residents used their housing construction land and interstitial wasteland to ensure the continuity of their co-habitation and co-location. Meanwhile, residents also diversified their economic activities in order to mitigate risk through *ex ante* income smoothing. These strategies, including asset investment, entrepreneurship, and migration, relied on the diversification and hybridization of roles and resources.

Together, consumption smoothing and income smoothing constituted an integrated response to precariousness: the safety net provided by mutual support networks allowed households to take more risks in their economic diversification, and economic diversification produced the wealth necessary to fund mutual support networks. Village communities thus functioned like banks built on a moral commitment to mutual prosperity—when times were lean, members could take out loans by accessing community support networks, and when times were good, members contributed to this loan-granting capacity.

In both cases—mutual support networks and economic diversification—household registration reform posed a threat to residents' existing informal welfare

strategies. By requiring residents to give up their land use rights and self-built housing, the reform programs of both the municipality and the administrative village threatened to deracinate village communities, making it more difficult to maintain networks of mutual support. By pushing residents out of lives patched together through urban-rural hybridity and into roles limited by urban norms, these programs also undermined residents' strategies of economic diversity. In exchange, they offered social welfare goods that residents perceived as unreliable and exploitative. Unsurprisingly, Hailong residents chose not to participate in Chongqing's household registration reform program, and they resisted the alternative program pursued by the village's leaders; instead, they sought to rescale collective identity to counteract these higher-level power projects.

In this chapter, I follow residents' theories of transformation and their practices for ensuring survival, as they re-combined and re-imagined urban and rural to exert control in the midst of growing precariousness. I begin with residents' sense of precariousness and the discontinuous temporalities of rapid transformation (4.1). This includes residents' nostalgia for an imagined past of rural stability and transparency, their experiences of political and economic exploitation, and a resulting sense of perpetual uncertainty. I then turn to the failure of China's party-state apparatus—including the municipal government, the administrative village, and their party institutions—to provide welfare as a means to manage precariousness, particularly in response to the uncertainty of personal health (4.2). In the following sections, I consider informal welfare strategies developed by residents in the absence of reliable state welfare. First, residents turned to community as an alternative source of trust and moral exchange (4.3), including mutual support networks spatially inscribed in the village. Second, alternative engagements with

the market—which included investment, entrepreneurship, and migration—enabled economic diversification (4.4). Finally, in the conclusion to the chapter (4.5), I consider the effects of household registration on residents’ informal strategies and the inter-scalar contestation of Chinese citizenship.²

4.1.1 Nostalgia

As Raymond Williams has observed in the context of nineteenth century England, nostalgia plays an important role in the conceptual construction of urban-rural difference (1973). Chongqing was full of nostalgia during my first months of research. As I arrived, the city was in the midst of Bo Xilai’s “red song” campaign, which mobilized groups of residents to sing songs from the Cultural Revolution. China’s leaders typically tried to suppress memories of this strife-ridden period in the country’s history, but the red songs awakened a fervent political nostalgia among many of Chongqing’s older residents. In Shapingba Park, just a few minutes walk from our apartment, a half-dozen groups practiced their songs on a daily basis. City-wide competitions were organized, and my meetings at government bureaus were often interrupted by the clamor of departmental red song teams practicing in the next room.³

Red songs were popular in Hailong too, and Cultural Revolution ballads could often be heard wafting out of karaoke rooms. The communalism of the Maoist period was

² Portions of this chapter previously appeared in the *Journal of Urban Affairs* (Smith 2014c).

³ There is a substantial anthropological literature of nostalgia (Ange and Berliner 2014), much of which focuses on post-socialist contexts (Berdahl 1999; Todorova and Gille 2012; Parla 2009; Yang 2003). In particular, it is worth noting the instrumental role nostalgia plays in the constitution of collective identities (Bissell 2005; Bryant 2008) and in moral critiques of contemporary policies and practices (Parla 2009; Yang 2003).

an important historical reference point as residents made sense of their current precariousness. But it was difficult to explicitly frame their dissatisfaction in these terms when Hailong's leaders had shrouded the village's transformation in the aura of communist ideology. There was only one instance when I encountered a resident willing to contest this ideological monopoly. When I asked him what he thought of the village's party leadership, Chen Tianbo scoffed, "There's no Communist Party here."

Instead, Hailong residents constructed narratives of loss that pitted the stability and reliability of nature against the precariousness and uncertainty of rapid transformation (Fig 4.1). Gesturing out to the factories opposite his house, Chen Siming told me that they had all been lotus ponds in his youth: "It used to be so picturesque here. Everything was so clean. You could drink water right out of the pond. You could grab fish and eels right out of the stream." The landscape was healthful and natural. Most importantly, it was transparent, and the term Siming used for the picturesque (*shan qing shui xiu*) implied clarity. Siming narrated a direct and organic relationship to nature in which nothing was other than what it seemed.

By contrast, Hailong's transformed landscape was uncertain and unreliable. As I went shrimping with a group of villagers in one of Hailong's reservoirs, they complained about how difficult it had become to catch the shrimp. One of my companions described how the reservoir had once been so full of crabs and crayfish that you could just reach in your hand and scoop out a handful. But now the crabs were gone, and it seemed our nets pulled up more mud than shrimp. Down the shore, a group of young men used an electrified net to lure the tiny shrimp in, and my companions shook their heads at their laziness.

When they compared Hailong to their home villages, migrants told similar stories, disparaging the pollution and degradation of Hailong's environment. Xu Xiaoyi, from Qijiang County, insisted that her family would never live in Hailong if it were not for the job opportunities its factories offered. To see a truly rural place, she suggested, I should visit their home village: "As soon as you get out of the car, you'll realize the air is totally different. Here, the air is not good. Back home, hot days aren't even really hot."

As Williams points out, such scenes of lost rurality are often illusory. But residents' narratives of loss revealed the nature of their concerns with the precariousness of transformation. When I asked Chen Siming if he had any regrets about Hailong's transformation, he looked out at the factories again: "You can't do development like this. These factories, they affect our health. At the very least they've shortened our lifespans." Unlike the healthful and straightforward landscape Siming remembered from his childhood, contemporary Hailong was full of hidden threats. Pollution might be harming his family's health, but it was difficult to tell. And that uncertainty was gut-wrenching, especially as we watched his son and daughter, both of whom suffered from chronic ailments for which they received only intermittent care.

4.1.2 Exploitation

The traumatic loss of transparency extended to residents' relationships with the village collective and the local government. Hailong's transformation had led to a situation in which superficiality stood in for morality and sleight of hand was used to exploit others for profit. Residents' charges of superficiality and exploitation directly challenged the narrative of progress touted by Hailong's leaders. Though many residents

supported Yan Jing, still more saw Yan as a corrupt official, climbing on the backs of the common people. Zhu Jianguo suggested that the village's leaders had been treating Hailong's residents like livestock, only caring for them so that they could kill and eat them later.⁴ Ma Chuifeng, a fiery-tempered, middle-aged villager, agreed, denouncing the changes wrought by Yan and the village leadership, who he said had done little for the substantive welfare of Hailong's residents. Instead, he claimed, Yan had pursued flashy projects that would help him get noticed by his superiors and attain promotion: "He's taken all of the money and used it on surface appearance. It's all meant for you to look at." Ma pointed at me for added effect. "He didn't use one cent to help us villagers. He hasn't used any of the money for anything real. It's to make other people think everything is great. But in reality, nothing is any good. It's all a superficial phenomenon."

As Ma and others described it, Hailong's development was fake. The beautiful new buildings and big factories hid a darker reality of exploitation and exclusion, a reality in which the residents had seen little benefit. Ma insisted that a majority of villagers felt as he did but then continued, "It's no use complaining." Yan Jing had insulated his superiors from villager dissatisfaction, and no one above the village knew the real situation. When they came to visit, officials were taken on carefully scripted tours. They were told the story of the "Hailong experience" without ever getting to see how people really lived.⁵ Meanwhile, village elections were just a formality. According

⁴ These startling images strike a deep chord in China's cultural memory, recalling Lu Xun's "A Madman's Diary" (1990 [1918]), in which depraved people kill their countrymen and eat their blood.

⁵ Zheng Keyang, the senior researcher sent to Hailong by the Communist Party Central Committee, provided a good example. His research trips included a number of visits to village households, but each household was selected and arranged by Hailong's leadership, and Yan Jing accompanied Zheng on all his interviews. My resistance to this

to the group of villagers gathered around Ma, each time elections rolled around, the only approved candidate who was not an idiot was the one in the town's pocket.

In Ma's eyes, this lack of accountability allowed Yan to engage in "personal behavior" (*geren xingwei*), driving the village to develop too fast⁶: "It should be built slowly from the bottom up, step by step. He's done it from high above, so that the results are divorced from reality. What should not be done, he's gone and done. Things that should be done this year, he did last year." Like the abstraction of technocratic planning, Yan's program of development was out of sync with people's lives: "It doesn't match the condition of the people. ... Nobody supports this, because it's too soon. We sped up too soon. Too soon." It was not just an issue of speed but of temporal disjuncture. Village development was going faster than the economic and social context warranted and faster than residents could adapt. Residents were being forced to fit into a development program for which they were ill-prepared. Without matching investments in residents' welfare, they could not help but be left behind.

Many residents shared this sense of being out of time. One villager once told me, "Being a rural villager means being forgotten." This sentiment was particularly common among the elderly and the middle-aged who felt unable to participate in Hailong's transformation. Many of them had extensive work experience as migrants, but those still willing to work found they were unwanted by the factories in the village. Job postings frequently specified age ranges, and they often topped out at 30 (Figure 4.2). According

model and my dogged insistence on speaking with residents without supervision made village and township officials nervous.

⁶ The term Ma uses, "personal behavior" (*geren xingwei*), echoes the term "government behavior" (*zhengfu xingwei*), used to indicate arbitrary actions taken by local government bodies in their own interests.

to factory managers, older workers were obsolete—untrained in the newest technology and incapable of adapting quickly enough. Many were stuck working in construction gangs, what they referred to as “coolie labor” (*kuli laodong*), a transliteration of the colonial term for physical, low-value work.

Even among those who found stable jobs as machine workers in local factories, the sense of exploitation was widespread. Some blamed Yan Jing or the municipal government, but others pointed to Hailong’s increasing integration into the market. Ren Jie, a factory owner from Jiangxi (and, thus, a capitalist himself), complained, “Already, there’s barely any difference between our society and global capitalism. You ask me for a job. I give you a little salary. . . . At most, you make two or three thousand *kuai*. If you want to buy a house for, say, a million, you couldn’t possibly buy it in your lifetime.” Then he turned to the street and pointed at a passing car: “These capitalists, their BMWs are practically worth a million!”

For Li Ting and others, market-driven exploitation and misrepresentation had pervaded everyday life: “In today’s society, people eat people” (*ren chi ren*). People take advantage of their fellow human beings, just in order to make a few extra *kuai*. As she said this, she pointed toward her neighbors, who put pesticides on their vegetables just before taking them to market, even though it could poison someone they knew. Zhu Jianguo further emphasized the life-and-death stakes of village development: “Today I want to build a house over there. I have the rights [to expropriate the land], but it means tearing down your house. Later, you don’t have the money to buy a new house. . . . What do you have left? There’s no logic to it! It’s a dead end (*si lu yi tiao*). Your life is over! Human life, it’s the most fragile thing on this earth.”

4.1.3 Uncertainty

Hailong's transformation had produced an environment in which the only constant was uncertainty. Sitting in his study, surrounded by his history books, Sun Jieshi summed up a common sentiment: "Today's society changes fast. The times change fast. This year it's one way, you get to the end of it, and next year it's totally different." Sun's world was one of continuous, overwhelming change. And it was changing faster all the time—it was accelerating. Time itself had changed. Elderly residents, like Sun, who still figured the years in the cycles of the lunar calendar were caught in the relentless forward march of "development."

Sun had put his finger on the contradiction of development. In China's program of rural modernization, development implied an endpoint. At some point in the future, the process of development would be complete and the village would stop changing. This process was coterminous with both Tian Ye's vision of urban-rural coordination and the urban telos of planning described by Duan Leishi. In this teleological apparatus, development and urbanization (facilitated by planning) were necessary only in order to transition one fixed category into another. Once this transition was complete, development would end.⁷

But, as Sun intuited, this endpoint was an illusion, and development only led to more development. In part, this was due to the instability of urban and rural categories, so that any effort at a finite transition was doomed to failure. But it was also inherent to the very process of development. The transformation of the rural was achieved by first

⁷ The conceptual equivalence between development, modernization, and urbanization has been well documented in other contexts (Berman 1983; Robinson 2006).

abstracting space (Lefebvre 1991 [1974]: 49, 52). In part through the process of planning, each point was made equivalent to every other point in its capacity for transformation. Once abstracted, such spaces became ripe for further development, leading to a process of continuous and iterative change (Harvey 1981).⁸

When I asked him to draw a map of Hailong, Sun demurred. Like many residents, he protested that he could not draw. But with pen in hand, a delicate landscape emerged (Figure 4.3). As he drew, Sun's anxieties about change took form on the page. First, Sun filled in the cardinal directions, pointing toward the regularity of the sun's rise and fall. Then he sketched out the two mountain ranges that bound the plain where Hailong was located. Unmovable and timeless, they were Sun's only dependable reference point. Between them, Sun left an empty plain, marked only with the characters for horizontal and vertical extension. In this broad blank space, he explained, were fields, houses, factories—a jumble of development too fast-paced and uncertain to be drawn. The constant state of change meant that no point could be differentiated from any other. In the midst of this unnavigable sea of change, Sun drew only a single tiny dot: us.

For Sun, the contrast between the stability of the mountains and the uncertainty of the rapidly changing plain was particularly poignant. Several years ago, a mudslide precipitated by road construction forced him to abandon his house on the mountainside (as it turned out, not even the mountains were safe from change). His new house, built just a few meters from the land cleared for Hailong's second round of development, was a precarious foothold. He continued to resist settling in, fearful that his home would be

⁸ I will return to the logic of spatial abstraction in Chapter Six.

demolished to make way for further change. When I complimented him on the quality of construction, he dismissed the idea: “It’s only temporary until they tear it down.”

Planning should theoretically have reduced the uncertainty of transformation, but in Hailong it did the opposite. When asked which areas would be developed or which buildings demolished, residents would often shrug their shoulders, “Who knows?” No one could even say when they would find out. But everyone knew that it would be big, even bigger than the radical transformation Hailong had undergone over the past ten years. As Xu Xiaoyi put it, “This place has all been planned. In two years, it probably won’t exist.” The first step in spatial abstraction, planning divorced the transformation of future development from what already existed. The existence of a plan thus denoted the likelihood of future change, but the nature of that change became unpredictable, without any grounding in residents’ experience. This heightened uncertainty was particularly true for the majority of Hailong residents, who had never seen the village’s plans.

For instance, Wang Litian complained that the government’s plans (*guihua*) were making it more difficult for her and her family to make their own plans (*jihua*). By distinguishing between *guihua* and *jihua*, Wang argued for an alternative source of legitimacy and authority that might challenge the hegemony of the government’s planning apparatus. *Guihua* is a term used for technical planning activities, including urban planning, rooted in the technocratic practices of scientific rationality. By contrast, *jihua* is a more general term used to refer both to the social and economic planning of the Chinese state and the everyday planning of individuals and households. Wang’s use of the word *jihua* thus appealed to the political and territorial authority of the central state, while criticizing the uncertainty produced by the abstraction of technocratic planning.

Similarly, Wang's plans were rooted in her household's territorial claims to housing construction land and her direct, embodied knowledge of her family's challenges and needs. These plans were challenged by technical planning, which was based on an abstract, scientific logic divorced from local specificity.⁹

In the experience of Hailong residents, precariousness thus originated from multiple non-transparent and exploitative forces beyond their control, including political self-interest, market competition, and technical planning. These forces produced interpersonal relations in which nothing could be taken for granted—not even the ground under their feet. Faced with such uncertainty, residents found it difficult to ensure their own stability and survival, and they often expressed feelings of powerlessness: “There’s nothing to be done” (*mei banfa*). Residents were powerless to prevent the actions of the local government and the village collective, but they still had the power to pursue their own informal strategies, which offered alternatives to—and thus threatened the efficacy of—the exploitative programs of urban-rural coordination.

4.2 Urbanizing the Population

Hailong residents' experiences of precariousness were not just due to the transformation of the village. Residents were also subject to a regime of planned transformation that sought to normalize people into abstracted urban and rural roles. These roles had long been institutionalized through the household registration system, in which disparities in access to state-sponsored services and welfare produced a

⁹ This appropriation of planning logic parallels James Smith's observations of the indigenization of development ideology through discourses of witchcraft in Kenya (2008).

differentiated model of citizenship along urban-rural lines. Located within the administrative boundaries of an urban municipality but still formally designated as rural under the household registration system, Hailong's residents were among the more than 200 million people caught between China's urban and rural categories.

China's premier, Li Keqiang, has referred to such people as "half-urbanized" (2012), a term that assumes the desirability and superiority of the urban, which becomes the telos of all rural striving. In this view, migrants, by moving to urban areas in search of work, have demonstrated their desire to become urban (Fang 2008; Ge 2006). Household registration has kept them half-urbanized, unable to fulfill their projects of self-improvement. Urban-rural hybridity is thus treated as a temporary, and undesirable, stage in the urbanization process—it is no more than the "pre-urban."

Many Chinese scholars and policy makers, including Li, have proposed programs for the "full" urbanization of these pre-urbanites. This process, known as "population urbanization" (*shiminhua*), seeks the transformation of "rural people" (*nongmin*) into "urban people" (*shimin*) through a combination of household registration conversion, resettlement, worker training, and welfare rights (Chen and Meng 2008; Ge 2006; Jiang 2003; Wei and Tan 2003; Tian 2006; Zhang et al. 2003; Zhu, X. 2005).¹⁰ This has

¹⁰ The Chinese terms *shimin* and *nongmin* have several possible English translations. Both include the character *min* for "people". The character *shi* is most narrowly translated as "market" but can be more generally rendered as "city"; the character *nong* can be translated as agriculture but is also used to indicate the "rural". Thus, *shimin* could be translated as "urbanites", "townspeople", "urban citizens", or simply "citizens"; and *nongmin* could be translated as "ruralites", "villagers", "farmers", or "peasants". Each of these options comes with its own set of connotations. I have chosen "urban people" and "rural people" because these terms emphasize the mutuality of the two categories and the common identity of their members as persons.

Like *shimin* and *nongmin*, *shiminhua* has a variety of possible translations. It combines the term *shimin* with the particle for "change" (*hua*) and can be translated as

constituted the centerpiece of China's national plan for a "new form of urbanization" (*xinxing chengzhenhua*), which has focused on the transformation of people rather than spaces, including the granting of urban registration to 100 million people by 2020. By officially settling these people in cities and towns, this initiative would reduce their marginalization, but the urbanization drive would also contribute to the national project of modernization and development, with new urban residents adding to the domestic consumption that is meant to fuel China's future economic growth.

Chongqing's household registration reform program represented one of China's most important experiments in *shiminhua*. At the outset, Chongqing's reform program appeared to be a wild success. During the first 16 months of the program, which began in August 2010, more than 3.2 million people traded in their rural registration to become officially urban. But this strong initial interest was largely due to pent up demand from prior years when limits on household registration conversion were more stringent. Subsequently, the number of applications dropped precipitously, to approximately 400,000 in 2012 (Zhuma 2013). A 2010 survey conducted by the municipality's Public Security Bureau found that 90 percent of Chongqing's rural residents were unwilling to participate in the program (Han 2012). These numbers called into question Chongqing's ambitious 2020 goal of 10 million new urban residents and, by extension, the success of China's national urbanization project.¹¹

"becoming urban", "becoming urban people", and "becoming citizens". It has also been translated as "population urbanization". I have chosen to leave the term in its Romanized *pinyin* form, both to represent its contextual specificity and because the term's translations inevitably privilege one dimension of a multifaceted discourse.

¹¹ Earlier experiments in household registration reform have also encountered low participation rates (Zhu 2007).

What could explain this reluctance and the precipitous drop in new applicants? Existing theories have largely portrayed rural residents as rational market actors seeking to maximize value (Gu 2011; Liao 2011). Residents' choices were thus reduced to a question of money: rural residents migrated in order to take advantage of wage differentials, and, by extension, they would choose to convert to urban registration if it promised higher income. Monetary incentives would undoubtedly convince many to participate in household registration reform, but money, as an abstract unit of universal exchange, masked a range of motivations that were more fundamental to residents' decision-making.

Hailong's leaders adopted a similar rationale in their own *shiminhua* program, which was explicitly characterized as an alternative to Chongqing's household registration regime. In doing so, they sought to provide the full slate of social welfare without the necessity of transferring to urban registration. But residents would still need to give up their land rights and self-built housing, making them dependent on the collective for their survival—just as they would be dependent on local government under household registration reform. Many residents thus saw the two programs as equivalent threats to their stability and security. Moreover, Hailong's leaders, with their track record of deception and exploitation, were seen as even less trustworthy than local government.

4.2.1 Peri-urbanity

Shiminhua programs, including those in both Chongqing and Hailong, targeted residents based on their presumed path of urban-rural transformation. These policies differentiated between suburban villagers, who were thought to undergo “passive

urbanization” (*bei shiminhua*) in the process of urban expansion and expropriation, and rural-urban migrants, who were thought to seek the benefits of urban status voluntarily. In this context, Chongqing’s program prioritized rural-urban migrants, while later stages targeted suburban villagers.

This distinction was also reflected in the scholarship on urban China, which identified an irreducible difference between villagers and migrants (Siu 2007; Wang 2010; Webster and Zhao 2010: 66). This results, in part, from the scholarly emphasis on China’s coast, where migrants from inland provinces are often socially and culturally distinct from local villagers. Scholars have also pointed to the disparities in social and economic resources, with registered villagers acting as a *rentier* class that owns its own housing and has access to local services, while migrants serve as industrial labor and must rent housing and pay for services, including education.

But in Hailong, registered villagers and migrant laborers were not meaningfully different. The distinction between the two groups was one of degree rather than kind, and, when it came to navigating China’s household registration system, Hailong’s villagers and migrants employed strikingly similar rationales and strategies. This is not to elide the very real differences that exist in residents’ life chances but, rather, to recognize that these differences articulate at multiple scales, including the individual, household, village, and municipality. The distinction between villager and migrant is just one aspect of variation; moreover, it is one that Hailong residents, who refused to be defined by their household registration status, rarely emphasized.

Socially and culturally, Hailong’s villagers and migrants strongly identified with one other, sharing a common geography, cuisine, culture, and dialect. Most migrants

even referred to themselves as “locals” (*bendi ren*) rather than “outsiders” (*waidi ren*). The two groups thus enjoyed a high degree of social integration, and many leisure pursuits and social activities were pursued together. For instance, in the village’s *majiang* parlors, players chose their tables based on the size of the ante rather than the identity of the players. Those who did not participate in the village’s social networks—including both villagers and migrants—were noted as misanthropes and viewed warily.

This common social identity was further strengthened by the fact that many of Hailong’s registered villagers were themselves migrants, living and working in central Chongqing or in other Chinese cities. Indeed, a majority of Hailong’s villagers had migrated at some point in their lives, and many of the village’s leaders had returned to the village after acquiring skills and financial resources as migrants. On the other hand, some registered villagers worked alongside migrants in Hailong’s factories, and some migrants owned the factories that employed them. These blurred identities destabilized fixed divisions between villager and migrant, and they meant that Hailong’s villagers and migrants faced many of the same opportunities and challenges.

The primary difference between villagers and migrants thus came down to the location and value of their land use rights. Owing to the household registration system, Hailong’s registered villagers had land use rights within the village of Hailong, while migrants had land use rights in their home villages. Given their urban proximity, industrialization, and growing population, the monetary value of villagers’ land use rights was generally higher than for migrants. Villagers monetized this value by building small factories and dormitories on their housing construction land. Resident villagers were also

able to live in their own self-built housing, and some benefited from the dividends paid by the land management corporation.

But the windfalls in Hailong were not evenly distributed. The village leadership's control over the conversion and industrialization of agricultural land limited villagers' opportunities to monetize their land holdings. Many villagers also lacked the capital to build dormitories or factories on their housing construction land, and others did not invest in the village corporation. Far from representing a dominant and unified *rentier* class, villagers were highly differentiated in terms of wealth, and many villagers were economically no better off than migrants in the village.

Hailong's villagers and migrants thus destabilized predetermined typologies that defined residents according to their temporal or spatial relationship to an urban *telos*, in which they were either moving toward the urban or being overtaken by it. These categories of transition devalued the complex and vibrant lives that residents had built for themselves—lives that hybridized urban and rural but that also defined new socio-spatial categories in the interstices of the state's urban-rural system.

Rather than reifying residents as either “*pre-urban*” (in the case of migrants) or “*sub-urban*” (in the case of registered villagers), we might reconceptualize their shared positionality as “*peri-urban*.” This peri-urbanity can be understood to be primarily institutional rather than spatial. This differs from the conventional understanding of the peri-urban as a spatial condition “peripheral” to the city and peri-urban people as those who inhabit these spaces (Rakodi 1998; Webster 2002: 8). Hailong could be considered peri-urban in this sense, and the village's proximity to the city played a part in residents' strategies. But the peri-urbanity of Hailong residents was ultimately a product of an

institutional regime that the Chinese state arbitrarily defined in urban-rural terms. The peri-urbanity of Hailong residents can therefore be understood as a condition experienced by all of China's rural residents, regardless of location. All rural residents were simultaneously subject to certain formally urban institutions, such as the commodities market or the state administrative hierarchy, and excluded from others, such as the land market or state-sponsored welfare.

4.2.2 A Moral Vacuum

The urban and rural categories on which household registration was founded also entailed a set of moral relationships that were no longer relevant to the way residents lived their lives. As Zhu Jieming so aptly described with the metaphor of the ticketless bus, both state and collective had failed in their moral duty to ensure stability and security. The discourse of morality played an important role in the negotiation of the duties and responsibilities entailed in the relationship between state and citizen, particularly in the context of market failure (Chang 2013; Muehlebach 2012; Zhang 2013). Household registration reform putatively offered the security of urban welfare rights. But China's state-sponsored welfare and social insurance programs, riddled with corruption and inefficiency and increasingly exposed to marketization, were often seen as unreliable and extortive (Chang 1993: 169; Cook 2002; Cook 2011: 212; Li 2008; Liu 2007: 469-471; Lora-Wainwright 2011: 106, 113). For Hailong residents, urban welfare was just another undependable and arbitrary system of exploitation that only added to their sense of precariousness.

Criticisms of the state's welfare regime were often expressed through the lens of advanced welfare states. For instance, I once found myself in a conversation with three women discussing their understandings of life in the United States. The most insistent of the three, Mi Antian, maintained that in the United States citizens did not have to work or pay for food. Lei Hushi expressed incredulity: "Now, that's not possible. Who's going to feed you? If you're not working, and she's not working, and she's not working, who's going to feed you all?" In response, Mi replied, "Robots feed you. You command them, and they feed you."

This dialogue was remarkable for the fact that neither woman imagined the state playing any role in this techno-communist paradise. For Lei, welfare always entailed a reliance on other people, not the state. And the only way Mi could imagine escaping such a necessity was to invent an army of robot servants. Others were less fanciful but no less insistent on the importance of self-reliance in the provision of welfare. For instance, Zhang Yiming praised the Japanese retirement system, where you received social security payments proportional to how much you worked.

Meanwhile, Li Ting criticized those who relied on state welfare instead of mutual support. For Li, migrants who left their children behind to be cared for by the state were failing in their moral duty. As Li put it, "All you're doing is increasing the state's burden." She compared this to her daughters, who sent her money every month: "Why would we need the state for this? Some people want to take advantage of the situation. They say, 'I'll just leave my parents in the village, and then the state will have to take care of them.' This is just plain wrong." Like Mi Antian's imagined robot utopia, Li's critique was remarkable for the omission of any moral responsibility on the part of the

state. State support was a last resort that should be turned to only once all other sources of moral duty were exhausted.

4.2.3 Social Insurance

The failure of state welfare was most keenly felt when it came to social insurance. Ill health and old age were inevitabilities that exposed residents to exploitation. Residents might endeavor to escape the uncertain transformations of the village, but the deterioration of the body was inescapable—a personal territory in which the ravages of temporal transformation were ultimately tallied. And the uncertainty of accident and illness—their ability to strike without warning at any time—only multiplied residents’ feelings of precariousness.

Residents distrusted the nascent rural insurance schemes set up to deal with such precariousness, such as the state-administered *dibao* system, a means-tested safety net intended to ensure a minimal standard of living for the poorest. These rural systems mirrored urban welfare institutions but with benefits at much lower levels (Cook 2002: 621-625). After his tirade against the BMW-driving capitalist, factory owner Ren Jie gestured to He Nansen, who was fixing a pair of shoes along the side of the road: “Take him. He’s lived here for years, but just because he’s from somewhere else, they won’t give him his *dibao* payments. Instead, he’s reduced to penury.”

These concerns extended to the rural health insurance system, in which many villagers and migrants had participated. This insurance covered small ailments and accidents relatively well, paying for 80 percent of costs incurred through visits to the local clinic. But as you moved up the hierarchy of hospitals, the cost of care rose rapidly

and the extent of insurance plummeted. For instance, when Lin Guo, an elderly villager who rarely needed to see the doctor, ended up in a level three hospital with a serious stomach ulcer, his insurance only covered 30 percent of his costs. Based on past experience, Lin Guo's son, Lin Yi, expected to pay somewhere between 10,000 and 20,000 RMB out of pocket.

Again and again, health insurance abandoned people precisely when they needed it most, and many told stories of people faced with crippling debt when their insurance ran out—friends facing bills of 200,000 RMB for chemotherapy, parents who had to choose between monthly medication and tuition for their child to go to a better school, and people who ran out of money after three or four visits to the hospital for a terminal illness. Like the Sichuan residents in Anna Lora-Wainwright's study of rural healthcare (2011: 119), many Hailong residents viewed health insurance as a state-sponsored swindle.

As welfare provision became increasingly market-driven (Duckett 2003), these feelings of unreliability only increased. Where insurance provision was once guaranteed for those with urban registration, both urban and rural residents had to buy into these programs using their own money (or, alternatively, contributions from employers), and the level of benefits depended on the amount one contributed (Duckett and Carillo 2011: 6; Liu 2007: 469-470; Liu 2011: 101-102).

Many new holders of urban registration simply chose not to sign up for insurance, voluntarily excluding themselves from the very programs considered to be at the heart of urban privilege (Wen 2008; Yan 2012). Hailong residents also expressed reluctance to participate in new insurance programs, whether urban or rural. For instance, several

residents doubted the viability of new rural retirement insurance. The benefits seemed good (“It keeps paying out for six months after you die!”), but, as one villager admitted, “It all depends on how many young people sign up.” Facing such uncertainty, many chose not to risk the 1,000 RMB it would take to participate.

Instead, residents emphasized the importance of self-reliance and the need for prevention and good exercise. As Zhu Jianguo put it, “Life depends on exercise.” He went on to brag about his good health: already in his seventies, he had barely ever had a cold. In all his life he had never been to a hospital, and *that* could get expensive. Lin Yi echoed the sentiment: “It doesn’t matter how, if you can keep your health you’ll be ok. I’ve got some money. It’s enough for all of us to eat. But it won’t necessarily be enough to pay hospital bills.”

4.2.4 Informal Welfare

Without access to reliable social insurance, Hailong residents developed alternative strategies to deal with the precariousness of rapid transformation and the uncertainty of health and old age. I interpret these strategies through the lens of a growing literature on informal welfare provision in the developing world. This is part of a broader discourse of “welfare pluralism,” which recognizes the importance of market, voluntary, and informal welfare provision in addition to the role of the state (Johnson 1999; Powell 2007). Discussions of informal welfare emphasize the importance of ethnographically starting from people’s own coping strategies when developing formal welfare policies (Wallace 2002: 279). This approach can increase the efficacy of new welfare programs by complementing and strengthening, rather than replacing, existing informal practices (Heemskerk et al. 2004: 942; Morduch 1995: 103; Morduch 1999). Informal welfare,

frequently produced through unremunerated or voluntary labor, has also been characterized as a consequence of the retreat of the welfare state and the rise of neoliberalism (Muehlebach 2012: 6-20).

In the absence of reliable social safety nets, rural residents around the world have developed diverse informal strategies to ensure their stability and resilience in the face of unpredictable shocks, such as illnesses, accidents, poor harvests, and natural disasters (Morduch 1995; Townsend 1995: 83). These strategies can be categorized along a number of parallel axes, including *ex ante/ex post*, risk mitigation/risk coping, and income-smoothing/consumption smoothing (Holzmann and Jorgensen 1999: 8-13; Morduch 1995: 104).

Hailong residents engaged in a similar set of strategies, building networks of mutual support that helped cope with risk through *ex post* consumption smoothing, and diversifying economic activities in order to mitigate risk through *ex ante* income-smoothing. These strategies were both embedded in the socio-spatial fabric of the village, and dependent on residents' socio-spatial mobility and urban-rural hybridity. Thus, far from viewing "half-urbanization" as a temporary and undesirable phase of transition, residents saw their urban-rural hybridity as a strategic choice.¹² Household registration reform threatened these existing strategies while failing to offer a convincing alternative source of security and stability. Hailong residents, concerned with their own peri-urban precariousness, were therefore unlikely to participate in the program.

4.3 Mutual Support Networks

¹² Other authors have similarly found that China's rural residents see migration as a cyclical rather than a linear process, in which risk minimization is a primary motivation (Fan and Wang 2008: 206-210; Zhu 2007).

In the context of peri-urban precariousness and unreliable state welfare, Hailong residents turned to each other instead of the state. Mutual support networks based on kinship and community enabled Hailong residents to cope with unanticipated shocks through reciprocal gift giving, lending, and care provision. Such consumption smoothing was particularly evident in response to health-related shocks, such as illness or accident. These strategies were woven into the village's socio-spatial fabric, relying on access to housing and land that would be forfeited in the process of household registration reform.

Household- and community-based systems of mutual support have been documented in a variety of developing contexts (Genoni 2012; Heemskerk et al. 2004; Ligon et al. 2002; Morduch 1995, 1999; Morduch and Sharma 2002; Platteau 1997; Townsend 1995). Though imperfect, these informal support systems can help people withstand misfortune in the absence of effective formal welfare, and they become particularly important in contexts with high levels of uncertainty and economic informalization (Wallace 2002: 287-288). In part, this is due to the high level of trust and transparency that exists between family members and neighbors (Holzmann and Jorgensen 1999: 14). Mutual support networks thus provide precisely the reliability and reassurance lacking in China's state welfare programs.

As China's reform period has led to the retreat of entitlements and the marketization of state welfare institutions, family and social networks have become increasingly important for welfare provision (Cook 2002: 626-629; Cook 2011: 214; Duckett and Carillo 2011: 6, 16; Liu 2011: 101-102; Saunders and Shang 2001: 285-287; Xu 2001). These informal strategies have included gift exchange, lending, savings associations, and burial societies (Cook 2002: 626-627; Feuchtwang 1994: 152-158), as

well as information exchange and network building (Liu 2011; Lora-Wainwright 2011: 114-115, 122). Rather than contemporary innovations, such mutual support networks represent institutional continuities in the Chinese system, as families and village communities have repeatedly (and reliably) filled the gaps in state welfare throughout China's history (Chang 1993; Chang 2013; Thireau and Kong 1994: 123-126).

4.3.1 Family Networks

As Hailong residents encountered gaps in the state-backed insurance system, they often resorted to family support. Shi Cuiyu, an elderly woman who lived at the southern edge of Hailong, had to spend two years in the hospital. It cost nearly 130,000 RMB, but they had no way to pay: "We live in a village, right? We don't have much money. We don't have any economy. There's nothing we can do." In the hospital, barely able to breathe, she turned to her daughter and rasped, "If I'm going to die, I'll die." In response, Cuiyu's four children got together and borrowed the money, a huge sum they could barely hope to pay off. Once Cuiyu was out of the hospital, her daughter insisted she take care of herself and stay out of the cold. As Cuiyu observed, "If I end up back in the hospital, it'll be another several thousand at least."

The Li family likewise banded together to care for their mother, who had been paralyzed and bed-ridden for five years. Li Ting and her husband, who had little in the way of income, provided daily care for his mother. Meanwhile, Li Ting's sister-in-law, Li Meilan, contributed 500 RMB a month toward her mother's care. Xiaowei's other brother, Li Shinan, was also ill. He had almost died from bronchitis and still used a respirator for several hours each day. As a result, Shinan was out of work and was unable

to contribute money toward his mother's care, but his wife, Yu, had started a small *majiang* parlor to pick up the slack, and she gave 300 RMB per month. Meanwhile, Ting prepared some meals for her brother-in-law when he was ill, and Xiaowei paid for some of his medical bills. For the Li family, healthcare was thus a communal effort, with each branch chipping in what they could.

While this arrangement allowed the Li family to care for their mother, it was not without costs. Li Ting, who fed, bathed, and cleaned up after her mother-in-law every day, sometimes complained bitterly of the injustice of her role. Before her mother-in-law became ill, Ting lived in Xinjiang with one of her daughters for several years, but with her healthcare duties she never got to go anywhere and only saw her daughters and grandchildren during the spring festival. Sometimes, as we sat in her courtyard, Ting would be beside herself in frustration: "Every day until she dies, I have to care for our old person in there. In my heart, I cry every day until I go to bed." Once, Li told me she wished her mother-in-law would just die already. She had even considered killing her: "If you killed her it would be against the law, wouldn't it? She's a person, isn't she? Besides, I'm old. There's nothing I could do. I couldn't take it that far." She went on to envision a world in which euthanasia might prevent people from having to make sacrifices like hers: "When a person turns eighty, the state should have a policy. Today you turn eighty, tomorrow they take you out and execute you. Just kill the person and forget about it."

Ting's despair—her internal conflict between filial duty and murderous resentment—revealed the unseen burdens of informal welfare. Moreover, it underlined the gendering of such care, in which the burden of providing care was primarily born by women. It is also worth noting that Li Ting was the very same villager who had so

vociferously criticized those who relied on the state to care for their parents and children. In this context, her protestations of moral superiority can be seen as a way to justify her servitude, to reclaim a modicum of self-value in a system that did not pay her for the care she provided. Conversely, her suffering also enabled the retreat of the state from its moral commitments as a provider of welfare.

4.3.2 Community Networks

Beyond the family, Hailong residents also turned to networks of neighbors, friends, and more distant kin for mutual support. These networks of mutual support articulated in different ways, such as reciprocal gift giving, a common practice in China (Feuchtwang 1994: 152-158; Yang 1994: 126-145). Hailong residents often made gifts of food, inviting neighbors and friends to lunch or dinner. Small acts of charity were also common: for instance, many residents brought their shoes to be fixed by He Nansen even when it was unnecessary. Residents also made monetary gifts at significant events, such as weddings.

The most common exchanges were not monetary but involved less tangible resources, such as access to networks or unattainable goods. For instance, Li Xiaowei, insisting that Chinese medicines were all fake, once offered me money to buy American pharmaceuticals to bring back for her ailing brother. When Wang Dai asked a wealthy nearby villager, Wang Yangfei, for a loan of 10,000 RMB so that he could purchase a larger apartment, Wang Yangfei demurred. Finally, they arrived at a compromise: Yangfei would use his business contacts to get Dai a fake job at a nearby construction

site. All Dai had to do was show up, and the construction company would pay him enough money to cover the larger apartment.

These networks of mutual support might be termed “social capital” (Halpern 2005; Krishna 2013; Putnam 2001), but social capital entails a market equivalence that residents rejected. Instead, Hailong residents talked about a moral economy based on commitments and reciprocal relationships lacking in China’s increasingly amoral and transactional political economy. Zhu Jianguo, for instance, contrasted the reciprocity of residents’ relationships to the livestock model, in which village and state leaders only cared for the people in order to exploit them later: “Between people you need reciprocity. Mutual reliance, mutual concern, mutual help. . . . For everyone to benefit, you have to sacrifice a little of your own.”

Lin Yi compared residents’ mutual support to the state’s program of social harmony. Lin had moved to Chengdu for work, but his parents still lived in Hailong. The village’s “harmonious society” (*hemu shehui*) meant that he didn’t have to worry too much about his parents while he was hundreds of miles away. The term Lin used, “harmonious society,” echoed Hu Jintao’s social development policy, but Lin used a slightly different word for “harmony” (*hemu*) than was used by Hu (*hexie*). This slight difference in language suggested a destabilization of the national policy discourse and an appeal to an alternative basis for social welfare.

Most often, Hailong residents talked about their mutual support in terms of “human feeling” (*renqing*), a word used for both the exchange of favors or gifts and the building of relationships. This intersection of meanings and their affective foundations in a commonly shared humanity contrasted with the abstraction, exploitation, and

dehumanization residents felt at the hands of the state, the village collective, and the market. Like Zhu's reciprocity and Lin's "harmonious society," human feeling pointed to an alternative moral basis for interpersonal relationships—a foundation that was not subject to the ravages of transformation and uncertainty.

4.3.3 Housing

To build and sustain these mutual support networks, Hailong residents relied on the socio-spatial fabric of the village, including both self-built housing and neighborhood social spaces. Large families and robust social networks are critical to such strategies of mutual support (Heemskerk et al. 2004: 948; Morduch 1999; Platteau 1997: 789), and the creation and maintenance of these informal institutions often rely on spatial co-location (Bourdieu 1979; Feuchtwang 1994: 152; Thireau and Kong 1994: 126).

For instance, in 1998 the three Li siblings pooled their money to build a three-storey house on some of their residential construction land (Figure 4.4). The house was built with an attached staircase, meaning the three floors could function as separate housing units. This allowed each branch of the family to occupy a separate floor, preserving their social and economic independence as distinct households, while also enabling their co-habitation. Meanwhile, an additional room was included on the ground floor in order to accommodate their ailing mother and facilitate homecare. All three branches of the Li family pointed to the importance of their co-habitation in enabling mutual support. As Ting related, living together in one house meant that they had to trust each other and work together. Xiaowei agreed, emphasizing how living in the same house meant that they could all look after one another.

While the Li family built their house to unite a dispersed family and economize on limited housing construction land, other families built the logic of flexibility and adaptation directly into their houses. For instance, Lin Yi and his family rebuilt their house from a one-storey brick building into a two-storey brick-and-concrete structure (Figure 4.5). Upstairs, the new house included a living area, a bathroom, and three bedrooms: one used by Yi's parents, one by his son, and a third bedroom used for storage. Downstairs, there was a large entrance area, a kitchen, and two largely empty rooms, one of which was used as a cool place to escape the heat. While the new house seemed to include a significant amount of unused space, the house was built to accommodate a range of unforeseen uses. For instance, additional bedrooms were sometimes used by family members providing eldercare. And the empty room at the front of the house might serve as a place of business if Lin Yi decided to return from Chengdu.

Lacking Lin Yi's financial resources, the Wang family, just up the hill from Li Ting and Li Meilan, built their housing as changes forced them to adapt. Rather than tearing down their original house, the Wang family built additions as they were needed (Figure 4.6). To the east of the original mud-and-timber building, Wang Anshi's elder son, Wang Zi'ai, built a two-storey house with a separate entrance for himself and his wife. To the west, Anshi's younger son, Wang Dai, built a two-room addition, including a living room, a bedroom, and a bathroom. This addition had both its own entrance and a door communicating with Wang Dai's old bedroom in the original house, affording Dai's family their own living space, while allowing them to share the kitchen and living rooms in the original house. Anshi and Dai also added a concrete façade to the front of the original house in order to give it a unified visual appearance.

When Dai and his wife both took on jobs to pay for a larger apartment in the village's relocation housing, Dai's mother-in-law moved in to provide childcare. With this change, the Wang family again decided to expand its housing complex, adding another bed and bath suite to the front of Dai's wing and installing an awning over the house's front courtyard. While this addressed their housing needs for the moment, the Wang family was prepared to expand still further if the need arose.

Like Hailong's leaders, whose approach to the village's planning and development was rooted in direct and personal experience, village families bypassed formal design and construction practices. Instead, they practiced "self-design" (*ziji sheji*) and contracted directly with informal labor or friends for construction. Ma Chuifeng, who built his two-storey house in 1997 for 25,000 RMB, described the process: "In my mind, I thought about how to do it. I started from how we would use it. ... I designed it myself." Once he understood his needs, he looked at similar houses in the village, and decided what would work best. No plans were drawn or models built. Instead, Ma explained, "I invited some workers to come build it for me. I told them what I wanted and they made it that way." As in the previous examples, anticipated family need was the key factor driving housing construction, and design emerged from a shared understanding of functionally determined housing typologies.

Shi Nuo, who built his two-storey house in 1995 for about 10,000 RMB, went even further than Chuifeng, claiming that design emerged from the practice of construction: "You don't need design. Just think with your head and you'll know how to build it. ... I work in construction, so I know how to build! ... Those designers all want a lot of money to prepare drawings. Here we just use our heads and build it. Why would

you need a drawing?” For Nuo, the designer was a wasteful and unnecessary intermediary. Instead, he invited ten or so friends from construction to come help him build it. Working alongside them, he barely needed to tell them what to do.

As I watched families build additions to their houses, they usually enacted some combination of these practices. For instance, Zhang Wei wanted to add a *majiang* parlor to the front of his house, so he looked around at other leisure rooms and decided what he wanted. Then he hired a pair of unlicensed construction workers and supervised them as they put the room together (Figure 4.7). The process only took a day, and Zhang periodically intervened in the process, directing them to move a strut or raise a beam in order to make the space more functional. Others were more like Shi Nuo, buying their own materials and laying their own bricks.

In pursuing these flexible construction projects, Hailong’s villagers relied on their access to housing construction land. One of the three articles of rural welfare, housing construction land was provided to each registered household for building activities, and villagers used it with relative impunity. Beyond construction land, wasteland, which included any other land not designated for agriculture or ecological protection, constituted a grey area. Many village households used wasteland for housing construction, and it was generally agreed that this was allowed, but no formal rights to wasteland were granted (Figure 4.9).

Unlike Hailong villagers, migrants in Hailong did not have immediate access to their housing construction land, which was located in their home villages. Nonetheless, migrants also pursued flexible housing strategies, often using their earnings to build new houses back home. Like Lin Yi, many migrants built these houses anticipating potential

post-migration needs. Moreover, migrants often replicated this flexible needs-based approach in their rental choices within Hailong. Unlike the formal housing market in Chongqing, which required long-term fixed leases, housing in Hailong could be rented month-to-month. This allowed migrants to switch housing as their needs changed. For instance, when I met Cai Minguo, he had recently moved out of a dormitory into a villager-built house in order to accommodate his wife and child, whom he hoped would be joining him soon (Figure 4.8).

4.3.4 Wasteland

Both migrants and villagers made active use of unoccupied wasteland space, which was often treated as an extension of indoor residential space, and these interstitial spaces provided important resources for community building and neighborliness (Figures 4.9-10). Owing to Chongqing's warm climate, many residents treated indoor and outdoor spaces as an integrated whole. Doors and windows remained open for much of the year, and residents often used the front room of their house in the same ways that they used the space immediately outside. One particularly prominent example of this was cooking. Many residents kept outdoor stoves adjacent to their houses, where they would cook messy, smelly, and especially large dishes. For instance, Gu Liangwen complained that the stove in their kitchen wasn't big enough to fit *baicai*, a large form of cabbage that they instead cooked on a stove outside their house. Residents also smoked sausages and prepared dried foods on the land surrounding their homes.¹³

¹³ It is worth noting that most tombs were also located on wasteland, meaning that this interstitial space provided an important connection between villagers and their ancestors

The ambiguity between indoor and outdoor space created equally ambiguous relations between private and public space. Open doors often made the entrance rooms to people's houses publicly accessible, and acquaintances would often wander in after yelling out to make their presence known. By contrast, the active use of surrounding land created private claims to spaces that were otherwise public rights of way. Sometimes multiple households all used a piece of adjacent land, creating common spaces to which those from outside the natural village had less claim.

The shared use of adjacent wasteland by multiple households often resulted in informal common spaces that tied natural villages together. These spaces were sometimes policed by dogs, who would ignore neighbors, family members, friends, and even renters but bark at the approach of any stranger. In this way, very fine distinctions could be made between those who did and did not have access to a space that might otherwise be unbounded. For instance, the Wang family kept their dog chained to a nearby shed. It would barely stir as people walked along the path cutting across the flat piece of wasteland in front of the Wang house. But as soon as a stranger or a known outsider strayed from this line, the dog would bark ferociously.

As spaces of community interaction, these interstices provided the spatial infrastructure for networks of mutual support beyond the family. This was where residents gathered to discuss current events, trade gossip, and check in on their neighbors. The largest of these took place in an empty corner at the intersection of Hailong's main access road and the rail line that bisected the village. Under the canopy of a wide shade tree, around three o'clock in the afternoon, residents would sit on stone blocks or pull up

and therefore represented a crucial source of shared identity. The role of tombs and shared ancestry in the transformation of the village is considered in Chapter 6.

wooden stools. Their voices were often drowned out by the deafening rumble of factory trucks or the honking of three-wheeled cabs looking for fares, but this was where residents felt most connected to the village's networks of reciprocity and human feeling. Their watchfulness and mutual care meant that Wang Dai was unworried when his learning-disabled daughter wandered unsupervised around the village and that Lin Yi could move to Chengdu with a clear conscience, confident that the community would keep an eye on his elderly parents.

As important as these social spaces were, they were vulnerable to destruction in the course of Hailong's transformation. In July 2014, the rail intersection was closed and the empty shaded space where residents regularly gathered was filled with debris. Hailong's rail line was being turned into a high-speed rail to connect Chongqing with Guiyang, and no road crossings would be allowed at grade. The high-speed line would also require an additional 10-meter buffer zone on either side, and high concrete guard walls were built to keep people out. In the process, Hailong's most important gathering space was simply swallowed up (Figure 4.11). Moreover, the village's most intensely used pedestrian pathway (the rail line itself) was eliminated, and visits between communities on opposite sides of the tracks became more difficult. New social spaces emerged to take the rail junction's place, but the large, animated gatherings that had made the intersection Hailong's social epicenter never returned. The transformation underlined the fragility of the village's socio-spatial networks and the dramatic impact Hailong's physical transformation could have on the resilience of its communities.

4.4 Economic Diversification

In addition to coping with risk through *ex post* consumption smoothing based on mutual support networks, Hailong residents also pursued *ex ante* risk mitigation strategies designed to smooth income through economic diversification. By doing so, residents sought to exert control over the uncertain and shifting temporalities of transformation—to define their own narrative of progress rather than be subject to the narratives of others. Their household-based strategies included asset investment, entrepreneurship, and migration, each of which involved substantial urban-rural hybridity. Confronted with peri-urban precariousness, Hailong residents embraced their liminality and redefined it as an asset rather than a liability. By flexibly moving between urban and rural institutions and locales, residents were able to patch together diversified and resilient portfolios of economic activity. In doing so, they challenged hegemonic urban norms commonly articulated through discourses of “quality” (*suzhi*). These new hybrid identities thus destabilized the very urban-rural distinctions that produced their marginalization in the first place.

By diversifying their sources of income, households are better able to withstand shocks that reduce the income they earn from any one source (Holzmann and Jorgensen 1999: 11-12). For instance, if floods devastate cropland, income from commercial sidelines may be able to pick up the slack. Since new income sources may carry additional risk, economic diversification is based on a portfolio strategy, combining multiple, non-covariant income sources (Morduch and Sharma 2002: 581). In China, economic diversification is often achieved through migration, enabling some household members to pursue new sources of income, while others stay home to ensure the

productivity of stable land assets (Fan and Wang 2008: 206-207; Li 2008; Zhao 2003; Zhu 2007: 72).

4.4.1 Asset Investment

For many villagers, Hailong's transformation had constrained economic diversification rather than enabled it. Much of the village's agricultural land was controlled by the Hailong Land Management Corporation, which paid village households 1,200 RMB per *mu*. Since many households only had use rights for one *mu* or less, this meant they received only a few RMB a day in land rent. This income was highly stable, but many villagers complained that it was barely enough to pay for food. And since it meant giving up most of their agricultural land, it was harder to supplement their income with home-grown agricultural produce. As one villager explained, "How can you live on 2 RMB a day? You can't even buy two *wosun* to eat!"¹⁴

Hailong villagers compensated by diversifying their income in other ways. In particular, villagers used housing construction land and adjacent wasteland to build dormitories for rent to migrant laborers and factories for rent to small-scale manufacturers (Figure 4.12). Dormitory rooms rented for between 200 and 400 RMB per month, and dormitories could include as many as 15 or 20 rooms. Some village households reported earning as much as 5,000 RMB per month from their migrant dormitories. Meanwhile, factory space in Hailong rented for around 6 RMB per square meter per month. Both migrants and manufacturers reported fierce competition for real

¹⁴ *Wosun*, known as celtuce or celery lettuce in English (*Lactuca sativa*), is a large, green leafy vegetable that is a dietary staple in Chongqing. Since each *wosun* weighs more than 1 *jin* (0.5 kg), and it sold for 1.5 RMB per *jin*, an income of 2 RMB per day would not have been enough to buy two *wosun*.

estate in the village, meaning that these investments promised reliable sources of income for village families.

Much of the value of housing construction land and wasteland lay in the flexibility of its potential use, allowing villagers to adapt their economic activities to new needs and opportunities. As one villager explained, “As long as you have your land, you can be your own boss. You can build a dormitory or start a business. But once you sell it, all you can do is work for others.” This flexibility was in stark contrast to the land rented through the village corporation. For these lots, rental contracts were fixed at 25 years, meaning villagers had no way to repurpose the land or raise rents.

Unlike land, other types of financial investment were seen as inherently risky and offered little control. As one villager described, “Investing is just like gambling. You need some insurance.” Residents approached investment opportunities cautiously and expressed different appetites for such risk. For instance, villagers often disagreed about the wisdom of investing in the village corporation. Those who had invested in 2004, when the corporation was founded, had seen substantial returns on their investments. But others distrusted the village leaders, and those who had invested more recently grumbled that they had earned no more than the interest rate paid on state-issued bonds. One villager, Zhang Shiwei, compared the village corporation to a thief: “There’s no way I would be willing to invest. It would be like asking to get mugged. It’s a fly-by-night operation. There’s a lot of risk involved!”

4.4.2 Entrepreneurship and Personal Development

Hailong residents much more willingly invested in ventures over which they had direct control, and entrepreneurship was a popular mode of economic diversification. Villagers and migrants opened small stores, gambling parlors, restaurants, and machine shops all over Hailong (Figure 4.13). For instance, when Wang Dai and his wife wanted to supplement their income to purchase a larger apartment, they opened a gambling parlor down the road from their house. For others, running a small restaurant or a *majiang* parlor simply provided extra money to buy food and clothing.

For almost all of Hailong's residents, entrepreneurship meant you could control your own life. As migrant Gu Peng complained, "When you work for someone else, you have no freedom. If you take their money, you have to do what they say. You have to serve them." And such work could be undependable, with unanticipated days off when business was slow or even the threat of layoffs. But for Lin Yi, who ran a shoe factory in Chengdu, every day at work was "like a holiday." Wang Yangfei expressed a similar sentiment as he gave a younger cousin some career advice: "You don't want to go work for a big company and have some boss tell you what to do. You want to work for yourself, have control over your own life. A real man is his own boss."

Many residents saw themselves on the road to becoming entrepreneurs. Low-wage industrial jobs were used to accumulate both capital and skills, enabling them to slowly move up the value chain and eventually start their own businesses. Most laborers in Hailong earned between 1,000 and 1,500 RMB per month, but skilled workers could earn as much as 7,000 RMB per month. Many viewed these projects unfolding over lifetimes, and even across generations. Zhu Jianguo described the importance of starting to work in one's youth: "If young people don't develop, what will they do? Our

development, it's like the development of a tree! When people are young they've got capabilities, but if they don't do something with it there will be trouble when they get old.”

For Shi Nuo and others, educating their children was the key to future stability, and, like many Chinese parents (Fong 2004), they expressed hope that investments in a child's education would ensure a better life in the future. For instance, Lin Yi was willing to do whatever it took to help his son get ahead: “I only have one son. Everything I do, I do for him. I fight for him.” In this effort, getting one's child into one of Chongqing's top high schools was an important factor. If you could afford it, attendance at one of these high schools would almost guarantee that your child would get into college, acquiring the training to become a highly skilled professional or a successful entrepreneur. If your child went to a normal high school and didn't do well, he or she would probably have to come back home and work in a factory.

4.4.3 Migration and Geographic Diversification

Intersecting with all of these strategies was geographic diversification. By locating assets (including businesses, real estate holdings, customers, and labor) in multiple locations, households could both maximize their exposure to new opportunities and insulate themselves from local economic shocks. Most commonly, geographic diversification was pursued through migration, with some family members migrating to take on jobs or run businesses while others stayed behind to manage family assets. Many migrating residents also partnered with extended family members or friends in order to share the risk of establishing a new business.

Residents' income-smoothing strategies thus depended on their ability to bridge geographies and interconnect urban and rural roles. For example, Li Meilan was born in Hailong, but she had moved to Xinjiang to live with her husband, who worked in oil exploration. Her household registration (along with her husband) remained in Xinjiang even though she chose to move back to Hailong to care for her ailing mother. Meilan lived in the same building with her mother and the families of her two siblings, but she also owned several rental properties elsewhere in Chongqing and Chengdu, one of which was inhabited by her son, who worked for a municipal agency.

Migration and other geographic diversification strategies enabled residents to navigate the temporal discontinuities of transformation more effectively. Instead of staying in one place and waiting for transformation to overtake them, residents were able to seek out the right kinds of transformation at the right times, and then leave when those opportunities disappeared. Many migrants in Hailong were clear about the pragmatism of their location choices—they were in Hailong only because that was where the factories and the jobs were. As soon as that changed, they would be gone. When asked how much longer she and her family planned to stay in the village, one migrant grandmother replied, “I don't know, maybe another year or two. Then we'll go to the next place.”

4.5 A New Social Contract

Why did Hailong residents resist the programs of *shiminhua* and household registration reform advocated by the municipal government and the village collective? These programs offered residents all the benefits of urban registration, long a coveted marker of social status and a means of self-betterment. In doing so, they promised to

redefine the terms of Chinese citizenship, reworking the moral and transactional relationships between individuals, collectives, local and national governments, and market institutions. But their programs were still defined in terms of urban-rural difference. And in Hailong, as in other parts of rural China, residents had already reconceived these categories, adapting to existing institutions of privilege and exclusion and creating new forms of mutual welfare and solidarity in their interstices. By undermining these informal strategies and re-imposing normative urban and rural roles, *shiminhua* programs threatened to exacerbate residents' precariousness, exposing them to exploitation as both market participants and political dependents.

First, by requiring rural residents to give up their land use rights and relocate to new housing, household registration reform meant Hailong residents would have to disconnect from the spaces that enabled their networks of mutual support. For instance, Lin Yi contrasted the mutuality of the village with the anomie of high-rise living: "In the city, it's like this: your door's across from your neighbor's, but you don't know each other. When you walk in the door, it's a security gate. It's an iron grille shut against the world." In this context, isolated from friends and family—even if they were to live in the same building—it would be difficult to rebuild social networks and regain stability (Gao et al. 2013; Hsing 2010: 197-200; Scott 1998: 252).

These networks of mutual support, and their close relationship to the socio-spatial formation of the village, were never recognized in Chongqing's household registration reform program. When their housing was demolished and their land expropriated, residents would receive compensation for their housing construction land and the housing that was built on it. But they would receive nothing for the interstitial wasteland that

served as the basis for their networks of mutual support. They only received compensation for the land to which they held formal use rights; the residual value of the village—the community and family resources on which residents relied for their survival and stability—was ignored (Figure 4.10).

Nor did residents receive housing compensation for land that was unbuilt but nevertheless used in the same way as indoor space. Compensation was based on measurable, material assets, not use. This meant that a substantial portion of villagers' living space was left uncompensated. Moreover, housing compensation ignored the potential future use of land for adaptive housing.

When Hailong residents compared their self-built housing to other options, such as public housing (*gongzufang*), relocation housing (*anzhifang*), or market-rate housing (*shichangfang*), they often used the term “wide” (*kuan*). As Wang Anshi related, “Those apartments aren't as wide as our house. Why would we want to move?” While “wide” is used to indicate size and even generosity, it also connotes relaxation and a lack of constraint. Its use in this context suggested a concern not just with the absolute size of the housing but also the degree to which it fit (or could be made to fit) with residents' lives. Residents' self-built housing could be endlessly adapted, supplemented, and rebuilt to accommodate new and unexpected family arrangements. By contrast, high-rise housing units (such as those provided in Hailong's relocation housing) came in a limited number of configurations and could not be easily adapted (Figure 4.14). Families were forced to adapt themselves to their environment rather than vice versa.

These tensions could be found in the rationales of the only two residents I met who were willing to give up their self-built housing. Wang Dai, who had built an addition

onto his father's mud-and-timber house, was eager to take advantage of a local government program to move people out of "old and dangerous" (*weijiu*) housing. While the poor quality of Dai's house was certainly a factor, the form of compensation was also important. Instead of compensating Dai and his family based on the size of their physical house, the local government was offering 300 RMB per person per month to rent transitional housing. The monthly compensation would then increase every year by 200 RMB per person until the family could move into permanent relocation housing. This compensation structure mirrored the way in which villagers thought about their own housing, in terms of family size and need rather than in terms of the size of the building. It is also noteworthy that the compensation for transitional housing grew over time, corresponding with villagers' tendency to emphasize the possibility of uncertain future consumption needs.

The example of Shi Nuo was also illustrative. Shi Nuo lived in a relatively remote area of the village on a steep hillside. After having built houses for himself and his two brothers, the Shi family had no additional construction land or wasteland that was flat enough to build on. Moreover, Shi Nuo and his brothers were distant from other parts of the village, meaning they had little access to shared common space and relatively weak networks of mutual support. As Shi Nuo responded when I asked him if he were willing to move, "Yes! It will be more convenient over there, because there will be more people, right?!"

By re-imposing hegemonic norms of urbanity and rurality, *shiminhua* also threatened residents' strategies of economic diversification. These norms were frequently expressed in terms of "quality" (*suzhi*), which has been referred to as a "floating

signifier” indexing the inherited and acquired traits of individual persons and collective populations, including questions of class, education, upbringing, and ethnicity (Anagnost 2004: 193, 197; Kipnis 2007: 394). Quality frequently intersects with urban-rural distinctions, and rural people are often assumed to have low quality (Sun 2009: 627; Wen 2004).

In the context of household registration reform, scholars and policy-makers identified low quality as one of the main barriers preventing the integration of rural people into urban society (Cheng 2003; Wei and Tan 2003; Wen 2004; Yan 2012; Zheng 2005). For instance, a lack of education meant rural residents had difficulty understanding the benefits of household registration, and a lack of skills meant new urban residents had difficulty finding jobs. In other contexts, such characteristics of low quality have been used as excuses for the exploitation, derogation, and dehumanization of Chinese citizens and as justification for government coercion and mobilization (Anagnost 2004: 193; Sigley 2009: 539, 548).

The low quality of rural-urban migrants was also blamed for a corresponding degradation in the quality of the urban environment, particularly in the context of villages-in-the-city, which have been characterized as messy, dirty, and dangerous. In this context, the “Five Chongqings” (*wuge chongqing*) campaign could be considered an indirect effort to socialize rural people or new urban residents (Figure 4.15). The Five Chongqings referred to five priorities for Chongqing’s development: safety, livability, mobility, health, and greening. While these priorities focused on the city’s physical environment, the propaganda associated with the campaign explicitly engaged urban

residents as full participants in helping to realize these normative goals. In the discourse of the local government, quality subjects and quality spaces were mutually constituted.

The discourse of quality also underlined the connections between household registration reform and the Chinese state's project of market building. Yan Hairong has described quality as the capitalization of subjectivity, articulating the "sense and sensibility of the self's value in the market economy" (2003: 494). In particular, entrepreneurialism, creativity, autonomy, and risk-taking have all been identified as characteristics of high quality people (Anagnost 2004: 192; Kipnis 2011: 293; Lin 2012: 322, 329). Meanwhile, informal solutions for market failure, such as cooperation and subsistence bartering have been systematically labeled as low quality (Yan 2003: 498; Zukosky 2011: 246-248, 258). Such alternative sources of stability and survival threatened China's efforts to build a hegemonic state-directed system of market production (Yan 2003: 498, 510-511). The politics of quality were ultimately concerned with the creation of subjects who would conform to the state's vision of a socialist market economy, remaining complacent and obedient state subjects (Tomba 2009: 593-594, 610-611). In this context, household registration and state welfare can be reinterpreted as mechanisms for the pacification of potentially restive populations (Solinger 2011: 53).

Hailong residents' practices flouted these neat categories of formal and informal market participation. Through their income-smoothing strategies, they took risks to migrate to new places and engaged in entrepreneurial ventures. But rather than seeing these as urban qualities, Hailong residents saw them as distinctly rural. As Hu Hao, a migrant entrepreneur, described, "The rural is a wide paradise. You can run or walk anywhere. ... Rural life is free and self-reliant." By contrast, he continued, "In the city,

all you can do is eat what the state gives you.” Villager Gu Xiaowei echoed the sentiment: “There’s too much pressure in the city; you always have to be producing. You can never get ahead.” Instead of conforming to state-defined roles of market participation, Hailong residents preferred the flexibility and open-endedness of urban-rural hybridity (Figure 4.16). And instead of focusing on a fixed set of roles defined in the context of existing institutions, Hailong residents emphasized the importance of personal development.

Residents even went so far as to flip the normative logic of quality on its head. For instance, Xu Jiangli insisted that Chongqing’s urban taxi drivers had the lowest quality of anyone because they never obeyed traffic laws. Several residents, including Wang Anshi and Li Ting, told horror stories about “uncivilized” urban people, particularly in Beijing. In relating a story about his trip to Beijing, Wang complained that their tour guide had led them to shops and vendors where he and his fellow villagers were repeatedly fleeced. According to him, urban people had no “human feeling”; they were just out to make an extra buck at the expense of others. He concluded, poignantly: “They don’t have any quality.”

It was precisely this “human feeling” that residents valued about the village community and identified as the basis for their networks of mutual support. Residents were thus proactively engaging with markets to diversify income at the same time that they were maintaining networks of mutual support to smooth consumption. Household registration challenged both these strategies, and in exchange, it offered social welfare goods that residents perceived as unreliable and exploitative. Unsurprisingly, Hailong residents chose not to participate in Chongqing’s household registration reform program.

Recognizing residents' reluctance, Hailong's leaders sought to differentiate their *shiminhua* program from that offered by Chongqing. For instance, they eventually offered all villagers the per capita housing compensation package favored by Wang Dai. And they argued that the village's new residential development would make it easier, not harder, to look after friends and family members. They also encouraged residents to take on entrepreneurial activities within the new development.

Nevertheless, the fundamentals of the Hailong and Chongqing programs remained the same: accumulation by dispossession, enabled by the normalization of residents into predetermined urban and rural roles and supported through a system of welfare redistribution. These programs abstracted and rescaled collective identity as a means to capture the social and physical resources of collective institutions. Hailong's leaders sought to consolidate collective assets under the control of the administrative village rather than the natural villages, and Chongqing's urban-rural coordination regime relocated development capacity and population away from village collectives toward state-administered towns and cities. The resulting accumulation of power at higher levels of the state hierarchy resulted in a separation of interests, in which residents were more likely to experience the obfuscation and exploitation common in Hailong.

Instead of participating in these programs, Hailong residents strengthened their own informal strategies, establishing a basis of stability and security independent of the party-state. Their efforts fostered nascent institutions of collective organization distinct from, rather than imitative of, local government. Instead of rescaling up, residents scaled down, defining collective identity and social solidarity at a point where they could be directly experienced and inscribed in village space. Like Hailong's leaders, who rescaled

urban-rural coordination within the territory of the administrative village, Hailong's residents sought to balance urban and rural roles within their own households and communities.

Tellingly, many residents referred to Hailong as “over there,” drawing a distinction between the new village center and their own natural villages, which they often called by more traditional and affective appellations, such as “the home of the Chens” (*chen jiayuan*). Some residents also referred to Hailong as the “big team” (*dadui*), a term that conjured the Maoist era and emphasized the administrative village's role as an extension of the party-state apparatus and its regime of social control. When these residents discussed the moral bonds of mutual responsibility or the collective ownership of land resources, it was not the administrative village to which they referred but the collection of households that formed the natural village.

Scale thus emerged as a key dimension in the contestation of urban-rural difference. As Iris Marion Young has argued, there is no privileged scale of collective decision-making and control (2000: 259-261, 268-270). This includes the local (Born and Purcell 2006), in this case the natural village, community, or household, which Hailong residents strategically mobilized to counteract the power projects of the municipality and the administrative village. These grassroots strategies entailed their own inequities and unsustainable practices. For instance, overreliance on family and community networks was sometimes regressive, since poorer households began with fewer resources and less prosperous networks (Cook 2002: 627; Duckett and Carillo 2011: 14; Liu 2011: 102). And they sometimes intensified gender inequity, as in the case of Li Ting. The rescaling of collective identity ultimately constitutes a political battleground through which power is

consolidated and populations are either included in or excluded from the benefits of transformation.

Part II

Chapter 5:

Relaunch

5.1 Countdown to Relaunch

By the time I arrived in Hailong, in August 2011, the inevitability of redevelopment hung over the village. The air was thick—thick with the sticky heat of the Chongqing summer, thick with anticipation, and thick with dread. Hailong’s leaders triumphantly heralded this new phase of development as Hailong’s “relaunch” (*erci chuangye*), the next chapter in their narrative of progress. Chongqing’s planners talked about it as an opportunity to integrate the rogue village into the municipality’s planning regime. Residents nervously discussed the threat of mass demolition and resettlement.

The impetus for Hailong’s relaunch came from the highest levels of the party-state. The attention of Xi Jinping and other central party leaders had brought increased scrutiny from local government. Both the municipal and district reports discussed in Chapter Three included calls to turn Hailong into a national model for village development, directing the various organs of local government to provide whatever support was necessary. Jiulongpo’s report included a five-page itemized list of tasks and duties for its subordinate departments to carry out. This initiative was aimed at accelerating Hailong’s development and doubling villagers’ incomes within five years, to 20,000 RMB in 2015. It also called for the improvement of Hailong’s living environment through the construction of a new residential district with a built area of 200,000 m².

Yan Jing and his colleagues celebrated this as a new opportunity to be seized, echoing the logic they had used to legitimize Hailong’s first round of development. In an open letter to Hailong villagers, Yan exhorted them to support the relaunch. Invoking a

common Chinese saying that wealth never lasts longer than three generations,¹ Yan insisted on the folly of self-satisfaction: “without the relaunch, the village will inevitably decline.” Addressing the village’s increasing concerns with the inequitable distribution of development windfalls, he railed against those who would oppose Hailong’s development just to protect the profits they had already made. Only by first making the cake bigger would it be possible to ensure that everyone got his or her fair share.

But the Hailong relaunch was not just a continuation of the *status quo ante*. According to the directives of the Jiulongpo government, the key to transforming Hailong into a model village was standardization. In the words of Jiulongpo’s party secretary, Ye Jianhua, “If Hailong wants to be advanced, it needs to be first; if it wants to be a model, it needs to be standardized.” Ye continued, “Before, Hailong’s development was fast. Now it can’t be fast. It has to be good. Only with a good foundation can development accelerate again.”

This rhetoric of standardization derogated Hailong’s existing development as messy, low-quality, and inefficient, and it advocated the supervision and control of local government authorities in order to guide Hailong’s future. In their delegation of responsibilities to subordinate departments, Jiulongpo’s leaders emphasized the role of the district’s planning organs, including the urban planning department, land management department, and development and reform committee. These departments were tasked with improving the quality and efficiency of the village’s development and rationalizing

¹ *Fu bu guo san dai*: the first generation earns the wealth, the second generation manages it, and the third generation spends it. By the fourth generation, the family is impoverished.

its spatial composition through the formulation of new plans for urban construction, land use, and economic and social development.

In contrast to the anti-intellectual ideology invoked during Hailong's first round of development, the village's leaders embraced the rhetoric of planning and standardization espoused by their party-state superiors. But far from relinquishing control to higher-level regulatory authorities within the municipal and sub-municipal governments, Hailong's leaders portrayed planning as a means to consolidate their own control over village development. First, planning could be used to constrain the construction activities of village households. Assistant party secretary Wen Jiancai expressed this in terms of the paternalism of Chinese state planning: "People in rural areas can be like children. They don't know what to do. If you don't plan the land, the villagers will develop it anyway." Second, planning would ensure coordination with other local actors, like the town, district, and municipal governments. No longer would Hailong be subject to their developmental whims, which could force the collective to abandon or rebuild much of its property. A plan would ensure a secure and permanent future for the village.

In this chapter, I move from my focus on specific actors to an investigation of how the projects of these actors intersected through Hailong's ongoing transformation. As explored in Part I, village planners, village leaders, and village residents all had different understandings of urban transformation and distinct desires for Hailong's future. In Part II, I will investigate how these contrasting visions alternately competed, conflicted, and complemented one another.

First, I consider Hailong's statutory planning process, in which a negotiated compromise between the village collective and the municipality effectively split Hailong in two—half urban and half rural. Hailong's formal land rights were left intact, but planning powers were divided between the village collective and a neighboring development zone. To facilitate this compromise, various resources and powers were exchanged between the municipality, the development zone, the township, and the village collective. This included planning powers, which functioned as de facto property rights that could be exchanged between party-state actors as part of the coordination process. Ultimately, two plans were prepared for the village: the development zone organized a plan for the village's western third, and the village collective organized a plan for the remainder of Hailong.

In this discussion, I start from the political context for the Hailong relaunch (5.1), including its origins, the role of political patronage, and China's larger political framework of negotiation and compromise. I then turn to the official planning process (5.2), including the formulation of competing development plans for the village, the trading of planning powers and their relationship to property rights, and the resulting village plan. Lastly, I argue for a processual view of Chinese planning that recognizes the inherently political co-constitution of planning powers and property rights (5.3).

5.1.1 The Perils of Political Patronage

On February 6th, 2012, eighteen months after the Jiulongpo circular on Hailong's development and nearly a year after initial plans had been drafted and submitted for review, a black sedan sped silently past Hailong, fleeing along the Cheng-Yu Expressway

that cut through the village on its way to Chengdu. Inside was Wang Lijun, until recently Chongqing's vice mayor and head of its public security apparatus. Then, seventy police cars full of armed officers raced out of the Zhonglian tunnel, the blare of their sirens echoing through Hailong's valleys. Wang was headed to the American Consulate in Chengdu, where he was soon surrounded by a phalanx of Chongqing police.

What popularly became known as the Wang Lijun incident soon precipitated China's most sensational elite political scandal since 1971, when Lin Biao's plane mysteriously fell from the sky on its way to Moscow. During Bo Xilai's tenure as party secretary of Chongqing, Wang had served as one of Bo's chief lieutenants, leading the municipality's wildly popular anti-crime (*da hei*) campaign. Though the details are murky, Wang apparently fell out of Bo's favor and, fearing the powerful leader's wrath, fled to the American embassy, where he offered details of elite politics and corruption in exchange for asylum. Rebuffed by the Americans, Wang was later convicted of treason by a Chinese court. But his actions rapidly accelerated what was likely an ongoing corruption inquiry into Bo and his wife, Gu Kailai. Within weeks, Bo, once a rising star in Chinese politics and a candidate for a seat on the ruling Politburo Standing Committee, had been relieved of his duties. Months later, Gu was convicted of poisoning a British national and received a commuted death sentence. Bo was summarily drummed out of the party and eventually convicted of corruption and abuse of power.

Bo's precipitous fall from the firmament of the Chinese Communist Party left a crater in the nation's political landscape. It briefly exposed the sordid infighting and excesses of China's elite politics. And it signaled the beginning of Xi Jinping's efforts to consolidate power as he prepared to assume the mantle of China's presidency the

following year—like many of his predecessors, Xi used anti-corruption investigations to marginalize his opponents and rivals. But in Chongqing, where Bo had ridden a wave of fervid populism, fed by the success of his anti-crime campaign and the sentimentalism of his red song revival, people were in shock.

Even after Bo's conviction, many Chongqing residents continued to refer to him as "Old Bo," a term of veneration and respect. Li Ting described a common sentiment: "Bo did good things for Chongqing. It's only the criminals who don't like him. What happened to him is completely political. It's other high officials who opposed him and got him arrested. They decided Bo was too smart for them, so they got rid of him. We all wish Bo could come back." With Bo and Wang out of the picture, many in Chongqing feared the return of rampant criminality. Chongqing residents reported that drug users had brazenly returned to the streets, and cabbies worried that they would be murdered and robbed during late-night shifts.

Most importantly, Bo's sudden departure left a political vacuum in Chongqing. In March 2012, Zhang Dejiang, a vice-premier on China's State Council, took over as party secretary of Chongqing. Zhang was mainly tasked with rooting out corruption and cleaning up the political mess that Bo had left behind. But in most respects he served as a municipal caretaker until Sun Zhengcai was appointed party secretary in November 2012 as part of the regularly scheduled national leadership shuffle. Without clear and consistent political leadership, urban planning in Chongqing ground to a halt. Even once Sun assumed control, little planning was conducted during the first year of his tenure while he pursued a comprehensive review of municipal policy.

The shakeup had a noticeable impact on my research. As the political winds eddied and swirled, municipal officials who had once gregariously welcomed me into their offices clammed up or insisted on meeting in shadowy, discreet teahouses. Close associates of Bo were rounded up, and nearly all the party secretaries of Chongqing's districts and counties were eventually replaced. The appearance of impropriety or a miscalculated policy initiative could spell the end of one's career. As Chongqing's officials waited for calmer winds, the municipality was struck by political paralysis.

The impact on Hailong was incalculably greater. The experimental nature of Hailong's approach to development and the ringing endorsement from Bo Xilai suddenly made the village a political hot potato. Without Bo's political patronage, Hailong's leaders were vulnerable to attack from officials who opposed the village's aggressive development practices. In particular, it was rumored that Huang Qifan, Chongqing's mayor and second-in-command, disliked Yan Jing and deplored the lack of government control over Hailong's development. In the six months following Bo's downfall Hailong's assistant party secretary for village affairs, Lin Qunjie, reported that fewer and fewer leaders were visiting the village. According to Lin, none of China's leaders were willing to declare where they stood (*biaotai*), leaving Hailong in political limbo.

As a result, the process of negotiating the approval of Hailong's master plan dragged out. As I prepared to leave Hailong in August 2012, I was advised not to say goodbye to Yan Jing. Village officials whispered that he was in a foul mood, and his temper was even shorter than usual. Several days earlier, he and Wen Jiancai had attended a meeting at the municipal planning bureau, and there had been no resolution to the impasse. Higher-level leaders and departments were still refusing to approve the

Hailong plan. Wang Xi attributed the delay to Huang Qifan, who was reputedly blocking any movement on the issue. By September 2012, Huang Qifan had granted his conditional support for the redevelopment of the village subject to state supervision and regulation. But it was not until more than a year later, on December 3rd, 2013, that Hailong's master plan was finally approved.

Chongqing's political upheaval undoubtedly derailed Hailong's planning process, stretching what should have taken six-to-twelve months into a three-year ordeal. But the delay in Hailong's planning could not be entirely blamed on Bo's excesses or Huang's obstructionism. The uncertainty of Chongqing's elite-level politics only exacerbated the political complexity of an already delicate planning process involving negotiation and coordination among an array of local state actors, and approval of Hailong's plan had already been delayed multiple times even before news of the Bo scandal swept the nation. In my first meeting with Wen Jiancai, she proudly announced that the village's plan would be approved the following week, on August 5th, 2011. Two months later, Cai Guangyu insisted that the plan should be approved by the middle of October.

Then, in October, Yu Gong and a handful of other village officials took me shrimping in one of the village's reservoirs. After eating the shrimp for lunch, we hiked along the top of Hailong's second ridge, where the village had built a paved walking trail. As we neared the end of the path, Yu gestured to the west, pointing to a lone two-storey house and a weathered tree, holdouts in a sea of mud and broken brick (Figure 5.1). Confident that the plan would soon be approved, the village had already torn down the half-dozen houses in the valley, making way for Hailong's new residential development. Yu Gong proudly pointed to where the new village office building would go, just where

the last remaining house stood: “When the plan is approved in a few weeks, we’ll start building. In just a couple of years, the whole village will be completely transformed!” But it took more than two years before Hailong’s plan was approved. In the meantime, the rubble remained, a monument to the uncertain politics of Chinese planning.

5.1.2 Fragmented Authoritarianism

To truly understand Hailong’s planning process and its outcomes, it is necessary to contextualize planning in the broader system of negotiation and coordination that comprises the internal politics of the Chinese state. As a starting point, I take the model of “fragmented authoritarianism” proposed by Kenneth Lieberthal and Michel Oksenberg (1988), in which different state actors with diverse purposes, experiences, and resources engage in pragmatic bargaining. In part a legacy of the socialist system, such bargaining is a function of bureaucrats’ efforts to secure crucial resources and services that can only be obtained from other state units. To do so, bureaucrats navigate dense relationship networks that intersect with and facilitate the smooth functioning of the formal structure of authority. Over time, repeated negotiations produce complex institutional agreements based on thick personal networks. Policy formulation and implementation therefore require the active cooperation of many party-state actors, who are nested in distinct spheres of authority and embedded in extensive bargaining relationships (1988: 22, 406).

This system of bargaining entails the transformation of resources and powers wielded by local state actors into de facto property rights. Exclusive control over goods and services allows bureaucrats to demand more in negotiations with other state units, and, over time, “lower level officials began to acquire a proprietary attitude toward the

resources they had received” (Lieberthal and Oksenberg 1988: 405-406). This is, in part, a principal-agent problem, as the State Council, which claims ownership over the means of production on behalf of the state and, by extension, the Chinese people, must devolve the authority to exercise its various rights and powers to local representatives. This phenomenon is particularly evident in the control over land. In China, urban land is state owned and rural land is collectively owned, but a variety of different local actors claim to exercise these ownership rights on behalf of the distant central state or the ambiguously defined collective (Cai 2003: 663-665; Ho 2001: 403-406; Hsing 2006b: 577-582; Hsing 2010: 34-42; Lee 1993: 180; Po 2008: 1618-1620). To a limited extent, such proprietary rights have even been enshrined in the nation’s 2007 Property Law (*wuquan fa*), which recognizes the right of government organs to occupy, use, and (in accordance with the relevant laws and the regulations of the State Council) dispose of movable and immovable property over which they have direct control.²

This understanding of local actors’ de facto property rights can be extended in two respects. First, legal recognition is not necessary in order for these rights to gain social efficacy. Extralegal political, economic, and social institutions play a crucial role in the definition of property rights (Harrison 1987: 36-39, 49-50; North 1990: 36-60), which constitute rights only when they can be socially recognized and enforced, either through the law or through other means (Alchian and Demsetz 1973: 16-17; Cole and Grossman 2002: 325; Pryor 1973: 2, 379). Thinking extra-legally is particularly

² Property Law of the People’s Republic of China (2007): Article 53. Note that this list of rights does not include the right to earn income from such property, nor does it specify that these rights constitute ownership (*suoyouquan*). This more complete set of rights is still reserved by the central state.

important in China, where laws are inconsistently enforced and informal practices vary dramatically (Pils 2005: 284-285; Shi and Zhuo 2009; Upham 2009: 619).

Second, these rights are not limited to control over physical resources but can include a range of less tangible authorities and powers delegated by the central state (Pryor 1973: 2). As Frederic Pryor observes in his study of the liberalization of planned economies in Eastern Europe, the increasing autonomy of local decision makers represents a change in control rights over bureaucratic powers (1973:124-126). These control rights might not be alienable, but they still hold economic value, entailing as they do an asymmetric power relation whereby the right-holder can make others do something for his or her benefit (1973: 7-8, 279-280).³

In the early days of the PRC, urban planning and economic planning—the coordinating activity at the heart of the planned economy—were not formally distinguished but constituted one integrated function of the state (Shi 2005: 12). Urban planning was thus premised on the social ownership of the means of production, including land, and the need for the coordination of the various state actors engaged in that production (Shi 2004; Wu et al. 2007: 15; Xie and Costa 1993: 104). While urban planning was subsequently established as a separate practice, it continued to be subordinated to economic planning as directed by the state (Shi 2004; Yeh and Wu 1999: 233-237; Zhang T. 2002a).

³ In China, the homology between rights and powers is further underlined by the fact that both are referred to by a single character, *quan*. This character is paired with the character for force, *li*, to specify power or authority and with the character for profit, *li*, to specify right or privilege. This equivalence is particularly evident in the word for ownership (*suoyouquan*), which can be translated as either the “right of possession” or the “power of possession.”

As a result, planning powers and property rights have been co-constituted, meaning that they inhere in the same actor—the people and, by extension, the central state and the State Council. These planning powers serve to coordinate the various agents that exercise property rights on behalf of the central state. Planning is therefore not external to the exercise of property rights but an integral part of the ongoing process of negotiation by which control over powers, resources, and rights are balanced among various party-state actors.

Following the advent of the reform period, planning powers were devolved from the central planning apparatus to the municipal or county level (Yu 2014: 51-52). The need for such coordination at a local level was particularly stark in the aftermath of the Maoist period, when the administrative allocation of land to state work units had resulted in a high level of socio-spatial fragmentation (Yeh and Wu 1999: 215). The re-establishment of urban planning in the 1980s thus provided a venue for coordinating the development of local party-state actors that had previously answered only to their independent ministerial hierarchies.

As early as 1980, a decision was made at the National Conference of Urban Planning to devolve the planning, building, and management of cities to local municipal governments (Yu 2014: 51-52). This devolution paralleled the rescaling of other state powers and rights to lower levels of government, including the right to exercise ownership of land on behalf of the central state (Cartier 2005: 29-33; Ma 2005: 478-479; Shue 1995; Wu et al. 2007: 11-17). Just as planning powers and property rights had been co-constituted in the central state during the Maoist period, control over planning organization and property rights was integrated into one co-extensive territory by post-

reform municipal governments. Thus, planning powers were still premised on the state's ultimate ownership of urban land (Shi 2005: 13), while control over state land was consolidated through the exercise of those powers (Hsing 2006b: 582-585).

The power to organize planning has therefore become a *de facto* property right of municipal governments, which have used this power to advance their own development projects and delegitimize the alternative projects and claims of other state actors, such as state-owned enterprises (Ibid.). Planning has been used to support development agendas, land expropriation, land sales, and general urban expansion (Hsing 2006b: 585; Shi 2005: 13; Wu 1998: 267-271; Yeh and Wu 1999: 194, 213). Municipalities even grant development zones their own planning powers in order to provide more attractive and permissive environments for investment (Xu and Yeh 2009: 572-573).

In contexts where land rights are ambiguous, shared, or divided, these proprietary planning powers can be contested. This is true, for instance, in peri-urban areas, where state-owned urban land intersects with collectively owned rural land. Here, planning powers are particularly consequential, since they can be used to legitimize the municipal expropriation of rural land. Depending on the specific resources of competing claimants, different stages of the planning process and different forms of planning might be used to influence the content of the statutory plan or undermine its efficacy. To resolve such contradictions, planning powers are sometimes traded from one state actor to another in exchange for planning gain or other state resources. These negotiated settlements allow for the consolidation of planning control but can also result in the further fragmentation of peri-urban land.

5.2 Planning Powers and Property Rights

When village officials talked about the completion of the village plan, they meant the statutory plan prepared under the auspices of China's Urban-Rural Planning Law. But there were actually many plans being prepared for the village, including a social and economic development plan, a real estate development plan, and an urban design plan. This was not to mention the social and economic development plans, land use plans, master plans, and regulatory control plans being prepared by other party-state actors with claims to control portions of Hailong's territory. These included the municipality, the district, the town, and the newly expanded High-Tech Development Zone, as well as the military, the land management bureau, and the ministry of railways. In theory, these plans should have been formulated in series, with plans at higher levels preceding those at lower levels and more general plans preceding the more detailed.⁴ But in Hailong, and in many other instances across China, several of these plans were being formulated in parallel, often with competing and contradictory outcomes.

This raised the question of planning powers and planning efficacy. With so many plans, which plan actually determined how the village developed? And with so many local state actors involved, who actually controlled the planning process? In theory, all plans should have been reflected in the statutory plan, and all development projects should have followed it. In urban areas, this was the detailed regulatory control plan, while for villages it was the statutory village plan. According to China's Urban-Rural

⁴ For instance, under China's top-down planning system, a municipal plan should theoretically precede a district, town, or village plan within the municipal planning area. Even if this is not true temporally, it should be true logically, with municipal plan revisions requiring re-evaluations of existing plans at lower levels. Similarly, a social and economic development plan, which establishes general development objectives, should precede a master plan, which should precede a detailed regulatory control plan.

Planning Law, the government of the supervising township was responsible for organizing a village's statutory plan, with village representatives participating and the county or district government conducting inspection and approval.⁵ As we will see, Hailong's planning far from being that simple.

5.2.1 Competing Claims

As Hailong's relaunch got underway, there were two main claims to control the village's planning. The first came from the leadership of the administrative village, building on the strength of Hailong's past economic success and the subsequent support of central, municipal, and district leaders. This claim was further bolstered by the Jiulongpo circular on Hailong's development, which called upon Hailong to improve its planning and assigned various district departments to assist in doing so. The second came from the leadership of Chongqing's High-tech Development Zone (*gaoxinqu*), which was in the process of expanding its territory to include Hailong. As part of a package of preferential policies designed to accelerate the zone's development, the power to organize the planning of this area had been delegated from Chongqing's municipal government to the zone's management committee. This entity simultaneously acted as a for-profit state-owned enterprise and a local territorial government subordinate to Jiulongpo District.

⁵ Four distinct roles can be identified in the statutory definition of Chinese plan preparation, as expressed in the 1989 Urban Planning Law and the 2007 Urban-Rural Planning Law. Plan "formulation" (*bianzhi*) involves the technical production of urban plans, a role that can only be filled by accredited planning firms and design institutes. Equally important is plan "organization" (*zuzhi*), which is conducted by a legally designated local government, such as a municipality or county. The plan organizer is effectively the client, commissioning and overseeing the plan's formulation. There is also plan "participation" (*canyu*), as well as "inspection and approval" (*shenpi*), which is conducted by a supervising government, such as a province or the State Council.

Neither of these actors technically held the power to organize Hailong's statutory plan, a responsibility legally assigned to the supervising township, Baishiyi. The town government retained this statutory power, using it to exact concessions out of other party-state actors, but it lacked both the resources and the incentives to compete for effective control over the planning process. Instead, the leaders of Hailong and the High-Tech Zone jockeyed to define the parameters of the statutory village plan. These competing visions were articulated through two separate economic and social development plans formulated as part of China's twelfth five-year plan.⁶

Hailong's development plan (*"Shier wu" jiulongpo baishiyi hailongcun fazhan guihua [2011-2015]*) was jointly prepared by the Jiulongpo branch of the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) and the Zhejiang University China Academy of West Region Development (CAWD). The NDRC is the contemporary iteration of the state ministry that once conducted economic planning for the command and control economy, and it is still responsible for the five-year economic and social development plans. Of the various departments that comprise local territorial governments, such as municipalities and districts, the NDRC is most directly connected to the central government and least responsive to local influence. Meanwhile, the CAWD is a consulting and research agency established by the NDRC and Zhejiang University. Based in Hangzhou, the CAWD is even more insulated from local government control.

⁶ Colloquially referred to as the 12-5 plan, the twelfth five-year plan articulated national development priorities for 2011 to 2015. Local governments then developed their own 12-5 plans to demonstrate how they would enact these priorities within their territories. Since village collectives are not technically part of the state apparatus, villages rarely develop five-year economic and social development plans.

Responding to the enthusiasm and support of central state leaders, these two organizations formulated a plan that sought to accelerate and intensify Hailong's existing development path. While seeking to normalize Hailong's development according to legal and regulatory guidelines, the plan essentially reflected the ambitions of the village's leaders, unconstrained by either the availability of resources or the existence of competition. By 2015, the plan called for the doubling of economic output, to 6B RMB, and average villager income, to 24,000 RMB. It also called for the increase of collective assets to 1B RMB, collective annual income to 50M RMB, and outside investment to 8B RMB. In addition to financial targets, the development plan supported Hailong's existing effort to urbanize its population, calling for 90% of the village population to achieve urban living standards and enjoy urban welfare levels. To achieve all of this, the plan recommended shifting the village's sectoral balance, upgrading existing industry, attracting higher-value manufacturers, and introducing agro-tourism and service activities.

The plan proposed four primary development projects: a residential area with a built area of 200,000 m², a commercial center with a pedestrian commercial street, an industrial park with a built area of 200,000 m², and an agro-tourism park occupying 1,000 *mu*, for a total investment of 1.5B RMB. To populate these projects the village would need to attract a new grocery store, a hotel, between one and three manufacturers with an annual output of at least 1B RMB, and between five and ten manufacturers with an annual output of at least 100M RMB. In addition, the plan called for the upgrading of Hailong's existing development, including improvements to infrastructure and public facilities, a rebuilt market, and an increase in the efficiency and value of industry.

Particular emphasis was placed on this last point, pushing Hailong to transition away from the agglomeration economy of its past and toward structural upgrading, including low-carbon products like notebook computers and designer furniture.

Like most economic and social development plans, Hailong's development plan lacked spatial specificity. For instance, in discussing possible locations for the new residential area, the plan included Hailong's existing village center, where an adjacent rail line and a transformer station would have made expansion difficult. Instead, the development plan called for more and better planning, including specialty plans for construction and land use, which would investigate how to concretely realize the abstract objectives defined by the development plan.

But the Hailong development plan was clear about the village's territory, which it defined to include as much land as possible. This included those areas where land had been converted to industrial uses without going through the formal legal process of state expropriation and conversion. Instead of requiring that the land be ceded by the village, the plan simply called for its regularization. The plan even included areas that had already been expropriated, such as the Tianci Hot Spring development. Most profoundly, the plan called for Hailong's territorial expansion, defining what it called "Greater Hailong" (*da hailong*), which included neighboring villages, as well as Dahe Village, a poor village elsewhere in Baishiyi where Hailong's leaders had been helping to guide development. According to the plan, the incorporation of this territory into Hailong would enable these villages to benefit from the managerial and developmental expertise of Hailong's leaders, and it would provide Hailong with additional development capacity.

Chongqing's municipal government approved Hailong's development plan in April 2011, a month after approving the expansion of the High-Tech Zone to include the village. Chongqing's High-Tech Zone was first established in 1991, in China's first group of five national development zones. The expansion of the zone was proposed in the 2010 revision of Chongqing's master plan, which called for the zone's population to double, from 210,000 to 440,000 people. Meanwhile, its territory would be expanded by 50.72 kilometers, with its eastern extent running along the western edge of the Zhonglian Mountains, precisely where Hailong was located. This expansion would include 23 villages across three towns, requiring the mass expropriation of tens of thousands of villagers who would be transitioned from rural to urban registration.

The High-Tech Zone referred to this expansion as the zone's "relaunch" (*erci chuangye*), the same term used for Hailong's redevelopment. But the zone's relaunch and Hailong's relaunch were mutually exclusive. Hailong's inclusion in the High-Tech Zone would have meant the end of the village, as its lands would have been expropriated, its population relocated, and its collective institutions liquidated or transformed into organs of the township government. The development plans for Hailong and the High-Tech Zone therefore represented competing claims on the village's territory. Yet, the two plans were both approved by the municipal government. This was due, in part, to the nature of economic and social development plans, which sought to maximize development rather than balance competing claims for resources. By contrast, urban-rural planning, which must designate limited land resources for competing development projects, was inherently coordinative. Where the despatialized nature of economic and social planning

enabled planners to disregard the necessity of coordinating with other state actors, the spatiality of urban-rural planning made it a privileged venue for such coordination.

5.2.2 The Division of Planning Powers

As work on Hailong's statutory village plan and the High-Tech Zone's master plan moved forward, the contradictions between these two visions quickly emerged. The preface to the High-Tech Zone's master plan, formulated by the Western Division of the China Academy of Urban Planning and Design (CAUPD), diplomatically noted that land uses and land rights are complicated in peri-urban areas, making coordination difficult. Taking the originally designated expansion area as their starting point, the planners adjusted the new boundary of the zone to account for land suitability, territorial powers, and the distribution of functions. The resulting area was slightly larger than the original—50.93 square kilometers instead of 50.72. The zone's master plan referred to this adjustment as “fine tuning” (*wei tiao*), as if it were just part of the normal process of making the plan more scientific and rational (Figure 5.2).

But in the case of Hailong, the adjustment was fraught with political infighting. As predicted by the fragmented authoritarianism model, this process of negotiation and bargaining rose to a higher level of authority that indirectly supervised both Hailong and the High-Tech Zone. Initially, this was the district government, but the issue ultimately rose to the municipal government and the municipal planning bureau, which had sufficient power over both parties to arbitrate a resolution and ensure its enforcement. Here, behind closed doors, the leaders of Hailong and the High-Tech Zone marshaled their resources in order to establish the strongest possible negotiating positions. Hailong

called on the political endorsement of central leaders, including the support of Chongqing's party secretary, Bo Xilai. They pointed to the economic value of the village's recent industrialization and insisted on a high price for any proposed expropriation of land. The High-Tech Zone called on the support of Chongqing's mayor, Huang Qifan, who had touted the area as a new industrial district for the city. They pointed to the 2010 revision of Chongqing's master plan, which had sketched out the zone's expansion, and emphasized the irregular nature of Hailong's land use.

Over multiple meals in the spring and summer of 2012, Gu Yin, one of the CAUPD planners who worked on the High-Tech Zone's master plan, described the subsequent negotiation process, which had taken place behind closed doors in the Municipal Planning Bureau. As Gu related, "The management committee of the High-Tech Zone ultimately decided that the costs outweighed the benefits and it wouldn't be worth integrating the entire village into the zone's plan." Instead, they reduced the amount of land they were taking, allowing the village to retain a portion for its own use. Gu went on, "So there was a very strange phenomenon. In Hailong, about one-third of the village became part of the urban planning area planned by the High-Tech Zone. And two-thirds is still part of the original area, with no relation to the first third."

Hailong's leaders were still reluctant to part with even that much. After all, the area the High-Tech Zone proposed to annex comprised Hailong's most valuable land. It was the flattest part of the village, closest to major roads and other urban infrastructure, and the site of the majority of Hailong's existing industrial development (Figures 5.3-6). In addition, a large number of village households had their housing construction land in this area of the village, which they had used to build dorms, stores, and factories. The

price for outright expropriation would still be prohibitive, particularly since the land was planned for industrial use, with lower resale values than those for commercial or residential land.

Again, the leaders of Hailong and the High-Tech Zone compromised. Only those portions of Hailong needed for urban infrastructure, such as roads, rail lines, and power lines, would be expropriated. In the western third of the village, the land would be incorporated into the urban planning area of the High-Tech Zone, but it would not be immediately expropriated. Meanwhile, the power to organize the planning for the remainder of the village's land (except for protected natural resources, such as the national forest area) would be unofficially awarded to Hailong. The Baishiyi town government would still officially organize the village's plan, but real control over the process would be shifted to the village leadership. In exchange, part of Hailong's land would be used to build a water treatment plant for the town.

Several other concessions were also made in order to win the cooperation of Hailong's leadership: (1) the municipal planning bureau promised to approve urban construction activities planned for the remaining two-thirds of the village, including industrial and commercial real estate development; (2) the High-Tech Zone agreed to pay for portions of village development located within the zone's planning area, including the village access road and some of the relocation housing for displaced villagers; (3) the municipal planning bureau committed to moving several high power lines in the interior of the village in order to accommodate Hailong's planned residential development; (4) elements of the village's original plan were incorporated into the zone's master plan, including commercial areas along the village access road; and (5) Hailong's existing

development was tacitly legitimized by the municipal planning bureau, and the village was allowed to continue to manage and operate it until it was expropriated.

Like the water treatment plant for Baishiyi, these concessions were not dissimilar from the types of negotiations China's local governments often undertake with large real estate developers. In these exchanges, local governments grant developers planning powers in exchange for planning gain (Zhu 2004). For instance, a developer might be given broad planning discretion over a large section of the city if it agrees to plan and pay for basic public services and infrastructure. As Gu Yin described it, "They are like little governments (*xiao zhengfu*). ... They build the city in order to develop the real estate." The Hailong case demonstrated that this was the rule, not the exception. Planning gain was just another resource traded in the process of coordination between party-state actors, including village collectives and state-owned enterprises.

Though the principles of the arrangement were settled, the exact location of the dividing line—otherwise known as the urban construction boundary—continued to be a matter of debate. In the summer of 2011, preliminary versions of both the High-Tech Zone's master plan and the village's statutory plan showed the boundary following the existing rail line. As late as fall 2013, Hailong's leadership insisted that this was still the case. But in the plan that was finally approved in December 2013, the boundary had been redrawn farther east, expanding the High-Tech Zone's planning area by 50 hectares (to a total of 129 hectares) and cutting the territory under Hailong's planning control by more than half (Figure 5.3). In the end, sandwiched between the development zone and the national forest, Hailong was left with only 30 hectares to plan, approximately 10 percent of its original 277.45 hectares of collectively owned land.

This shift was in part a result of Chongqing's changing political landscape. The original negotiation took place before Bo Xilai's downfall, when the political clout of Hailong's leadership was at its height. By the time Hailong's plan was approved, Bo had been gone for more than a year, and the village's political influence had been substantially diminished. But two pieces of infrastructural planning also affected the relocation of the urban construction boundary. First, the Ministry of Railways transformed the rail line that cut through Hailong into a high-speed rail connecting Chongqing with Guiyang. This necessitated the expansion of the buffer zone along the rail line and the demolition of a substantial number of buildings. Second, and even more importantly, a planned 6-lane freight highway was moved from the east side of Silong Mountain to the west. This placed another piece of major urban infrastructure adjacent to the rail line, increasing the amount of land that would automatically need to be expropriated for urban construction and further fragmenting what land remained. As a result, the municipal planning bureau decided to move the urban construction boundary to include the freight highway.

Ironically, it had been Hailong's leadership that had first pushed for the relocation of the freight highway (Figure 5.7). As originally planned, the highway would have cut right through Hailong's new residential area. In April 2011, early in negotiations over the village's planning, Hailong's leaders insisted that the highway be moved. Six months later, in October 2011, Gu Yin and his team produced an amendment to the High-Tech Zone's master plan that rerouted the highway to avoid Hailong's new residential area. Gu emphasized the extraordinary feat that this represented. In China's top-down planning system, higher-level plans determine the conditions of possibility for lower level plans,

not vice versa. As Gu put it, “If I tell you to move, you move.” Without the necessary capability, knowledge, and power, most town and village leaders lack the ability to resist, but Hailong’s leaders were able to use their political resources to change the course of a six-lane highway, demonstrating the extent of their control over the planning of the village’s interior. Gu guffawed, “They think they are pretty awesome. They think that they are on the national team, that they are part of the state faction.”

The resulting division in Hailong’s territory created a paradox in China’s system of urban-rural administration. To the west of the urban construction boundary, Hailong’s land would remain formally rural, owned and operated by the village collective; but this land would be integrated into the municipality’s urban planning area and development would be managed according to urban construction regulations. Yet, under China’s Urban-Rural Planning Law, the urban planning area can only include land that is actually urban, and rural land should be planned according to statutory village plans. According to Gu Yin, the hybrid arrangement in Hailong represented the municipality’s intention to expropriate the land at some point in the future. The land might be planned a certain way, but if the High-Tech Zone actually wanted to build anything, it would first need to expropriate the land and convert it into urban land. But, Gu added, the government might decide not to implement the entire plan. If the cost of expropriation proved too high and the resale value too low, they might choose not to pursue it. In part, the planning process was intended to prevent further increases in expropriation costs, since village households and other actors would no longer be able to build new structures that would require compensation.

Over a dinner of spicy Indian food, Gu and his wife, Li Mei, who was also a planner in Chongqing, argued about the nature of the High-Tech Zone's planning power in the western third of Hailong:

Li: The current ownership (*suoyou quan*) is still Hailong's. But in actuality, the use right (*shiyong quan*) belongs to the High-Tech Zone.

Gu: No. The planning right (*guihua quan*) belongs to the High-Tech Zone.

Li: The planning right is the same as the use right.

Gu: No. It's not the same. The use right you can go sell on the real estate market.

Li: OK. But in reality they can decide how the land is going to be used.

Gu: Yes. That is the planning right.

Smith: It's not a use right, but a right to decide how it is to be used.

Gu: Yes. They can decide the character of the land, how it will be arranged in the future. They can decide whether there should be a road or a park. But once they decide to do it, to actually start doing this thing, the use right itself still belongs to Hailong. So they have to go buy the land. They have to go expropriate the collective land. After it has been expropriated, only then can they build the road.

Smith: And for the other two-thirds?

Gu: Hailong decides for itself whether it wants to build a road or a park.

This exchange further illuminated what it meant for planning powers to function as *de facto* property rights. In the western third of Hailong, the High-Tech Zone held the right to plan land use but not the right to use the land, which remained with the village collective. The zone was therefore able to exert some control over land use, but in order to exercise total control it would need to expropriate the land from the village. Meanwhile, Hailong maintained total control over its remaining territory, including the right to plan its use.

Planning powers could thus be understood as another right in the proverbial “bundle of rights” (Demsetz 1967: 347), a subset of the right of control. In the Chinese context, where multiple local actors claim to exercise ownership on behalf of the distant central state or the poorly-defined collective, control rights become particularly important. As Peter Ho observes: “The question ‘who owns the land?’ should be equal to ‘who controls the land?’ But this principle is not self-evident in the Chinese context, which is the reason for the explosiveness of the land question in China” (2005: 17). Discussing land rights in post-socialist societies, Chris Hann asserts that “the power to control ... is of greater practical significance than legal ownership” (2003: 24).⁷

For Gu, an important characteristic of the right to plan was its inalienability: use rights could be sold on the market, but planning rights could not. As demonstrated by the complex negotiations between Hailong and the High-Tech Zone, this was not quite accurate. Planning rights could be alienated, but only as an in-kind transfer in the course

⁷ This subdivision of control rights is analogous to what occurred in many areas of China during the first two decades of the household responsibility system, whereby agricultural land was contracted to village households. Households owned the right to use this land, but the way in which they used it was often circumscribed by the collective and the local government, which controlled decisions about what crops could be planted and how they would be sold (Guo 1999: 75-78; Putterman 1995: 1050-1051).

of negotiation and compromise between party-state actors. In combination with other qualities of Chinese planning rights, such as their origination as delegated powers assigned to local governments by the central state and their conditional nature if supervising levels of government find that plans have been improperly organized, this limited alienability suggests that Chinese planning powers constitute what Frederic Pryor describes as “stewardship rights,” which are assigned, conditional, and inalienable (1973: 380). These rights represent a separation of control from ultimate ownership, as often occurs in a hierarchically organized, centrally planned economy. As Pryor describes in the context of Eastern Europe, this separation can grow even wider in the course of economic reform, as the decentralization of decision-making powers gives local managers greater autonomy and discretion (1973: 123-126).

The evolution of planning powers into de facto property rights can therefore be understood as an artifact of China’s reform process. Originally part and parcel of the state’s ownership of the means of production, planning powers have remained a residual right of the state amidst the liberalization of other ownership rights, such as use, income, and alienation. The devolution of these powers to local governments, such as municipalities, provided a means to reassert state control over land in the context of this liberalization. Rather than constituting a new form of regulatory control responding to the demands of a marketized economy, planning powers thus represented a continuation of the state’s pre-existing control over land use and development.

As the liberalization of property rights has been gradually extended to rural areas, the expansion of China’s planning regime to encompass these areas has represented an analogous process. By formally separating planning control from collectives’ ownership

rights and assigning them to the township governments, the 2007 Urban-Rural Planning Law ensured the continuation of state control over rural development. The inclusion of rural areas in China's planning regime amounts to institutional urbanization, whereby rural land is subject to the direction and management of local (urban) governments. By securing control over the planning of the remainder of the village, however small, Hailong's leaders therefore achieved a remarkable feat. In those 30 hectares, land ownership and planning control were entirely rural. Both were exercised by the village collective, though under the supervision and with the input of the municipal planning bureau. Hailong's ability to plan the use of its own land demonstrated that planning was not exclusively a privilege of the state. Just as municipalities have used planning to advance their development objectives and strengthen their control over urban land, village collectives were capable of doing the same.

5.2.3 Statutory Planning

The division of planning powers resulted in not one but two statutory plans for Hailong. The western third was incorporated into a development control plan for the High-Tech Zone, while the remainder of the village was included in the statutory village plan (Figures 5.8-9). This inevitably fragmented the space of the village. A small mountain ridge physically divided the village in two, but now the village was also divided institutionally. To the west of ridge, the village would be planned and developed according to urban norms and regulations, while to the east planning and development would be conducted according to rural standards.

The character of the two areas would be markedly different, with significantly higher density in the High-Tech Zone. For instance, per capita residential land would be 44 m² in the interior of Hailong, but only 24.8 m² in the High-Tech Zone. This meant both smaller space standards and higher floor-area ratios (FAR): 2.5 in the High-Tech Zone versus only 1.5 in Hailong's interior. In Baishiyi's commercial area, some buildings would even top 200 meters in height. It also meant a higher population density (7,670 people per km² in the High-Tech Zone versus Hailong's 6,670), as well as less green space (approximately 29% of construction land in the High-Tech Zone versus 35% in Hailong).

Moreover, the two areas would be conceptualized as distinct entities. The western third was to be developed as the High-Tech Zone's industrial periphery, including electronics and pharmaceuticals. Hailong's land would represent more than half of the 370 hectares of industrial land in the Baishiyi area of the zone. This meant the area would be oriented toward the new residential and commercial center planned for Baishiyi's soon-to-be vacated airfield and away from the remainder of the village. Apart from basic infrastructure and service connections, Hailong would be entirely excluded from consideration in the formulation of the High-Tech Zone's plan.

The original formulation of Hailong's statutory village plan, completed in the spring of 2011, was not so starkly divorced from the surrounding urban fabric (Figure 5.10). It referenced the village's two separate planning areas, and it discussed interim measures for maintaining and upgrading Hailong's existing industry. But by the time the village plan was approved in 2013, all such references to Hailong's urban section had been excised. Hailong was no longer described as a "suburban village that combines

urban and rural,” and all references to industry and migration were eliminated. Like the High-Tech Zone plan, allowances were made for basic infrastructure and service connections, but Hailong’s interior was planned to be an integral and self-sufficient whole, with a full slate of functions and services independent of the High-Tech Zone.

Reflecting the ongoing negotiations between Hailong and the High-Tech Zone, the revised plan also moved the planning boundary from the rail line east to the freight highway. This eliminated 53.93 hectares of land from the Hailong plan, including 97 housing units. But the land use and construction proportions in the revised plan went virtually unchanged. For instance, no additional housing units were added to replace those that had been lost. And while the roads and parking lots in the western third of Hailong had been eliminated, the total road density and parking lot area remained unchanged. These revisions were only made to accommodate the shifting urban-rural boundary, ignoring its effects on the village’s functional development.

In part, this was because Hailong’s leaders refused to accept any further restrictions on the village’s development. The statutory plan had already significantly downsized the scale of development outlined in the village’s economic and social development plan. For instance the development plan called for 500M RMB to be invested in constructing a 200,000 m² residential area, while the statutory plan cut this down to 10M RMB and 108,760 m². Similar cuts were made to proposed investments for the agriculture park (185M to 32M RMB) and industry park (480M to 20M RMB), resulting in a total predicted investment of 432.3M RMB, more than an order of magnitude less than that outlined by the development plan.

Even with this downsized vision of the village's development, Hailong's leaders struggled to get the statutory plan approved. Once the issue of the urban construction boundary had been resolved, the municipal planning bureau no longer had any objection. But this did not mean that the land management bureau was on board. As has been widely observed in China's urban planning literature, urban-rural planning and land use planning are run by two different bureaucracies with distinct missions and incentives (Hsing 2006b: 588; Wu et al. 2007: 175-177; Yu 2014: 235). Since the land management bureau must sign off on new plans and development projects, conflict between the two bureaus can lead to substantial delay in the planning approval process. In Chongqing, this was only exacerbated by the fact that the planning bureau and the land management bureau used different categories to designate land use.

Early in Hailong's planning process, Jiulongpo's land management bureau appended a document to the village's statutory plan noting that it would "support the appropriate (*shidang*) expansion of the scale of village construction land in Hailong."⁸ The use of the word "appropriate" here was emblematic of the political balancing act in which the land management bureau was engaged. On the one hand, the Jiulongpo district government had instructed the local land management bureau to "support Hailong Village's development" by accommodating its need for additional construction land; on the other hand, the land management bureau was statutorily charged with protecting agricultural land and limiting the expansion of construction land. In this context, the euphemistic use of the word "appropriate" indexed the future resolution of this

⁸ Document dated December 22, 2010. Chongqing Jiulongpo District Land Management Bureau. "A report regarding support for Hailong Village's development."

contradiction at a higher level of political authority. Only then would the land management bureau know how to act.

With Bo Xilai's downfall in March 2012, the definition of what was "appropriate" swung against Hailong's leaders. Bo's departure significantly weakened the political pressure that had previously pushed the land management bureau to support Hailong's development, however tenuously, and the rigors of China's land regulation regime forbade the plan's proposal to transform a large portion of agricultural land into construction land. During the summer of 2012, Yan Jing and Wen Jiancai had a series of meetings with the municipal planning bureau and the land management bureau. Other village officials reported that Yan always came back from these meetings in a foul mood.

Ultimately, the land management bureau insisted that the expansion of construction land in Hailong be compensated by a reduction in construction land elsewhere in Baishiyi, and it was not until 2013 that a suitable donor could be found. Xindian, a nearby village on the eastern edge of Baishiyi, was being consolidated (Figure 2.1). Like many villages on Chongqing's outskirts, its villagers were being moved into new, high-rise apartments, and their existing housing construction land was being returned to agriculture. Under Chongqing's land note system, the excess construction land produced in this transformation should have been traded on the municipal market and sold to the highest bidder.⁹ But the political exigencies of Hailong's development forced an exception, enabling the town government to bypass the land note system and allocate Xindian's excess construction land to Hailong directly.

⁹ For instance, the land management bureau required that new construction land in the portion of Hailong planned by the High-Tech Zone be acquired through the land note market.

5.3 Silong Mountain

With the land quota issue resolved, the last barrier to Hailong's plan was removed. Finally, in December 2013, Hailong's statutory village plan was approved by Chongqing's municipal government, making it a legally enforceable document. But for all the bargaining, negotiation, and compromise that had led to this moment, would the village plan have any real impact on Hailong's actual development? When I asked Cai Guangyu whether he was satisfied with the plan, he shrugged his shoulders. "Sure," he said, "because it's not set in stone. It will be adjusted for each stage of development. It's not like after the plan is done, every little thing is going to be done according to what is said in the plan. It's not like a machine!" For Cai, the statutory plan was just a starting point, a declaration of principles. The real decisions would come after, as Hailong iteratively adapted and adjusted to the challenges of turning the village into a city.

Moreover, implementation had already begun well before the plan was approved. Behind Easy Street, a five-minute walk to the east, a one-lane dirt track snuck off the paved road. I had walked right by it more than once, missing the narrow opening between the blind brick wall of an industrial compound and the grey façade of a migrant dormitory. I had walked other roads parallel to this one. They led to dead ends or to mountain tracks winding up through the brush and vegetable fields that clung to the steep slopes of Silong Mountain. The ridge divided Hailong in two—on this side, relatively flat land accommodated most of the village's existing development; beyond it, the land began to ripple, forming two narrow valleys before it ascended into the massive Zhonglian ridge that separated Hailong from the main city.

A hundred meters up the narrow lane, the brick wall petered out, the track jogged to the right, and the land rose a bit. The clanking of machine parts and the honking of trucks faded behind me, muffled by the wet earth. But instead of Silong Mountain, there was just a void. A gaping trench the size of a football field had been cut through the ridge, its striated innards laid bare, towering above me on either side (Figure 5.11). To the south, the remains of a farmhouse clung precariously to an eroding lip of earth. To the north, an electric transmission tower threatened to teeter into the void. Below them, a teenager taught his girlfriend how to ride a bike, helping her along as she shakily picked her way through the boulders. Except for me, they could have been the last people in the world, slowly drawing circles in the mud.

Just after the Chinese New Year, in February 2011, dynamite and backhoes blasted and clawed their way through the mountain. Residents described how the demolition crew blew right through the ridge with the onomatopoeic sounds of destruction: “*Paopaopao, gaogaogao.*” As one villager put it, “The more they work on that road, the messier it gets. It’s enough to drive you crazy!” Others marveled at its width and depth, marking it as a measure of Hailong’s future modernity. The gap in the mountain would accommodate a four-lane access road, which the plan proposed as a grand entrance to Hailong’s new residential area.

Hailong’s leaders had wasted no time. Even before a preliminary draft of the village’s master plan had been completed, they took action to begin its implementation. By putting shovels in the ground—and in dramatic fashion—they were staking a claim on Hailong’s future and securing leverage in the ensuing negotiation process. Blasting a hole in Silong Mountain was a form of insurance against the kind of process uncertainty that

ended up derailing approval of Hailong's plan for three years. And their assertiveness did not stop there. Soon after the demolition of Silong Mountain, a half-dozen houses at its base were razed. Large-scale demolition began a year later, and construction on the new village officially started on February 28th, 2013, nine months before the plan's final approval.

In the conventional, teleological narrative of Chinese planning, the village leadership's preemption of the plan (and their commitment to "adjust" it in the future) would count as a prime example of regulatory failure. This characterization is based on a regulatory ideal in which planning powers are used to intervene in an otherwise autonomous market made up of fragmented property rights (Klosterman 1985; Sert 1942: 210). Thus, planning and development are seen as two separate processes mediated through the artifact of the plan, which constitutes both the telos of planning and the instrument of development control.

In this narrative, regulatory failure is seen arising from the interpenetration of planning and development and the consequent politicization of the planning process. For instance, Chinese planners point to the intervention of party-state leaders on behalf of developers, leading to the prioritization of development objectives over regulatory efficacy (Feng 2003; Han and Liu 2009; Tang 2002; Yu 2014: 74, 237, 245). And others blame the protracted bargaining between party-state actors, which drags out the planning process so long that plans are already irrelevant as soon as they are released (He, Xi. 2003; Huang 2006; Wang et al. 2008).

The lens of fragmented authoritarianism shows that such politicization and negotiation—for good and ill—are constitutive of the planning process, not deviations

from it. Backroom bargaining and negotiation is at the heart of Chinese planning, and the success or failure of planning may have more to do with the ability to coordinate than to regulate. In this alternative narrative of planning, the planning process is thus more important than the plan itself, and this process does not end with the plan. Rather, the trading of planning powers for planning gain and other resources embeds planning coordination in the wider network of resource trading and power balancing produced through fragmented authoritarianism.

Of central importance in this alternative narrative is the co-constitution of planning powers and property rights. Whereas the conventional narrative reifies planning powers from property rights, producing two separate paradigms of action, fragmented authoritarianism reveals these paradigms as mutually constituted. Planning powers and property rights emerge as equivalent institutionalizations of power that are used to coordinate, discipline, or contest others' actions. In this unified paradigm, neither planning powers nor property rights can be insulated from the influence of politics—they are, themselves, inherently political.

Chapter 6:
Hailong City

6.1 Village-as-the-City

In the early summer heat of June 2013, I turned the corner out of Easy Street toward the gap in Silong Mountain, looking to see what progress had been made on the implementation of the village plan. But I stopped short. There was no narrow alleyway leading off the main road, and there was no factory hiding the pass to Hailong's interior. The factory had been torn down, the end of a long swathe of rubble stretching back to Bai-Peng Road. In its place stood a square gate, marking the entrance to a construction site.

To either side of the gate, large billboards advertised Hailong's new residential and commercial area (Figure 6.1). They featured catchy phrases about the luxurious lifestyles residents would enjoy and flashy renderings of high-rise apartment buildings, fountain-filled plazas, and smiling pedestrians. One in particular caught my eye: "In Hailong City, activity is everywhere" (*zai hailong cheng, yundong wu chu bu zai*). The billboard emphasized the word "activity," rendering the two characters in bold script, with a white dove about to alight between them. It pointed to the dynamism of the new residential area and the healthful exercise that would be found there, a fact that was underlined by the accompanying image of basketball and tennis courts.

But I was much more interested by the first few words: "In Hailong City." They seemed matter-of-fact, just an indicator of location, but they invoked a radically new vision of the future. I soon found the phrase "Hailong City" plastered across the village's promotional materials, including its real estate sales pamphlet: "Hailong City will become a new urban center of Baishiyi." Under China's system of governance, Hailong was still a rural village, with rural land, population, and administration, and the address

listed on Hailong's promotional materials was still located in "Hailong Village." But Yan Jing and his colleagues no longer saw Hailong as a mere village. Where they had once envisioned Hailong as an alternative to the city, providing all of the benefits and services offered by the municipality, they now envisioned Hailong as a city in its own right.

Several weeks later, Yan Jing penned an article in the village newspaper in which he advocated for Hailong's "self-urbanization" (*zizhu chengshihua*). Yan borrowed the term from a professor at Tsinghua University, but he adapted it to fit Hailong's transformation. As Yan explained, self-urbanization meant that Hailong could urbanize without state investment, state expropriation, or the conversion of the village's land, population, or institutions to urban status. Yan's choice of terms was distinctive in two respects. First, he chose not to use the Chinese word for town-based urbanization (*chengzhenhua*), which was often used to describe village urbanization and suggested an incremental movement up the state-defined hierarchy of urban places. This gradualist language was reflected in villager Li Xiaowei's estimation of Hailong's transformation: "It's slowly ascending from rural to urban, becoming a small village-town (*xiao cun zhen*)." Instead, Yan used the term for city-based urbanization (*chengshihua*), suggesting a leapfrog transformation that would transcend the state's urban categories.

Second, Yan chose not to use the more popular "bottom-up" (*zi xia er shang*) to describe Hailong's self-direction. "Bottom-up urbanization" would have implied an opposition to—or a rejection of—state leadership. Instead, Yan used the word for "taking the initiative" (*zizhu*), which echoed the state's rhetoric of village self-governance. And Yan clearly emphasized that Hailong's development still required government approval, as articulated through the spatial planning process. But Hailong's self-urbanization was

still conceived as an alternative to state-led urbanization: “In the places that the state cannot cover, Hailong’s self-urbanization will take on social responsibility. For those areas that the state has not perfected, we, the village, will perfect them.” To do so, Yan proposed harnessing and directing the power of the market, a role traditionally played by China’s municipal governments. Gu Yin described Hailong’s growing capabilities in this respect: “That village has become like a small city. It even has its own development company. It uses it to build ... new buildings, which become their property.”

Through self-urbanization, the village collective sought to beat the municipality at its own game, harnessing the power of the real estate market in order to counter the power of the municipal government. To do so, Hailong’s leaders used the tools of planning and marketization to transform the village into a valueless spatial abstraction ready to be revalorized through real estate development. This involved the derogation of the village’s past development and the deterritorialization of its residents, whose affective attachments to Hailong’s socio-spatiality and moral claims on the village collective were reduced to mere financial transactions in the form of corporate shareholding or monetary compensation. Residents gamed these processes, maximizing their share of Hailong’s urban windfalls, but they also resisted the abstraction forced on them by both the village collective and the municipal government, insisting on the value-laden quality of village territory.

This chapter explores the process of plan implementation, in which Hailong’s statutory plan was transformed into a radical vision of village urbanization and Hailong’s social space was prepared for development. I start from the village’s urbanization and marketization (6.1), including the unofficial process of real estate planning, the

transformation of the village collective into a real estate development firm, and the corporatization of village-villager relations. I then investigate the initial preparations for plan implementation (6.2), including the derogation of the existing village, demolition, and villager resettlement. Lastly, I consider residents' rhetorical contestation of this transformative project through appeals to the ancestral roots of Chinese territoriality (6.3).

6.1.1 Village as Real Estate

Hailong's strategy of self-urbanization meant transforming the village into real estate. At first glance, this might not seem a particularly original approach—most peri-urban development in China relied on commercial real estate investment. As we saw in Chapter Two, the only village plans that ever got implemented in Chongqing were those that were commercially developed. But in most villages, development could only occur once village land was expropriated by the municipality and converted into urban construction land—by the time it was developed, it was no longer part of the village. Alternatively, as in Hailan Village, some real estate developers struck under-the-table agreements with villages to acquire land outside of the expensive expropriation process. In other villages the collective itself developed the land, marketing real estate units directly to consumers. Hailong had pursued an analogous approach during its first round of development, when it developed and marketed its own land directly to manufacturers for industrial use. But these black market transactions resulted in insecure tenure—colloquially known as “small property rights”—with units subject to seizure by municipal regulators.

Hailong's self-urbanization represented a new approach. The village's land would not go through the state expropriation and conversion process, but neither would it be at risk of state seizure. By subjecting its development to municipal planning and regulation processes, Hailong secured legitimacy for the commercialization of its land. This was another outcome of the coordinative planning process, in which Hailong's leaders exercised effective control over planning decisions in the eastern two-thirds of the village and were able to procure regulatory concessions from other party-state actors, such as the approval of land use conversion by the land management bureau. Large portions of Hailong's remaining collective land were thus converted from agricultural land to public infrastructure land, making it available for construction, including the development of commercial housing. Hailong was simultaneously rural village and urban real estate, categories that were mutually exclusive under China's land management system.

This arrangement enabled Hailong to capture the land rent increment produced by converting agricultural land into commercial real estate. Under the standard expropriation process, villages relied on compensation paid by township governments, which often minimized these payments in order to maximize the profit earned from selling the use rights to real estate developers. In Hailong, by contrast, the profit produced by commercially developing the village's land would accrue to the village collective, which would in turn transfer a portion of its income to the township government in the form of taxes and fees. This reduced Hailong's dependence on the township government's generosity, and it broke the municipality's monopoly over rural land development.

By consolidating control over both the organization of planning and the distribution of the land rent increment, Hailong produced a set of incentives similar to

those faced by China's municipal governments. It is therefore unsurprising that Hailong's leaders privileged land use intensification over land use conservation, doing their utmost to adapt the terms of the village's statutory plan to accommodate more development. As Cai Guangyu observed, the village plan was little more than a declaration of principles, a starting point from which the real work of planning and development would begin. But Hailong's statutory village plan may have counted for even less.

In the winter of 2011, months before the first draft of the statutory plan was completed, Hailong started a parallel process, which I term "real estate development planning." The village leaders commissioned the Chongqing University College of Construction Management and Real Estate to conduct a "project feasibility study" for the village's new residential area. The feasibility study was thus substantially smaller in scope than the statutory village plan, covering only the 11.53 hectares originally designated for housing and public services.

The 110-page document produced by Chongqing University was much more than a simple elaboration of the village plan. The feasibility study adopted the basic lot boundaries defined by the village plan, but it completely reimaged what would happen inside them. In doing so, it reintroduced elements of the village's development plan, such as the size and scale of the residential area. The development plan had proposed a built area of 200,000 m², at a cost of approximately 500 M RMB, while the statutory plan revised this down to 108,760 m² and 10 M RMB. The feasibility study then returned these figures close to their original levels: 186,700 m² and 499.5 M RMB. It effectively rescaled the village's residential area according to the maximalist (and despatialized) vision of the development plan, but within the spatial constraints set by the statutory

village plan, creating an intensity of development that was not envisioned by either the development plan or the statutory village plan.

The residential area proposed in the feasibility study was not just bigger. It was also more populous. The statutory plan predicted a population of 1,977, entirely made up of relocated village residents. The feasibility study included 1,953 villagers and then added another 6,300 residents. This additional population represented the commercialization of Hailong's land, including rental housing for migrant laborers, retirement housing for the elderly, and vacation homes for the well-to-do. Different areas of the new development would be dedicated to each of these groups, in addition to a separate area for villager relocation housing (Figure 6.2).

This development strategy was driven by an exhaustive market analysis. A substantial portion of the feasibility study was devoted to evaluating Chongqing's real estate market and predicting demand for the different types of housing Hailong might provide. The consultants at Chongqing University observed that Chongqing's real estate market had exhibited steady growth compared to other big cities in China. Though the rise in housing prices had slowed, sales were still strong, and since the average price in Jiulongpo District was low compared to the rest of the city, they reasoned that prices in the area were likely to rise.

The consultants' evaluation relied on statistical sleight of hand, painting a particularly optimistic outlook that would justify substantial investment. Though Hailong was technically located in Jiulongpo, the district was large and diverse, including both inner city neighborhoods and distant villages. Moreover, one of the highest-priced parts of Jiulongpo, the High-Tech Zone, was carved out of the analysis and treated as a

separate district. Average prices in the High-Tech Zone were 30% higher than in the rest of Jiulongpo and represented some of the highest prices in the city. Given that Hailong was located directly adjacent to the newly expanded zone, which was planning to provide more than five million square meters of new housing in Baishiyi alone, the consultants' choice of pricing benchmarks was misleading.¹

The feasibility study recommended three specific markets for development: migrant housing, retirement housing, and vacation homes. Due to Chongqing's urban-rural coordination policy and increasing industrialization within and around Hailong, the consultants anticipated growing demand for housing on the part of migrant laborers and new urban registrants. They thus proposed the construction of "blue collar" apartments that would provide cheap, fully furnished accommodations for migrant families. These apartments were designed to resolve China's migrant housing gap, in which migrants were often limited to peripheral, temporary dormitories that could not accommodate family members. As the feasibility study argued, this led to high crime rates, a lack of social harmony, and high labor turnover. By contrast, Hailong's rental apartments would give migrant families a place to call home. Most notably, Hailong's migrant housing was explicitly conceived as a substitute for the municipality's massive public housing projects, and the apartments would be built according to the same standards.

A similar gap was identified in the retirement housing market, where an aging and increasingly affluent population was creating growing demand. According to the consultants' analysis, Chongqing was facing a shortage of more than 110,000 beds in

¹ Their analysis also relied on a particularly optimistic view of government policy, predicting that government regulators did not have the political will to continue restricting growth in the real estate market.

assisted living facilities for the elderly. Moreover, existing facilities often lacked the necessary services and infrastructure, and many were located in adapted inner-city buildings that were ill suited for the purpose. As the feasibility study argued, Hailong was a particularly good site for retirement housing, since it provided easy access to the city while enabling the elderly to live in peaceful, quiet surroundings. As in the case of migrant housing, Hailong's retirement housing was conceived as a substitute for government-built facilities.

The feasibility study also recommended 50,000 m² of luxury villas, which would be marketed as second homes for high-income households in Chongqing (Figure 6.3). In addition, the study called for a 300-room hotel, a labor-training center, an office building and conference center, a full-service club, and a high-end shopping arcade (Figure 6.4). A 50,000 m² car park with 2,900 parking spaces was to be built below grade. In the midst of all this, 25,000 m² was reserved for Hailong villagers' relocation housing, representing only 13% of the total built area (Figures 4.14, 6.5).

The market-driven planning undertaken in the feasibility study was significant both for its subversion of the statutory planning process and its strategic use of Hailong's liminal urban-rural status. First, by abandoning the parameters of the statutory plan and returning to the recommendations of the development plan, the feasibility study undermined the power of the statutory plan. This underlined Cai Guangyu's observation that the statutory plan was little more than a starting point, and it emphasized the role of spatial planning as primarily coordinative rather than regulatory.

Hailong's subversion of the statutory plan was enabled by its high degree of control over the resources within the village's interior, including effective control over

planning. Hailong's leaders were thus free to adapt the statutory plan without the need for extensive coordination and negotiation with other actors. However, the land use designations within the village's planning area did not change. This significant exception suggested that land use planning was still beyond the village's control, and changes to lot boundaries would have required new rounds of coordination with the land management bureau (Figure 6.6). But within these lots, the village was relatively free to intensify land use, and it did so. The village's final construction plan for the residential development increased the total built area to 380,000 m²—100 percent more than recommended in the feasibility study, and 250% more than stipulated in the statutory plan.

The feasibility study also inverted the logic on which the statutory planning process was based. In formulating the statutory plan, the Chongqing Municipal Planning and Design Institute started from the village's existing situation, including its location, natural environment, land use, population, economic composition, and infrastructure. They defined objectives based on the village development plan and guidance from superseding plans. And they projected changes in population and economic activity based on generic predictive models. Using these inputs, they then determined new arrangements of land use, infrastructure, housing, and services. In short, the statutory plan was supply-driven, proposing improvements and expansions to what the village already had. It was also relatively insulated, focusing on conditions inside the village, with only limited consideration given to developments outside Hailong.

The feasibility study took the opposite approach, identifying goods and services where demand exceeded supply and then proposing ways in which Hailong could meet that demand. The consultants also considered local governments' needs and priorities,

highlighting how proposed development in the village would satisfy their demands.

While the consultants included a cursory analysis of the village's resources and suitability for development, the study was primarily driven by demand-side factors outside of the village.

The feasibility study was also significant for its strategic use of Hailong's urban-rural liminality. Where statutory village planning sought to rigorously separate urban and rural functions, the feasibility study celebrated the integration of urban and rural. This could be seen in the recommendations for migrant housing and retirement housing, which the municipal government would typically provide and locate in urban areas. Instead, the feasibility study identified Hailong's mix of urban and rural qualities (including easy access to industrial, commercial, and ecological functions) as a superior option. The consultants defined Hailong's market niche as "a new kind of urban-rural coordinated village" that combined the clean, stable, modern living of the urban with the clean air, healthfulness, and natural environment of the rural. Gu Xiaowei echoed this branding as she tried to convince me to buy an apartment in Hailong: "People in Baishiyi don't want to live in Baishiyi. They want to live here, near nature. ... In Hailong you can eat the vegetables without worrying about pesticides and chemicals."

The design guidelines for Hailong's new residential area further underlined the strategic mixing of urban and rural. The document proposed a living environment that provided urban diversity and convenience while also enabling residents to escape the pressures of the city. It would mix the modernity of the urban with the tradition of the rural. These priorities were reflected in the design precedents chosen for the new village,

which included high-end hotel and residential projects that integrated Chinese architectural styles with international branding and luxury amenities.

6.1.2 Village as Real Estate Developer

Self-urbanization was more than just a matter of turning the village's land into real estate. It also meant turning the village collective into a real estate developer, an organization that was capable of developing and managing these assets (Figure 6.7). This meant taking on a double identity. In the past, the corporatization and professionalization of village operations had increasingly oriented the village toward the interests of its shareholders and clients. But Hailong's *raison d'être* had remained the village collective and its responsibilities for funding and providing public goods and services to villagers. With the relaunch, Hailong would become as much a corporation as a village collective. And in terms of the size of its operations, the responsibilities of the corporation would far outweigh those of the village. Yan Jing alluded to this tension in an open letter to villagers that was published in the village newspaper: "Besides managing the company, we are also an administrative village, and we still need to serve the villagers, provide security, protect the environment, and increase green space. ... We need to coordinate corporate and village work."

This question of coordination had become a point of concern among supervising levels of government. In its 2010 report on Hailong, the Jiulongpo government recommended separating village governance from its economic operations in order to strengthen the village's public service capabilities and improve the scientific and democratic quality of decision-making. This sentiment was echoed in the development

plan, which criticized Hailong for the cozy relations between its collective, economic, and party organizations. Hailong's formal organization chart showed the village corporations answering to the collective and, in turn, the local party branch. But with the same team of people staffing these organizations, and with corporate clients becoming members of the party branch, district officials worried about the potential confusion of incentives. On the one hand, Hailong's organizational interpenetration increased the possibility that village resources would be misappropriated for the enrichment of the village corporations and their staff, shareholders, and clients. On the other hand, village leaders' responsibilities to villagers meant they might make decisions that decreased the economic competitiveness of the village corporations. In response, the district government called for the separation of Hailong's political and economic organizations and the further marketization of the village's companies.

But Hailong's leaders did not seem to heed their superiors' concerns. To manage Hailong's real estate ventures, Hailong established a new company, Hailong Corporation, led by Yan Jing as chairman and staffed by the same people who ran the village's other organizations. Though they contracted day-to-day operations to a local real estate firm in March 2011, decision-making control remained with Yan Jing and his staff. This organizational structure was partly modeled on that of Hailong's main rival, the High-Tech Zone, which also combined basic government operations with the functions of a for-profit state-owned enterprise. Jiulongpo's demands that Hailong divide its economic and political governance were therefore hypocritical. Indeed, the close relationship between the village's economic and political functions was an important part of its strategy for competing with the High-Tech Zone.

In introducing Hailong's relaunch to residents, Yan Jing compared development to war: "Each of our four big projects is a weapon." And the primary target of these weapons was the High-Tech Zone. In an effort to strike the first blow, Hailong's leaders quickly moved to supersede the territorial boundary agreed upon through the process of planning coordination. The land in the village's western third still technically belonged to the village collective, and Hailong's leaders hoped to preempt state expropriation. As Wen Jiancai explained, "We want to use our collective assets to expropriate our land ourselves (*ziji zheng ziji de tudi*)." Through the village's real estate company, Hailong sought to develop the most valuable pieces of this land before the High-Tech Zone could do so—particularly the commercial areas adjacent to Bai-Peng Road and Hailong's new residential area. The village's leaders were well positioned to do so. For the High-Tech Zone to develop the land, a new round of negotiation and coordination would be required to establish the terms of state expropriation, a process Hailong's leaders could easily prolong. By contrast, the village collective could negotiate with villagers directly, offering them superior compensation terms and speeding the demolition process.

As with Hailong's first round of development, the ultimate challenge was financing. As village's ambitious plans gradually came to light, many residents gossiped about how much it would all cost: "Is the village going to put the money in? It's a lot of money! Twenty stories tall! Elevators! How much money would we need?" Potential investors had reportedly balked at the chaotic nature of Hailong's existing development, and many concluded that the only way to fund the village's relaunch was for the state to get involved: "The central question is: Where is the money going to come from for construction? Is the state going to invest? Everyone is going to want to know what the

return on investment is. They're going to need hundreds of millions! The only thing you can do is give it to the municipal government to develop." Another resident agreed: "The only way the village can succeed in this is if it has government support. If they don't support us, where will we get the money?"

But state involvement would have meant state dependence, and Hailong's leaders were committed to preserving their control over the village. True to its new identity as a real estate developer, Hailong leveraged its future assets to pay for existing construction. For the new residential area, Chongqing University calculated a total required investment of 499 M RMB, but Hailong would only need to invest 143.95 M RMB of its own capital. The remainder of the financing would be funded from renting portions of the development to third-party operators (309.56 M RMB) or through the development's operating income (46 M RMB). This included 20-year leases for the migrant housing development, the vacation homes, and the car park. Over 15 years, the consultants' pro forma calculated an operating income of 1.798 B RMB, with a net present value of 298.289 M RMB and a dynamic return on investment in 5.09 years.² This meant that by the time the development was completed, the village should already have recouped its investment.

But 144 M RMB was still a lot of money. The collective raised approximately 7 M RMB from villagers, which was barely a drop in the bucket. Undisclosed amounts were borrowed from banks or contributed by corporate investors, including the Chengdu-based Haowei Packaging Company. As Hailong began construction, they aggressively

² A pro forma is a document used by real estate developers to evaluate potential investments. The pro forma calculates cash flow projections based on variables such as potential gross income, vacancy rates, and operating expenses.

marketed the commercial and residential properties under development, claiming that the first floor of the village office building had already been rented for 500,000 RMB per year.

Even as construction moved ahead, the village was still well short of the capital it needed. In May 2013, villagers were given a special opportunity to purchase residential units at a discount price—all that was required was a down payment of 20,000 RMB. Only 130 households bought in. Then, in February 2014, there was a new round of fundraising for villagers, but turnout was lower than expected. A month later, Hailong's leaders wrote an open letter to villagers, asking them to reconsider their financial priorities. All households were encouraged to purchase more shares in the real estate company, up to the 50,000 RMB limit: "If you don't invest by March 25th, 2014, you will be considered to have given up your chance to participate."

When I visited Hailong in June 2014, construction had already raced ahead. Work on the hotel, the commercial street, and the office building had been largely completed, and the structures for many of the residential high-rises were already in place. But rumors swirled about construction delays and budget shortfalls. On one of my visits, I found construction workers hanging out and drinking beer in the middle of the day. "No electricity," they complained, "again." No one knew for sure, but some whispered that the recent electricity problems were more than mere outages. Perhaps the bills were not getting paid. But the rumors and complaints turned to anger when the question of pay came up. Even when the electricity was running, the construction management company had been withholding worker pay. Some talked about leaving for more stable jobs.

6.1.3 Village as Corporation

While Hailong's leaders focused on keeping the cranes and cement mixers running, they also confronted rising dissatisfaction from villagers, who felt neglected by the village collective. As the village's relaunch got under way, Hailong's leaders tried to address villagers' feelings of precariousness and exploitation. For instance, in late 2012, annual land rents were raised from 1,200 RMB per *mu* to 1,500 RMB. And they argued for the substantial benefits that villagers would reap from Hailong's relaunch. Wen Jiancai reiterated the logic of the unfunded mandate, insisting that Hailong's transformation into real estate was necessary for the village's survival: "For 2,000 villagers, [relocation housing] will cost one or two hundred million. The only way to fill this gap is to build commercial housing on our public infrastructure land."

Ultimately, the village's leaders sought to eliminate Hailong's burgeoning social justice problem by further corporatizing village-villager relations. In effect, Wen explained, "villagers are turned into shareholders" (*cunmin biancheng gumin*). As existing household assets, such as land use rights and self-built rental properties, were increasingly expropriated and collectivized, all villagers—rich and poor—would become more dependent on the collective, theoretically shrinking existing wealth gaps. As one villager explained, "They want the collective to get rich. They don't want individual households and people to get rich. ... The poor get rich, and the rich get poor. Everyone is equal." This echoed Yan Jing's argument for collective wealth, which he refreshed for Hailong's relaunch. But it did not mean the redistribution of existing collective assets, many of which were held by the village's leaders and party members. According to Yan Jing, the only way to divide up the pie more evenly was to make it bigger first.

To accomplish this, villagers were given the opportunity to invest in Hailong Corporation, the development company established to manage the village's relaunch. Like prior fundraising, investment was entirely voluntary and was capped at 50,000 RMB per household. Unlike prior rounds, villagers were given a choice regarding which development projects they wanted to invest in, leaving it to individual households to decide what aspects of Hailong's relaunch were most likely to succeed. In addition, villagers were also given the opportunity to rent storefronts on Hailong's new commercial street. Whereas all investors had previously received the same rate of return based on when they invested, in Hailong's relaunch returns would vary depending on the wisdom of villagers' choices. As shareholders, villagers would be more directly exposed to the risks of the market.

Alone, market mechanisms were unlikely to produce greater equity within the village. As village official Cai Guangyu argued, "We can't just rely on investing. The rich will invest more and become richer, worsening the wealth gap. We have to find a way for everyone to have the same number of shares." So Hailong's leaders instituted a parallel shareholding system, with "one set of shares based on investment, and one based on length of membership in the collective." (In fact, this second shareholding system was mandated by municipal and district authorities.) Shares in this second system were automatically allocated based on official household registration in the Hailong collective, starting January 1, 1998, and ending December 31, 2013. Every year of membership was awarded one share, with penalties for regulatory infractions, such as violations of the one-child policy.

What were these shares actually worth? Hailong's announcements were deliberately ambiguous. Shares entitled villagers to claims on Hailong's collective assets, which included land income, its agro-tourism development, the village consulting firm, and the Hailong brand. These assets also included collectively-held stock in Hailong Corporation and its four big development projects. But the exact nature of these assets was left unclear: "Because assets and their value vary with the market and could even disappear, the specific value and definition of these assets will not be specified, including location, area, specifications, dimensions, etc."

This ambiguity obscured the inherent devaluation of villagers' collective membership. The property rights for each of the assets listed in the shareholding announcement were technically held by one of Hailong's development companies. The village collective only had rights to income based on the number of collectively held shares, an amount that was never specified. This meant that the value of villager shares depended on agreements between the collective and its various companies, which were all managed by Yan Jing and his team. Moreover, it insulated control and management of these assets from villager influence. Villagers' moral claims on the collective as an institution of self-governance and mutual responsibility were reduced to financial claims equivalent to those of other investors in the village companies. The corporatization of village-villager relations thus paralleled household registration reform, whereby moral claims on the village collective were transformed into financial claims on market-based social insurance policies.

6.2 Implementation

In December 2011, as I made the rounds of the village office building, distributing small tokens as Christmas gifts, I came across Zhu Haifeng. I handed him a book I thought he might like, and he looked back at me, embarrassed. He had nothing to give me in return. Then, he leaned in, lowered his voice, and offered me a juicy tidbit for my research: “We’re starting construction on the new village tomorrow.” This was news to me. I had been chatting with various members of the village staff for the past several hours, and no one had mentioned it. Zhu continued, “We’re trying to keep it relatively low key (*bijiao didiao*).” All they were doing was tearing down a few buildings at the front of the village, and they wanted to avoid any confrontation with those who were still opposed to the relaunch.

The next morning, I hopped a bus to Hailong to check out the demolition. But by the time I got there, all that was left was a giant patch of dirt (Figure 6.8). Half a dozen buildings had been torn down and the rubble cleared away. Two noodle carts stood in the middle of it, serving snacks to students from the nearby Agricultural College, and some of the students were riding bikes around the newly flattened area. A group of workmen were packing up one of the wrecking cranes, and I asked them what was going on. “It’s going to be a new plaza,” one explained. “Come back in a few months and there will be lots of pretty girls walking up and down here.” A few months later, there was still no plaza, but large renderings of one had been plastered on an adjoining wall (Figure 6.9). True to the workman’s imagination, the images showed pretty girls mingling with foreigners, as they weightlessly promenaded past stores like Starbucks and Dior.

As Hailong moved ahead in implementing its relaunch, this tension persisted. On one hand, village officials gingerly navigated residents’ resistance to demolition and

redevelopment. On the other, they trumpeted the spectacle of the village's future. And between these two conflicting tendencies was the down-and-dirty process of destruction and construction, in which the possibilities outlined by the village planning process continued to evolve and transform.

6.2.1 Derogation

Hailong's relaunch entailed an implicit judgment about the village's past decade of development. Where officials in the village and the local government had once celebrated Hailong's earlier transformation, they now derogated the outcome that it had produced. It was not just that the village could be better, but that somehow the village's development had gone wrong and planning was necessary to correct it. Instead of being dynamic, affluent, and path breaking, Hailong became messy, wasteful, and dangerous. This shift echoed the rhetoric of Chongqing's planners, who derogated the informality of villages-in-the-city in order to justify their redevelopment. But the planners were no longer alone. As the organizers of the new village plan, Hailong's leaders also adopted this position, emphasizing the problems encountered during development and the solutions offered by the relaunch. In doing so, they justified the cost—in terms of money, displacement, and destruction—required to implement the village plan. This discourse of derogation became the foil for Hailong's plan, a narrative tool used to persuade residents who had no input into the planning process and who distrusted the change it promised.

This discourse was primarily focused on issues of economic inefficiency, including both industry and agriculture. But it also extended to the village's infrastructure, housing, and services, which were not nearly so complete and well

developed as Hailong had claimed. As various planning documents and reports highlighted, the village's current road network was unsystematic, and roads were too narrow, with many sharp turns and dead ends (Figure 6.10). Villagers' scattered housing wasted land and made it difficult to provide sufficient services. Despite previous claims to the contrary, four of Hailong's sixteen communities still lacked running water and gas.

The strongest critiques of Hailong's development centered on industry, which Jiulongpo's 2010 report and the subsequent village development plan labeled as low-value and inefficient. Factory location was irrational, based on existing lot lines and topographic features. And the village's focus on property rental and tax collection had limited the collective economy's potential for future growth. Hailong's economy was one-dimensional and its land resources were nearly exhausted. As a resident of a neighboring village exclaimed, gesturing across her vegetable fields toward Hailong's factories, "This is our land, their land has all been used up!"

Hailong's leaders generally ignored the district's charges of economic mismanagement, focusing instead on the problems posed by the types of industry that had located in the village. Cai Guangyu explained that the furniture and automotive parts manufacturers in the village were too labor intensive, with large physical plants and low levels of technological sophistication. Referring to China's national ladder-step strategy as a precedent, Cai recognized that these low-value industries were necessary for Hailong's success. Wen Jiancai made a similar argument: "In China, first we polluted, and then we put things in order. There's no choice. Without money, how can you develop?" But with Hailong's relaunch, these wasteful and environmentally harmful industries would have to go.

In their place, Hailong planned to build a new high-rise industrial park (*louyu gongyeyuan*) modeled on similar developments in Shanghai and Tianjin (Figure 6.11). With smaller floor plates, this new park would be aimed at high-tech manufacturers, excluding the village's existing labor-intensive and space-extensive manufacturers. Hailong's leaders were hoping to attract 1-to-3 large tech firms (with more than 1 B RMB in annual output each) and 5-to-10 smaller firms (with at least 100 M RMB in annual output each). These low-pollution, high-value-added industries would substantially grow the village's tax base.

Hailong's agriculture was also a target of derogation. On a hike up into the village's hills, Yu Gong complained about how many fields had been left fallow: "The wealthier villagers get, the lazier they are about taking care of their fields. Back in the day, each of these plots would be crammed full of produce. But now, much of it is just left empty, no better than wasteland." Yu explained how the village planned to collectivize the land in this part of the village and turn it into an orchard with citrus trees and grape vines (6.11). Work on the orchard started in October 2010, when the land management corporation collectivized 354 *mu* of agricultural land, fallow and productive alike. They started reforming the land a month later, turning the terraced vegetable fields into gradual slopes, laying 1,000 meters of piping for irrigation, and planting more than 3,000 trees. They built a fishpond stocked with 100 kilograms of fish, and in 2013 they harvested 6,500 kilograms of grapes.

The "rationally arranged" and "scientifically planted" orchard was a fecund symbol of Hailong's rurality. Without it, "Hailong would not be an example of urban-rural coordination." But was it any more productive than the vegetable fields that it had

replaced? As I sat playing the card game “landlord” with Yu Gong one day, I asked him how work on the orchard was going. He bragged about the progress they were making, and I asked him how they were going to sell the fruit they produced:

He looked at me, confused, “What do you mean? We’re not selling it to anyone.”

“Oh,” I replied, “so the tourists will pick it and take it home.”

“No,” Yu shook his head.

Now it was my turn to look confused, “So, what happens to the fruit?”

“It’s for the tourists. They pick the grapes to experience what it’s like to be a farmer.”

“And then they eat them?”

“Sure, I guess. But they don’t have to. There will be plenty to eat in the hotel restaurant!”

“And what about the fish? Will you serve the fish from the fish pond in the restaurant?”

“Oh no! Tourists will throw the fish back in the pond when they catch them. Otherwise, we’d have to keep stocking it with fish!” With that, he threw down a pair of jokers with practiced panache and collected my six *kuai*.

Yu’s agro-tourism plans struck me as even more wasteful than the fallow fields he had decried during our hike. Though unevenly tended, the villagers’ vegetable fields had still produced crops that would be sold and eaten. Even the empty fields offered the possibility of future productivity. Hailong’s agro-tourism complex eliminated this potential, replacing it with an orchard that might earn the collective more money but that would produce little in the way of nutrition—neither the grapes nor the fish would ever

be eaten. Given the motivations behind China's stringent land use laws, including concerns over declining agricultural productivity, the stability of China's food supplies, and the strategic commitment to nutritional self-sufficiency, Hailong's agricultural development represented a net loss.

The agro-tourism development revealed the discourse of derogation to be specifically aimed at monetary value. As with industrial upgrading, which was intended to produce larger tax receipts, agro-tourism was designed to maximize the income that could be wrung from the village's agricultural fields. In the process, other forms of value, including use value (such as subsistence farming), social value (such as wasteland-enabled networks of mutual support), and emotional value were ignored or de-emphasized. The discourse of derogation was thus an example of what Henri Lefebvre identifies as the abstraction of space, whereby all specific spatial qualities are reduced to interchangeable and undifferentiated commodities (1991 [1976]: 49).

The tension between abstract and affective (or, in Lefebvre's terms, differential) space was particularly evident in the question of gravesites. As we drove toward Hailong in January 2012, I asked a pair of village officials how they planned to celebrate the upcoming New Year: "Will you visit your ancestors' tombs (*fenmu*)?" Yang Xiaoye turned back in her seat and looked at me sternly, "We don't have tombs here anymore. Everyone is buried in public cemeteries (*gongmu*)."

Though many graves had been moved in the process of development, village households avoided moving their dead at all costs, and Hailong was still riddled with gravesites (Figure 6.13). They were hidden in overgrown hillsides, wedged in between factory walls, and perched precariously in road embankments. While many of these

tombs seemed neglected, many more were neat and well-tended, testaments to filial and conscientious descendants. Just days before my car ride with Yang Xiaoye, I had watched workmen putting the finishing touches on a lavish new tomb complex overlooking the valley where Hailong's residential development would be built.

It was not until the Qingming Festival, when Chinese families traditionally clean their ancestors' graves and make offerings to the dead, that the resilience of Hailong's landscape of emotional attachment became clear. Walking through Hailong, I saw snaking trails of smoke rising over the village as family members lit candles and incense at their ancestors' graves. The sound of distant firecrackers echoed in the air. Nestled in the hillside, just beyond the open area of dirt that would soon be one of the construction sites for Hailong's relaunch, I came upon a group of men—four brothers and their father—who I had never met before. Hailong was their ancestral home (*laojia*), but they had all given up their land and household registration to move into the city. All that remained were their grandparents' graves, and they returned to Hailong every year to honor them. I watched them as they burnt the brush that had grown up in the past year, lit candles, and set off firecrackers. Then, each man kneeled and prayed, incense clutched between his hands. When the last of them had paid his respects, they promptly piled into a minivan and drove away. For them, and for many others I met that day, the only value Hailong's land still held was this emotional and ritual investment. Would their grandparents still be here next year? On the other side of the valley, in the Silong Mountain gap, one of the village's demolition cranes was parked, waiting.

6.2.2 Demolition

The logic of derogation and abstraction extended into the very process of demolition and relocation, with officials dismissing residents' reasons for resisting demolition and reducing the process to a matter of financial compensation. As Ye Jianhua, Jiulongpo's party secretary, wrote in the village newspaper, "One can't worry about every blade of grass. Some people will inevitably have their interests harmed." Village officials echoed this sentiment, explaining that villagers were just upset because they would be losing their rental properties. Demolition began as early as February 2011, when the gap in Silong Mountain was blown open (Figure 6.14). The next round took place in early 2012, and by June 2013, more than 400 villagers in 172 households had had their housing demolished. Demolition continued into the summer, including factories, houses, and infrastructure, but in June 2014, many villagers were still unsure if or when their houses would eventually be torn down.

For those who resisted demolition, officials used an array of tools to convince or cajole them. Over a boozy lunch, drunken officials laughingly discussed violence as the most efficient approach: "This is the best way to do demolition: you pull them out, stretch them, kick them, pull them, beat them, make them cry, break their bones, and hurry them off on their journey into the night. Leave them as if dead." Though this extreme exercise of power may have been an *erguotou*-induced fantasy, the actual tactics employed by the village were almost as brutal.³ In a letter published in the village newspaper, Hailong's archivist touted his role in the most recent eviction. When a villager refused to sign the demolition agreement for his self-built factory, the archivist dug through the village

³ *Erguotou* is a variety of clear Chinese liquor made from sorghum. The name, which literally translates as "second pot head," refers to the double distillation process, giving the liquor a higher level of purity.

records and found the original agreement that licensed the villager to rent the factory to a third party. The agreement had expired in 2009, meaning that the village could evict the current tenant, making the building worthless. Faced with this prospect, the holdout relented and signed the deal. Where no leverage could be found, Hailong presented its villagers with a choice: they could either transfer their land to the collective and receive compensation in the form of cash and stock, or they could wait for the state to expropriate it, turn them into urban residents, and relocate them to public housing.

In this process, Hailong officials sought to turn demolition into a mere financial transaction. All housing land was compensated at 350 RMB per square meter, and structures were valued based on their size and material: brick buildings were valued at 20 RMB per square meter, brick and wood at 15, steel at 25, and earth buildings at only 10 RMB per square meter. Compliance with the demolition program was also monetized. Village households received a bonus of 1,000 RMB per person if they signed the demolition agreement by the deadline, another 1,000 RMB per person if they vacated by the deadline, and an additional 50 RMB per square meter if they turned over their title by the deadline. Even the demolished buildings had value. After the demolition workers had left, teams of migrants arrived to harvest the scattered bricks, cleaning them of excess mortar and stacking them in neat cubes for transport. Each brick recovered earned 1.5 RMB.

Just as important as monetary compensation, the village also offered resettlement housing at a rate of 30 square meters per person. But households could choose to receive additional monetary compensation instead, equivalent to 4,300 RMB per square meter of relocation housing. Until Hailong's new housing was completed, relocated households

also received a monthly “bridge subsidy” of 300 RMB per person. After two years, this rose to 500 RMB, and after four years it rose again to 700 RMB. Households also had the option to upgrade their housing by purchasing additional floor area at or below the construction cost.

Many villagers doubted the reliability of these promises. Among those households that had been relocated first, some had not received their bridge subsidies. Several villagers attributed this to a disagreement between Hailong and the High-Tech Zone over who was responsible for compensation. Meanwhile, too little land had been allocated for relocation housing, meaning there might not be enough to go around (this problem was subsequently resolved by raising the floor-area ratio for some of the residential land). Most importantly, the process of development dragged on without noticeable progress. Villagers saw the rubble of their neighbors’ houses and little indication that any new housing would be built. As one villager said to me, “Leaving is easy, but coming back is hard. Once you leave, there’s no guarantee that they will let you return.”

Some villagers blamed the ineptitude of Hailong’s leaders for the sloppy demolition process. As arbitrary and impersonal as the state expropriation process might be, at least it would have been dependable: “Our leaders are like children playing with blocks. They are paper tigers, deceptively solid. If you want to do a big project like this right, you need the state to come in and plan and invest.” Others marveled that the state would let the village behave in this way: “Don’t they have policies that restrict forced demolition? Don’t they use satellite photos now to inspect land use?!”

Zheng Zhihui channeled this anger and incredulity, glaring at the rubble and dirt around him (Figure 6.15). According to Hailong’s plans, this would soon become the new

village center. But in March 2012, all that stood there was a single house—the last holdout—and a lone tree. Zheng and I sat on small wooden stools outside the house:

“Is this your house?” I asked.

“No, I just come here to visit.”

“You used to live here?”

“Yes. My house used to be there. Just next to the tree.” Zheng pointed into empty space.

“Were you willing to leave?”

“No! I wasn’t willing to leave. Who’s willing to leave? It’s forced demolition (*qiangchai*)! They make you agree!”

“But at least they gave you compensation?”

“Compensation? What fucking compensation? Each month, they give me 200 fucking *kuai* as a bridge subsidy. I lived in that house, and what have they done? The fucking village. ... They’ve made everything filthy. Everywhere, it’s just dust.”

Zheng’s anguish reflected the desperation many villagers felt as they faced the inevitable demolition of their lifelong homes. They felt cheated by the compensation. Zheng received 200 RMB a month, but his rental housing cost him 400 RMB. The village promised he would eventually get 30 square meters of new housing, but his old house was more than 200 square meters! But it was more than just a financial loss. I asked Zheng why he came here when there was nothing left. He answered in a low voice: “What else do I have to do? I’m retired, there’s nothing. All I have is this empty space where my home used to be.” After a few minutes, with the sun slowly setting, I left him, staring at the tree and his memories.

For all of Hailong's efforts to derogate the existing village and turn its demolition into a question of monetary compensation, villagers still mourned the emotional loss of their homes and communities. They haggled with the village to earn a little extra compensation here and there, but their resistance to demolition was about more than financial security. In the front of the village, a few days after Hailong had begun their "low-key" process of demolition, I stumbled on a funeral (Figure 6.16). The deceased had lived in one of the newly demolished buildings. People whispered that the shock of the loss had killed him. The Taoist ceremony carried on in the ground floor of the last building left standing before the open ground—it was as close as you could get to his home. Out on the dirt, tables and chairs were arrayed for a banquet. People smoked and chatted in low voices. Once the funerary rights were over, they drank and ate where their homes had once stood. And they celebrated the memory of the man who lost his life to Hailong's future.

6.2.3 (Non-)Participation

China's Urban-Rural Planning Law required villager participation in the formulation of all village plans: "Prior to delivering the plan for approval, it must first be discussed and approved by a meeting of villagers or village representatives." But this left substantial room for flexibility and interpretation. The word used for villager "approval," *tongyi*, indicated consent or willingness, in contrast to the word for the "approval" of supervising governments, *pizhun*, which indicated ratification and sanction. The approval of villagers therefore connoted passivity, whereas the approval of supervising governments connoted authority. Moreover, villager representative committees were

often tightly controlled by village party secretaries (Oi and Rozelle 2000: 521-529), as was the case in Hailong. And legal requirements for participation only applied to statutory planning. Modifications to the village plan, or subsequent planning activities, such as Hailong's real estate development planning process, did not necessitate villager participation.

Hailong officials claimed to have gone through a rigorous participatory process, with extensive villager input and multiple rounds of adjustments. Photographs in the village newspaper and the exhibition hall proudly portrayed village officials explaining Hailong's new land use maps and planning regulations to elderly villagers. But, as Cai Guangyu explained it, this process amounted to little more than a publicity campaign: "We ... get all the villagers together and explain it to them in a detailed way: why do this, why do that, what are the benefits? Especially the benefits, such as our residential environment. In the future, what improvements will there be? For instance, our incomes will increase. How will they increase? We tell everyone, all of the people (*laobaixing*). Once they think it's okay, then they vote. Once the majority of people agree, then we send it up for approval." What Cai laid out was not an iterative process of input and influence but a process of persuasion, in which approval was a foregone conclusion—a vote was only taken once a majority of villagers had already agreed.

Few villagers I encountered felt they knew what was planned for Hailong's future. And those who replied with confidence often gave starkly different answers. One villager thought the whole of Hailong was set to become a tourist area, with all the industry moving to Xipeng and the Baishiyi airport turning into a park. When I asked villagers how they found out about the plan, some referred to the village's planning

meetings, but more often they said they had learned about it from the newspaper or the nightly news. Hearing that I was an urban planning student, residents would sometimes ask me if I could tell them about the village's plan. The least informed were Hailong's migrants, who lacked any legal provision for planning participation and who operated on rumor alone.

In April 2014, Hailong held a public meeting for the airing of grievances. More than a year after the beginning of construction on the village's new residential area, it was clear that village residents still knew relatively little about Hailong's future. Moreover, few of the concerns they expressed had been considered in the village's planning process. For instance, many residents raised the issue of transit access. The Jiulongpo government had recently announced that three-wheelers, which most residents rode to and from nearby Baishiyi, would be outlawed. Without them, residents asked, how would they get around? The village was in the process of building a four-lane access road for the new village center, making it much easier for car drivers to reach the village. But few residents owned cars, and no provisions had been made for public buses. Unshaded and exposed, the new road would only make pedestrian access more difficult.

As plan implementation moved forward, the lack of substantive inclusion began to catch up with Hailong's leaders. As part of the statutory planning process, Hailong's planners conducted a survey of the village population and found that, based on a 20 percent sample, 95 percent of villagers were willing to give up their land and move into the new residential area. And, indeed, many villagers were eager to move. In particular, those who lived in the remote reaches of Hailong's interior readily accepted the village's terms, handing over their houses and land in return for monetary compensation and

apartments in the new village. Others cited the erosion of Hailong's existing living environment, using onomatopoeia to describe the noisiness of nearby factories: "The air will be better and there will be less *bin la bong* all day and all night!" Some, like the Wangs, who lacked the money for new self-built housing, welcomed the opportunity to upgrade to new apartments. And then there were the party stalwarts and investors, who stood to gain politically and economically from the village's development program.

But Hailong's leaders and planners had vastly overestimated support for relocation. Most of the villagers I spoke with were unwilling to move, and the village began a series of meetings to try to convince them to change their minds. Again, village leaders mismanaged the participatory process. Over the course of eight meetings, Hailong's leaders gathered villager opinions about relocation, and then the village's party members, community leaders, and villager representatives voted to pass a revised set of regulations. In its announcement of the new relocation procedures, Hailong claimed to have "gained the approval of a majority of villagers in order to balance all interests." For those who were still unhappy, the announcement warned, "their issues will be addressed on a case-by-case basis."

Over the following six months, tensions over relocation continued to escalate. In the wake of the relocation announcements and the "low key" beginning of demolition, villagers expressed frustration and anger: "There's no one to give the common people (*laobaixing*) justice. Reporters come, but they're all on the hook. ... The central government said that forced demolition wasn't allowed, but they went and did it anyway. So who will give us justice?" The conflict came to a head in May 2012, when another meeting was held to address villagers' dissatisfaction. Gu Xiaowei recounted the scene:

“Yan Jing prostrated himself in front of the people. If you don’t believe it, go ask anyone. But they all refused to change their minds. They swore at him. They cursed him [*lit.* ‘poured dog’s blood on him’].”

Hailong’s leaders explained this confrontation by painting the holdouts as self-serving petty-bourgeoisie, invoking the anti-capitalist rhetoric of the Maoist era. As Yan Jing argued, greedy villagers with valuable land were placing their individual profit ahead of the collective: “They want to keep their own profits, and they don’t understand what benefit they will get from the new development. They think public goods don’t have anything to do with them because they won’t use them. They don’t believe in their leaders, and they don’t trust the collective.” When I spoke with Zhang Yuanxiao, one of the village’s leaders, in early June, she echoed Yan’s argument: “Demolition hasn’t been very smooth. Villagers think it’s very good right now, so they don’t want to change. Especially the elderly, because they think the process is going to take several years, so they don’t feel secure. The villagers in the front of the village are also resistant. They are very wealthy because they are along the main road, whereas the interior of the village is relatively cut off. In the front of the village there are lots of people so they can make money. So they don’t support the new village project.”

These arguments redirected villagers’ anger away from village leaders and toward households that had grown wealthy independent of the collective. They resonated with many villagers. Gu Xiaowei, a party member, explained: “There are people who do not support Yan Jing.” She let out a cry of exasperation and continued, “They all have buildings that they rent out. They make money, as much as several thousand *kuai* each month. ... If you demolish those buildings, then they won’t have any income.” Zheng

Zhihui expressed a similar sentiment: “People in the front of the village have benefited from development. They built houses and rented them out to make money. But people here in the back of the village haven’t seen any benefit.” After a pause, Zheng continued, “And now the village wants to tear our houses down!”

Even if villagers recognized the spatial and socioeconomic divides within the village, their reasons for resisting demolition and relocation crossed those lines. After condemning those who had cursed Yan and declaring her support for Hailong’s leader, Gu Xiaowei went on to bemoan the impending loss of her house: “My heart is sad. It’s really a pity to have this house demolished. . . . We have our own garden. It’s quiet. . . . If your family had a house like this, would you be willing to have it torn down?” Even Gu’s downstairs relatives, who claimed to be the poorest household in the neighborhood, were unwilling to move.

As described in Chapter 4, demolition and relocation challenged villagers’ spatially inscribed survival strategies. This included economic diversification through the construction of dormitories and factories for rent. But villagers saw such diversification strategies in terms of long-term potential, meaning that even households without such rental properties were resistant to giving up their land. For instance, Zhu Lantian was unwilling to move into the new apartment the village was providing for her. She complained about the low compensation and the high cost of finishing the new apartment (as much as 50,000 RMB per unit), but as our conversation continued, she eventually revealed her true reason for hanging on to her house: “I want to start a *majiang* parlor, or a teahouse, or a restaurant maybe. We’re right on the road here. Why shouldn’t we make a little extra money too?”

Villagers also relied on the networks of mutual support that they built through colocation and cohabitation. The importance of these networks often became intertwined with expressions of affective attachment, such as the wistful and even desperate exclamations of Gu Xiaowei and Zheng Zhihui, or the mourning rituals at the front of the village. Several months after the funeral for the man whose heart was broken by the loss of his home, I walked through the front of the village again. The whole neighborhood was gathered outside, just as they had been for the funeral. “Who died?” I asked. “No one,” came the reply. “This is the last day to move out. The last day of our community.”

Hailong’s leaders played on these sentiments, arguing in the village newspaper that “many villagers are willing to move because they can live together more easily and look after each other.” But Hailong’s residents were not so sure. They were not involved in the planning process, and they had no idea if it would work. Sun Yibin expressed faith in the village plan, even though he had never actually seen it. “They are following the Huaxi model,” he explained, “and Huaxi has been so successful.” But as we continued talking, doubt crept in: “Will our leaders actually be able to accomplish what they say they are going to do? We have no choice but to rely on them, because once our houses are torn down, we won’t have any independent source of income—we’ll rely on the collective.”

Without clear insight into Hailong’s planning process, residents relied on rumor and supposition. Between 2011 and 2013, Gu Xiaowei was a fierce supporter of the village’s new development project. She was unhappy about giving up her house, but she was enthusiastic about purchasing a unit in the new village center, an 85 square-meter apartment that she bought for 250,000 RMB. She even tried to convince me to buy the

unit next to hers, arguing that she could take care of it for me while I was away. Perhaps my parents would like to buy one of the semi-detached villas as a retirement property? But just a year later, she had already sold her unit, making a profit of 41,500 RMB: “Who knows what property rights the village actually has? There’s so much demolition going on here, I’m worried it will all just get torn down.” Without knowing the compromise Hailong’s leaders had struck with the municipal government, Gu Xiaowei worried that Hailong would go the way of other villages that relied on “small property rights”: state expropriation and demolition.

6.3 *The Landscape of Ghosts*

Gu Xiaowei’s change of heart caught me by surprise. “So you don’t want to move into one of the new apartment buildings anymore?” I asked. “No,” she replied. “I’m afraid. There are ghosts over there. I’m not willing to go.” Gu was referring to the public cemetery where both her mother and father were buried, up on the slopes of Longju Mountain just above the site of the new residential area (Figure 6.17). Her explanation surprised me even more—just a year earlier Gu had argued precisely the opposite. When I asked her if people were resistant to the idea of living so close to a cemetery, she had dismissed the idea: “Why do people choose Longju Mountain to bury their dead? Because the *fengshui* is excellent (*fengshui baodi*). No one has this kind of resistance. Quite the contrary—the foot of a mountain is the best possible place to have a house!”

After her complaint about the ghosts, Gu quickly changed the subject. But what could explain her reversal? I encountered similar sentiments among other residents who opposed or rejected Hailong’s new residential development. For instance, when

explaining why he was not taking one of the new apartments, Wang Dai emphasized how close the land was to the public cemetery, where his mother was also buried: “The dead and the living shouldn’t be so close together. I don’t want to wake up in the morning and see ghosts walking by along the hillside!”

It is noteworthy that both Gu and Wang were faced with situations in which they felt they had lost control. In Wang’s case, his house had been deemed “old and dangerous,” and he had been entered into a compulsory, district-administered resettlement program. Wang thus had no choice—even if he had wanted one of the new apartments, he was not eligible for Hailong’s relocation housing. For Gu, the lack of transparency surrounding the village’s property rights made her feel that she had no choice but to sell her apartment. Otherwise, the unilateral expropriation of village land by municipal authorities could leave her with nothing.

Both Gu and Wang portrayed their decisions as financially advantageous. Wang touted the cash he would receive as bridge payments until the district’s resettlement housing was built, and Gu pointed to the profit she had earned by flipping her apartment. But in both instances, they were making the best of outcomes they felt they could not avoid. When we had our first conversation about investing in Hailong’s residential area, Gu had said she hoped to eventually sell her unit for double what she paid for it (a return of 100 percent, rather than the 16.6 percent she actually earned). Wang had long spoken of his resistance to giving up his existing house and the importance he attached to living among his friends and family.

Like other residents of Hailong, Gu and Wang had participated in the process of urban transformation according to the rules defined by the leaders of the village

collective and the municipal and sub-municipal governments. These state and collective actors used planning and market mechanisms to discipline village residents, transforming moral duties of mutual responsibility and care into transactional, market-based relations, such as social insurance and corporate shareholding, and translating affective attachments to the land into financial compensation. These processes deterritorialized residents, disencumbering the village of its socio-spatial value and enabling its transformation into an abstracted, valueless space ready to be revalorized as real estate. The removal of residents' claims on the village as a space of affective attachment and moral community cleared the way for Hailong's subsequent reterritorialization by the village collective and the municipal government, both of which vied to consolidate territorial control.

Hailong residents actively gamed this process of deterritorialization, maximizing the compensation and benefits they could gain from the transactional systems set up by the village collective and the municipal government. But, facing a stark imbalance of power, most residents soon ran out of moves, finding themselves powerless to improve the terms offered to them. When this happened, many, like Gu and Wen, adopted an alternative narrative of the village's transformation. Rooted in principles of geomancy, spiritualism, and consanguinity, this narrative reinvested the village with precisely the values that the collective and the government sought to erase.

More than a mere rationalization, the landscape of ghosts served to restore to residents a measure of power, even if they were still unable to change the course of Hailong's transformation. First, by switching codes—from the transactional logic of real estate to the spiritualist landscape of ghosts—residents made their claims to the village incontestable. This shift—between two paradigms of rationality that Stanley Tambiah

describes as causality and participation (1990: 85-86, 107-108)—made residents' claims incommensurate with the logic that governed the village's devalorization.⁴ Gu and Wen could not be compensated for the ghosts of their ancestors, nor could their belief in ghosts be falsified. This incommensurability protected their claims from devalorization, providing a last unassailable bastion from which to defend their moral ownership of the village, its past, and its future.

At the same time, the landscape of ghosts destabilized the conceptual and rhetorical foundations upon which the village collective and the municipal government based their territorial claims. The municipal government exercised land ownership as an agent of the State Council, which did so on behalf of the Chinese people. These territorial claims were thus rooted in the historical and geographic continuity of shared (Han) ethnicity, as represented in the popular term for China, *zuguo*, which includes the character for ancestors (*zu*) and can only be used by people of Chinese descent (much like the term fatherland or motherland). The village collective, meanwhile, based its territorial claims in similar principles of historically and geographically inscribed consanguinity, though at a smaller and more intimate scale (Fei 1967).

By invoking the ghosts of their ancestors, Gu and Wen appealed to what might be called the cultural intimacy of territory (Herzfeld 2005).⁵ A source of both mutual

⁴ As Tambiah describes, causality emphasizes the rationality of instrumental action, while participation relies on mutual entanglement and sympathetic immediacy (1990: 107-108).

⁵ Michael Herzfeld defines cultural intimacy as “the recognition of those aspects of a cultural identity that are considered a source of external embarrassment but that nevertheless provide insiders with their assurance of common sociality, the familiarity with the bases of power that may at one moment assure the disenfranchised a degree of creative irreverence and at the next moment reinforce the effectiveness of intimidation” (2005: 3). The instrumental use of ghosts to invest meaning in, comment on, and contest

embarrassment and shared pride, ancestor worship and the belief in their ghosts forms the fundamental basis of Chinese identity and territoriality. For instance, the shared ancestry of the Taiwanese is an important factor in China's territorial claims to the island, and Han resettlement programs have been used to strengthen the Chinese state's territorial control over outlying provinces that were once minority majority, such as Xinjiang and Tibet. By insisting on the presence of ghosts, residents highlighted the hypocrisy of the village collective and the municipal government: the leaders of both institutions sought to wipe the village clean of affective attachments while simultaneously mobilizing such attachments to legitimize their territorial claims. And residents demonstrated that their own claims to the village, which were also rooted in shared ancestry and consanguinity, could not be so easily erased.

Like Xu Jianguo's poetic re-appropriation of "urban-rural coordination" as "urban-rural equal pay," residents' ghost stories subtly played with the rhetoric of the party-state—including both the municipal government and the administrative village—destabilizing their claims of techno-scientific and market rationality and refocusing attention on the political fight over the village collective. Though most residents lacked the power to fully harness urban-rural coordination for themselves, their rhetorical interventions served to re-politicize the production of urban-rural difference, partially defusing the program of depoliticization embedded in urban-rural coordination and exposing the unevenness of power that is at the heart of China's urban transformation.

the direction of urban transformation bears similarity to Andrew Alan Johnson's work on Chiang Mai, Thailand (2014).

Chapter 7:
The Contested Village

7.1 The Collective

As our conversation in Chengdu drew to a close, Huang Guoyang waxed philosophical about the challenges of village development: “What we need is a new model, a better model. If we can clarify the individual and the collective, if we can figure out the local interests and relations of the individuals within the collective, then perhaps we can organize people into a new model of production.” Huang believed that China’s villages were too atomized, preventing villagers from acting together to improve their lives. Only by redefining villagers’ relationships to the village collective—a crucial but ambiguously defined institution of Chinese governance—could rural poverty and urban-rural inequity be eliminated.

Huang’s observations highlighted the central role played by the village collective in the production of urban-rural difference in China.¹ At each turn in Hailong’s transformation, the village collective emerged as a site of contestation, a key institutional resource that actors sought to control and mobilize in their efforts to transform urban-rural relations. As outlined by Tian Ye, Chongqing’s urban-rural coordination policies drained village collectives of their populations and resources, transferring development

¹ In using the term “collective,” I am referring to a specific (though underspecified) institution within contemporary China. Chinese collectives bear some resemblance to substantive understandings of the word “collective” as used in compound terms such as “collective living” or “collective welfare.” The definition of collectives in Chinese law and ideology suggests that the basis of these institutions is substantively collective, but Chinese collectives do not necessarily function as collectives in this sense. Rather, collectives represent institutionalizations of power that can be captured and controlled by a variety of special interests, including party-state cadres and village elites. Thus, the “collective ownership” of land in a Chinese context is not necessarily equivalent to collective ownership as defined, for instance, by Harold Demsetz (1967: 351-352). Rather, collective ownership describes ownership by an institutional entity that is superficially labeled a collective and that may or may not have substantively collective characteristics.

capacity to municipally-administered urban areas. These policies envisioned a smaller and smaller role for village collectives in rural governance: in many cases, collectives would simply disappear. The practices of village planners served to deligitimize competing efforts to strengthen village collectives, normalizing peri-urban villages into China's hegemonic system of urban-rural difference. Dubbed "villages-in-the-city," the collectives that pursued urbanization were subsumed into the municipally administered urban territory. Those that remained were fetishized as agricultural supplements to the city and turned into industrial farms or agro-tourism attractions perpetually dependent on municipally controlled networks of capital and power.

In Hailong, village leaders and residents advanced alternative projects of urban transformation rooted in the collective. Through a strategic amalgam of charismatic leadership and intra-party patronage, Yan Jing and his colleagues sought to establish the village collective as a rival to the municipal government. By rescaling urban-rural coordination to the territory of the village and providing all the benefits of urban citizenship to the village's residents, the collective's leaders tried to wrest control over urban transformation from the municipality. Meanwhile, through networks of mutual support and economic diversification village residents pursued a further rescaling of the collective to the level of the natural village, where collective identity and social solidarity could be directly experienced and inscribed in village space.

In the village planning process, the status of the village collective was key to resolving these competing projects and the question of Hailong's future. Far from being subsumed into the municipality's project of urban expansion and annexation, as represented by the High-Tech Development Zone, Hailong's village collective emerged

as a viable partner in the process of intra-party-state coordination and negotiation that is characteristic of fragmented authoritarianism. In doing so, Hailong challenged the municipal government's monopoly over planning, demonstrating that village collectives were also capable of exercising planning powers and guiding urban transformation. But the jurisdictional division between collective and municipal planning areas fragmented the village, furthering the production of urban-rural difference.

With its planning powers secured, Hailong's leaders went about redefining the village collective and its role in urban transformation. By mobilizing planning and marketization as disciplinary tools, the village's leaders sought to relieve Hailong of its moral duties and affective attachments, transforming the collective from a grassroots institution of mutual responsibility and care into a territorially-defined corporate entity primed for real estate-led urbanization. Though lacking the power to change the course of Hailong's transformation, the village's residents insisted on an alternative vision, one that emphasized the principles of ancestry and consanguinity upon which Chinese territoriality and collective identity are founded.

In each of these instances, the collective was used to contest the production of urban-rural difference along the intersecting socio-spatial dimensions of scale, territory, and networks (Jessop et al. 2008). Municipal officials, village leaders, and village residents sought to rescale the collective and the granularity at which urban-rural difference was produced. Through their efforts to deterritorialize alternative claims to the collective, these actors attempted to consolidate territorial control over collective resources and the process of urban-rural production. And by connecting the collective to

different networks of political, economic, and moral power, these actors competed to strengthen their scalar and territorial claims.

Along all of these dimensions, actors mobilized planning and marketization as tools for consolidating control over the collective. Thus, the dominant paradigm in the production of urban-rural relations was neither technical or market rationality but political power, as institutionalized through the strength (or weakness) of the village collective. The contestation of urban-rural relations in Hailong was therefore played out through the contestation of the collective. Hailong's future—as both village and city—was ultimately decided by this institutionalization of power.

In the remainder of this chapter, which provides a conclusion to the preceding work, I explore the factors that made the collective so important in the production of urban-rural difference in Hailong (7.1), including both its institutional ambiguity and its intersection with the institutions of the Communist Party. I then turn to the broader significance of the Hailong case (7.2), both for village transformation elsewhere in China and for processes of peri-urbanization in other rapidly transforming contexts. Finally, I provide a brief look at the prospects for future transformation in Hailong and in China (7.3), where urban-rural difference continues to be reproduced and contested.

7.1.1 Necessary Institutional Ambiguity

In his seminal work on China's rural land regime, Peter Ho argues that the institutional indeterminacy of rural property rights constitutes a deliberate strategy on the part of China's central leadership to create leeway for local experimentation and the management of social conflict, an arrangement he calls “deliberate institutional

ambiguity” (2001: 400). A key element of this ambiguity is the vague definition of the collective, meaning that there is no definitive legal or institutional clarity regarding which “collective” actor or group of actors is entitled to exercise rural land ownership. Different actors are thus able to claim ownership of rural land based on the local unevenness of power. As Ho points out, this has often resulted in the appropriation of collective ownership rights by local governments and, therefore, this ambiguity has become a potential source of conflict.

The importance of the collective in the contestation of Hailong’s urban-rural relations was rooted in this same institutional ambiguity. Without a clear legal or institutional definition—regarding not only which collective actor is entitled to exercise land ownership, as Ho argues, but also the very nature and standing of the collective as a form of governance—the village collective became ripe for reinterpretation and political mobilization. In Hailong, the village collective was thus a privileged arena of contestation among the various competing projects of urban transformation.

The example of Hailong has little to say regarding the veracity of Ho’s assertion that such institutional ambiguity is deliberate. Indeed, any attempt to attribute specific intentions to the policy decisions of China’s central leadership is fraught with the perils and uncertainties that accompany all efforts to read tea leaves. But it does suggest that this ambiguity is *necessary*. In Hailong, the ambiguously defined collective emerged as the residual variable in the proverbial equation of urban-rural relations. It provided the institutional flexibility needed to continually refine and reproduce the terms of urban-rural difference and to accommodate the competing urban-rural visions of different actors—from the hegemonic categories of the municipal government to the commonsense

understanding of Xu Jianguo and his poetic articulation of “urban-rural equal pay.”

Without the ambiguity of the collective, the contestation of urban-rural difference probably would have entailed more direct and open social conflict.

Chongqing’s program of urban-rural coordination can thus be viewed as a final push for disambiguation, removing the flexibility that accommodated alternative projects of urban transformation and redefining the collective according to the terms of the municipal government—what amounted to the permanent dissolution of collectives as institutions of governance. It is little wonder that the production of urban-rural difference was so hard-fought. Facing this existential threat, Hailong’s leaders mobilized to contest the municipal recalibration, and, unlike many other villages in Chongqing, they possessed sufficient political and economic resources to do so effectively.

With far fewer resources at their disposal, Hailong’s residents encountered less success in advancing their own alternative visions of urban-rural relations. Their victories were often symbolic, and the difficulties they encountered in their efforts to control Hailong’s transformation speak to another important aspect of collective ambiguity. In recent years, much has been made of shareholding corporations and cooperatives as mechanisms of village governance and development (Lin 2009: 157-158; Po 2008, 2011; Zhao and Webster 2011). In particular, Po Lanchih has argued for shareholding cooperatives as a means of redefining collective power dynamics in favor of village households and at the expense of entrenched political interests. Po documents examples of village shareholding cooperatives that have succeeded in both redistributing property interests to individual villagers and improving economic governance by separating control over economic assets from institutions of political governance (2008, 2011). And

George Lin argues for shareholding corporations as a means to unite the interests of the collective and individual villagers in the face of potential expropriation (2009: 158).

But, as was evident in the case of Hailong, shareholding corporations and cooperatives do not necessarily lead to the equitable distribution of assets or the institution of democratic governance. As an organizational instrument for disambiguating the social, economic, and political relations that constitute village collectives, shareholding corporations can be mobilized by a range of actors both within the village and beyond its boundaries. In Hailong, the village's leaders pursued incorporation as a means of consolidating control over village resources and reducing their commitments to village households, a strategy reminiscent of what You-tien Hsing found in Guangzhou (2010: 134-135). Like the municipality's program of urban-rural coordination, incorporation thus served a politically motivated territorial project while obscuring those politics in the guise of a putatively neutral economic rationality.

7.1.2 The Party

The appropriation of collective assets by village leaders has commonly been attributed to the lack of effective accountability mechanisms within the village and the capture of village leaders by the Communist Party's system of discipline and control (Cai 2003: 663-665; Edin 2003: 42-50; Guo and Bernstein 2004; Oi and Rozelle 2000: 521-522; Tsai 2007: 9-12). In this literature, the local party branch typically appears as a repressive force, providing a bridgehead for the apparatus of the party-state to penetrate and control the institutions of the collective. The village collective's formal autonomy from the state thus emerges as a political fiction, with resources and decision-making

processes effectively controlled by the leaders of the township and, by extension, higher-level party-state authorities.

In many respects, the role of the local party branch in Hailong's transformation confirmed this characterization. Party organizations were used to exert control over collective assets and exclude non-party factions from influencing the course of transformation. Meanwhile, alternative mechanisms of accountability were either absent or ineffectual. For instance, residents expressed a lack of faith in both village elections, which were controlled by the local party branch, and non-party collective institutions, such as the village committee, which were largely filled with party members.

But Hailong's local party branch also served to insulate the village collective from the overwhelming power of the municipal government, contributing to the collective's role as a key site of contestation in the production of urban-rural difference. This capability grew out of China's one-party system, also referred to as "dual rule," in which the nation is governed by two parallel institutions: the state and the party (Schurmann 1966: 188-192). While these two bureaucracies interpenetrate one another and are often conceived of as a single entity, the party and the government function as distinct organizations (Zheng 1997: 82-89). As the representative of the people and the embodiment of the public interest, the party directs and controls each element of the government bureaucracy and, at times, replaces it. As a result, party status supersedes one's rank in the government bureaucracy, and ultimate decision-making power within any organization lies with the highest-ranking party member (Lieberthal and Oksenberg 1988: 146-148; Zheng 1997: 83-84).

Outside the formal bureaucracy of government but within the bureaucracy of the party, Hailong's village collective thus had access to a structure of authority capable of restraining the territorial ambitions of the municipal government. By deftly navigating this system and appealing to the patronage of high-level party leaders, Hailong's local party branch was able to create political cover for its own project of urban-rural production. Indeed, the prominent role of the local party branch in guiding this transformation was crucial in convincing municipal and central leaders to grant the village collective greater latitude and autonomy.

The party also played a key role in facilitating the coordination and compromise that characterized Hailong's planning process. Under fragmented authoritarianism, the resolution of intra-party-state conflicts inevitably rises to higher levels of authority, meaning that party leaders often serve as final arbiters. The village collective's inclusion in the party hierarchy gave it standing in this system, allowing it to bargain with other party-state actors for resources and control rights. Without this status, it is not clear that Hailong could have succeeded in pushing back the urban-rural construction boundary or in securing control over the planning of the village's interior.

Party institutions can just as easily be mobilized to discipline village collectives and bring them in line with governmental projects of urban transformation. As reflected in the preponderance of current scholarship, this repressive role is far more common. But Hailong demonstrated that the inclusion of village collectives in the party hierarchy could also be used to counter municipal power. Indeed, it was precisely this liminal status—inside the party but outside the state—that made the collective a privileged site of contestation in the production of urban-rural difference.

7.2 Hailong in Context

In his 2010 report to the Central Committee Secretariat, Zheng Keyang, the party researcher sent to investigate “the Hailong experience,” praised Hailong’s epistemological approach to village development. As Zheng argued, by discarding received wisdom and starting from the social contradictions they found already existing in the village, Hailong’s leaders were able to “take actions that suit local conditions” (*yin di zhi yi*). A stock phrase of Chinese planning and policy, taking actions to suit local conditions was an elusive principle in a system that prized conformity to scientifically determined standards. Zheng claimed that Hailong’s leaders had succeeded in uniting localization with scientific standardization.

According to Zheng, Hailong’s leaders were not conscious of the scientific nature of their approach. They did not consciously identify the problems Hailong faced as social contradictions or formulate their responses in terms of scientific laws. They simply observed reality and acted. But for Zheng, this was the purest form of science—science without theory. As Zheng argued, abstract, systematic data, divorced from the realities of village life, could be easily distorted by ideology and received wisdom. But local leaders’ experiential authority was pure and unadulterated. It gave them direct access to the objective laws of social contradiction without the mediation of scientific theory and the possibility of ideological contamination.

As much as Hailong’s leaders may have professed to eschew theory and ideology from their experiential reasoning, these influences were inescapable. The Dengist roots of Hailong’s developmental epistemology were inherently theoretical and ideological.

Indeed, all actors employ theory in order to act on their experience, and theory is necessarily influenced by an actor's personal ideology. While emphasizing the importance of local knowledge and experience, which were often disregarded in the pursuit of scientifically objective policy, Zheng was also advocating unreflexive empiricism.

By granting ultimate scientific authority to local party leaders, Zheng's argument also fed the political ecology of scientific rationality, in which technical experts were forced to conform to the views of party leaders. And his insistence on a direct, untheorized connection between local experience and appropriate action delegitimized potential alternative views. Village residents might provide new experiential data, but these experiences had to be mediated by local party leaders, who possessed the authority to take action. Competing interpretations of residents' experiences were disallowed as ideological distortions. Meaning was ultimately a function of power.

The articulation of such power—to make meaning of and take action toward the production and contestation of urban-rural difference—has been the analytical focus of my project. Like Zheng, my ethnographic approach to Hailong's transformation has emphasized the importance of grounded experience. Unlike Zheng, I believe theory plays a central role in making meaning of these experiences. Indeed, by placing theory beyond the reach of critical reflection, Zheng's formulation only succeeded in obscuring the way the theories to which he subscribed served the interests of power. By contrast, I have sought to lay bare the operations of power by critically investigating the diverse experiences, practices, rationalities, and theories of multiple actors—including those who wield the instruments of state power and those whose power is more circumscribed.

Despite our differences, Zheng's invocation of "taking actions to suit local conditions" raises important questions for my own project: What is the relationship between local specificity and general knowledge? And, by extension, what is the relevance of Hailong for understanding urban transformation elsewhere in China and the world? In arguing that Hailong does hold broader significance, I join Ananya Roy, Jennifer Robinson, and others in calling for new geographies of urban theory (Comaroff and Comaroff 2012: 26-27; Robinson 2002: 531-533; Roy 2009: 820-821; Yiftachel 2006: 212-213). This effort, which seeks to destabilize the Euro-American bias in urban theory by theorizing from research sites in the proverbial Global South, builds on a long anthropological tradition of locating theory in the specificity of ethnography (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 35-37; Roy 2009: 822).

At the most general level, the production of urban-rural difference in Hailong bears marked resemblance to existing scholarship based in Europe and America, which portrays urbanization resulting from socially-produced relations of power, particularly in the form of urban growth coalitions (Fainstein 2001: 15-18; Logan and Molotch 1987: 1, 9). Fulong Wu, Jiang Xu, and Anthony Yeh have argued that, despite such resemblances, China's local development politics are distinct from those of urban growth machines (2007: 58). In China, the state's monopoly over urban land and the lack of pluralist institutions result in a type of unilateral state entrepreneurialism that is unlike the coalition-building processes characteristic of Europe and America. Hailong suggests that the situation in China is quite a bit more fractured than this, with multiple actors both within and outside the state vying for control over urban production. But neither is Hailong just another example of an urban growth machine. China's unique brand of state-

led capitalism means that the economic logic of the real estate market, which dominates analyses of European and American urbanization, is less of a determining factor in Hailong. Though market mechanisms still play a crucial role, the superseding importance of power in manipulating those mechanisms (along with other tools of discipline and coordination, such as planning) comes into clear focus.

While it is beyond the scope of the present work to do so here, I would suggest that it is time to revisit our theories of urban transformation in Europe and America, whether argued from the assumptions of liberalism, Marxist structuralism, or regime theory. Viewed through a critical lens, the role of capital and markets in urban production may emerge as less natural and more contingent than previously thought. As in China, the naturalism of market relations only serves to obfuscate more fundamental relations of power, which once exposed can be subject to analysis and criticism. Such an effort would undoubtedly contribute new perspectives to the ongoing revival of interest in Henri Lefebvre's concept of the "right to the city" (Harvey 2012: 22-25; Lefebvre 1974; Marcuse 2009: 95; Mitchell 2003; Samara et al. 2013).

7.2.1 China's Villages

Was Hailong representative of all villages in China? Certainly not. China's villages are too diverse for any one village—or even a longitudinal cross-section of villages—to represent them all. This is not just a matter of the substantial regional variation that characterizes Chinese urbanization. Rather, each village deserves to be studied and understood in its own right. Moreover, many of Hailong's characteristics

made it unique. Its urban-rural liminality, its experimental status, and the political clout of its leaders all made Hailong distinctly unrepresentative.

But these unique characteristics also made Hailong a privileged case for investigating the production of urban-rural difference in China. As James Ferguson argued in the case of Lesotho (1990: 257-258), Hailong's unique qualities intensified, distilled, and clarified a set of processes and dynamics that were common across China's villages. In Hailong, the government's obfuscating rhetoric of social harmony fell away and the messy politics of urban-rural production emerged, exposing fundamental dynamics of transformation that can help to explain superficially dissimilar phenomena elsewhere in China. In addition, Hailong's status as a potential government-approved model for emulation made it an important site of investigation. This is particularly true if Hailong's practices are eventually adopted by the Chinese government and propagated to other villages, but we can learn just as much from Hailong's process of experimentation, in which different options are adjusted, contested, and abandoned.

Evidence of the dynamics that drove Hailong's transformation can be found in other examples of village urbanization across China. As I have documented elsewhere (Smith 2014e), inter-scalar competition for village territory has been one of the defining features of Chinese peri-urbanization. Drawing on networks of political and economic resources, municipal and township governments, administrative villages, and village residents have vied to rescale territorial control in order to pursue their own projects of urban transformation. Fundamental to these processes is the strategic reproduction of urban-rural difference. For instance, in Longmei Village, Guangdong Province, village leaders pursued industrialization and commercialization while seeking to preserve

principles of consanguinity (Figure 7.1). And in Panyang Village, Jiangsu Province, a coalition of township and municipal officials transformed much of the village into industrial parks and commercial real estate developments while maintaining residents' pre-existing residential densities and housing typologies (Figure 7.2).

In both these cases, the village collective constituted a key site of contestation. In Longmei, villagers and village leaders used the collective to protect the village against municipal expropriation and exclude migrants from fully participating in the process of transformation. In Panyang, municipal authorities captured the village's collective institutions, using them to control village land and to exclude villagers from the benefits of urban registration. Meanwhile, in Huanggang Village, Guangdong Province, village leaders corporatized the village collective, transforming it into a real estate development company that, like Hailong, was capable of rivaling the municipal government for control over urban transformation (Smith 2014b; Figure 7.3).

Over the last fifteen years, similar instances of peri-urban transformation and contestation have been documented by other scholars of Chinese urbanization. In Guangdong, Gregory Guldin has traced the "townization" of peri-urban villages and the socio-spatial disruptions such transformations create for village residents (2001: 276-279). In Fujian, Zhu Yu has shown how sufficient population density and access to transportation networks allow villages to engage in "*in situ*" urbanization that competes with municipal expansion projects (2002: 10). In Zhejiang, Sally Sargeson has argued that the boom in housing construction among peri-urban villagers is caused by their social aspirations and projects of self-improvement rather a simplistic response to market incentives (2002: 931). And in peri-urban Beijing, Zhang Li has documented the socio-

spatial resilience of a peri-urban migrant community in the face of a municipal program of demolition and forced resettlement (2001: 186-201).

More recently, a growing body of scholarship has looked at the struggle for control over village transformation. You-tien Hsing has emphasized the pivotal role played by township governments, which are part of the state apparatus and exercise direct supervision of village collectives (2006a: 105, 118-119). As Hsing argues, township governments are able to use their liminal position to seize collective assets and advance town-centered urban projects. In a wide-ranging work on Chinese urbanization, Hsing has also argued that the ability of village collectives to contest municipal expansion and expropriation is in part due to their urban propinquity—villages that are closer to the city have more valuable land holdings and are better able to advance competing projects of transformation (2010: 186-187).

Working in Shenzhen and Guangzhou respectively, Him Chung (2009: 257, 269) and Margaret Crawford and Jiong Wu (2014) have analyzed municipal strategies for disciplining village collectives through the inclusion of urban and peri-urban villages into municipal planning regimes. In Xiamen, Zhao Yanjing and Chris Webster have shown how the municipal government has won the cooperation of villagers and village collectives through the creative redistribution of land rent increments (2011: 538, 549). And, as previously discussed, Po Lanchih has investigated the use of shareholding cooperatives to contest control of collective resources in peri-urban villages (2008, 2011).

It is tempting to view such phenomena as a mere historical phase in China's headlong rush toward an increasingly urban future, not dissimilar from the most intense period of British land enclosure, from 1760 to 1820 (Thompson 1963). But the intensity

of village transformation shows no signs of letting up in the near future. Rather, as growing numbers of China's rural residents attempt to claim a piece of Chinese prosperity, and as the state imposes stricter limits on the conversion of agricultural land, contestation regarding the status of village collectives and the control of collective resources is likely to intensify still further. In this respect, programs like urban-rural coordination, which seek to preempt such contestation in favor of municipal control, may do as much to catalyze further conflict as to prevent it.

7.2.2 Peri-urbanization in Rapidly Transforming Contexts

While many of the institutions discussed in this work are unique to China, the fundamental dynamics in Hailong can be found in a wide range of peri-urban phenomena across Asia and beyond. Rather than the “Third World” or the “developing world,” it has become fashionable to refer to these geographies collectively as the “Global South.” Though it is less elegant rhetorically, I prefer the term “rapidly transforming contexts,” which captures the spatial and temporal fluidity of urban transformation. Rapidly transforming contexts characterizes an evolving horizon of change rather than a postcolonial geography (which, incidentally, is neither entirely global nor entirely southern). And it is conceptually nimble enough to simultaneously encompass the rapid expansion of Mumbai and the rapid contraction of Detroit.

Perhaps the single most important reference point for Asian peri-urbanization, the neologism “*desakota*,” coined by Terrence McGee, concatenates the Indonesian terms for town and village in order to represent the peripherality and hybridity of densely settled inter-urban areas that combine industrial, commercial, residential, and agricultural

functions (1991: 14-19). McGee's study of Indonesian peri-urbanization provided an important breakthrough in the conceptualization of urban phenomena beyond the standard model of city-centered urban expansion. Since then, the *desakota* concept has been widely used to describe peri-urbanization in China, particularly in the Pearl River Delta region of Guangdong (Guldin 1996; Heikkila et al. 2003; Marton 2002: 39; Sui and Zeng 2001). This reflects, in part, McGee's emphasis on the importance of rice cultivation, which produces the high population densities necessary for *desakota* formation. Though rice is commonly grown in China's wet and fertile south, it is less common in China's arid north and mountainous west, including Chongqing. Moreover, while *desakotas* bear some morphological and functional similarities to Chinese peri-urbanization, there are also prominent institutional differences between the Indonesian and Chinese contexts. For instance, Tang Wing-Shing and Chung Him object to the application of the *desakota* model in China (Tang and Chung 2000; Tang et al. 2002: 44), where, they argue, peri-urbanization results from the divergence between legal (government-controlled) and illegal (collective- or resident-controlled) land use.

A more productive comparison might be made to Vietnam, where the legacy of socialism has produced institutional arrangements similar to those in China. Comparing peri-urban villages in the two countries, Michael Leaf describes parallel processes of rapid urbanization catalyzed by post-socialist reform and the influence of globalization (2002: 24). Though he emphasizes the role of marketization in the production of such transformation, Leaf's characterization of the institutional contestation that occurs at the peri-urban edges of the Vietnamese state is similar to peri-urban processes in Chongqing. In his more recent study of peri-urban Ho Chi Minh City, Erik Harms investigates a set of

urban-rural relations closely reminiscent of those in Hailong (2011: 5, 30, 63, 84). As Harms recounts, idealized categories of urban and rural produce an uneven and shifting geography of power in peri-urban Vietnam, one that residents strategically navigate through a set of practices he characterizes as “edginess.” A source of both weakness and strength, Harms’ edginess resembles the liminality of Hailong residents, who experienced their peri-urbanity as both a cause of precariousness and a strategic resource in the pursuit of stability.

In India, the scale and speed of peri-urbanization has nearly rivaled that of China (Qadeer 2000). With a government bureaucracy organized along urban-rural lines, India shares a number of institutional characteristics with China, though a distinct set of political incentives grant less explicit privilege to the urban (Ren 2014). Scholars of South Asia have documented the heated peri-urban politics created by this institutional environment, including jurisdictional fragmentation, land conflicts, and coalition building (Kundu et al. 2002; Narain 2009; Sami 2012). Of particular interest here is the work of Sai Balakrishnan, who investigates the strategic formation of land cooperatives in order to control processes of transformation in peri-urban Pune (2013: 17-20, 47). Balakrishnan emphasizes the importance of historically and geographically contingent articulations of power, which conditioned the formation of these cooperatives and led to three distinct models of development that each reflect dynamics at work in Hailong: state-led, marketized, and coalition-based urbanization.

Finally, further afield, Mexico offers another context in which rapid peri-urban transformation has been characterized by inter-jurisdictional fragmentation and contestation (Aguilar et al. 2003). The institutional similarity between China’s village

collectives and Mexico's rural land collectives, or *ejidos*, is particularly illuminating. As in China's collectives, *ejidal* lands cannot be freely traded on the market, and *ejidos* are insulated from direct supervision and control by local governments. In the 1990s, Mexico's national government pursued a program of collective reform, allowing residents of urban and peri-urban *ejidos* to capture land rents by making their lands eligible for market exchange (Jones and Ward 1998: 78-79, 88-90; Siembieda 1996: 382; Cornelius and Myhre 1998). At the same time, the reform program facilitated the incorporation of *ejidos* into the planning regimes of municipal governments and the subsequent peri-urban expansion of municipal power. The resulting contestation over the status of the collective in peri-urban Mexico is thus strikingly similar to the situation in China.

Though the specific institutional arrangements vary from context to context, the fundamental dynamics at work in rapid peri-urban transformation are remarkably consistent. In each of these contexts, the socio-spatial unevenness of power produces prominent disjunctions between urban and rural, edges that become sites of both contestation and transformation. Inter-institutional competition and collaboration are particularly prominent, often including the formation or dissolution of collective or cooperative organizations. While the processes at work in Hailong are most relevant to the social and institutional specificity of China, they also speak to a wide variety of transformational phenomena beyond China's borders.

7.3 Making a Chinese City

When I walked into her office in June 2013, Du Shenjing welcomed me, as always, with a warm smile and a cup of tea. It had been almost a year since I saw her last, and Du was still buried in paperwork, trying her best to keep on top of her duties as a Hailong official. But Du took a few minutes out of her day to welcome me back to the village, asking about my recent marriage and whether I had completed my studies. When I asked how Hailong's relaunch was going, Du deflected, asking more questions about my life. But, as I continued to probe, Du finally relented, leaning in over our tea and lowering her voice: "We aren't allowed to help you anymore. You make the leaders in Baishiye too nervous." Incredulous, I asked her what she meant, and in response Du compared me to a group of Tibetan cadres who had recently visited the village. Baishiye had required Hailong's officials to accompany the Tibetans during all their conversations with village residents and to make daily reports on their movements. Still confused about how, after more than a year of productive collaboration, my research had become as politically explosive as Tibet, I pressed for more details. Apologetic, Du explained that it was Baishiye's decision, not Hailong's: "Things are very sensitive (*min'gan*) here right now. You know, Hailong is an experimental site, but we still don't know if our experiment will be a success. Things probably won't be clear until 2016 or 2017."

Left unsaid in Du's hushed explanation was the fraught politics—the fuzzy science—of Chinese policy experimentation. The final determination about whether or not Hailong would become a model for other villages to emulate would be based on much more than the efficacy of Hailong's policies or the skill with which they were implemented. The decision would come down to the power relations at work between the collective, the municipality, and the central government. If, once again, China's central

party-state leaders chose to intervene, the village stood a good shot of being confirmed as a model. In this process, control over the narrative of Hailong's relaunch would be crucial. And, in the eyes of Baishiye's leaders, who had recently changed and therefore did not know me well, my independent interpretation of the village was an unwanted wildcard.

Hailong might still find a welcoming audience among China's central leaders, who have continued to pursue new experiments in the production of urban-rural difference. Chongqing's urban-rural coordination program remains in place, but it has been superseded implicitly by the National Plan for a New Form of Urbanization, released in March 2014. The National Urbanization Plan incorporates many of the key features of Chongqing's urban-rural coordination regime, including both household registration reform and land reform. The plan also calls for all local governments to formulate local urbanization plans, providing yet another tool for the production of urban-rural difference, and in early 2015, the city of Chongqing was designated as an experimental site under the plan. This round of experimentation and reform will probably last another seven years, at least until Xi Jinping and Li Keqiang step down in 2022 and their successors advance new programs for the production of urban-rural difference.

In the meantime, Hailong has pushed forward in the construction of its own experiment. The final house in the valley behind Silong Mountain was demolished, the uneven land was graded, and construction workers began laying the foundations of the new village complex. By the time I returned to Hailong a year later, in June 2014, the hotel and the office building were all but completed, and the concrete frames for nine of the village's eight-storey apartment buildings had already taken shape (Figure 7.4).

Meanwhile, the existing village has slowly begun to disintegrate. Demolition and construction for the new village center and the access road have left wide, impassable swathes of rubble and high fences of corrugated metal siding that now crisscross the village landscape. And the opening of the high-speed rail line has made pedestrian and car access to the village's interior significantly more difficult. Hailong is transforming once again, and the lines of urban-rural difference are shifting. Most residents have little choice but to wait and see where Hailong's relaunch will take them.

APPENDICES

A-D

Appendix A
Interview List

ID	Date	Main Participants	Location
110729A	7/29/11	Village Officials	Hailong
110729B	7/29/11	Village Officials	Hailong
110802A	8/2/11	Village Official	QQ
110806A	8/6/11	Village Officials	Hailong
110825A	8/25/11	Planners	Planning Bureau
110830A	8/30/11	Villager	Hailong
110830B	8/30/11	Villagers	Hailong
110830C	8/30/11	Villagers	Hailong
110831A	8/31/11	Village Official	QQ
110905A	9/5/11	Villager	Hailong
110905B	9/5/11	Villagers	Hailong
110923A	9/23/11	Village Official	QQ
110927A	9/27/11	Village Official	QQ
110930A	9/30/11	Village Officials	Hailong
110930B	9/30/11	Village Officials	Hailong
110930C	9/30/11	Village Officials	Hailong
110930D	9/30/11	Village Officials	Hailong
110930E	9/30/11	Village Officials	Baishiyi
111006A	10/6/11	Village Officials	Hailong
111006B	10/6/11	Village Officials	Hailong
111006C	10/6/11	Village Officials	Hailong
111007A	10/7/11	Migrant	Hailong
111007B	10/7/11	Villagers	Hailong
111011A	10/11/11	Village Official	QQ
111012A	10/12/11	Villagers	Hailong
111012B	10/12/11	Villagers	Hailong
111013A	10/13/11	Planners	Three Gorges Square
111013B	10/13/11	Planners	Three Gorges Square
111013C	10/13/11	Village Official	QQ
111014A	10/14/11	Villagers	Hailong
111014B	10/14/11	Village Officials	Hailong
111014C	10/14/11	Village Official	Hailong
111014D	10/14/11	Village Officials	Baishiyi
111014E	10/14/11	Village Officials	Baishiyi
111014F	10/14/11	Village Official	Car
111016A	10/16/11	Migrant	Hailong
111016B	10/16/11	Villagers	Hailong
111016C	10/16/11	Migrants	Hailong
111019A	10/19/11	Village Officials	Hailong
111019B	10/19/11	Village Official	Hailong
111019C	10/19/11	Village Official	Car
111021A	10/21/11	Planners	Planning Bureau
111026A	10/26/11	Migrant	Hailong
111026B	10/26/11	Villager	Hailong
111026C	10/26/11	Villager	Hailong

ID	Date	Main Participants	Location
111026D	10/26/11	Villagers	Hailong
111030A	10/30/11	Villagers	Hailong
111030B	10/30/11	Villagers	Hailong
111030C	10/30/11	Village Officials	Hailong
111030D	10/30/11	Village Officials	Hailong
111102A	11/2/11	Village Officials	Hailong
111102B	11/2/11	Village Officials	Hailong
111118A	11/18/11	Planners	Yuzhong
111118B	11/18/11	Planners	Yuzhong
111119A	11/19/11	Village Official	Three Gorges Square
111125A	11/25/11	Villagers	Hailong
111125B	11/25/11	Villagers	Hailong
111125C	11/25/11	Villager	Hailong
111125D	11/25/11	Migrants	Hailong
111129A	11/29/11	Villagers	Hailong
111129B	11/29/11	Villager	Hailong
111129C	11/29/11	Villagers	Hailong
111129D	11/29/11	Villagers	Hailong
111206A	12/6/11	Villager	Hailong
111206B	12/6/11	Villagers	Hailong
111206C	12/6/11	Villager	Hailong
111206D	12/6/11	Village Official	Hailong
111208A	12/8/11	Villager	Hailong
111208B	12/8/11	Migrants	Hailong
111208C	12/8/11	Villagers	Hailong
111213A	12/13/11	Villagers	Hailong
111213B	12/13/11	Villagers	Hailong
111213C	12/13/11	Villager	Hailong
111213D	12/13/11	Villager	Hailong
111226A	12/26/11	Village Officials	Hailong
111226B	12/26/11	Village Official	Hailong
111226C	12/26/11	Village Official	Hailong
111226D	12/26/11	Village Officials	Hailong
111227A	12/27/11	Migrant	Hailong
111227B	12/27/11	Villagers	Hailong
111227C	12/27/11	Villagers	Hailong
111227D	12/27/11	Villagers	Hailong
111227E	12/27/11	Migrant and Villagers	Hailong
111227F	12/27/11	Villagers	Hailong
111227G	12/27/11	Migrants	Hailong
111230A	12/30/11	Villager	Hailong
111230B	12/30/11	Migrants and Villagers	Hailong
111230C	12/30/11	Villagers	Hailong
111120A	11/20/11	Planner	Car
111125E	11/25/11	Villagers and Migrants	Hailong

ID	Date	Main Participants	Location
111203A	12/3/11	Planner	Yubei
120106A	1/6/12	Migrant	Hailong
120106B	1/6/12	Villager	Hailong
120106C	1/6/12	Village Officials	Hailong
120108A	1/8/12	Villager	Hailong
120108B	1/8/12	Villagers	Hailong
120108C	1/8/12	Villager	Hailong
120108D	1/8/12	Migrants	Hailong
120109A	1/9/12	Villager	Hailong
120111A	1/11/12	Village Officials	Car
120111B	1/11/12	Village Officials	Baishiyi
120111C	1/11/12	Village Officials	Hailong
120111D	1/11/12	Village Officials	Baishiyi
120114A	1/11/12	Villager	Hailan Village
120116A	1/16/12	Villager	Hailong
120116B	1/16/12	Villager	Hailong
120116C	1/16/12	Villagers	Hailong
120118A	1/18/12	Villagers	Hailong
120118B	1/18/12	Villager	Hailong
120123A	1/23/12	Villagers	Hailong
120127A	1/27/12	Villager	Hailong
120127B	1/27/12	Villager	Hailong
120127C	1/27/12	Migrant	Hailong
120131A	1/31/12	Villager	Hailong
120131B	1/31/12	Villager	Hailong
120131C	1/31/12	Villager	Hailong
120131D	1/31/12	Villager	Hailong
120201A	2/1/12	Villagers	Hailong
120201B	2/1/12	Village Officials	Hailong
120201C	2/1/12	Migrant	Hailong
120201D	2/1/12	Villager	Hailong
120201E	2/1/12	Villagers	Hailong
120201F	2/1/12	Villager	Hailong
120201G	2/1/12	Villagers	Hailong
120228A	2/28/12	Villagers	Hailong
120228B	2/28/12	Villagers	Hailong
120228C	2/28/12	Villager	Hailong
120228D	2/28/12	Migrant	Hailong
120228E	2/28/12	Villager	Hailong
120228F	2/28/12	Villagers	Hailong
120302A	3/2/12	Villager	Hailong
120302B	3/2/12	Migrant	Hailong
120302C	3/2/12	Villager	Hailong
120302D	3/2/12	Villager	Hailong
120302E	3/2/12	Villager	Hailong

ID	Date	Main Participants	Location
120305B	3/5/12	Villagers	Hailong
120305C	3/5/12	Migrants	Hailong
120305D	3/5/12	Villager	Hailong
120305E	3/5/12	Villager	Hailong
120305F	3/5/12	Villagers	Hailong
120310A	3/10/12	Villager	Qianqiu Village
120311A	3/11/12	Planner	Three Gorges Square
120312A	3/12/12	Villagers	Hailong
120312B	3/12/12	Villagers	Hailong
120312C	3/12/12	Migrant	Hailong
120313A	3/13/12	Planners	Yuzhong
120315A	3/15/12	Planner	Chongqing University
120319A	3/19/12	Villagers	Hailong
120319B	3/19/12	Villagers	Hailong
120320A	3/20/12	Villager	Hailong
120326A	3/26/12	Village Official	Chengdu
120326B	3/26/12	Villagers	Chengdu
120326C	3/26/12	Villagers	Chengdu
120326D	3/26/12	Villagers	Chengdu
120326E	3/26/12	Village Official	Chengdu
120327A	3/27/12	Villager	Chengdu
120327B	3/27/12	Villager	Chengdu
120327C	3/27/12	Villager	Chengdu
120328A	3/28/12	Municipal Official	Chengdu
120328B	3/28/12	Planners	Chengdu
120328C	3/28/12	Planner	Chengdu
120331A	3/31/12	Villagers	Hailong
120331B	3/31/12	Villagers	Hailong
120331C	3/31/12	Migrants	Hailong
120331D	3/31/12	Villagers	Hailong
120404A	4/4/12	Villager	Hailong
120404B	4/4/12	Villagers	Hailong
120404C	4/4/12	Villagers	Hailong
120404D	4/4/12	Villagers	Hailong
120405A	4/5/12	Villager	QQ
120409A	4/9/12	Villagers	Hailong
120418A	4/18/12	Migrant	Huaxi Village
120418B	4/18/12	Villager	Huaxi Village
120429A	4/29/12	Planners	Jiangbei
120508A	5/8/12	Planner	CMPDI
120518A	5/18/12	Planner	Chongqing University
120522A	5/22/12	Planners	Chongqing University
120524A	5/24/12	Planner	Chongqing University
120525A	5/25/12	Planner	Chongqing University
120529A	5/29/12	Planners	Jiangbei

ID	Date	Main Participants	Location
120601A	6/1/12	Planner	Yuzhong
120602A	6/2/12	Village Official	Hailong
120602B	6/2/12	Villagers	Hailong
120608A	6/8/12	Villager	Hailong
120608B	6/8/12	Villager	Hailong
120608C	6/8/12	Village Official	QQ
120609A	6/9/02	Villagers	Hailong
120616A	6/16/02	Villagers	Hailong
120616B	6/16/02	Villager	Hailong
120623A	6/23/12	Village Official	Baishiyi
120623B	6/23/12	Village Official	Baishiyi
120623C	6/23/12	Village Official	Hailong
120625A	6/25/12	Planner	QQ
120627A	6/27/12	Planners	Chongqing University
120628A	6/28/12	Planners	Jiangbei
120709B	7/9/12	Planner	Jiulongpo
120709C	7/9/12	Villagers	Hailong
120711A	7/11/12	Villagers	Hailong
120711B	7/11/12	Villagers	Hailong
120711C	7/11/12	Village Official	Hailong
120713A	7/13/12	Village Official	Phone
120721A	7/21/12	Migrant	Hailong
120724A	7/24/12	Villager	Hailong
120726A	7/26/12	Villagers	Hailong
120726B	7/26/12	Villagers	Hailong
120803A	8/3/12	Village Official	QQ
120804A	8/4/12	Villagers, Village Official	Hailong
120806A	8/6/12	Villagers	Hailong
120806B	8/6/12	Village Official	Hailong
130609A	6/9/13	Planners	Three Gorges Square
130609B	6/9/13	Planner	QQ
130610A	6/10/13	Migrants	Hailong
130610B	6/10/13	Villagers	Hailong
130610C	6/10/13	Villagers	Hailong
130611A	6/11/13	Planner	Three Gorges Square
130620A	6/20/13	Planners	CMPDI
130621A	6/21/13	Planners	Chongqing Design Institute
130622A	6/22/13	Villagers, Village Official	Hailong
130624A	6/24/13	Villager	Hailong
130624B	6/24/13	Villager	Hailong
130624C	6/24/13	Villager	Hailong
130624D	6/24/13	Village Official	Hailong
130703A	7/3/13	Planners	Chengdu
130712A	7/12/13	Planners	Chengdu
140626A	6/26/14	Villager	Hailong

ID	Date	Main Participants	Location
140626B	6/26/14	Villagers	Hailong
140627A	6/27/14	Real Estate Professional	Jiulongpo
140628A	6/28/14	Villagers	Hailong
140628B	6/28/14	Migrants	Hailong
140628A	6/28/14	Planner	Jiangbei
140628B	6/28/14	Planner	Yubei

Appendix B
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Appendix C

Spatial Analysis Methods

The following appendix provides technical notes regarding GIS analyses and design studies contained within the preceding work. In the interests of brevity and for ease of navigation, I have organized figures into groups based on shared analytical processes. Unless otherwise noted, all GIS layers were projected in Universal Transverse Mercator 48N and all GIS work was conducted in ArcMap10. The boundary of Hailong used in all GIS analyses was produced by georeferencing a paper plan of the village and then tracing the boundary.

Figures 1.1-1.2, 1.11

Sources:

Digital Elevation Map (DEM): ASTER Global DEM is a product of METI and

NASA. Dated 10/17/2011. (ASTGDEM_V2_0N29E106)

Province polygons: CHGIS, Version 4. Cambridge: Harvard Yen-ching Institute,

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Municipal and county polygons: 2010. China Data Center, the University of

Michigan at Ann Arbor.

Process: Administrative polygons were projected onto the raw DEM raster, and their

symbolology was recategorized. For the boundaries of Baishiyi, I georeferenced and

then traced a paper map of the town.

Figures 1.4, 1.8, 2.1

Sources:

DEM: ASTER Global DEM is a product of METI and NASA. Dated 10/17/2011.

(ASTGDEM_V2_0N29E106)

Streets: OpenStreetMap contributors.

Research and village locations: KML files were downloaded from Google Earth Pro

(Digital Globe 2010).

Process: Streets were downloaded from OpenStreetMap and then converted to polylines using the Load OSM File tool. From the OSM data set, I selected motorways, primary roads, secondary roads, and tertiary roads for representation. Motorways are highlighted in a heavy gray line; all other roads are represented with a thin gray line. Research and village locations were identified in Google Earth Pro and then downloaded as KML files. I then converted the KMLs to points using the KML to Layer tool. This data was then projected on the raw DEM raster.

Figure 1.5

Sources:

DEM: ASTER Global DEM is a product of METI and NASA. Dated 10/17/2011.

(ASTGDEM_V2_0N29E106)

Reflectance raster: Global Land Survey (GLS) 2010: Data available from the U.S.

Geological Survey. (L6-L5128040_04020100811, L6-L5128039_03920100523)

Process: The independent bands contained in the GLS dataset were first combined in MultiSpecW32 v. 4.0 using the “Logically Linking” function and then saving as a new, integrated raster. I then used the Classify tool to conduct a supervised classification of the integrated raster, using training areas to differentiate between open land, built land, and water. I opened the reclassified raster in ArcMap and adjusted the symbology so that only built land swatches were displayed in white. This image was then projected on top of the raw DEM raster.

HAILONG BASE MAP (GIS)

Many of the following figures use a common base map of Hailong Village produced in GIS (1.6, 1.10, 1.12-13, 3.2, 3.9, 3.10, 3.11, 3.12-15, 5.3-5, 6.13-14). Figures that contained additional analysis beyond the base map are addressed individually below.

Sources:

DEM: ASTER Global DEM is a product of METI and NASA. Dated 10/17/2011.

(ASTGDEM_V2_0N29E106)

Cheng-Yu Expressway and Bai-Peng Road: OpenStreetMap contributors.

Land Survey A: Provided to me by Hailong village officials. I have dated it to c. 2003, just after the construction of the first paved road.

Process: Contours were produced by applying the Contour tool to the DEM raster.

Contours were drawn at 5-meter intervals and grouped into the following categories: 140-300, 301-350, 351-400, 401-450, and above 450, with each group

represented in a progressively lighter shade of gray. The Cheng-Yu Expressway and Bai-Peng Road were produced and represented according to the same process used in Figures 1.4, 1.8, and 2.1. The mountain road from Baishiyi to Xinqiao I traced using the Land Survey provided to me by Hailong officials.

HAILONG BASE MAP (CAD)

Many of the following figures are also based on a common base map produced in CAD (1.6, 3.2, 3.9, 3.10-15, 3.21, 4.4-4.6 [site plans], 4.9, 4.10-11).

Sources:

Satellite imagery: Digital Globe 2010, downloaded from Google Earth Pro (dated 08/12/2005, 04/19/2007, 08/31/2009, 12/08/2010, 08/19/2011, 08/16/2012, 08/17/2013, 10/08/2014).

Land Survey (*dixing tu*) A: Provided to me by Hailong village officials. I have dated it to c. 2003, just after the construction of the first paved road.

Land Survey (*dixing tu*) B: Provided to me by Hailong village officials, covering a period years c. 2007-2010. This survey comprised both a raster file and multiple layers traced over the base raster in CAD.

Process: Using the Land Survey (B), I printed out map tiles for walkable quadrants of the village, usually the size of a natural village. I then systematically walked every section of the village, verifying the existence of all structures, pathways, roadways, tombs, and major natural features. I also used this map to record all

conversations, in addition to other experiences of the village, such as sounds, smells, pollution, social spaces, and dogs. In many cases, I took photographs of the features I recorded. Where these features were different or absent from the base drawing, I drew them into the map and then entered them into CAD. Using Microsoft Excel, I also collected metadata on all structures, including use, height, condition, and materials, as well as ownership, age, and cost, where available. I then imported the completed CAD layers into ArcGIS and used the DEM, GLS, and OSM data to georeference them. I did the same with the satellite imagery downloaded from Google Earth. For the imported layers of structures, pathways, roadways, and tombs, I used the georeferenced satellite images to validate each polygon or polyline for each year of satellite imagery. For 2003, I used Land Survey (A). (For 2000 accessibility, I used the same data for 2003 but subtracted the paved road built in that year.) This allowed me to produce individual layers of structures, pathways, roadways, and tombs for each year. For the structures layers, I then joined their attribute tables to my table of metadata in Excel.

Figure 1.10

Process: Roads displayed within the Hailong boundary included all roadways I identified as paved in 2012.

Figure 1.12

Process: I georeferenced the map of existing land use from the Hailong Statutory Plan and traced over non-collective land use categories.

Figure 1.13

Sources:

DEM: ASTER Global DEM is a product of METI and NASA. Dated 10/17/2011.

(ASTGDEM_V2_0N29E106)

Process: I used the Slope tool to analyze the DEM raster and reclassified the resulting raster using the gradations represented in the figure's legend.

Figures 3.10-11

Process: For each year of data, I conducted an accessibility analysis using ArcMap. I first converted all polylines in the dataset to rasters, with a cell size of 12 to indicate meters. I then reclassified each raster and assigned it an impedance value based on the categories listed below. Using the Mosaic to Raster tool, I then combined the reclassified rasters into a single raster. This single raster was again reclassified, with No Data reclassified to indicate difficult walking terrain (see below). I then defined transit points in the center of Hangu and Baishiyi, where most commercial services and transit access were located. These transit points and the reclassified single raster were then used as inputs for the Cost Distance function in ArcMap, which produced a gradient raster indicating access. Finally, I changed the symbology of this raster to reflect the categories listed in the figures.

I used seven layers of shapefiles in this process:

1. Main roads (Bai-Peng Road and the Baishiyi mountain road)
2. Secondary roads (paved roads within Hailong)
3. Tertiary roads (unpaved roads within Hailong)
4. Main pathways (paved paths capable of supporting a motorbike)
5. Secondary pathways (unpaved paths with high foot traffic)
6. Tertiary pathways (narrow footpaths that were seldom used)
7. Barriers (including the Cheng-Yu Expressway and the reservoirs)

I assigned impedance levels to these layers based on the type of analysis.

For Figure 3.10:

1. 1 (driving, 60 kmh)
2. 3 (driving, 20 kmh)
3. 6 (driving, 10 kmh)
4. 12 (walking, 5 kmh)
5. 12 (walking, 5 kmh)
6. 20 (walking, 3 kmh)
7. 1000 (inaccessible)
8. No Data was reclassified as 120 (difficult walking over rugged terrain)

For Figure 3.11:

1. 3 (three-wheeled cab, 20 kmh)
2. 3 (three-wheeled cab, 20 kmh)
3. 12 (walking, 5 kmh)

4. 12 (walking, 5 kmh)
5. 12 (walking, 5 kmh)
6. 20 (walking, 3 kmh)
7. 1000 (inaccessible)
8. No Data was reclassified as 120 (difficult walking over rugged terrain)

Figure 3.13

Process: I overlaid each structure layer with the prior year's structure layer and used the Erase tool to isolate new structures.

Figure 3.14

Process: I used the joined metadata table to select structures based on standard land use and building use classifications. For industry, I classified structures as either medium-heavy or light-medium industry. This reflected the difference between large-scale manufacturing enterprises and small piece-work shops.

Figure 3.15

Process: I used the geometry calculator to calculate the total area in square meters for each structure and exported these values to Excel. In Excel, I then summed these values based on use and year to arrive at aggregate land use figures, including mixed-use structures (Figure 3.15.2). For Figure 3.15.1, I used the same operation, but I first multiplied each structure's area by its share of the number of floors in the structure, arriving at total built area for that use.

Figures 3.21, 4.4-4.6 (site plans), and 4.9-11

Process: The figure-ground drawings in these figures were produced by exporting the building, road, pathway, and wall layers from CAD to Adobe Illustrator. In addition, topography lines represented in the base raster of the Land Survey (B) were traced and imported into Illustrator. The imported layers were then reformatted to reflect the appropriate representation convention. (This process was executed by Longfeng Wu.) The communities in Figure 4.9 were chosen based on their morphological representativeness of other communities and their distinctiveness from each other.

For Figure 4.10, I added further layers to the Illustrator drawing. Based on conversations with residents about land classifications, I sought to realistically represent the imprecision with which the character of land was designated within the village, including disagreements between residents about the exact nature of certain parcels. I did this by creating gradient strips: green for agricultural land, yellow for housing construction land, and gray for wasteland. The fully saturated end of the strip indicated high level of confidence in the land's character, while the transparent end indicated a high level of ambiguity. I also included locations for social spaces, outdoor stoves, dogs, and tombs in the community.

For Figure 4.11, I adapted the original drawing of the rail intersection based on photographs I took of the new rail intersection during the expansion of the high-speed rail line.

Figures 4.4-4.6 and 4.8

Process: The line drawings in these figures are based on detailed measurements that I made of the interior and exterior of each building, which I then used to produce a set of plans and sections for each building in CAD. These CAD drawings were then exported to Illustrator, adapted to the appropriate representational conventions, and used as the basis for the isometric massing diagrams (this process was executed by Wei Lin). Furniture arrangements and use designations were based on current usage at the time of my visit, which I documented with photographs. In the case of Figure 4.6, the two-storey addition to the west of the house is omitted from the floor plan drawings because I did not have access to that part of the complex.

Figure 4.14

Process: A similar process was used in Figure 4.14, but the Illustrator drawings were instead traced from the unit renderings provided in the village's marketing materials (Wei Lin executed this process). These units are still under construction, so I did not specify any furniture, use, or orientation.

Figures 5.3-5.5

Process: I georeferenced drawings from different drafts of Hailong's statutory plan and traced over them to determine the three construction boundaries. The rest of the analysis in these figures is based on Figures 1.13, 3.10, and 3.12.

Figure 6.2

Process: Like Figure 4.14, this drawing was produced by tracing over a construction drawing of the new village center (Longfeng Wu executed this process). The center is still under construction, so little context is provided, such as topography, roads, and vegetation.

Figure 6.14

Process: Based on the analysis in Figure 3.12, I overlaid each year of structures on top of the next year and used the Erase tool to isolate those buildings that had been demolished.

Appendix D

Figures

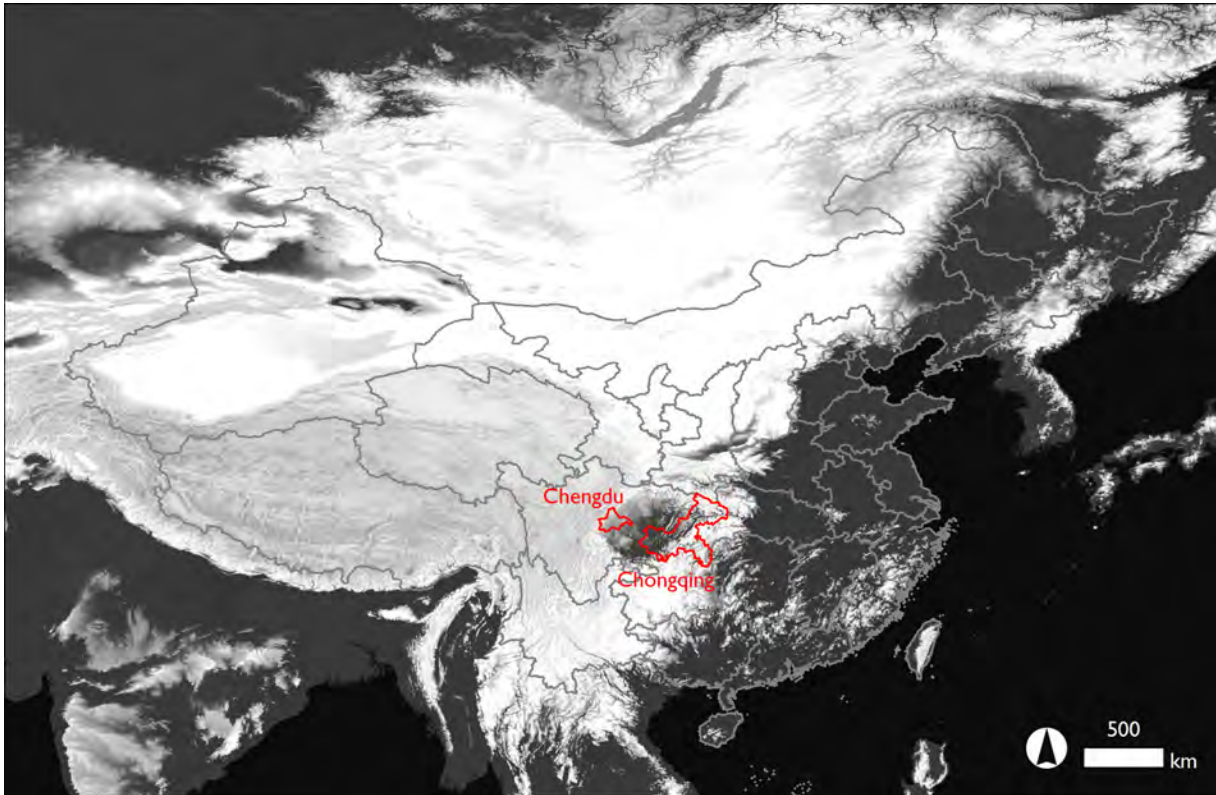


Figure 1.1: Chongqing and Chengdu

Chongqing, a provincial-level municipality, is located in China's mountainous southwestern interior, near to Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan Province.

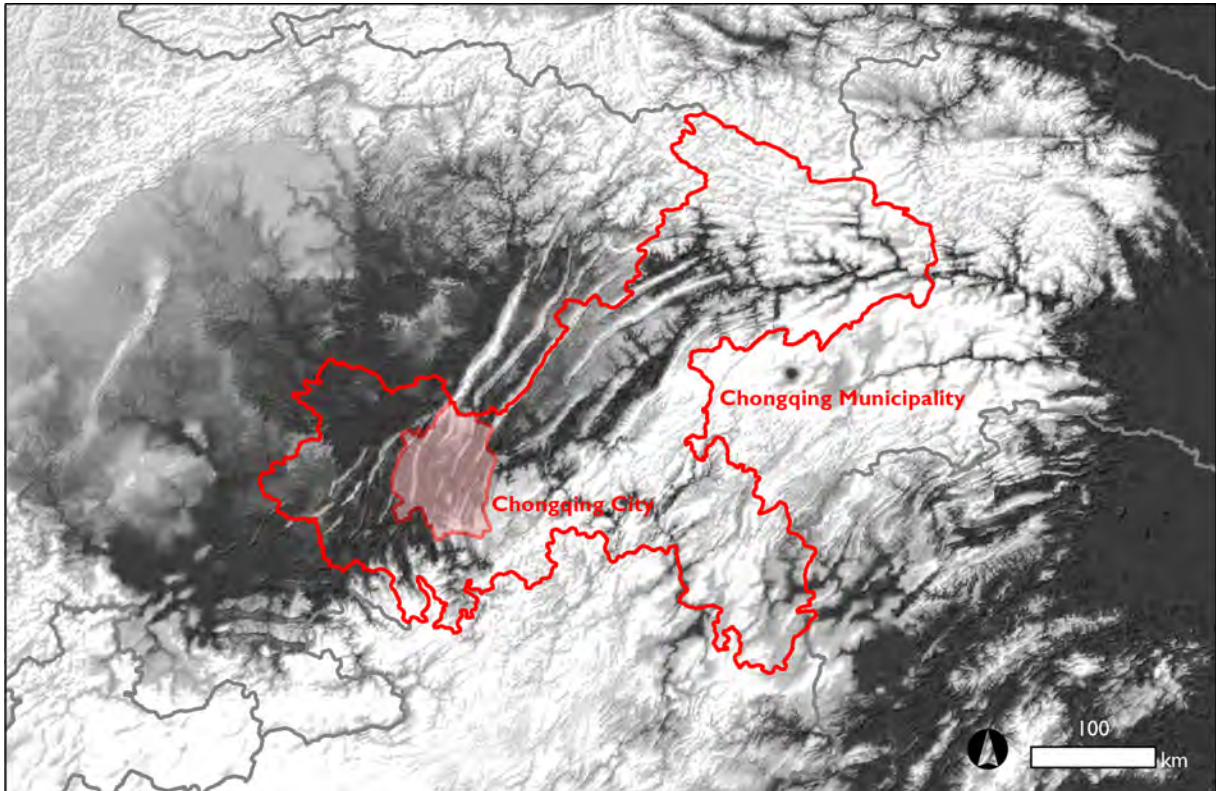


Figure 1.2: Chongqing Municipality and Chongqing City

The City of Chongqing is located in the southwest of the larger municipality.

	URBAN	SUB-URBAN
STATE		
Province	Provincial Municipality <i>(CHONGQING)</i>	
Prefecture	Sub-provincial City Prefectural City	
County	County-level City	District <i>(JIULONGPO)</i>
Township	Town <i>(BAISHIYI)</i>	Street Committee
NON-STATE		
Administrative Village <i>(HAILONG)</i>		Neighborhood / Community
Natural Village / Community		

Figure 1.3: China's Administrative Hierarchy

China's administrative hierarchy is divided into state and non-state (or collective) sectors, and special status is given to those administrative units granted urban status. As shown in this diagram, each level of the state's administrative hierarchy has both urban and non-urban expressions. In addition, there are "sub-urban" administrative units. These units are not suburban in a conventional sense but constitute subsidiary units within higher-level urban jurisdictions. The administrative position of Chongqing, Jiulongpo, Baishiyi, and Hailong are shown in red. See Fig. 1.11 for a map of these administrative jurisdictions.



Figure I.4: Main Sites of Research

Huayu Plaza was roughly equidistant from Hailong Village and the offices of Chongqing’s municipal planning apparatus.

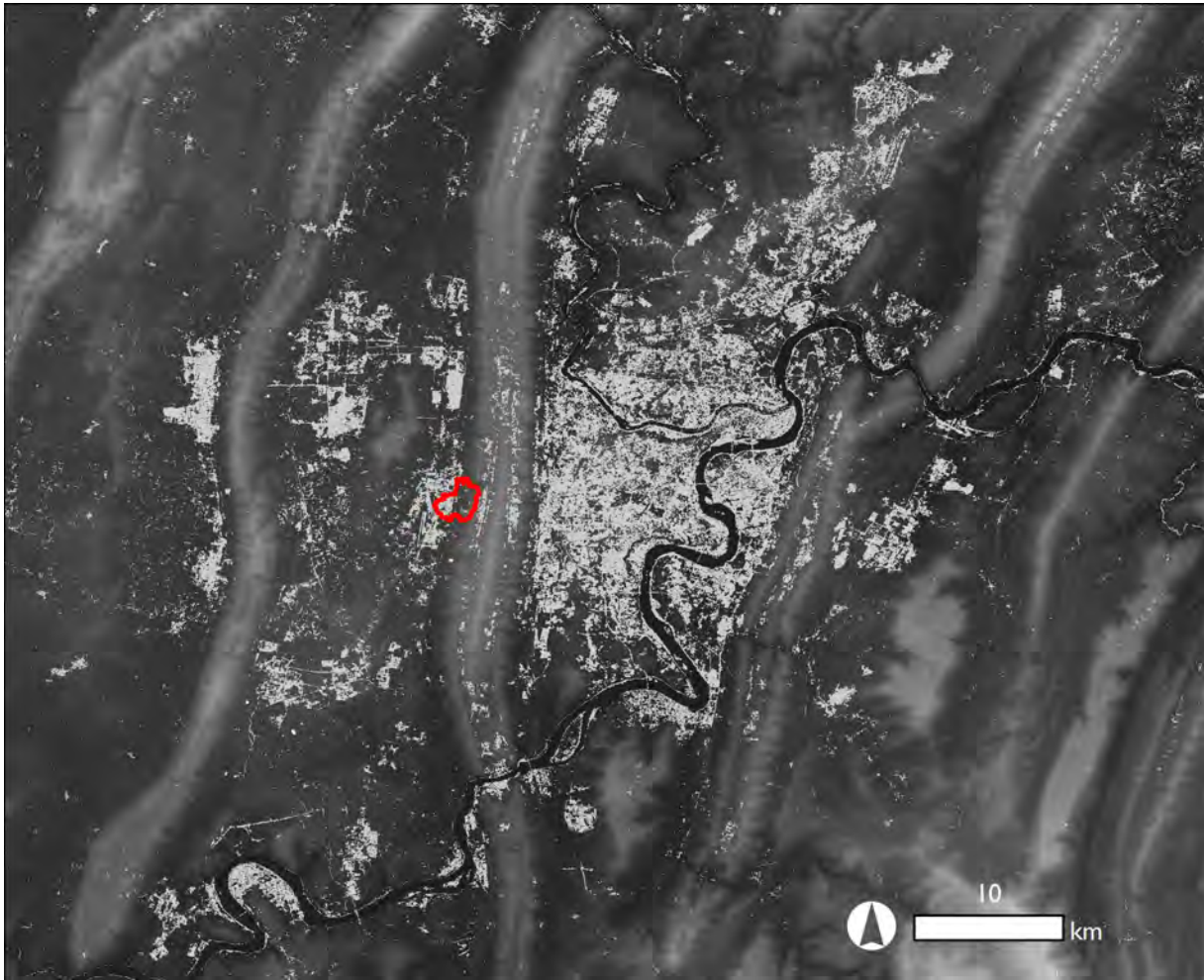


Figure I.5: Chongqing Morphology (c. 2010)

This analysis of reflectance from the 2010 Global Land Survey shows approximate urban land use in and around the main city of Chongqing. The primary axes of growth are in the west and north, where land is relatively flat. On the outer edge of the Zhonglian Mountain ridge, Hailong is part of the area of expansion known as “West City.”

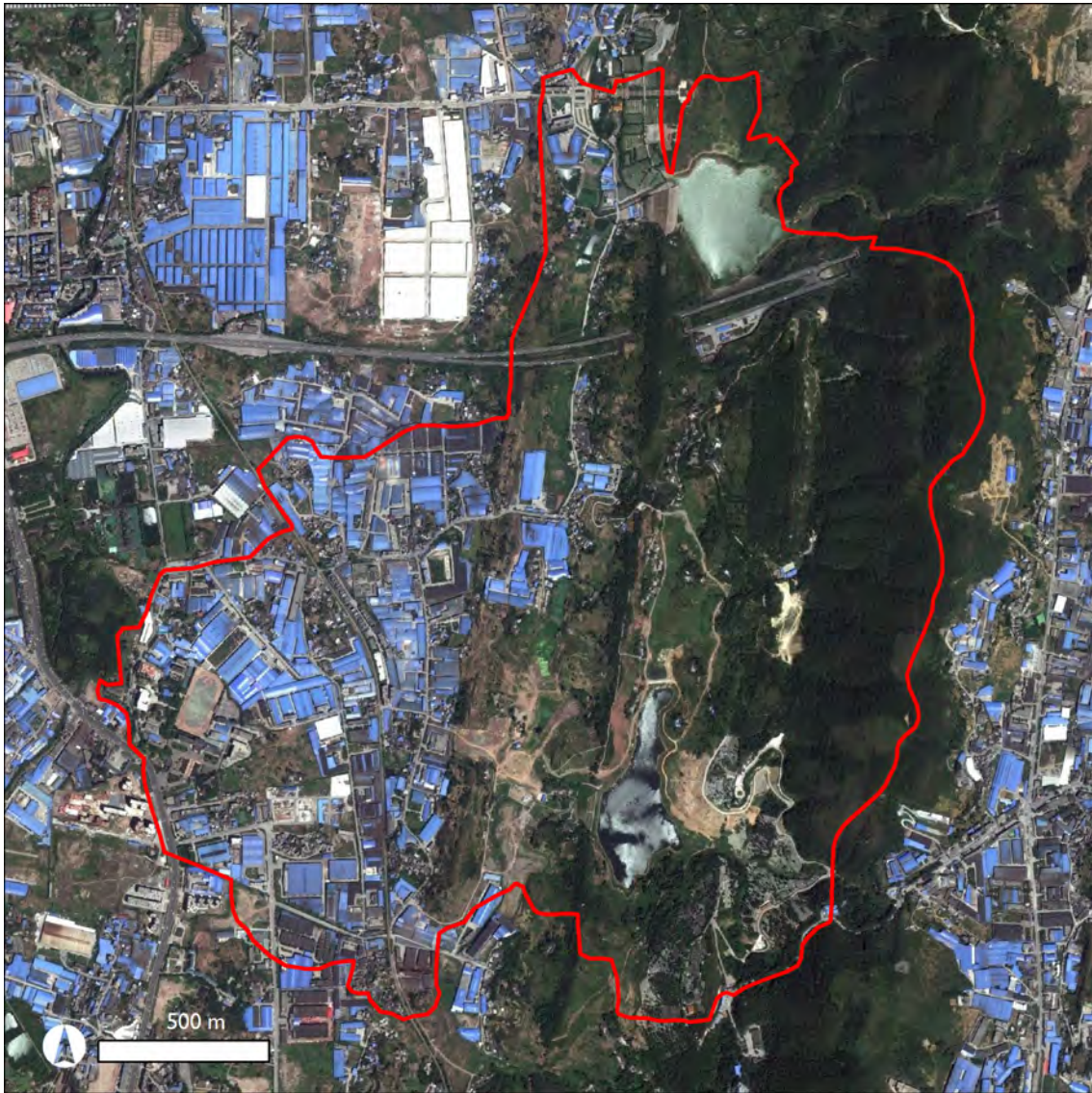


Figure I.6.1: Hailong Village

This satellite image is dated August 19, 2011, just as I was arriving in Hailong Village. It shows Hangu town to the north and the first ridge of Zhonglian Mountain to the east (the developed area to the west is Shandong, a town situated in the middle of the Zhonglian Mountain ridge).



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

Figure I.6.2: Hailong Village

Views of Hailong Village: (a) facing west, with residences in the foreground, factories in the middle ground, and West City in the distance; (b) facing east, with factories in the foreground and Zhonglian Mountain in the distance; (c) facing west; and (d) facing south, with corn in the foreground, factories in the middle ground, and Baishi in the distance.



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 1.7: Zhonglian Mountain

Views of Zhonglian Mountain: (a) the north end of Hailong, with factories and residences in the foreground; (b) Hailong's northern reservoir; and (c) Hailong's southern reservoir, with the public cemetery on the left.

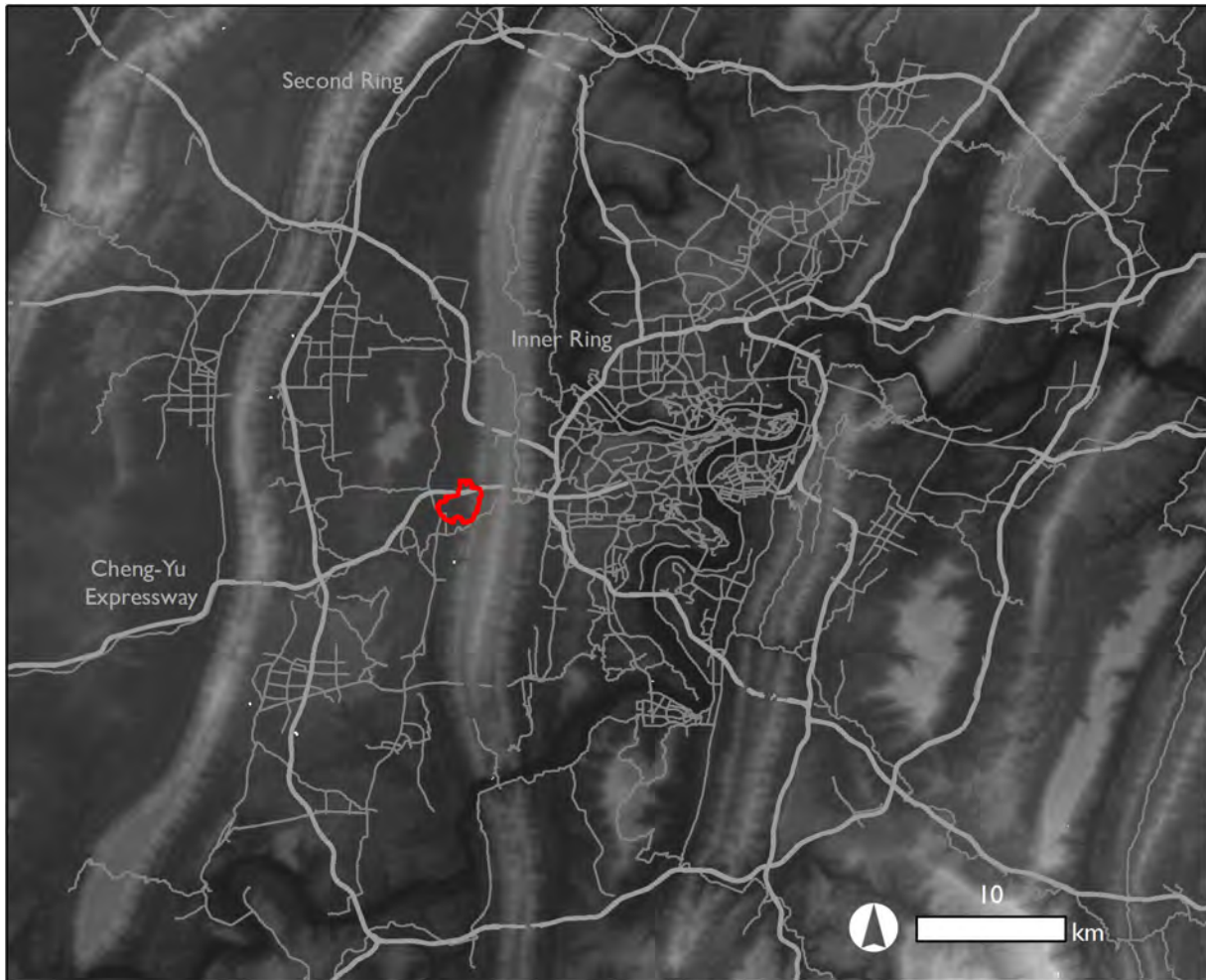


Figure I.8: Chongqing Main Roads and Topography

Hailong is situated between the Inner Ring and Second Ring highways, and its northern edge is bifurcated by the Cheng-Yu Expressway, which connects Chongqing with Chengdu. The multiple mountain ridges that surround the main city have meant that the expansion of Chongqing's road network has required considerable time and expense.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

Figure I.9: Modes of Access

Most people in Hailong did not own cars. Three-wheeled cabs (a) were the primary mode of transportation to and from the village, which sometimes included long waits curbside (b). Many people, including most schoolchildren, accessed the village via the underutilized rail line, which connected Hailong with Hangu Town in the north and Baishi Town in the south.

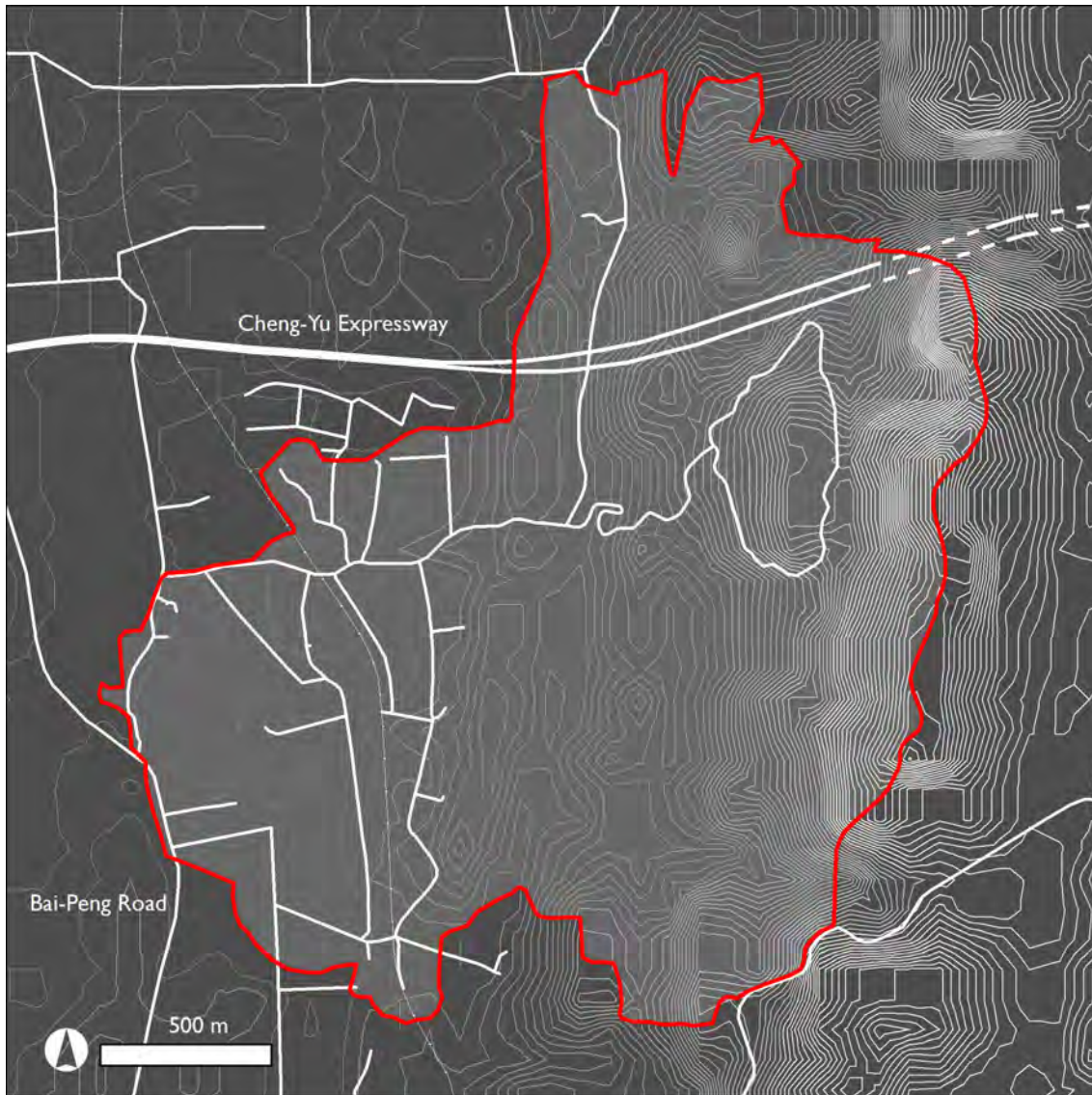


Figure I.10: Hailong Main Roads and Topography

The main roads leading to Hailong include the Cheng-Yu Expressway, which links Chongqing's western periphery to the main city, and Bai-Peng Road, connecting the center of Hangu, in the north, with Baishiya, in the south. Bordering Hailong to the southeast is the mountain road, leading from Baishiya, over Zhonglian Mountain, to Xinqiao and the main city. The remaining roads constitute Hailong's paved road network as of 2012.

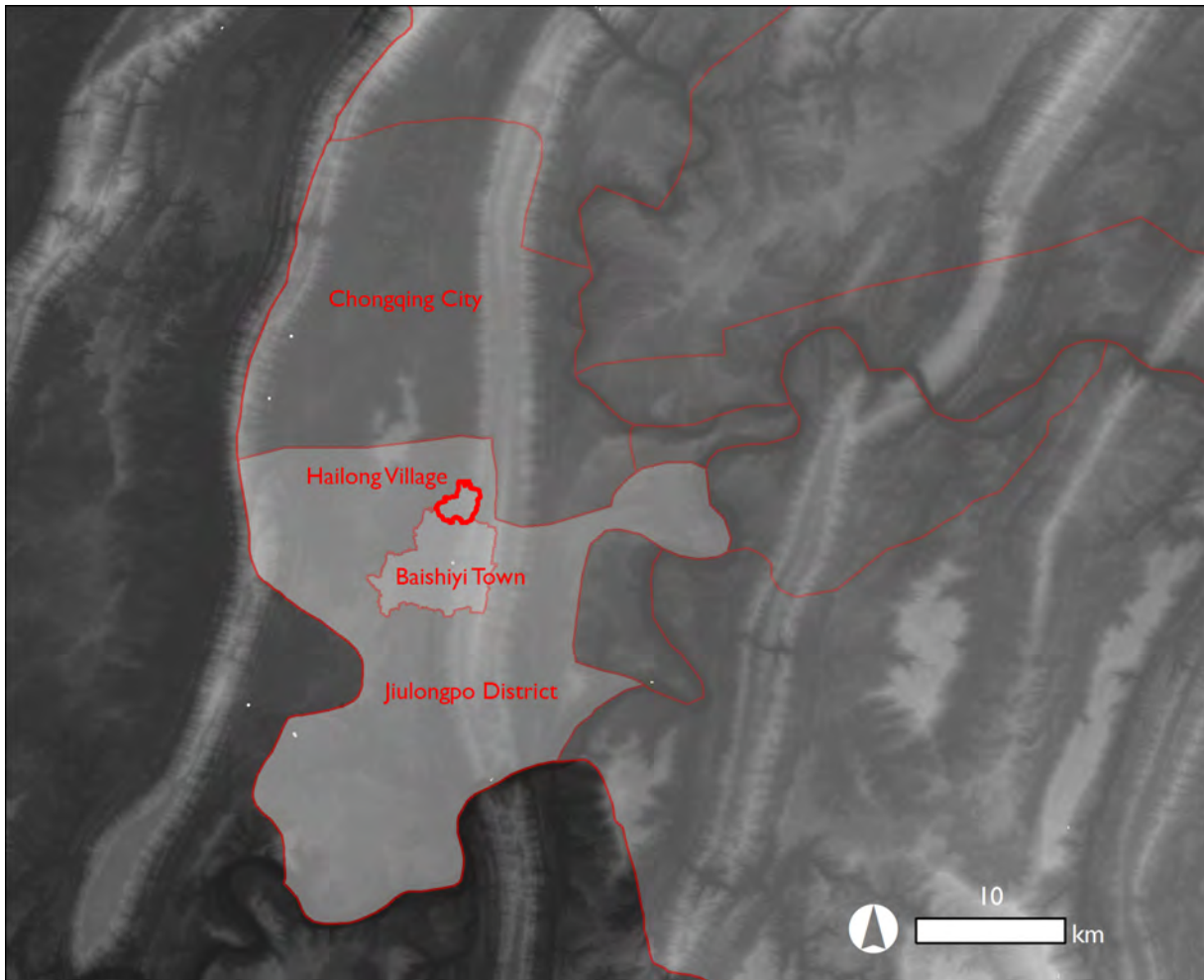


Figure I.11: Administrative Jurisdictions

The Administrative Village of Hailong is located within Baishi Town, Jiulongpo District, Chongqing City. See Fig. I.3 for a diagram of China's administrative hierarchy.

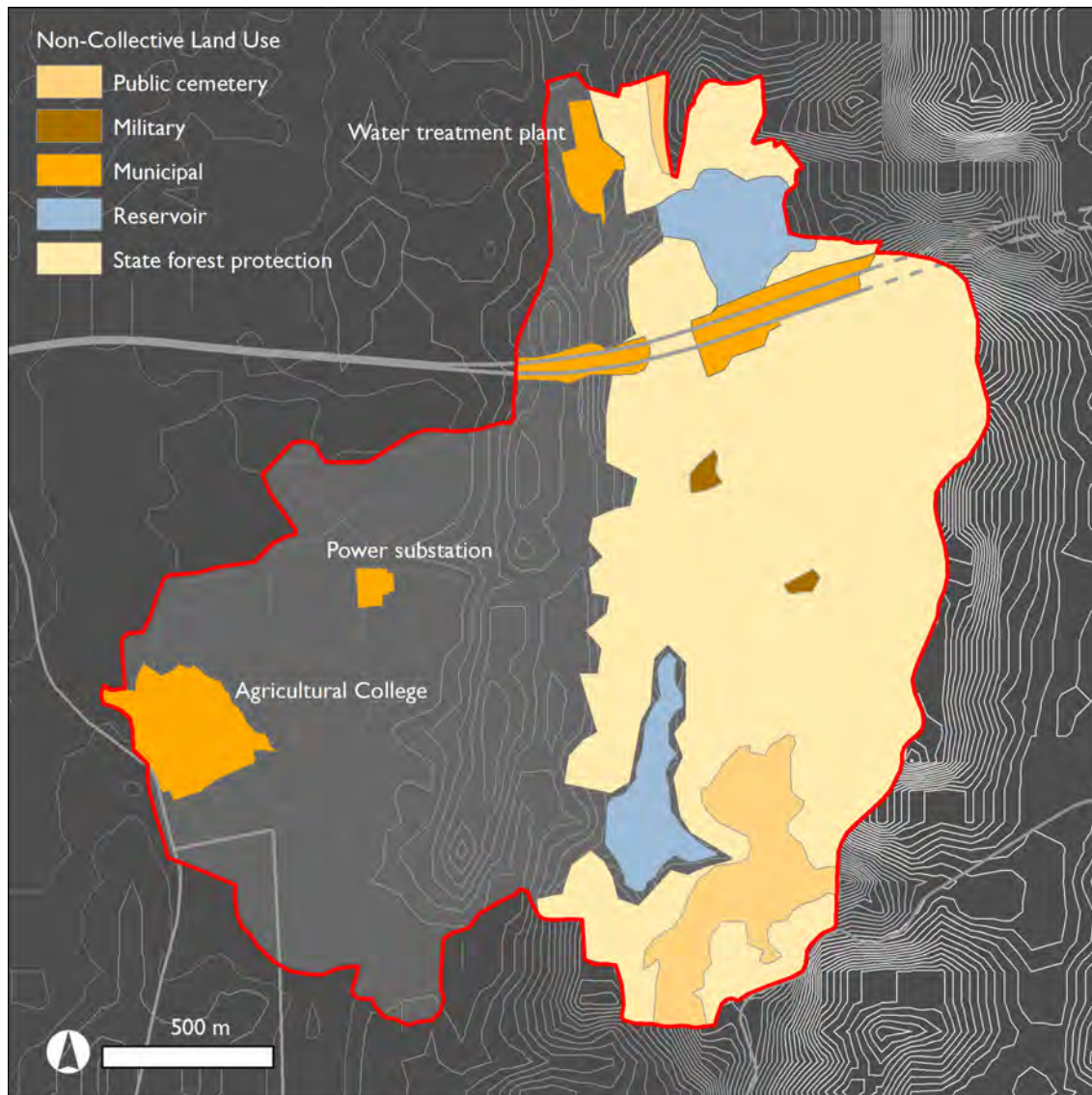


Figure I.12: Non-Collective Land Use

A substantial portion of Hailong’s land has been expropriated and is owned by the municipality and other state actors (including the military). In addition, the village’s mountainous interior is part of a state forest protection area and is subject to rigorous land use restrictions. Most of the rest of the land within Hailong’s boundaries (in gray here) is collectively owned.

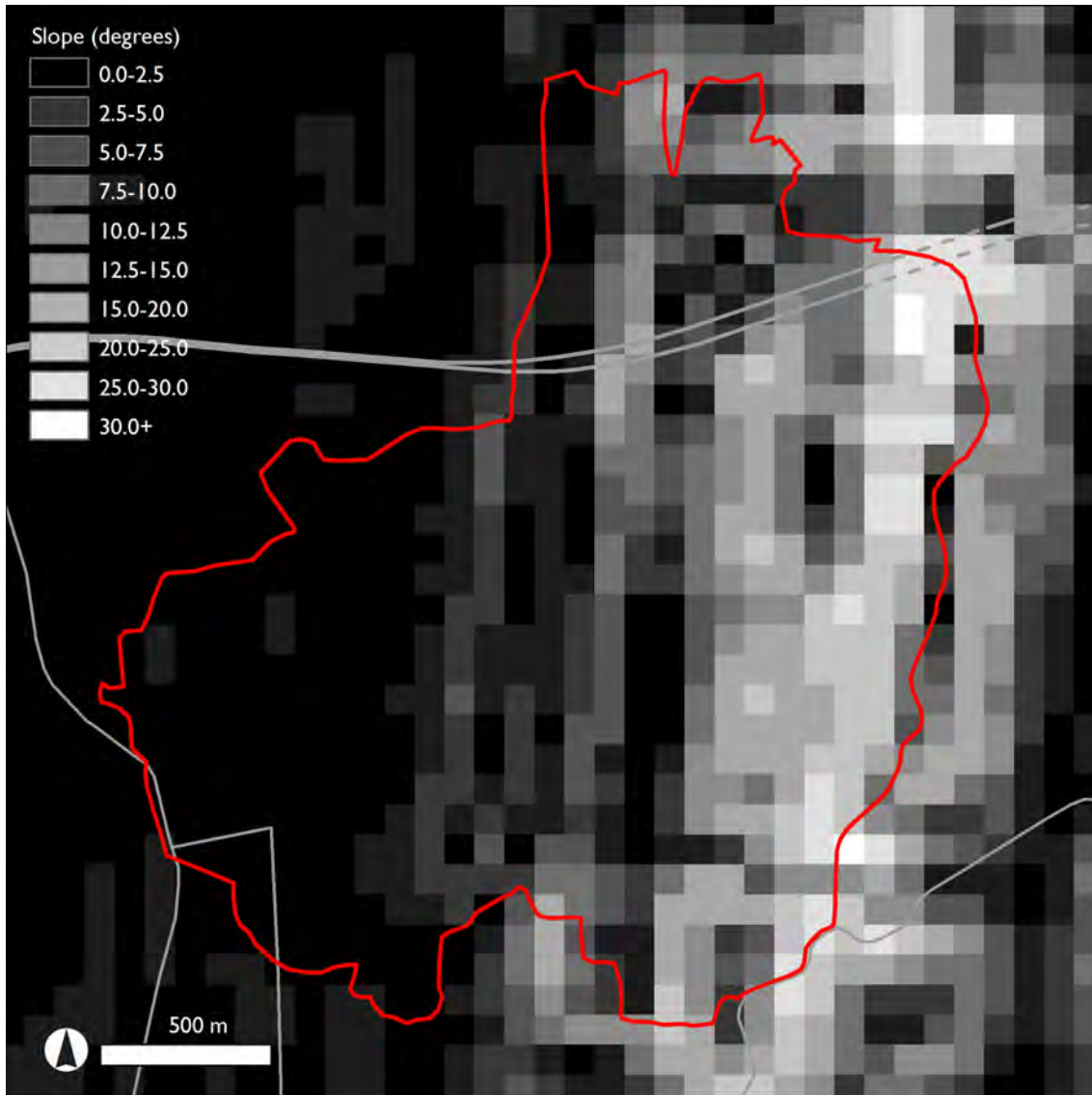


Figure I.13: Slope Analysis

This analysis of slope in Hailong shows relatively flat land in the village's west and steeper land on the slopes of Zhonglian Mountain. In the middle of the village, two smaller ridges run north-south, dividing the village into the outer village, to the west, and the village's interior, to the east.

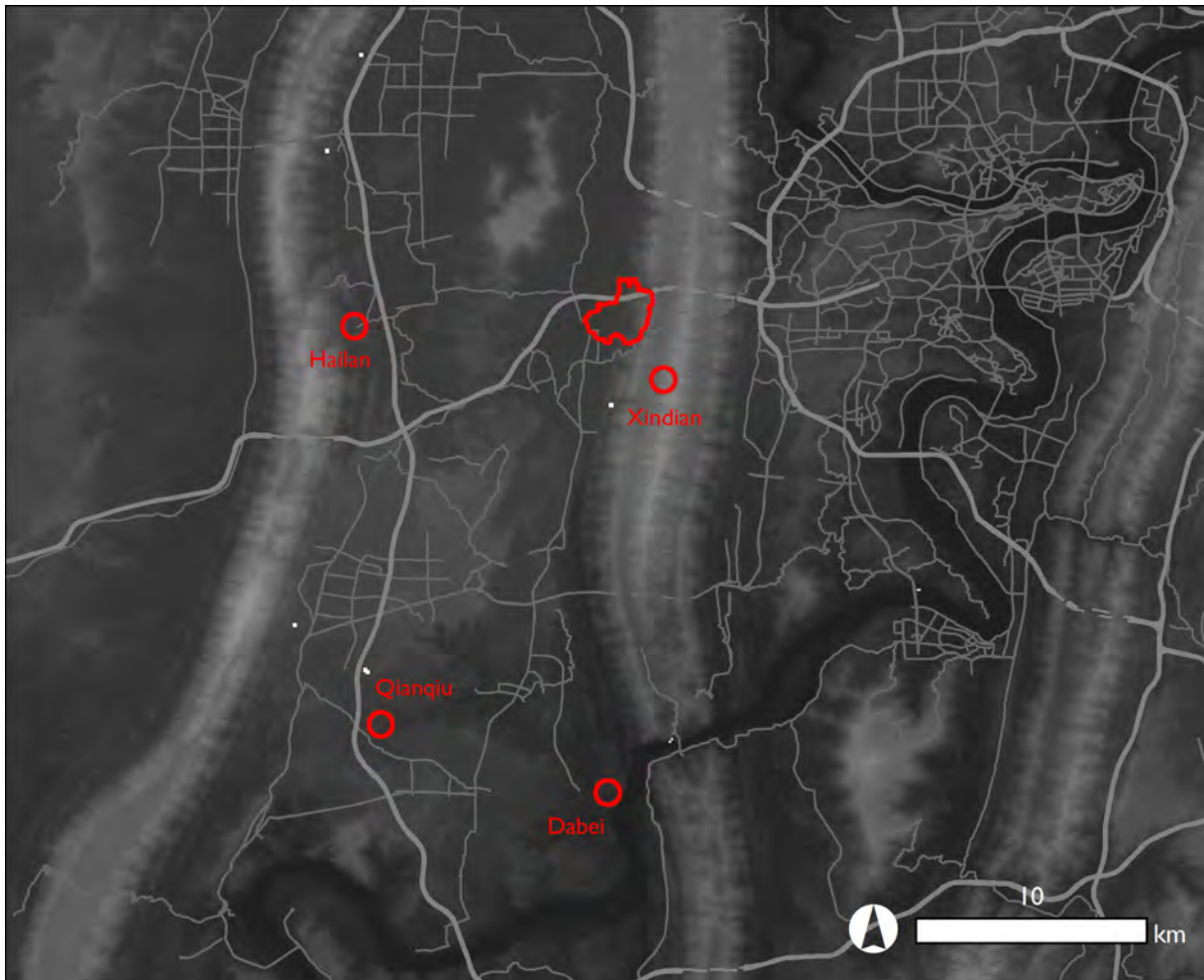


Figure 2.1: Villages in Western Chongqing

Hailan, Qianqiu, and Dabei villages all appear in this chapter. Xindian Village is addressed in Chapter Five.



(a)



(b)

Figure 2.2: Hailan Village

Views of Hailan Village: (a) new housing for villagers; (b) new villager housing overlooked by an apartment building that was part of the Hailan Sea and Sky Resort.



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 2.3: Qianqiu Village

Views of Qianqiu Village: (a) the village's resettlement housing; (b) construction on the development had stalled, and the site was mostly empty; and (c) neatly ordered fields clearly demarcated with stone walls.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

Figure 2.4: Huayu Plaza

Three Gorges Square and Huayu Plaza: (a) part of the pedestrian promenade in Three Gorges Square; (b) a view from our apartment in Huayu Plaza; (c) a view of Huayu Plaza; and (d) Three Gorges Square at night, viewed from Huayu Plaza.

Photos (a, b, d): SARA M. WATSON



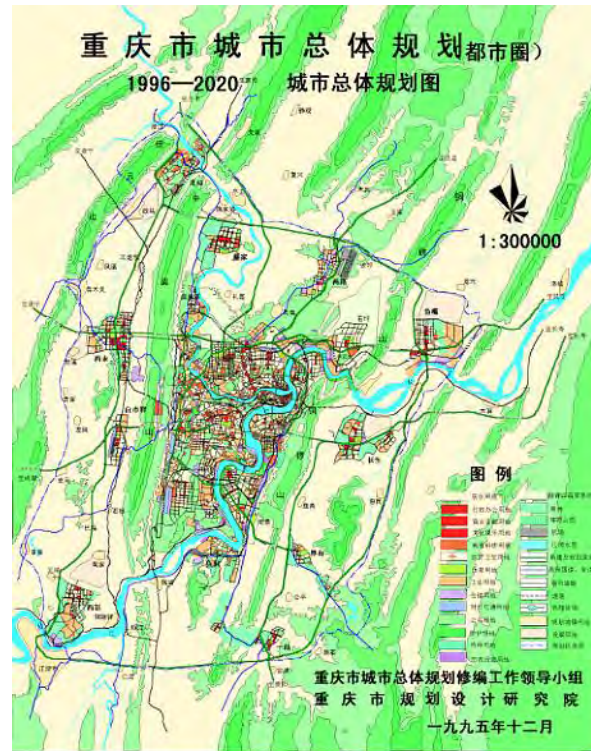
Figure 2.5: Duan Leishi

Duan Leishi finding our location on his Samsung Galaxy

Photo: SARA M. WATSON



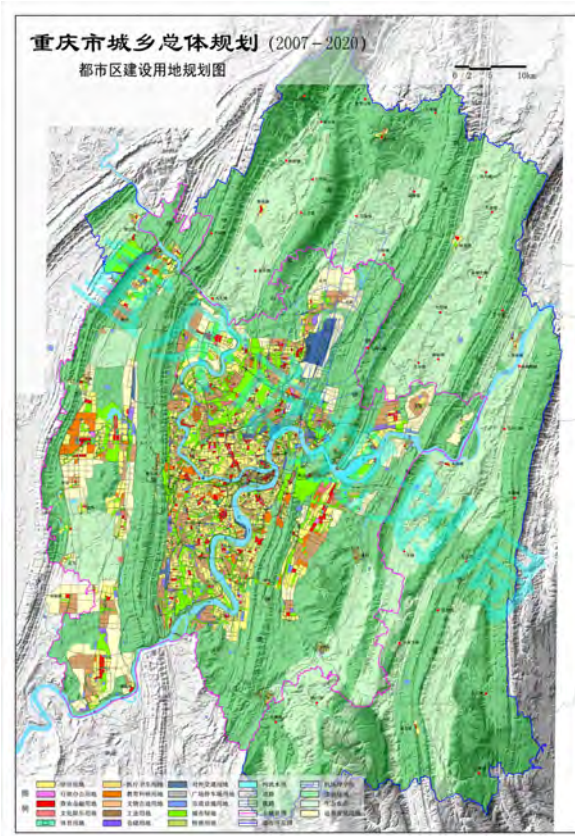
(a)



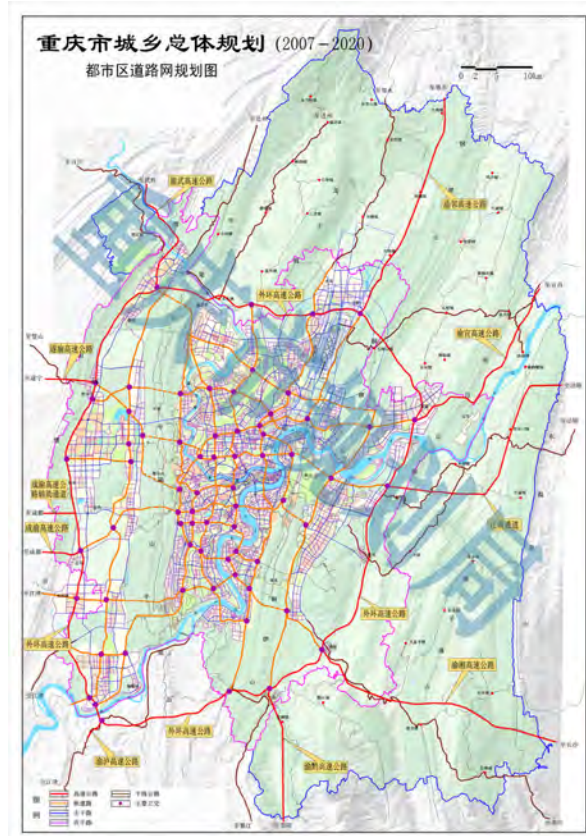
(b)

Figure 2.6: Chongqing 1998 Master Plan

Images from the 1998 Master Plan: (a) the land use plan, which only included the city center, to the west of Zhonglian Mountain; and (b) the metropolitan circle, which represented the space beyond the city center as a collection of urban satellites connected by the proposed second ring highway.



(a)



(b)

Figure 2.7: Chongqing 2007 Master Plan

Images from the 2007 Master Plan: (a) the land use plan, extended to include the entire administrative territory of Chongqing City; and (b) the transportation plan, which shows the second ring highway encircling the main areas of urban development.

Source: Chongqing Municipal Planning Bureau (<http://www.cqpub.gov.cn/2008new/ghzs.aspx>)



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 2.8: The Village Planning Report

CMPDI's village planning report included images of typical rural areas in other countries (b), including an image of an apple orchard (c), which was the first image returned when entering "apple orchard" (pingguo yuan) into Baidu, a popular Chinese search engine (a).



Figure 2.9: Sichuan Fine Arts College, Huxi Campus

The heart of the new peri-urban campus for the Sichuan Fine Arts College, located in Chongqing's University Town, is composed of several agricultural fields worked by a farming household that lives on campus. Students watch the farmers work from a viewing platform on the left.



Figure 3.1: Hailong and Its Environs (c. 1940)

This photo taken by a member of the US Army shows the erection of a radio antenna in Longtai Village (later Hailong Village), adjacent to the Peishiyi Air Base. Zhonglian Mountain appears in the far distance.

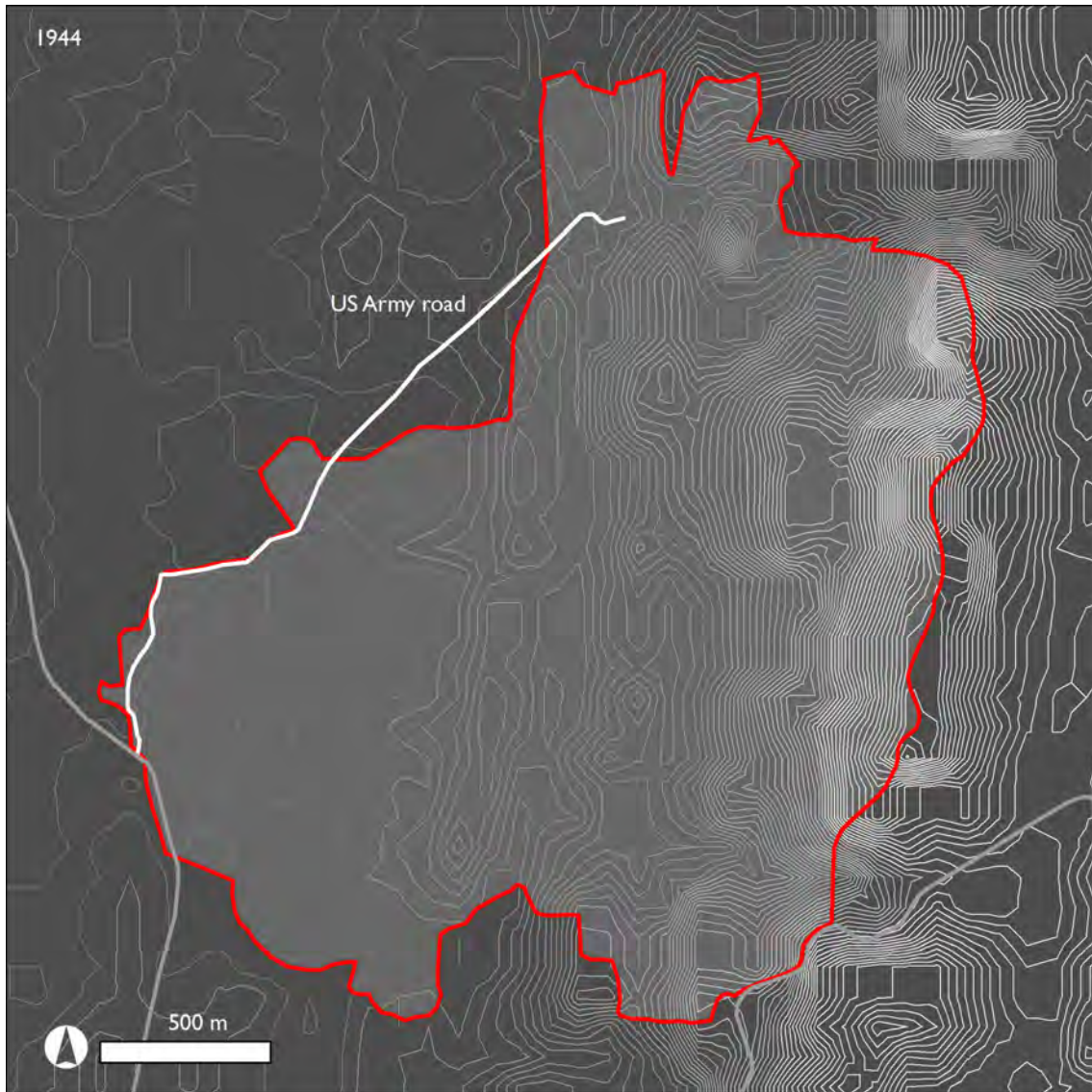


Figure 3.2: The US Army Road

The two-track dirt road was built in the 1940s by the US military, which had stationed an air battalion in the nearby Baishiye Air Base. The road connected the air base with the reservoir and water pumping station, and it represented Hailong's first piece of major infrastructure.



Figure 3.3: Mud-and-Timber House

A mud-and-timber house in Hailong dating from the Maoist era. This structure was still inhabited by an elderly woman.

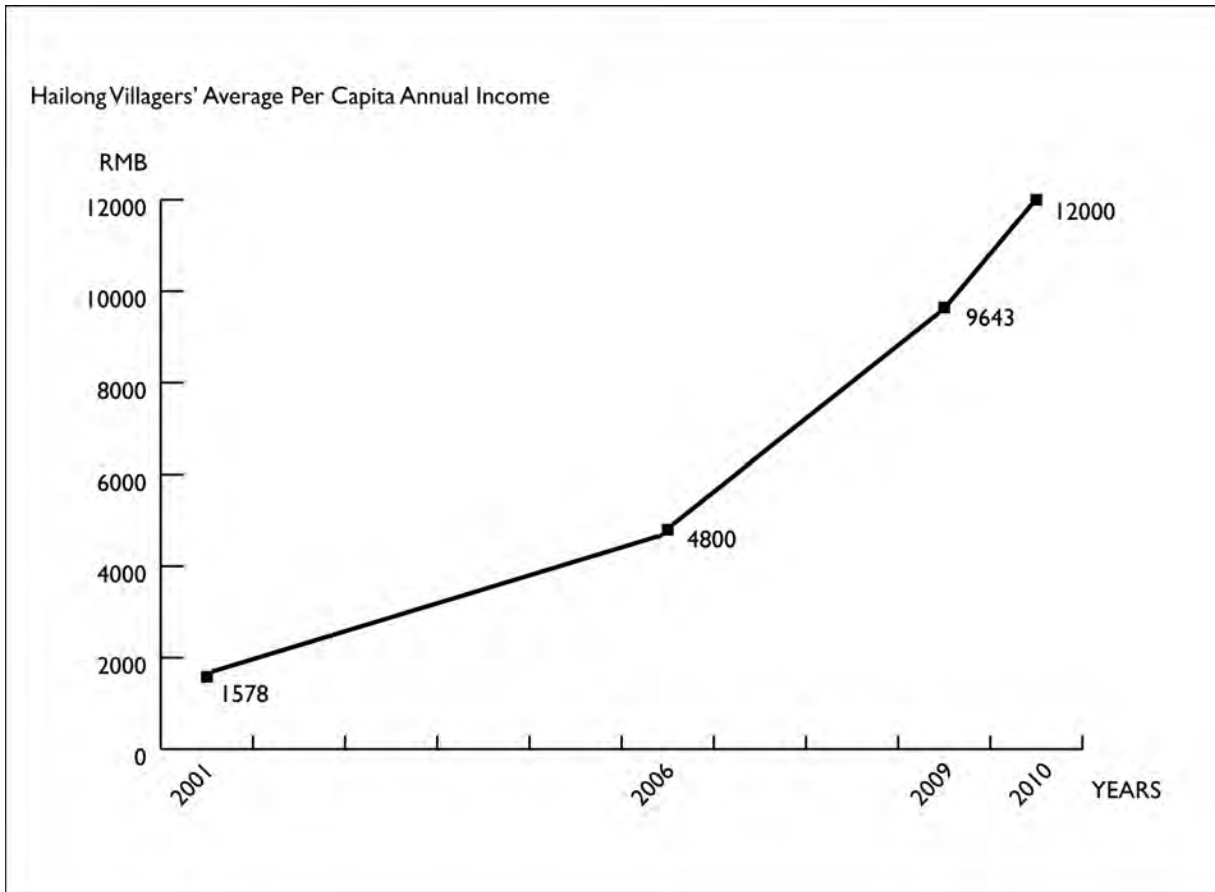


Figure 3.4: Villagers' Average Per Capita Annual Income

Based on surveys conducted by the village collective, this chart shows average per capita annual income among Hailong villagers increasing dramatically during the 2000s.

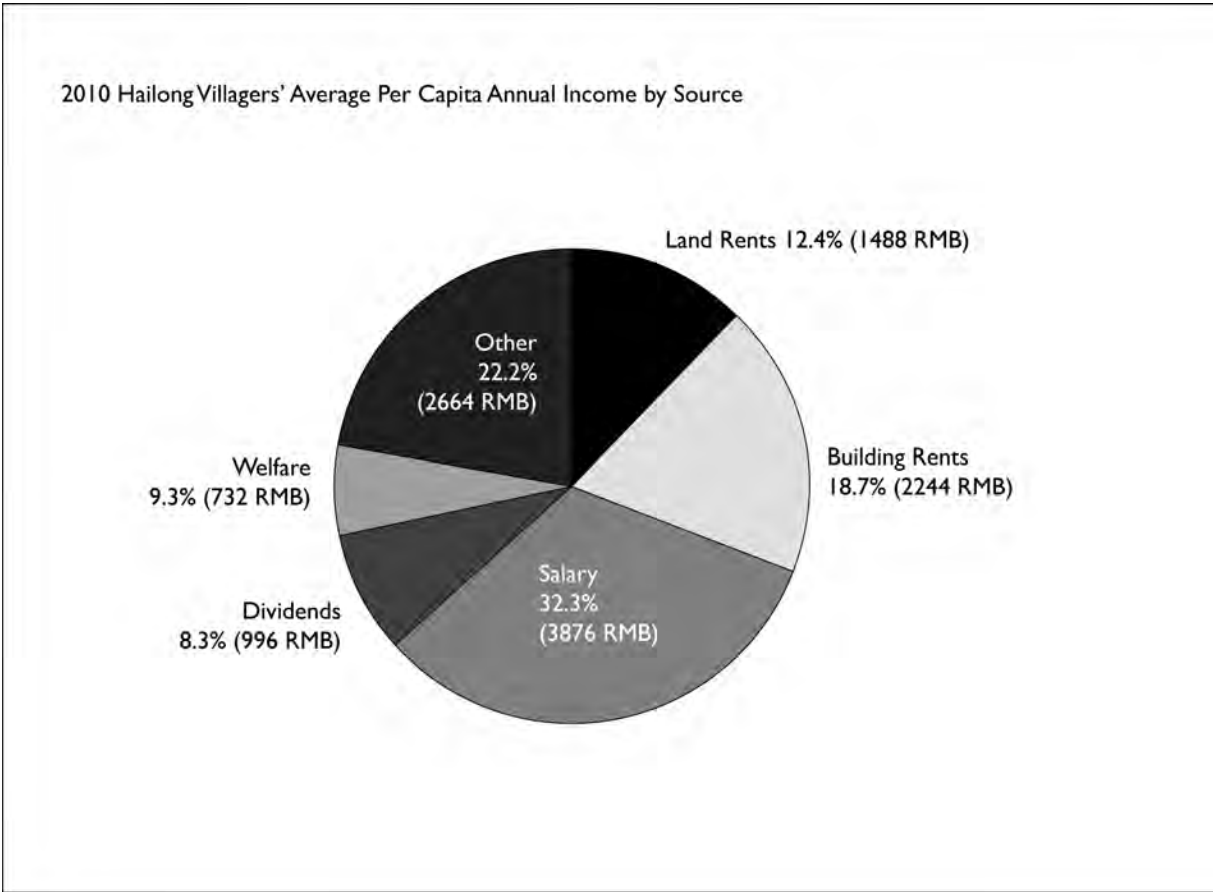


Figure 3.5: Villagers' 2010 Average Per Capita Annual Income by Source

As a proportion of 2010 average per capita annual income, building and land rents contributed nearly as much to villager prosperity as did wages. "Dividends" primarily represents earnings from investments in the village shareholding corporations. "Other" constituted nearly a quarter of all income. Though the exact nature of this category is unspecified, a large proportion of "other" income is probably made up of earnings from entrepreneurial ventures. This data was based on surveys conducted by the village collective.

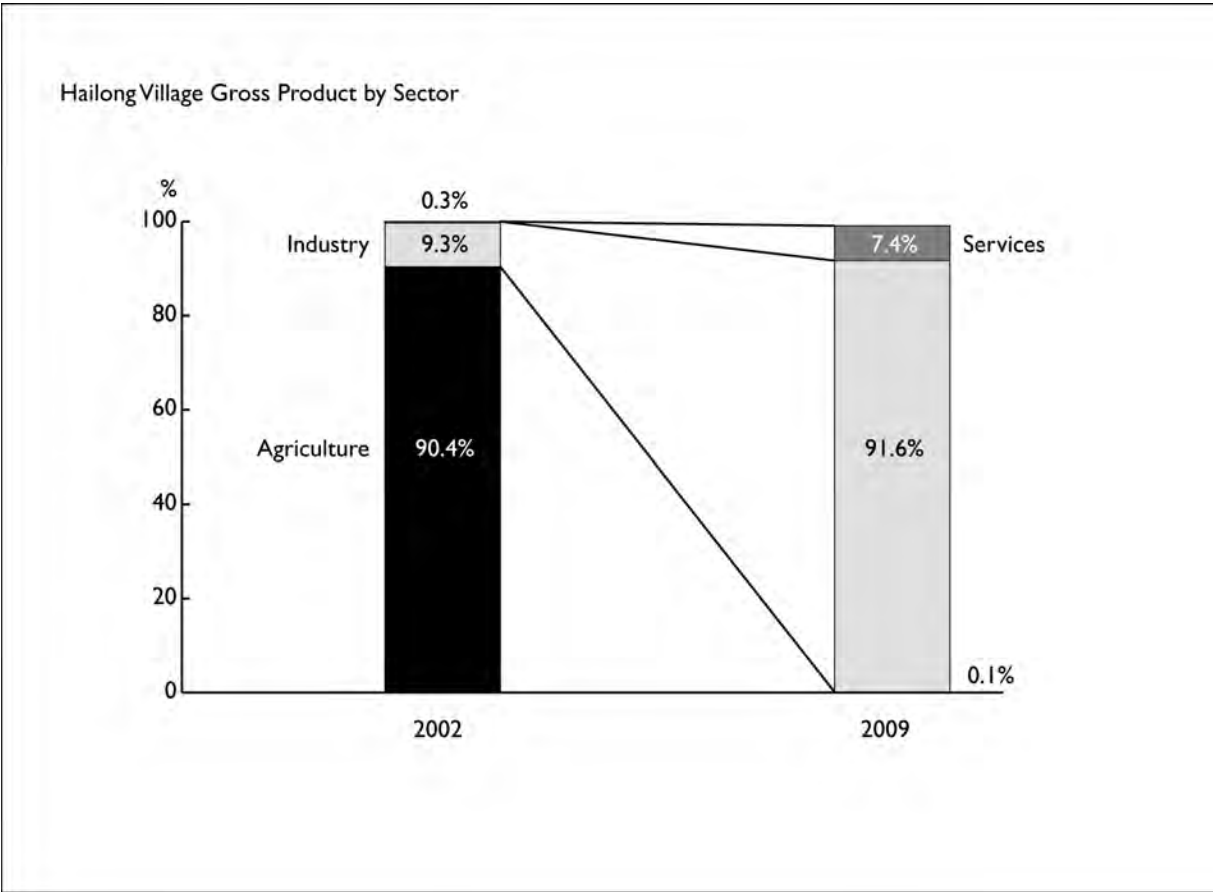


Figure 3.6: Hailong Economic Structure

Based on self-reported data from the village collective, this chart shows a dramatic shift from an economy based on agriculture to one focused on industry.



(a)



(b)

Figure 3.7: Hailong Exhibition Hall

Images from the Hailong Exhibition Hall: (a) village officials start Hailong's promotional video; (b) a scale model of the future village, based on early planning exercises.



Figure 3.8: Yan Jing

Yan Jing, Hailong's charismatic party secretary.

Photo: SARA M. WATSON

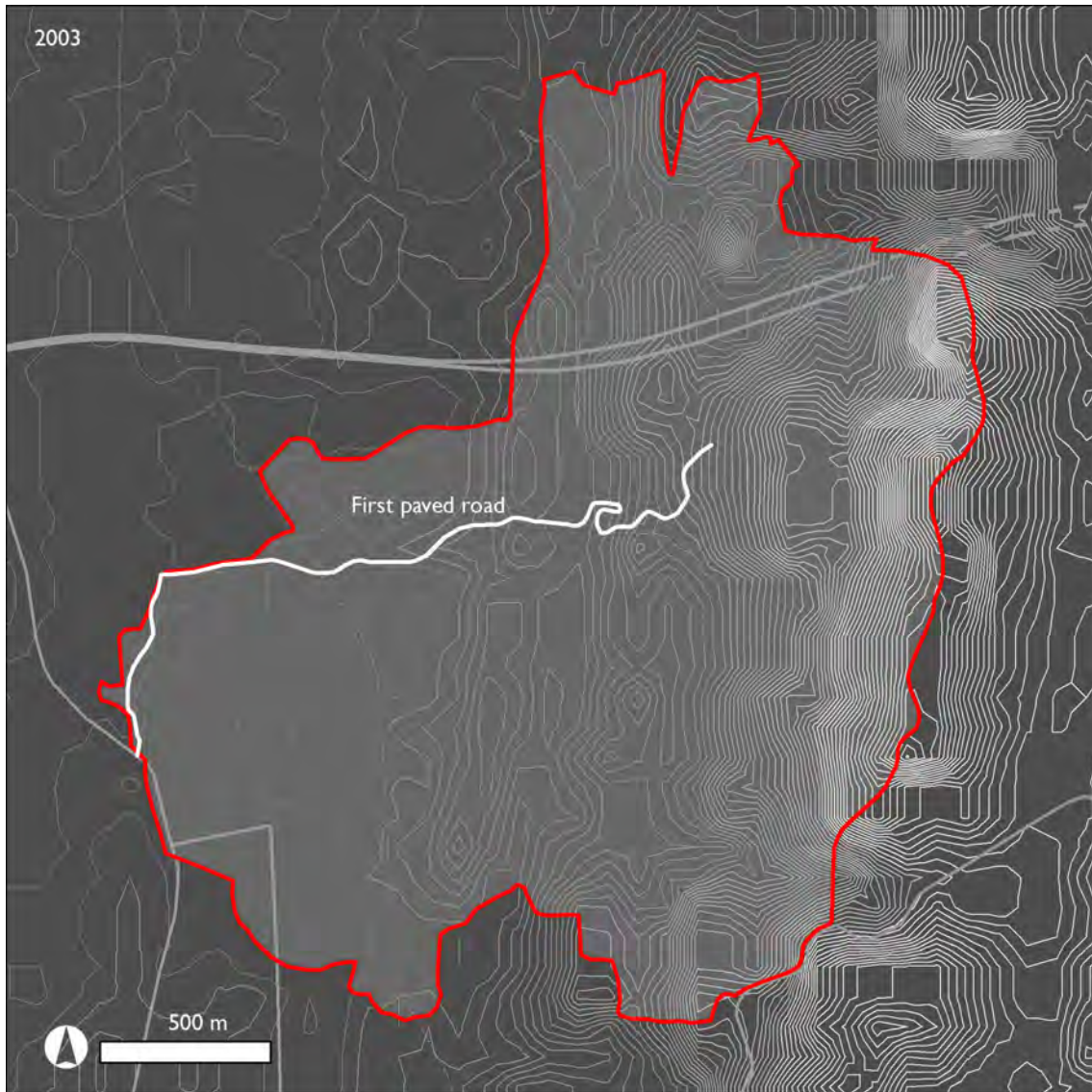


Figure 3.9: First Paved Road

Hailong's first paved road, built in 2003, followed the path of the US Army road from the main Bai-Peng artery before diverging at the rail line and running into the village's interior.

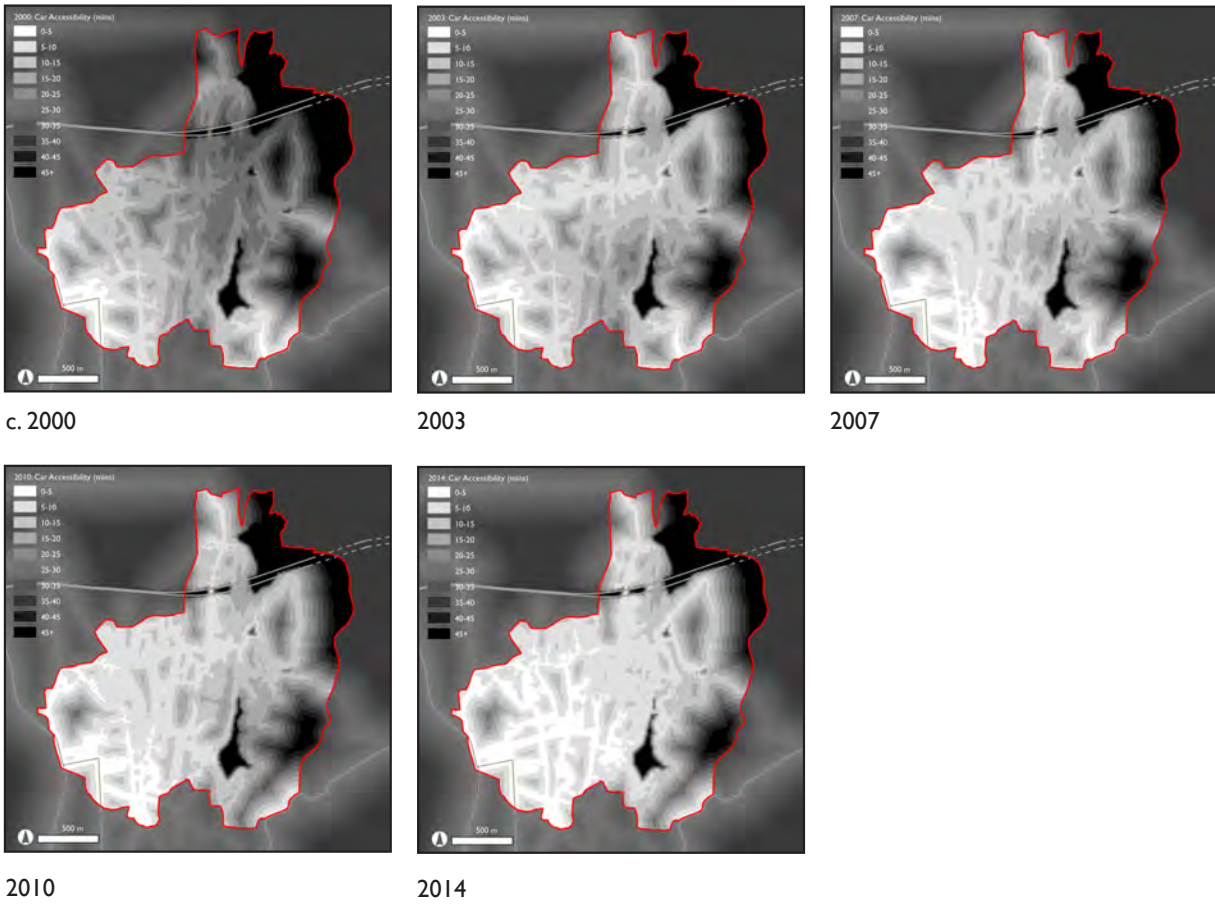


Figure 3.10: Car Accessibility (2000-2014) OVERVIEW

An analysis of car accessibility in Hailong shows increasing accessibility over time. See Figs. 3.10.1-5 for detailed year-by-year diagrams. The accessibility diagrams show the length of time it takes to travel from the center of Baishiyi or Hangu by car and foot.



Figure 3.10.1: Car Accessibility (c. 2000)

Prior to Hailong's program of road construction, the interior of the village was relatively inaccessible by car, taking more than 20 minutes to reach the interior half of the village.

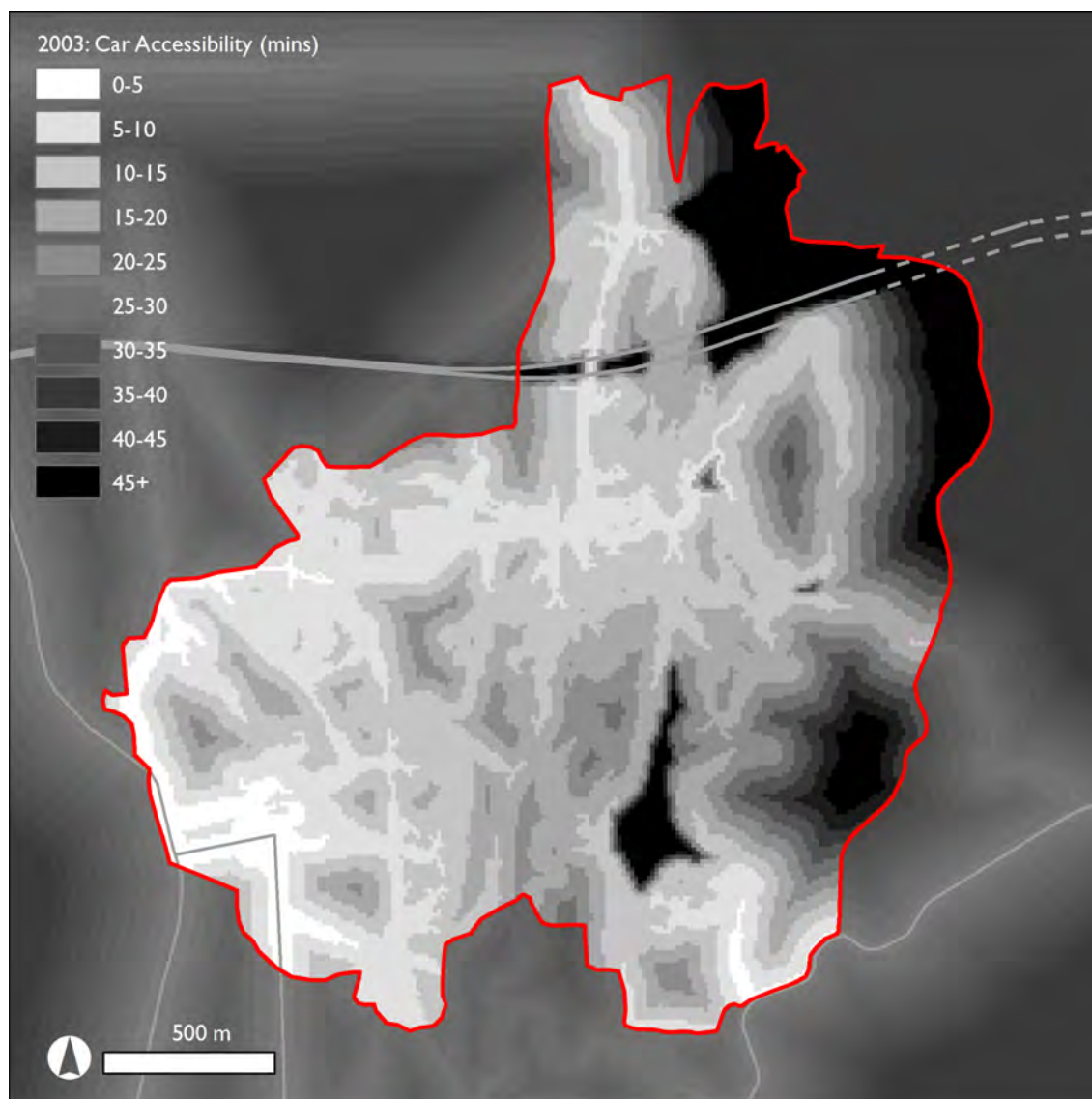


Figure 3.10.2: Car Accessibility (2003)

The construction of Hailong's first paved road made the interior of the village much more accessible, particularly in the north.



Figure 3.10.3: Car Accessibility (2007)

Four years later, the further expansion of the road network made more of the village accessible, particularly the central-southern portion of the village.

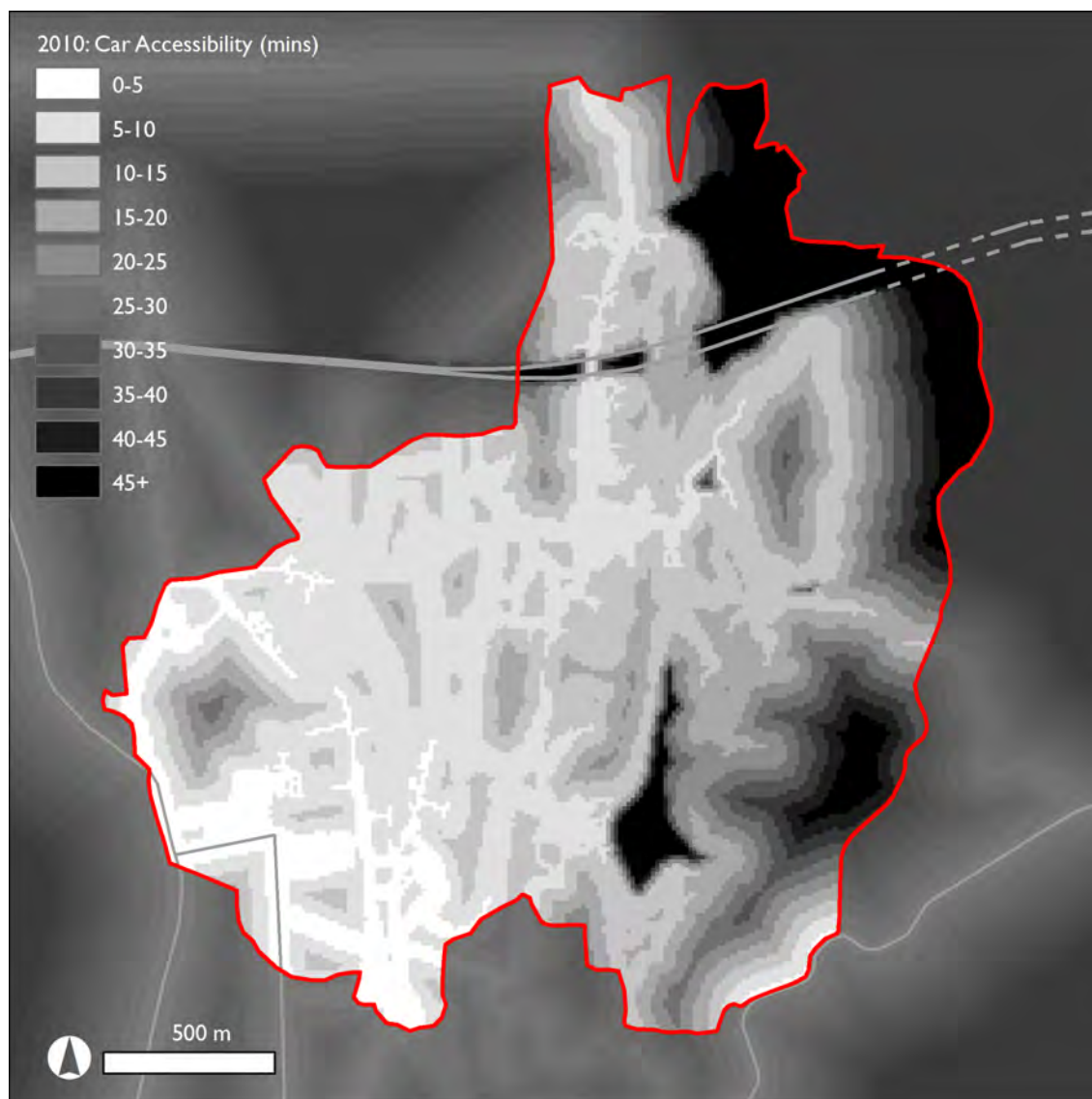


Figure 3.10.4: Car Accessibility (2010)

With the road network largely complete, little changes between 2007 and 2010. In the southwest of the village, the expansion of the public cemetery eliminated a secondary access point.



Figure 3.10.5: Car Accessibility (2014)

In 2014, the completion of the village access road makes the center of the village (where the new residential area is being constructed) easily accessible. The closing of the rail crossings in the north and south makes this road the only easy way to access the village's interior and results in less accessibility in the village's north.

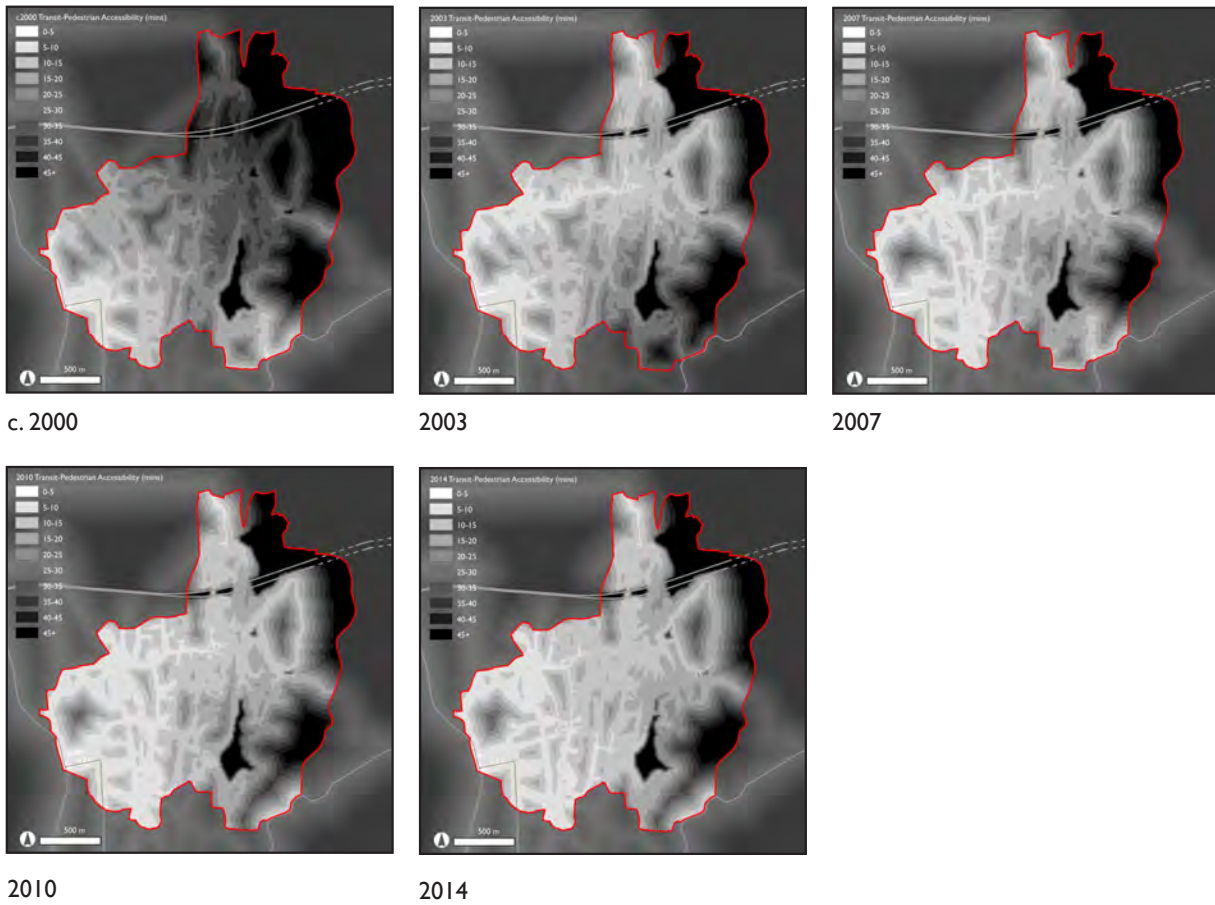


Figure 3.1 I: Transit-Pedestrian Accessibility (2000-2014) OVERVIEW

An analysis of pedestrian accessibility (including transit via bus and three-wheeler cab) shows substantially longer commute times compared to those riding in cars. See Figs. 3.1 I.1-5 for detailed year-by-year diagrams. The accessibility diagrams show the length of time it takes to travel from the center of Baishiyi or Hangu by bus, three-wheeler, and foot.



Figure 3.11.1: Transit-Pedestrian Accessibility (c. 2000)

With no transit access to the interior of the village, residents faced walking times of up to 40 minutes to access their houses and fields.

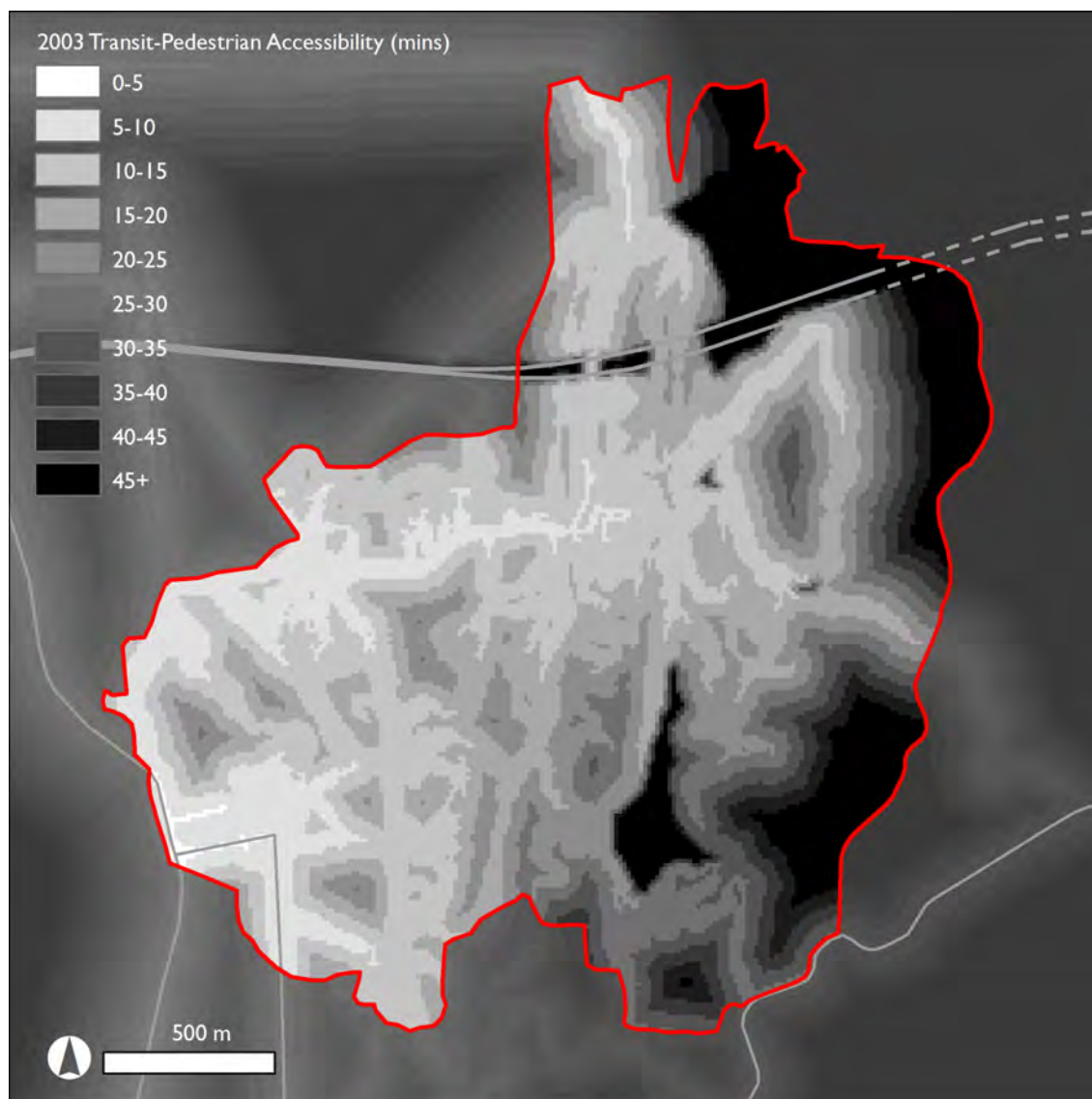


Figure 3.1 I.2: Transit-Pedestrian Accessibility (2003)

Three-wheeler cabs were able to use the first paved road built in 2003, granting significantly greater accessibility to the village's interior.



Figure 3.1 I.3: Transit-Pedestrian Accessibility (2007)

The extension of the road network allowed three-wheelers to provide more complete transit coverage throughout the western third of the village.

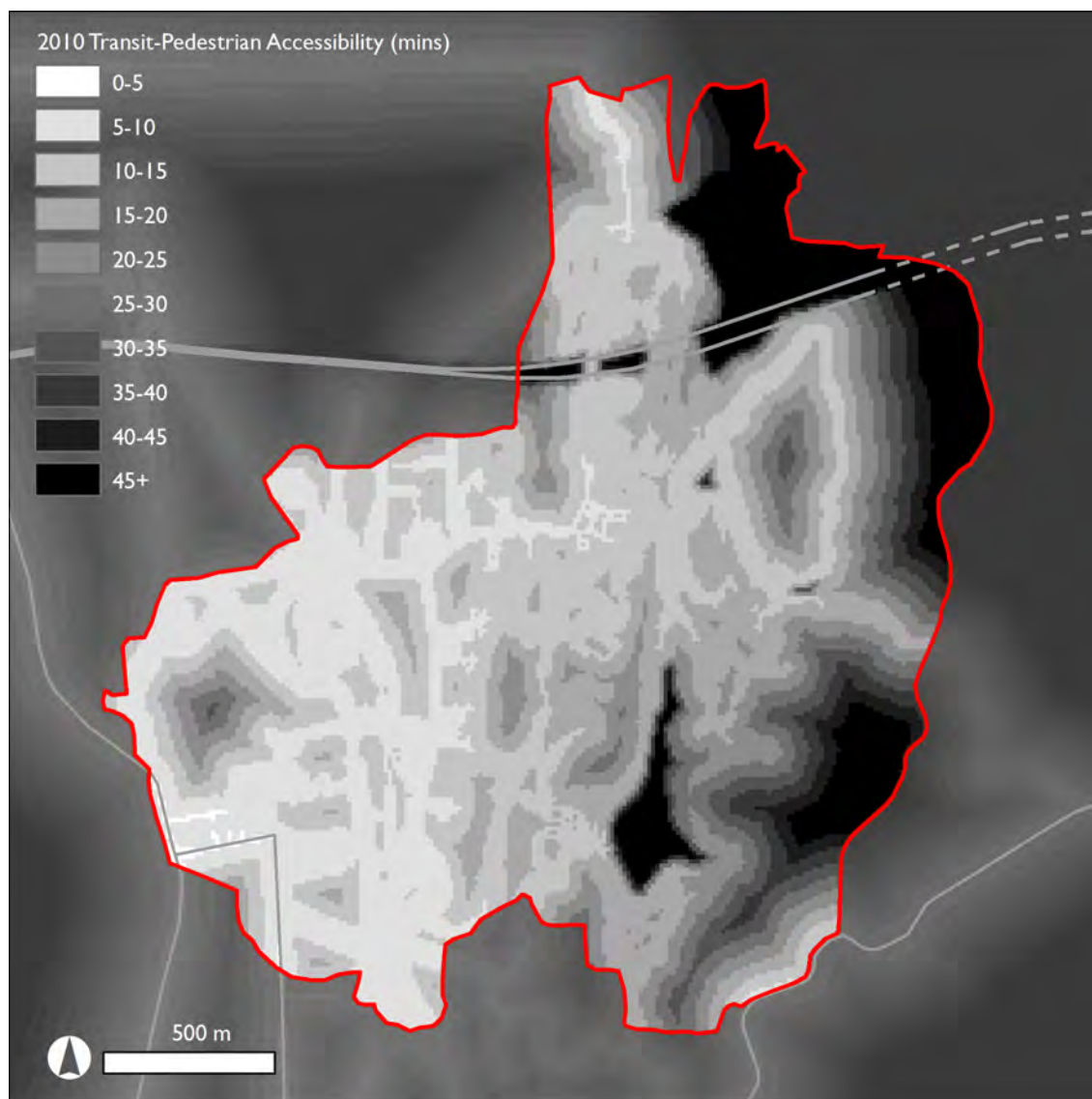


Figure 3.11.4: Transit-Pedestrian Accessibility (2010)

Relatively little changed in terms of transit accessibility between 2007 and 2010.

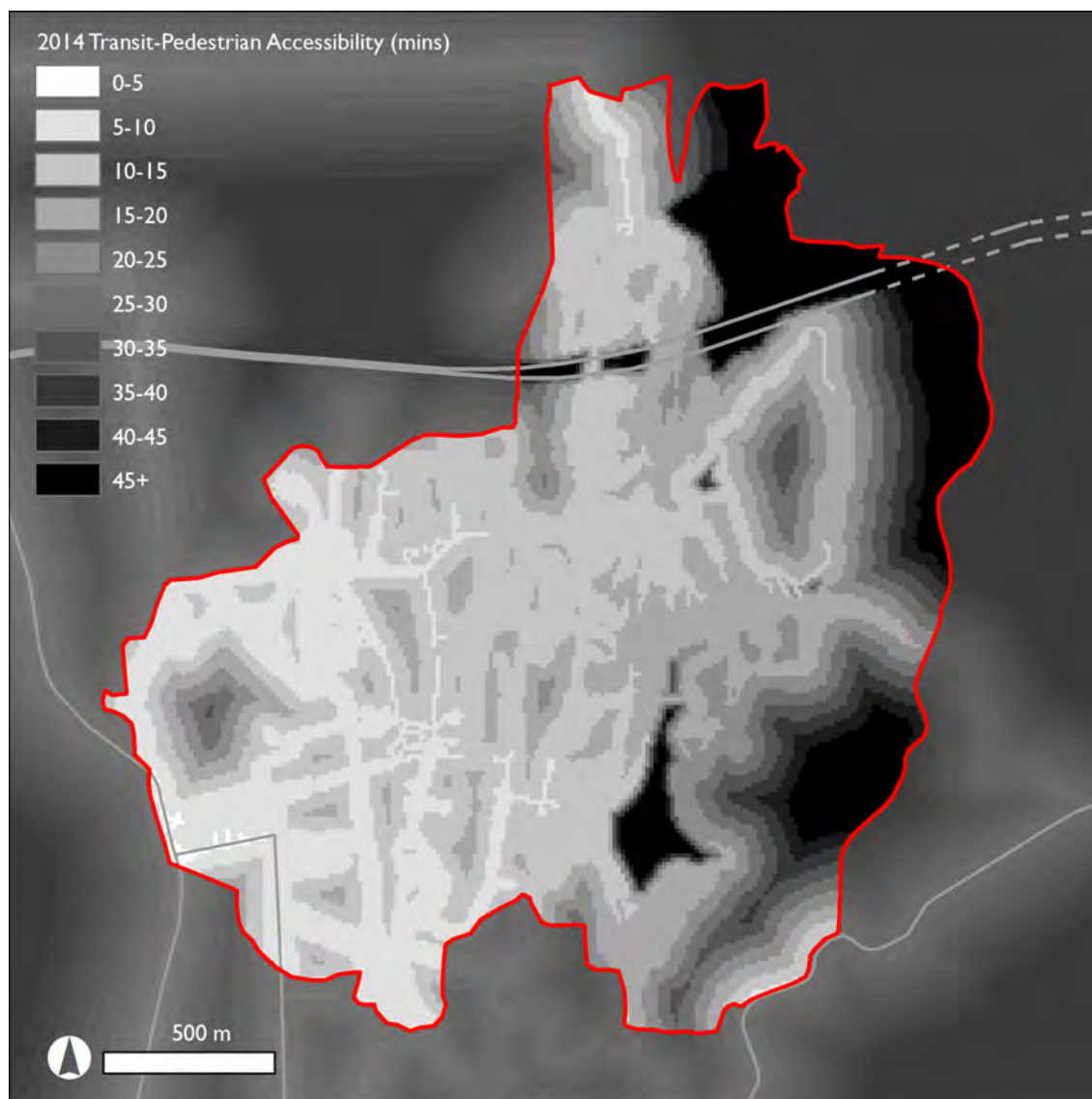


Figure 3.11.5: Transit-Pedestrian Accessibility (2014)

The closing of the rail crossings in 2014 meant three-wheeler cabs could no longer access the village's interior (except via the Hangu access road, to the north). Pedestrian accessibility thus declined dramatically, with commute times of more than 10 minutes for anywhere beyond the rail line.

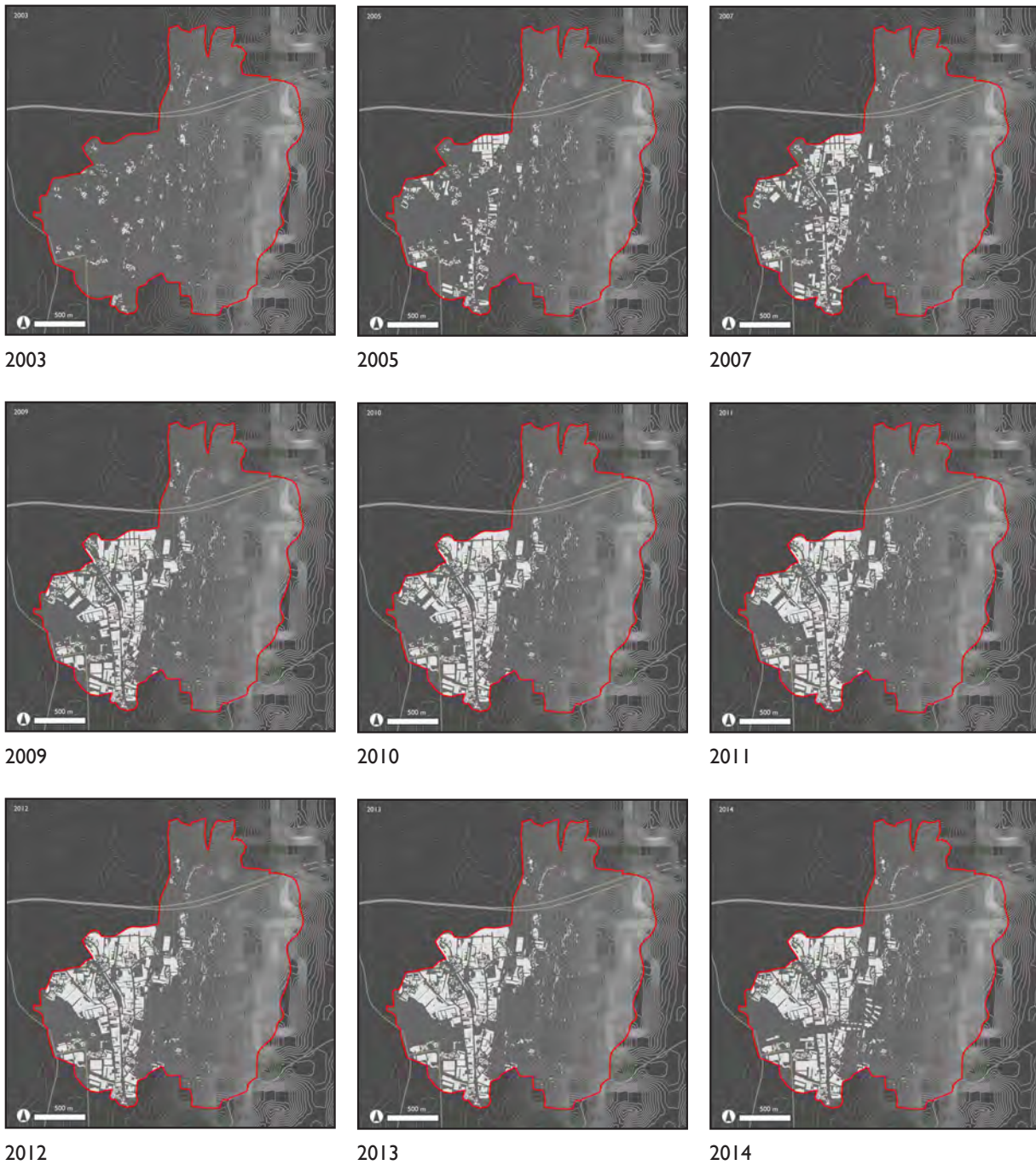


Figure 3.12: Structures (2003-2014) OVERVIEW

This series of figure-ground drawings shows the rapid intensification of land use during the 2000s, with the bulk of construction occurring in Hailong's flatter and more accessible west. See Figs. 3.12.1-9 for detailed year-by-year drawings. This set of drawings should be read in conjunction with Figs. 3.13-14 which show parallel analyses of new construction and building use.



Figure 3.12.1: Structures (2003)

This figure-ground drawing shows Hailong prior to the rapid development that began in 2003. The clusters of buildings represent natural villages scattered through Hailong's landscape.

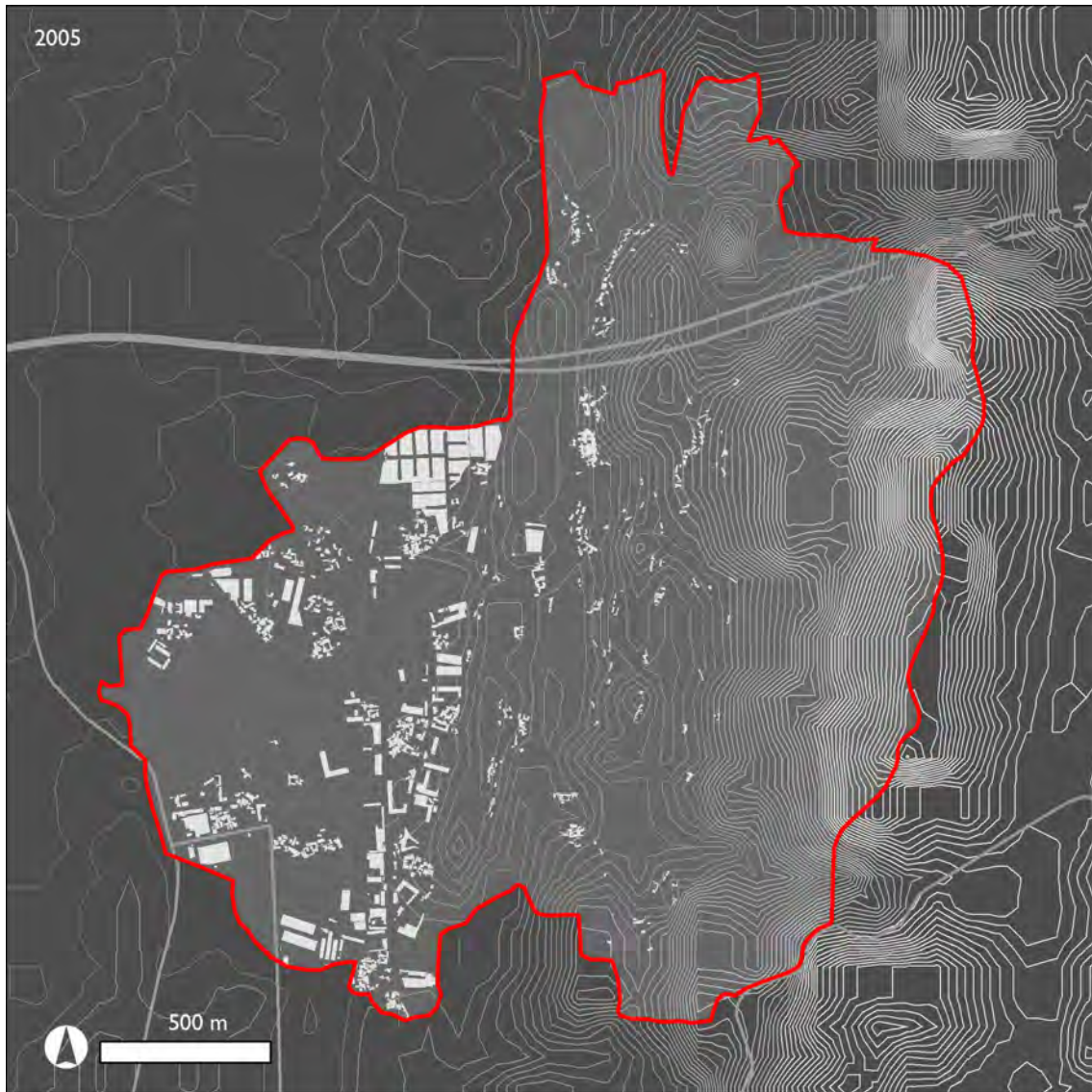


Figure 3.12.2: Structures (2005)

Two years after the beginning of industrialization, a substantial number of new structures can be seen in the village's western half.

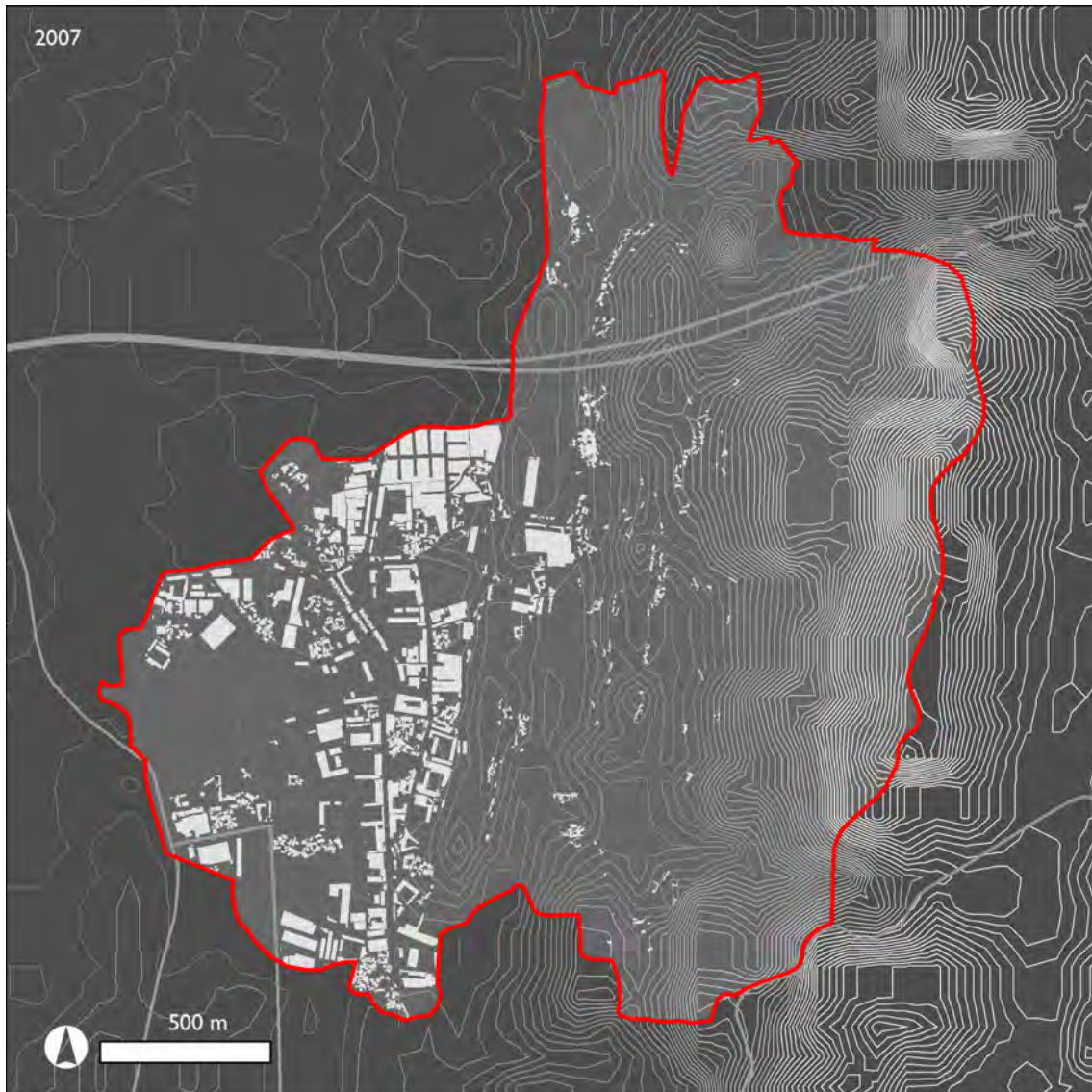


Figure 3.12.3: Structures (2007)

In 2007, the north-south axis created by the rail line becomes clear.

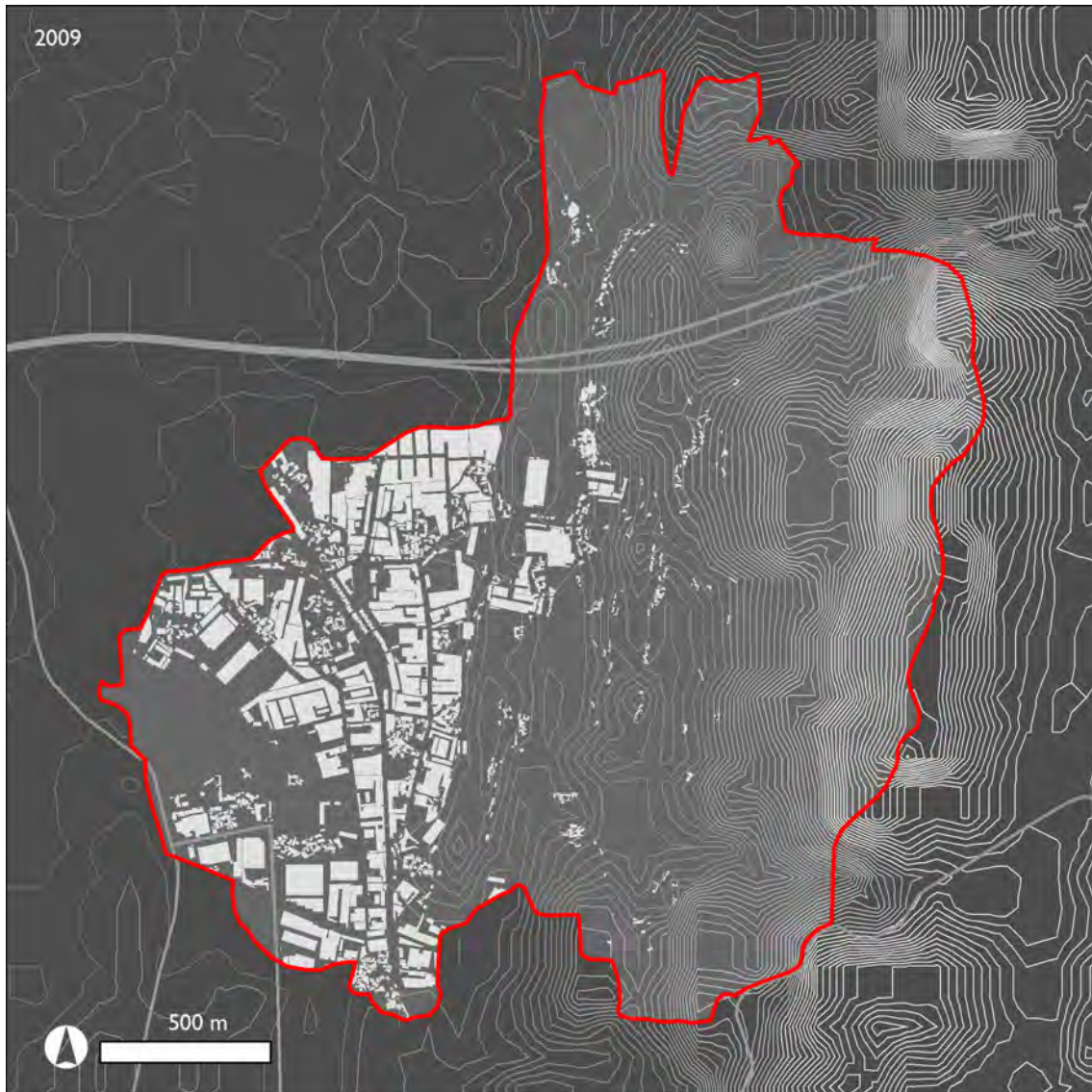


Figure 3.12.4: Structures (2009)

By 2009, most empty lots in the village's west have been built up.

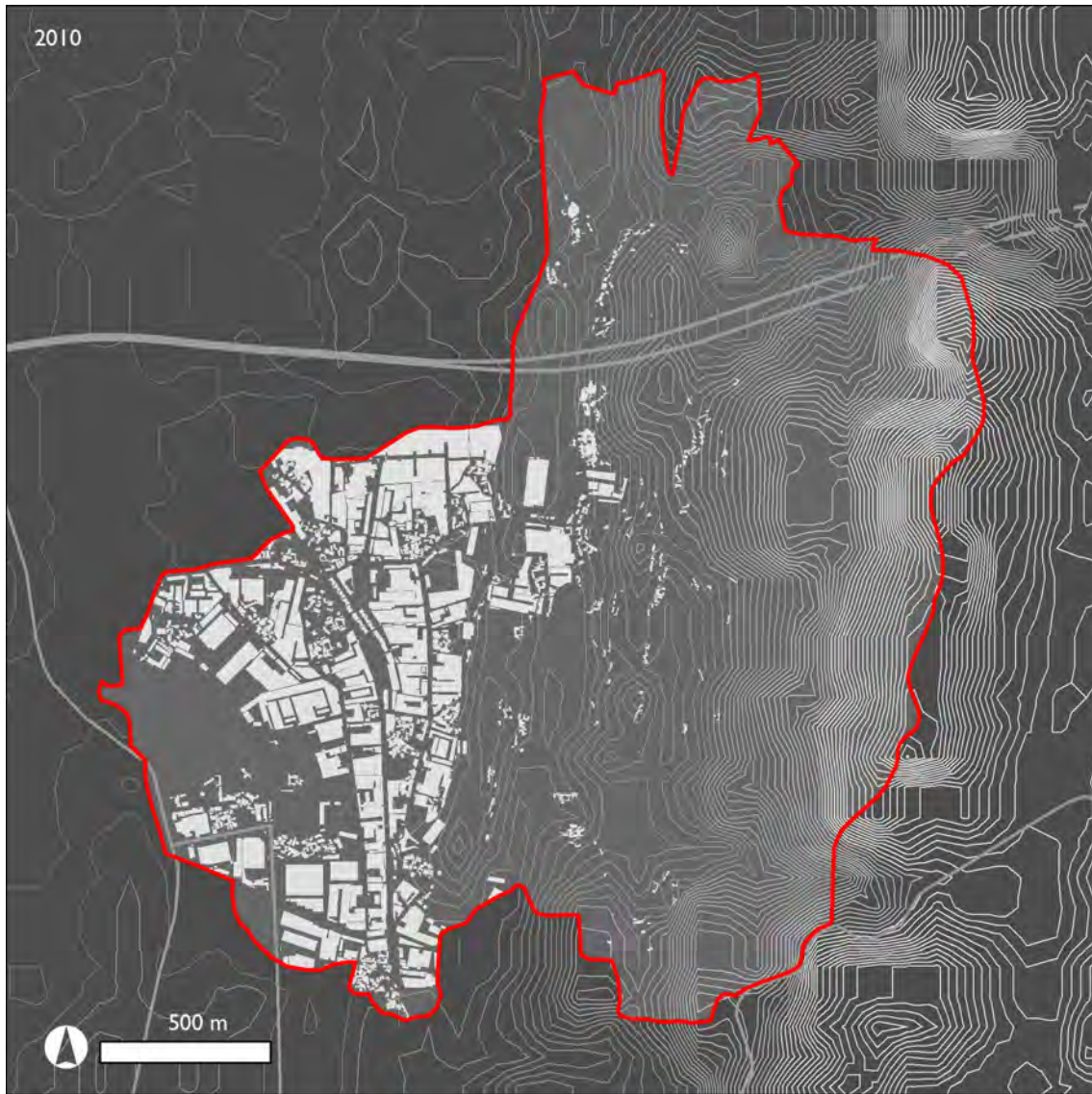


Figure 3.12.5: Structures (2010)

By 2010, there is already little remaining land suitable for development.

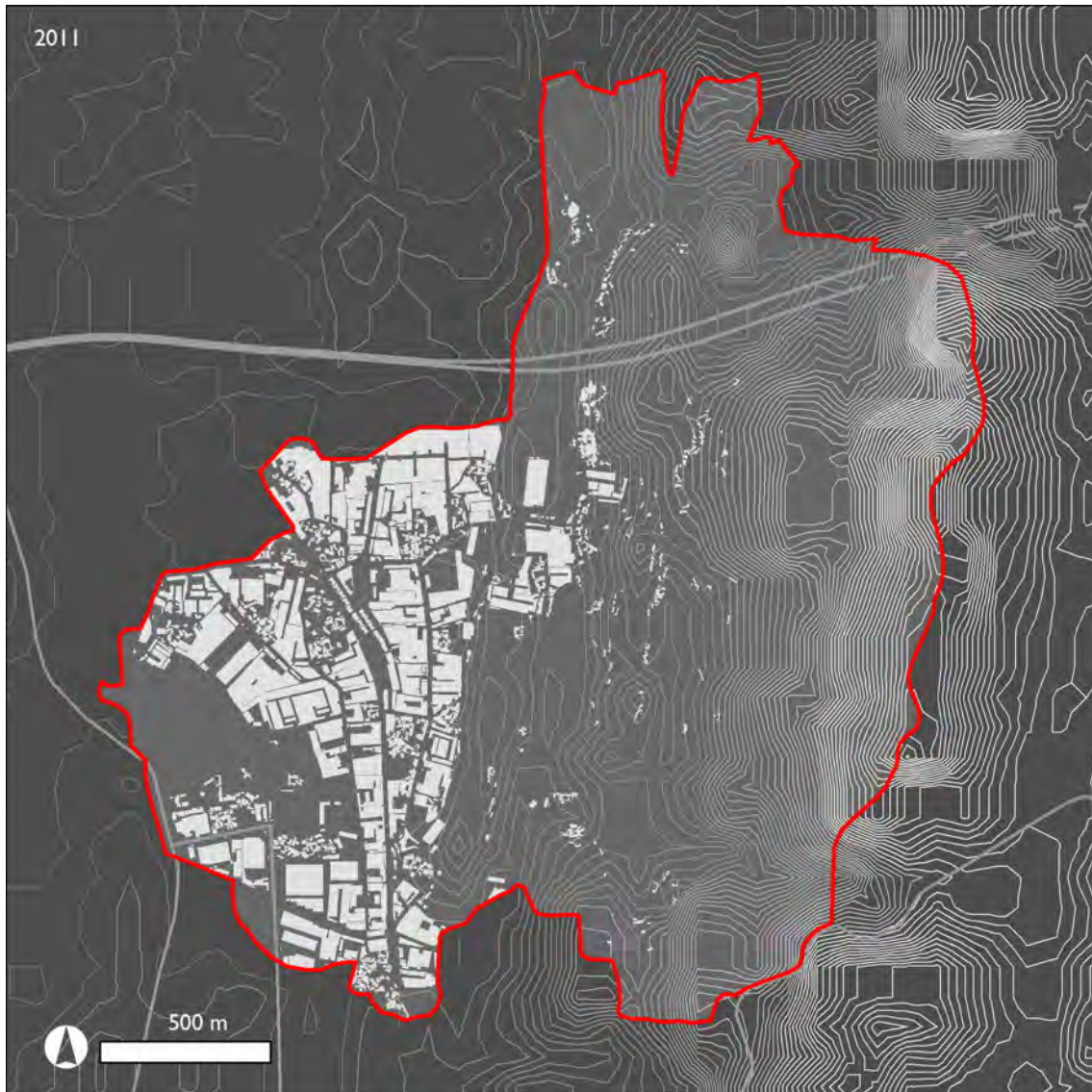


Figure 3.12.6: Structures (2011)

Hailong's morphology is effectively in place by 2011.

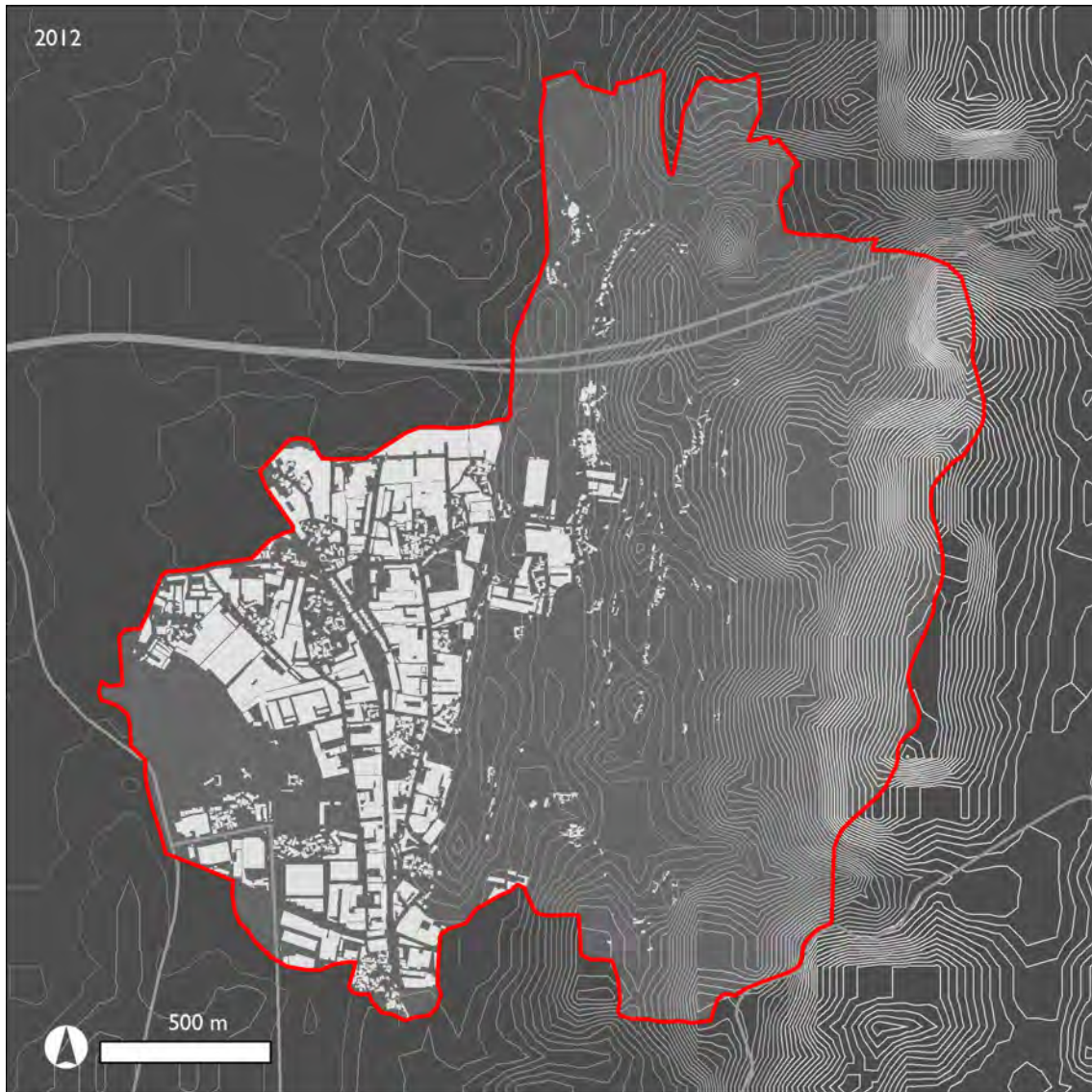


Figure 3.12.7: Structures (2012)

Between 2011 and 2012, some structures have been demolished in preparation for the village's relaunch.

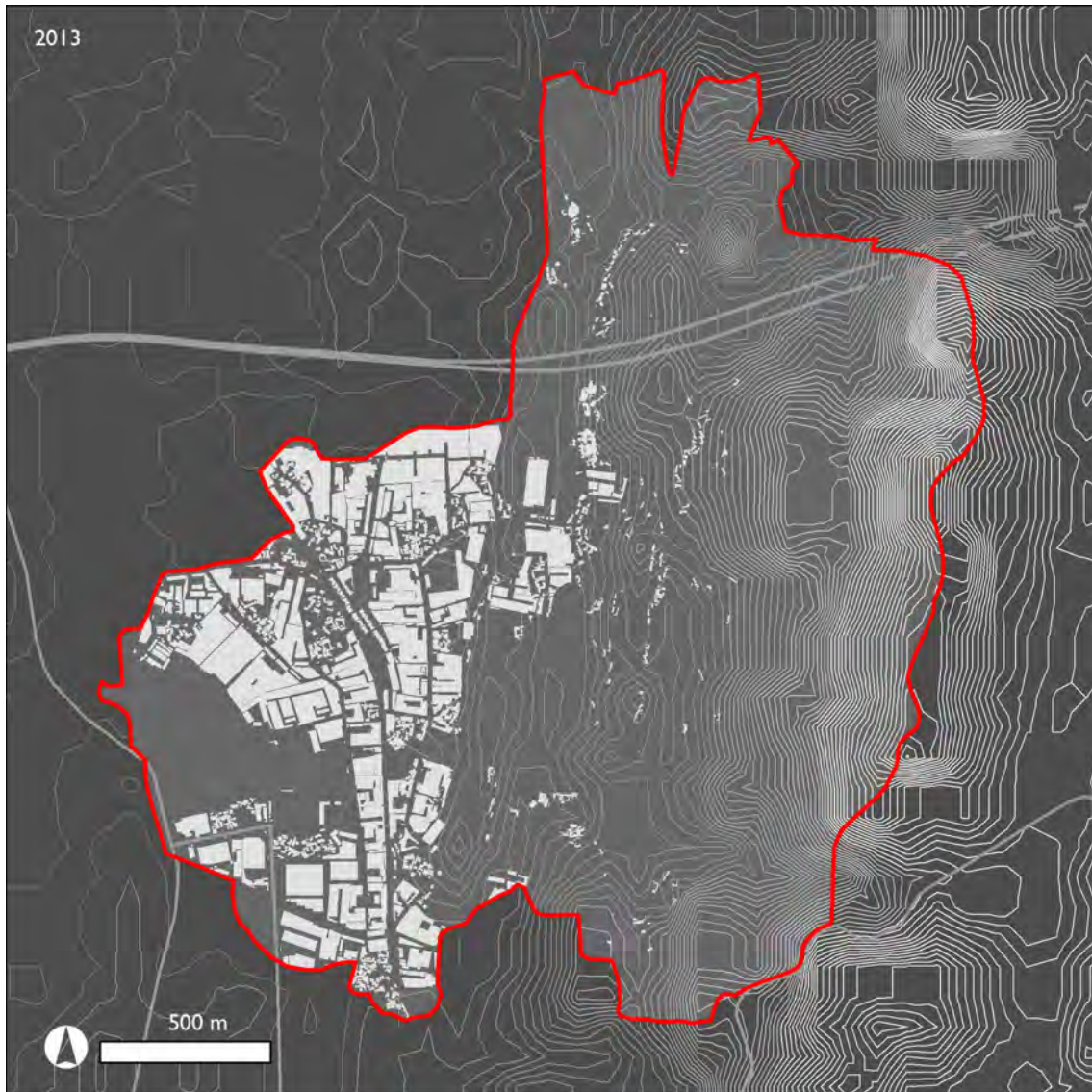


Figure 3.12.8: Structures (2013)

Between 2012 and 2013, there is significant demolition in the west of the village to make way for the new access road.



Figure 3.12.9: Structures (2014)

In 2014, construction for Hailong's relaunch is evident.

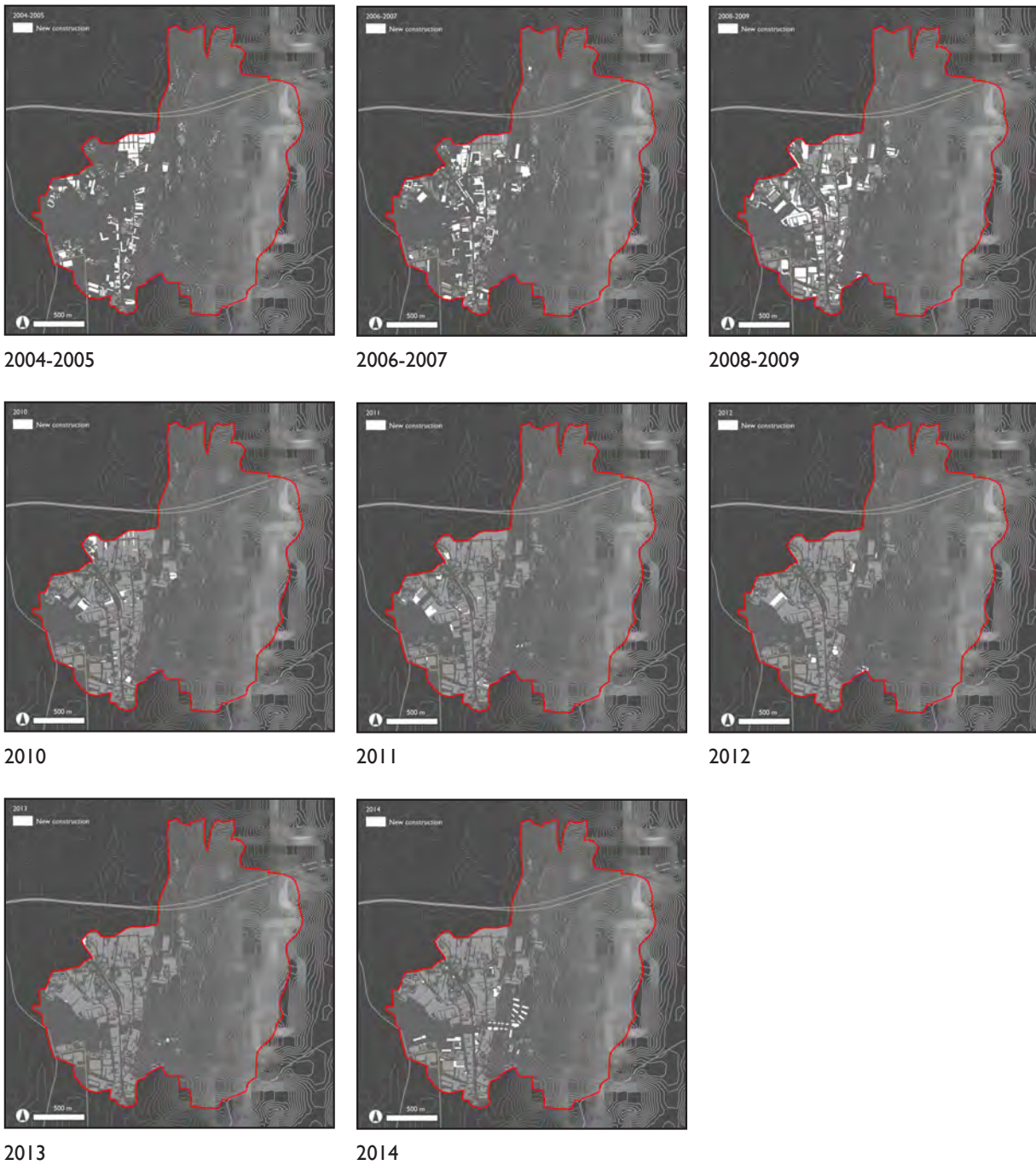


Figure 3.13: New Construction (2004-2014) OVERVIEW

This series of figure-ground drawings highlights new construction at each stage of Hailong’s transformation. See Figs. 3.13.1-8 for detailed year-by-year drawings. This set of drawings should be read in conjunction with Figs. 3.12 and 3.14.

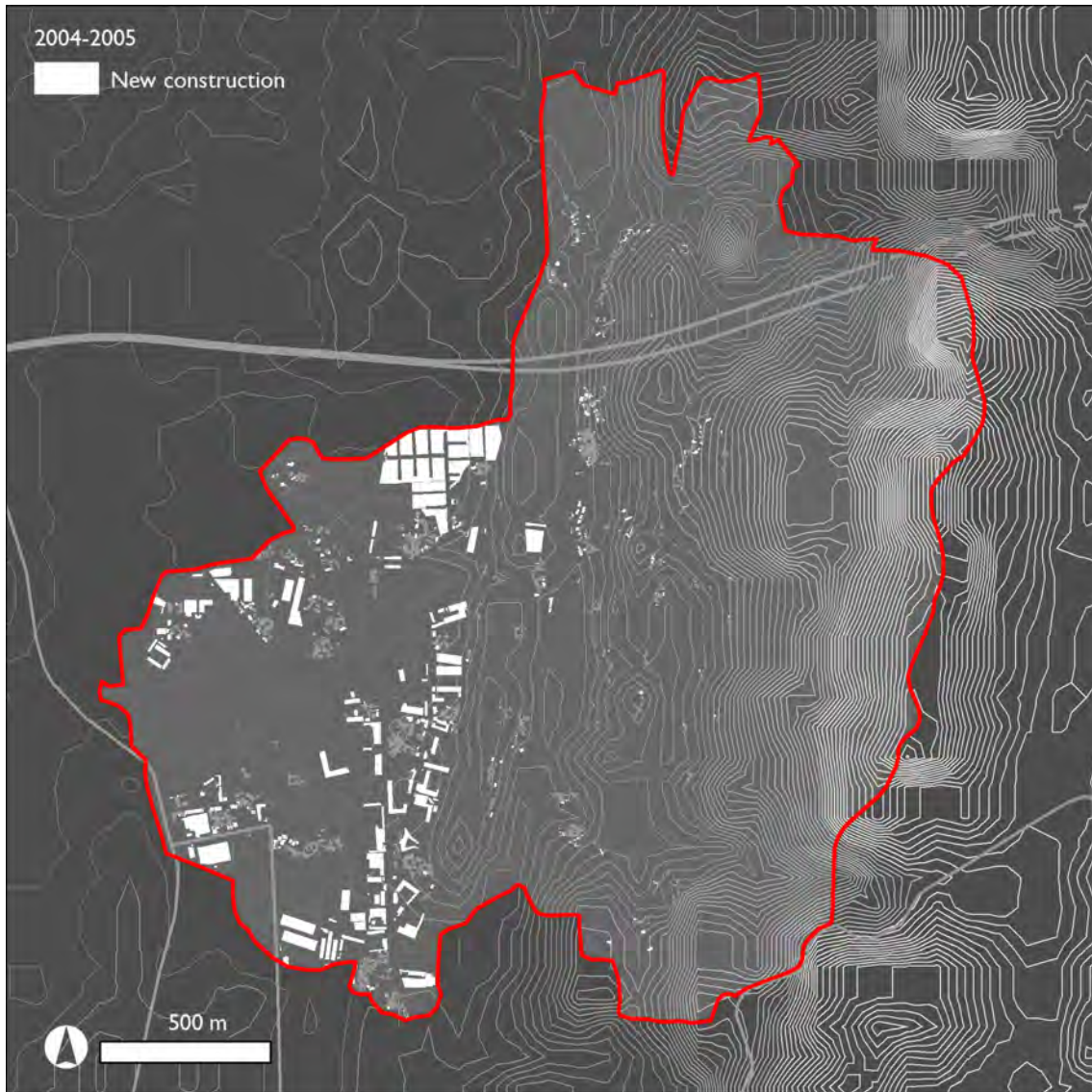


Figure 3.13.1: New Construction (2004-2005)

Hailong's first round of construction focused on the two north-south roads built by the village collective.

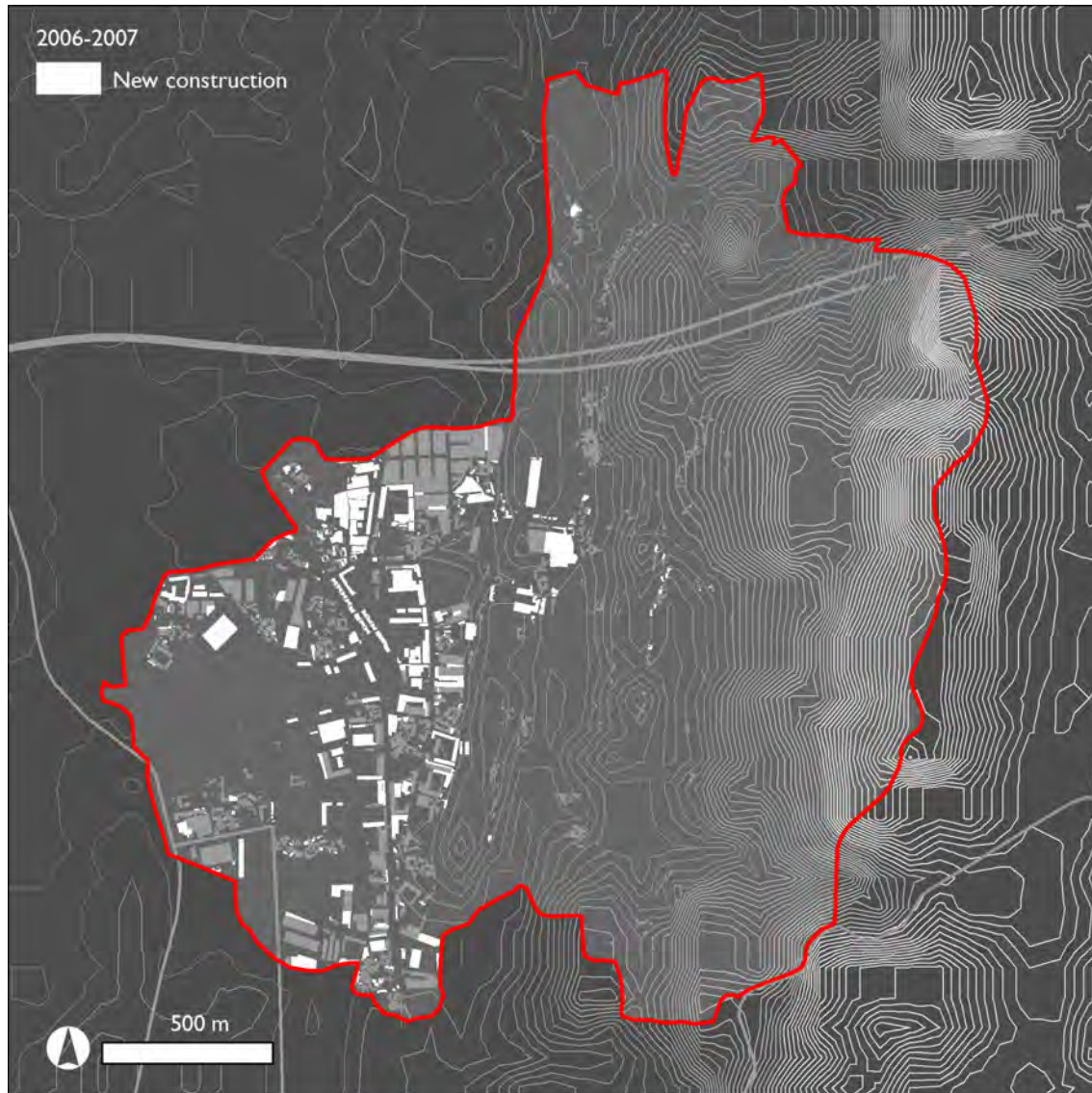


Figure 3.13.2: New Construction (2006-2007)

Construction in 2006 and 2007 shows the addition of new factories in the village's north and the addition of new buildings at existing factories in the village's center and south. Also in evidence is Easy Street, angled NE-SW in the village's north-central quadrant.

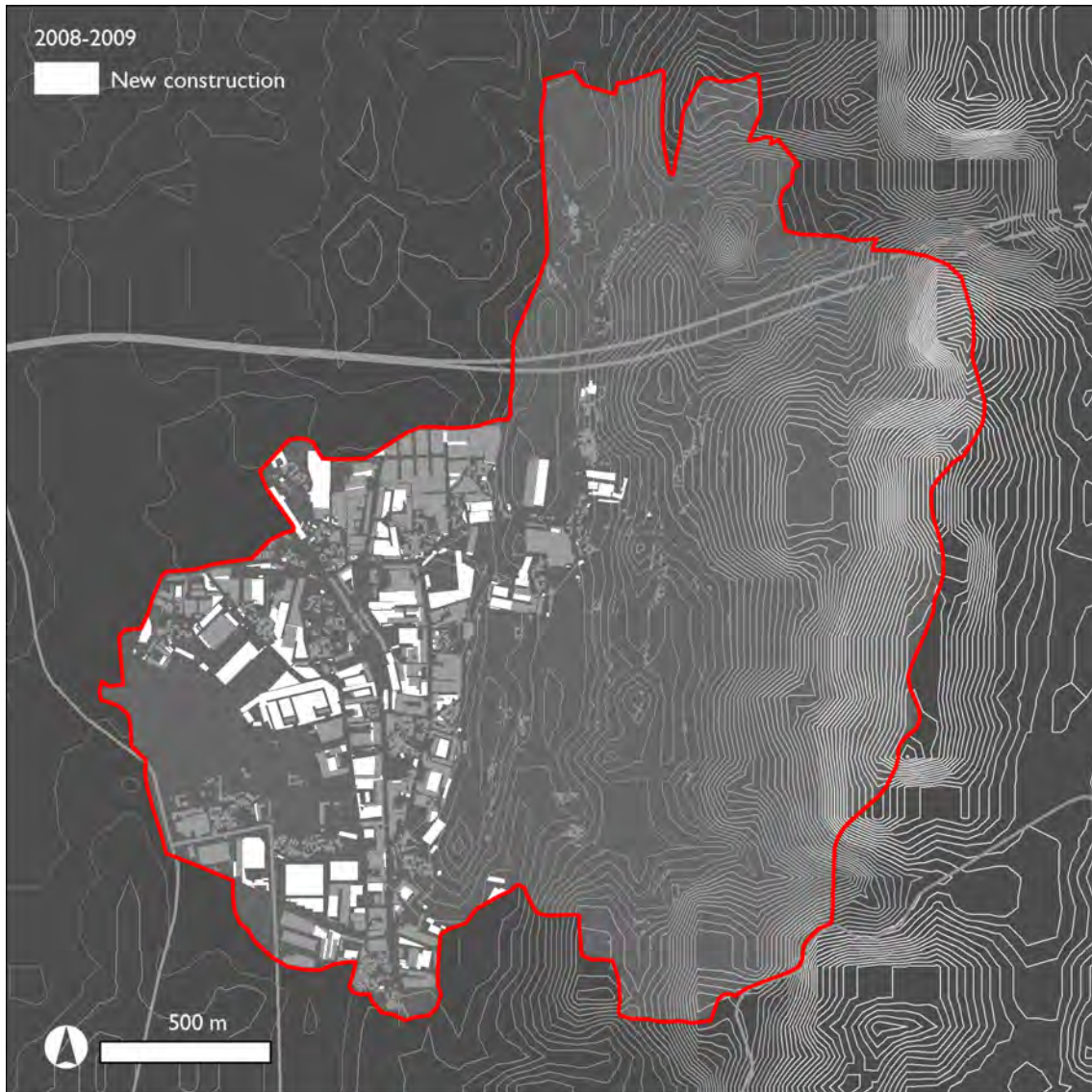


Figure 3.13.3: New Construction (2008-2009)

Empty lots in the village's west are gradually filled in.

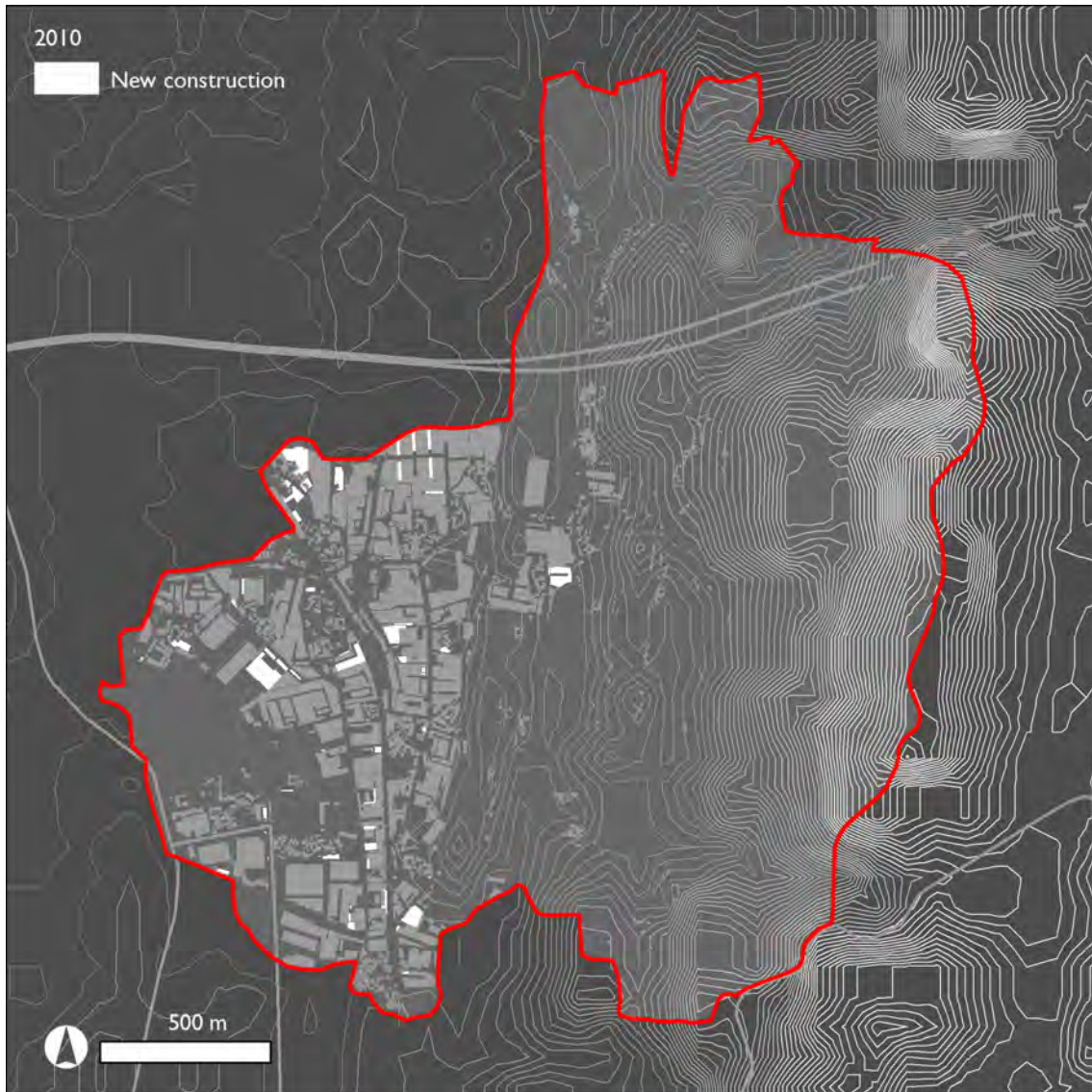


Figure 3.13.4: New Construction (2010)

2010 exhibits a significant slowdown in new construction, with manufacturers filling in existing factories.

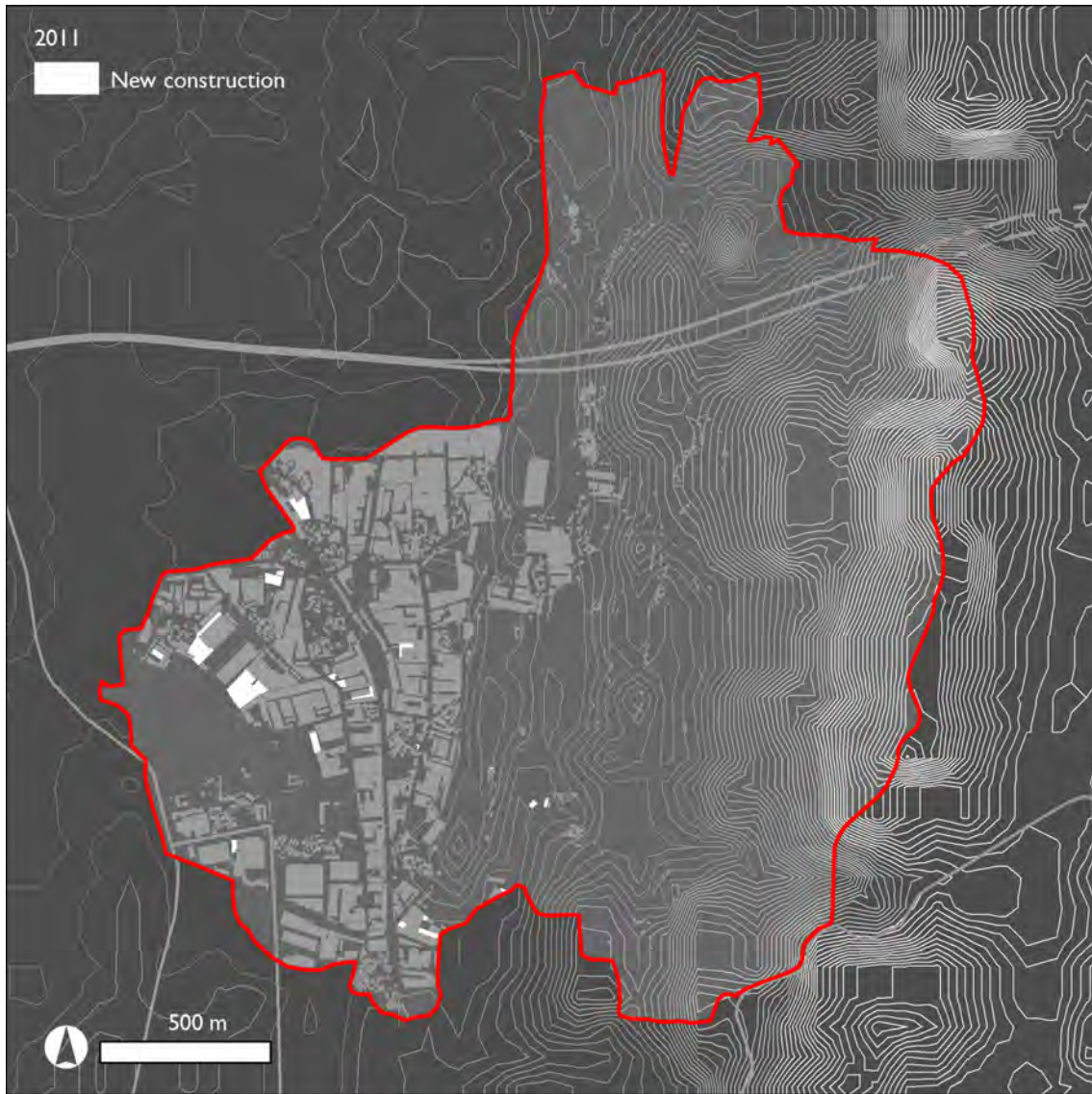


Figure 3.13.5: New Construction (2011)

2011 shows a continued slowing in new construction.

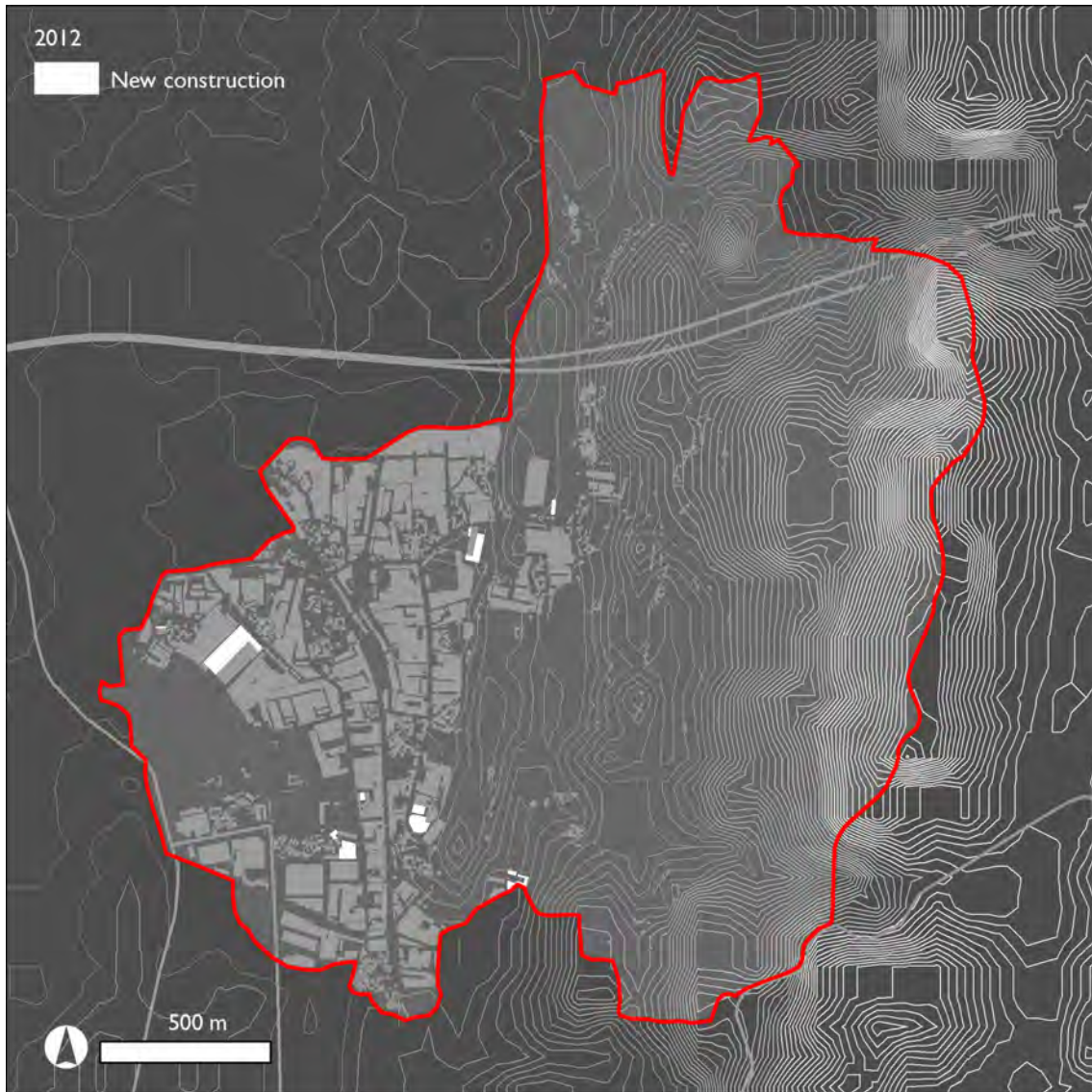


Figure 3.13.6: New Construction (2012)

2012 shows a continued slowing in new construction.

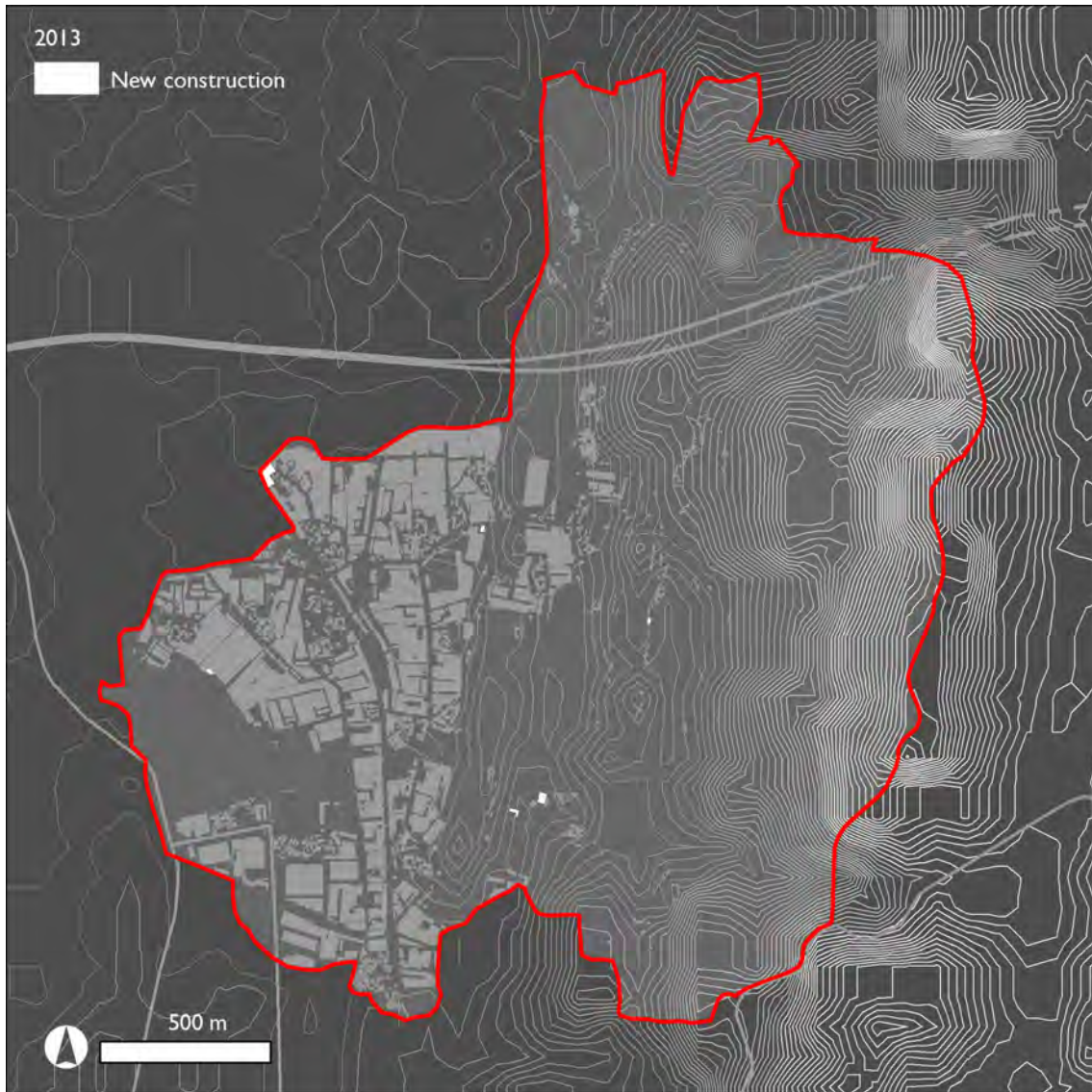


Figure 3.13.7: New Construction (2013)

In 2013, as negotiations over the village's new plan are completed and new regulations restrict development activities, construction all but comes to a halt.



Figure 3.13.8: New Construction (2014)

In 2014, construction on the village's relaunch begins.

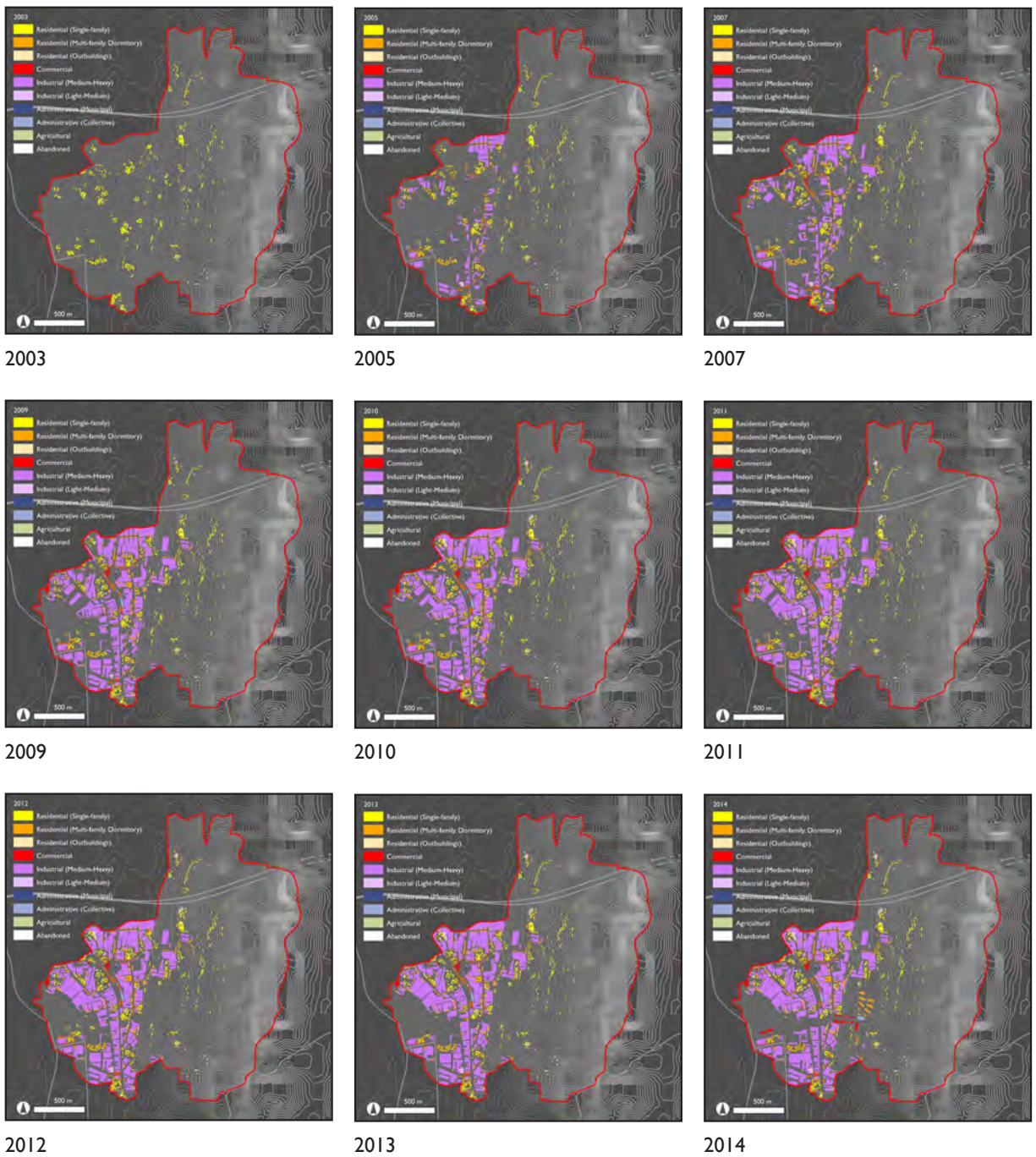


Figure 3.14: Structures by Use (2003-2014) OVERVIEW

This series of drawings shows Hailong's rapid industrialization over the last ten years. See Figs. 3.14.1-9 for detailed year-by-year drawings. This set of drawings should be read in conjunction with Figs. 3.12-13 and Fig. 3.15, which offers a quantitative analysis of the use data presented here.

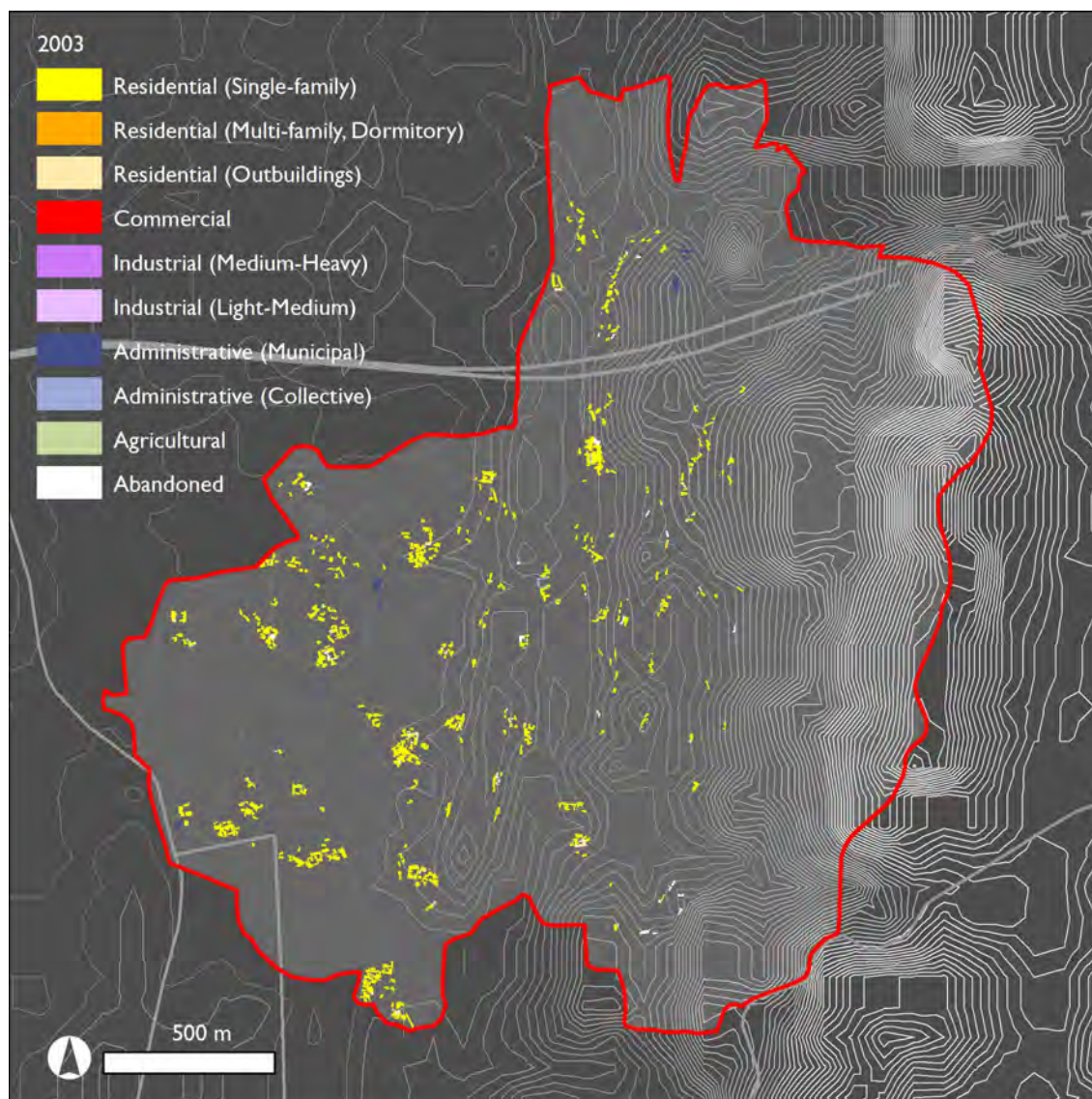


Figure 3.14.1: Structures by Use (2003)

In 2003, before the start of Hailong’s transformation, the village is dominated by small, single-family dwellings.

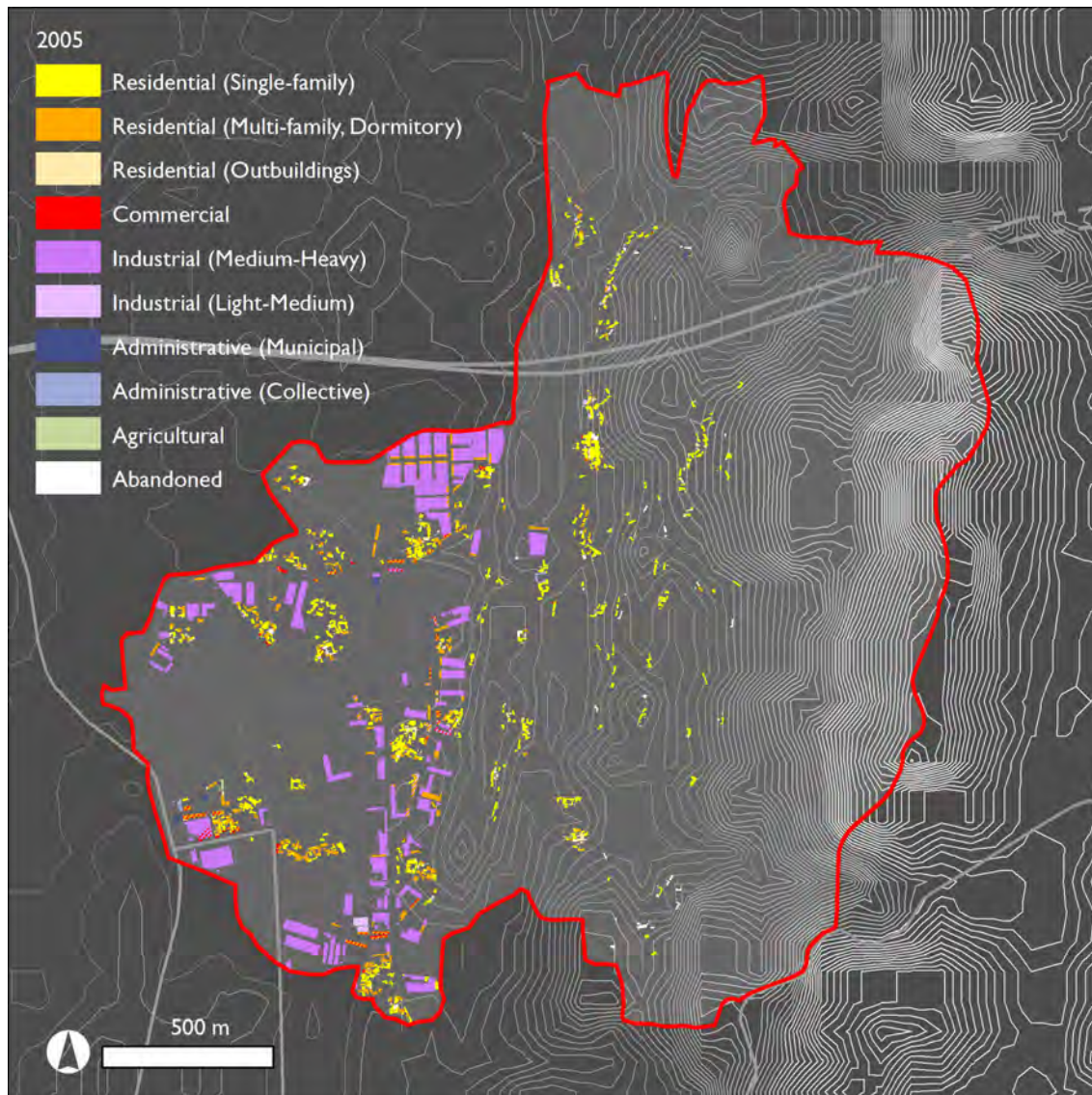


Figure 3.14.2: Structures by Use (2005)

Hailong's transformation between 2003 and 2005 is dominated by new factory construction. New multi-family housing, primarily dormitories, are also evident.

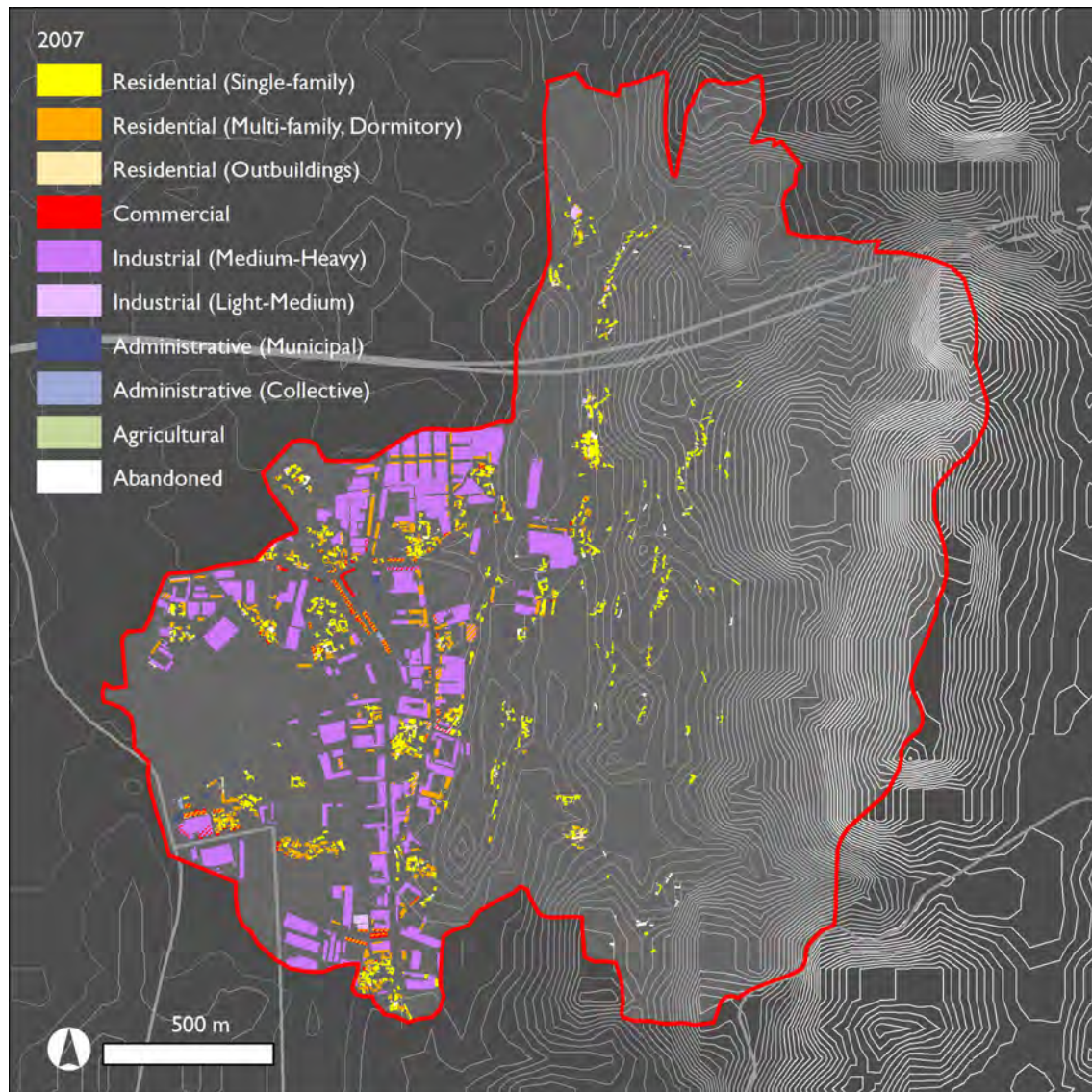


Figure 3.14.3: Structures by Use (2007)

In 2007, the development of Easy Street is largely completed, including a marketplace and commercial building and several multi-family apartment buildings.

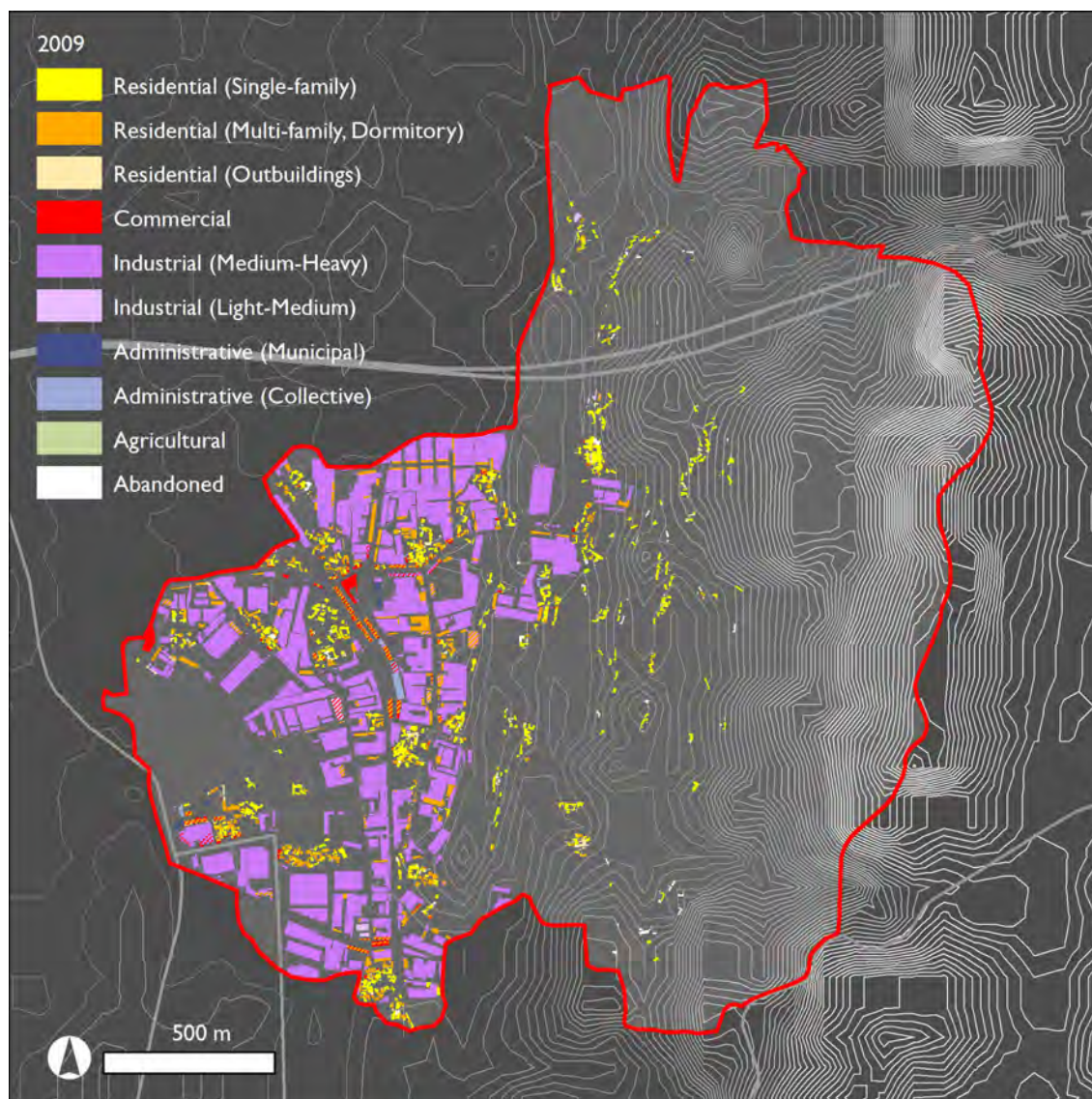


Figure 3.14.4: Structures by Use (2009)

In 2009, more industrial buildings are added. The village collective completes two office buildings, one for village administration and one for the village corporation.

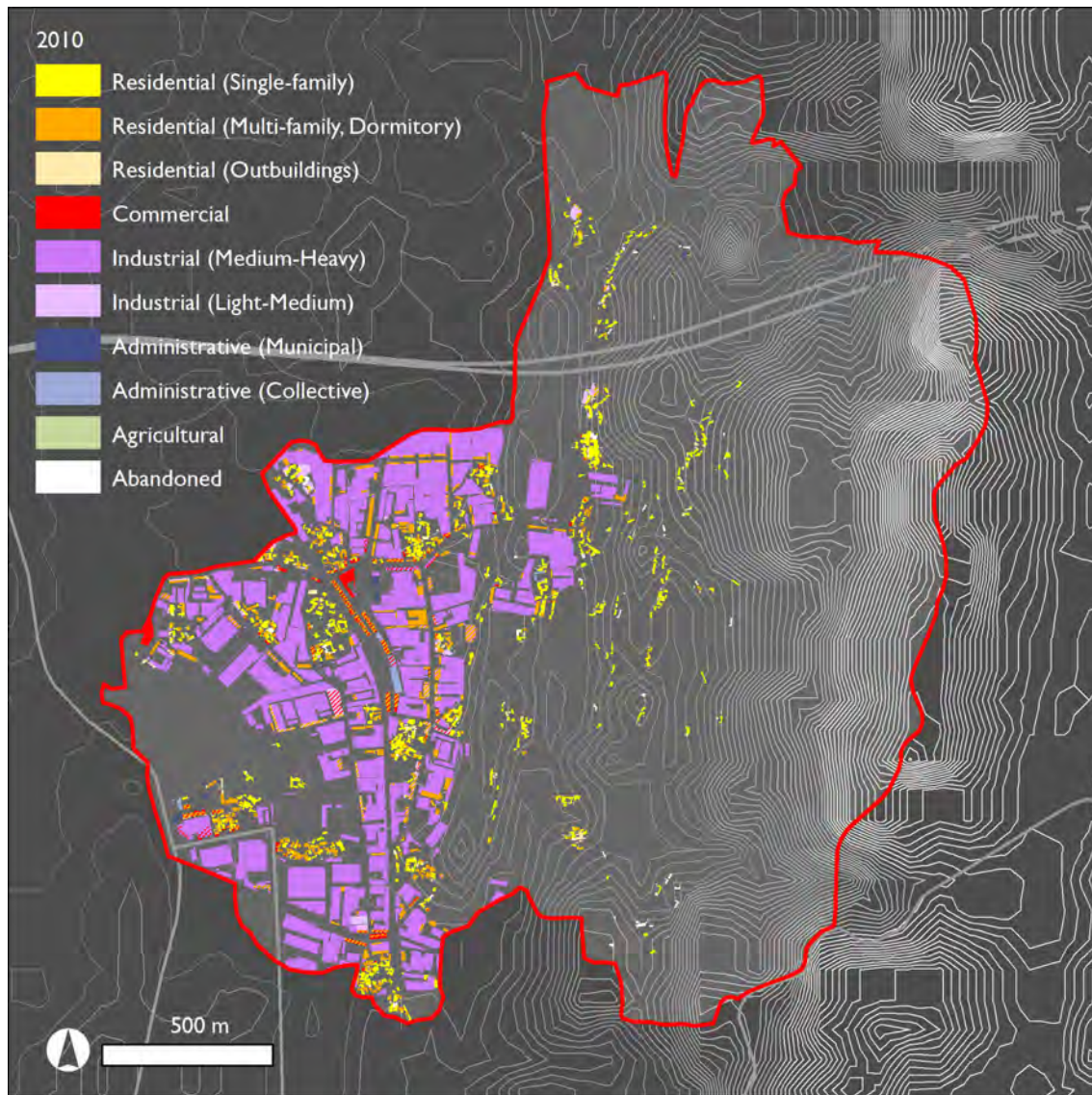


Figure 3.14.5: Structures by Use (2010)

The substantial mixing of uses becomes clear, with residential, industrial, and commercial uses often located in adjacent structures or co-located in the same structure.

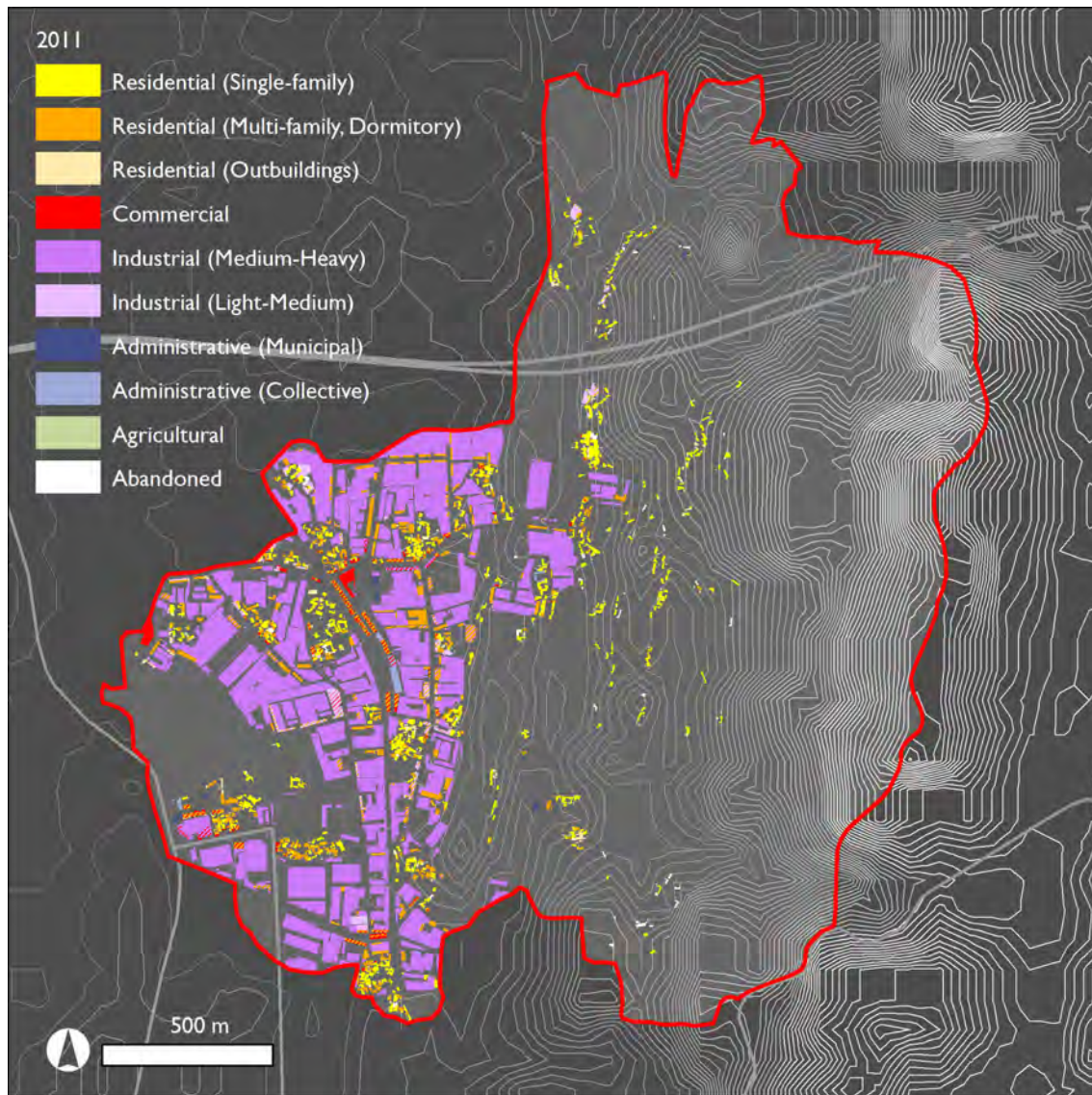


Figure 3.14.6: Structures by Use (2011)

Some single family residences are lost as demolition for Hailong's relaunch begins.

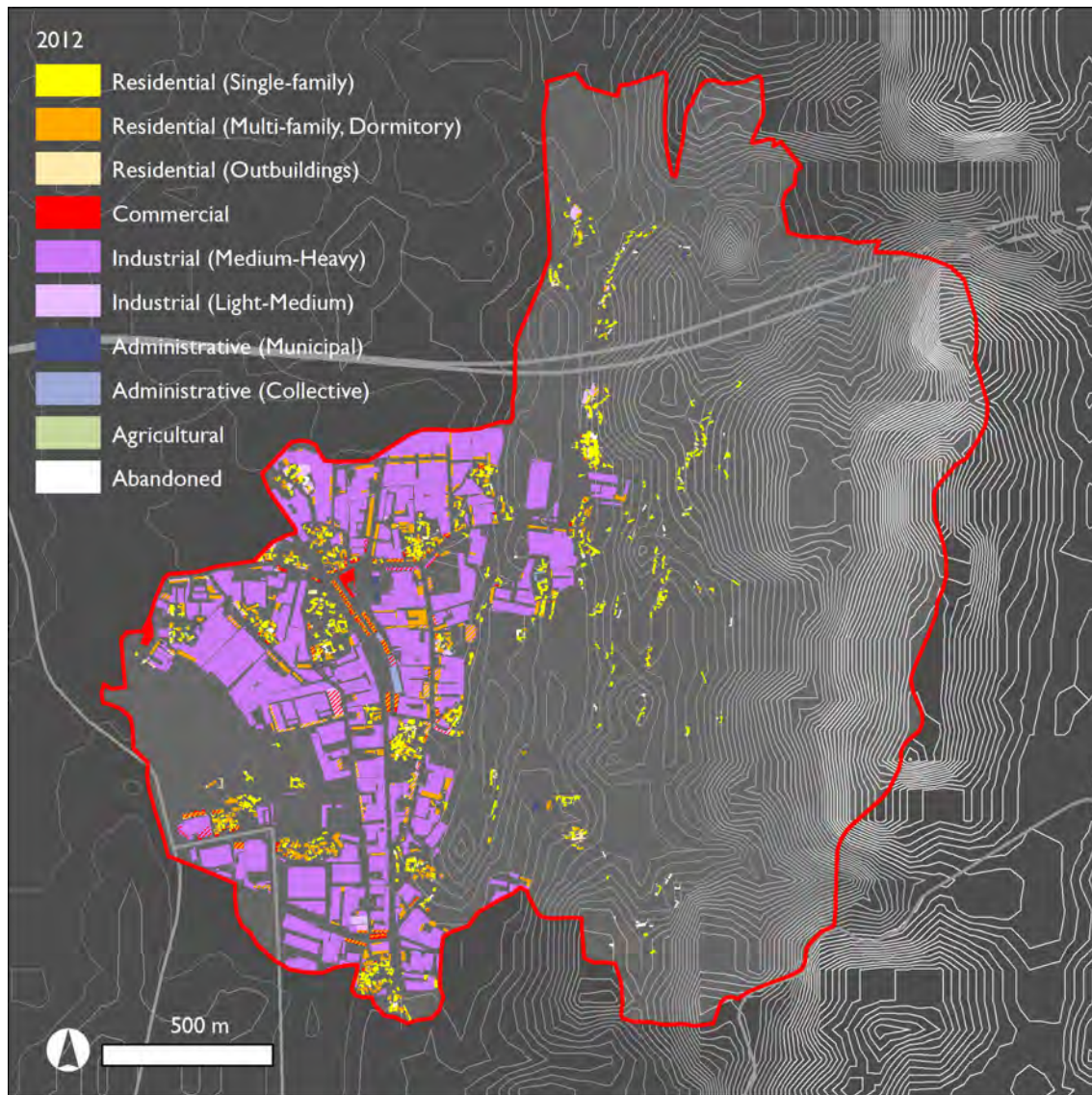


Figure 3.14.7: Structures by Use (2012)

Several factories are demolished.

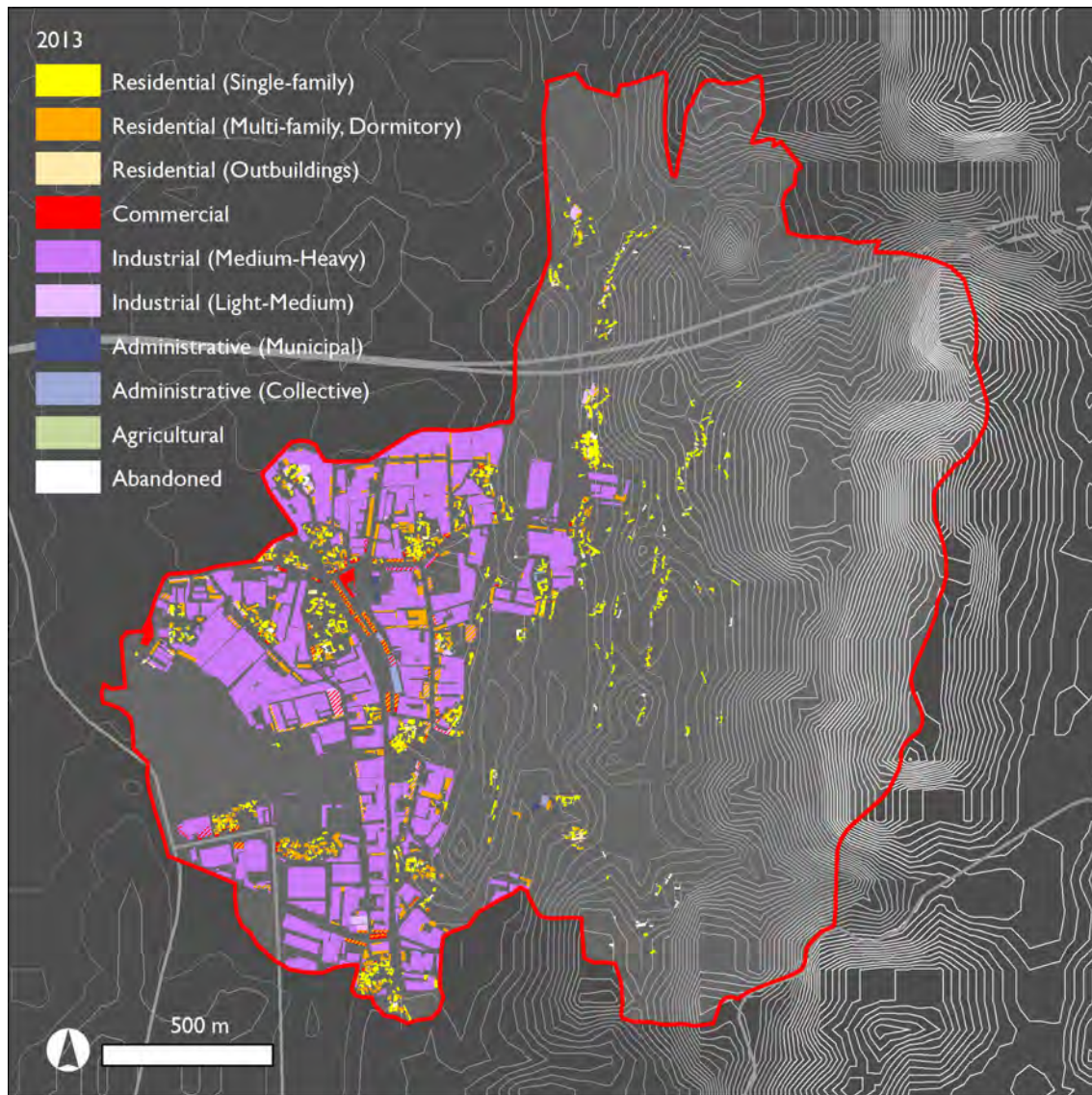


Figure 3.14.8: Structures by Use (2013)

More single-family dwellings and factories are demolished.

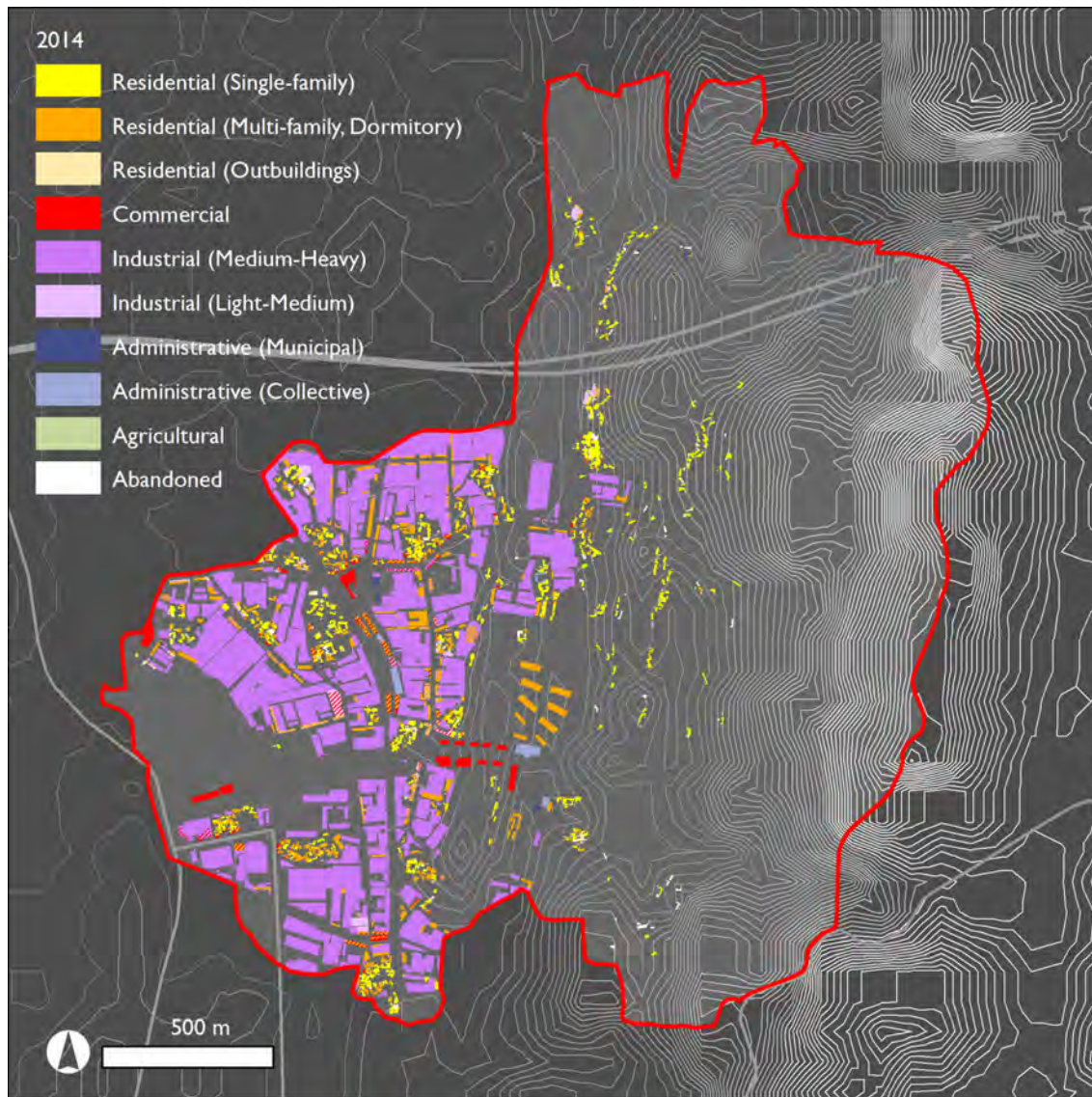


Figure 3.14.9: Structures by Use (2014)

Demolition and construction for Hailong’s relaunch significantly remakes the village. New multi-family apartment buildings are under construction in the village’s interior, and the new commercial street along Hailong’s access road is taking shape. Factories, single-family dwellings, and a portion of Easy Street are also demolished to make way for the new rail line.

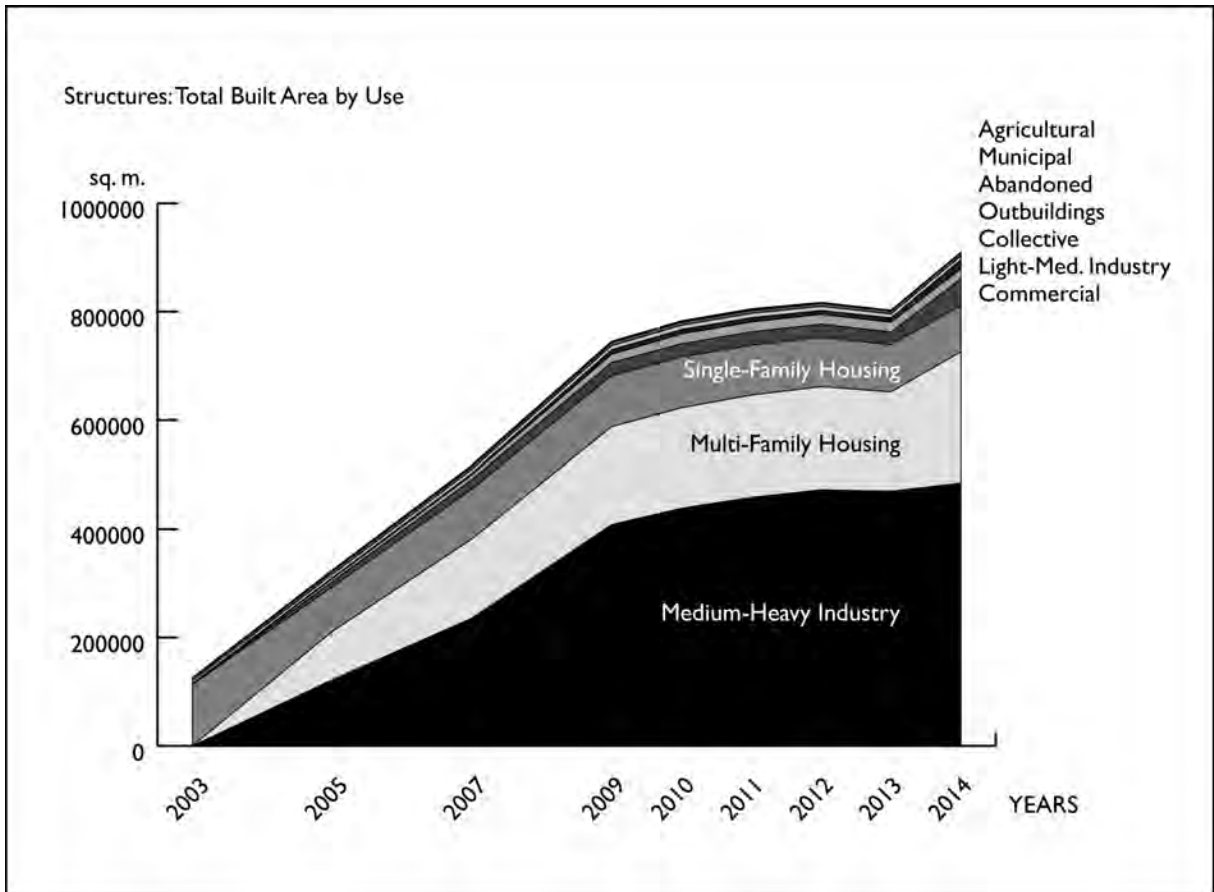


Figure 3.15.1: Change in Structures by Use (Total Built Area) (2003-2014)

This analysis of structures in the village shows the change in total built area for each type of use. Prior to Hailong's transformation, the village was primarily composed of single-family housing. By 2014, Hailong was dominated by industrial buildings and dormitories.

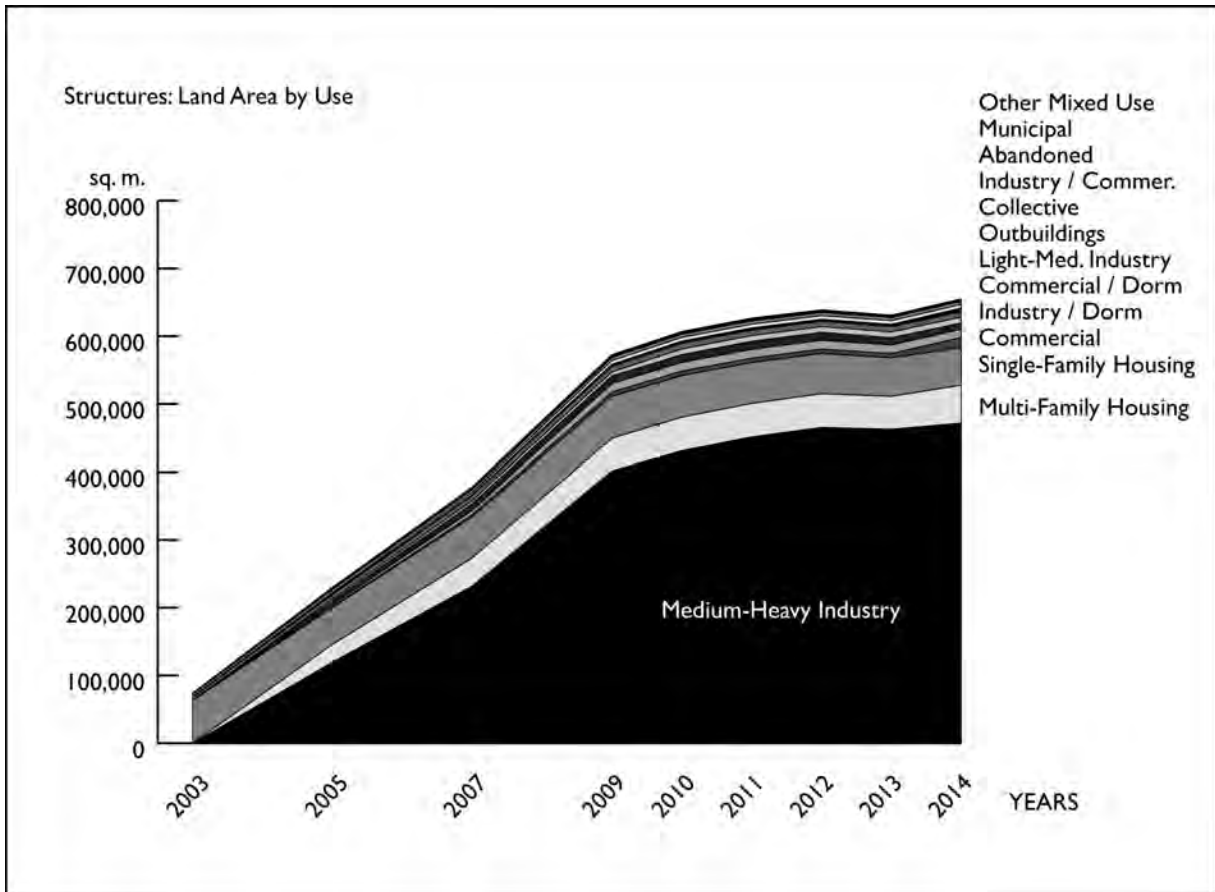


Figure 3.15.2: Change in Structures by Use (Land Use) (2003-2014)

This analysis of structures in the village shows the change in land use over time. Here, the dominance of industry (which are primarily single-floor structures and thus compose a smaller proportion of total built area) is even clearer. Though small in absolute terms, the presence of a substantial number of mixed-use structures is also evident.



(a)



(b)

Figure 3.16: Street Banners

Red banners hanging from Hailong's light posts advertised the leadership of the local party branch: (a) "The friendly party wholeheartedly abides by the law in pursuing scientific development"; (b) a banner that has seen better days: "Cadres are the natural resources for development; the masses are the environment for investment."



Figure 3.17: Military Training

Hailong's party members engaged in periodic military training, which included marching down the village's main street.

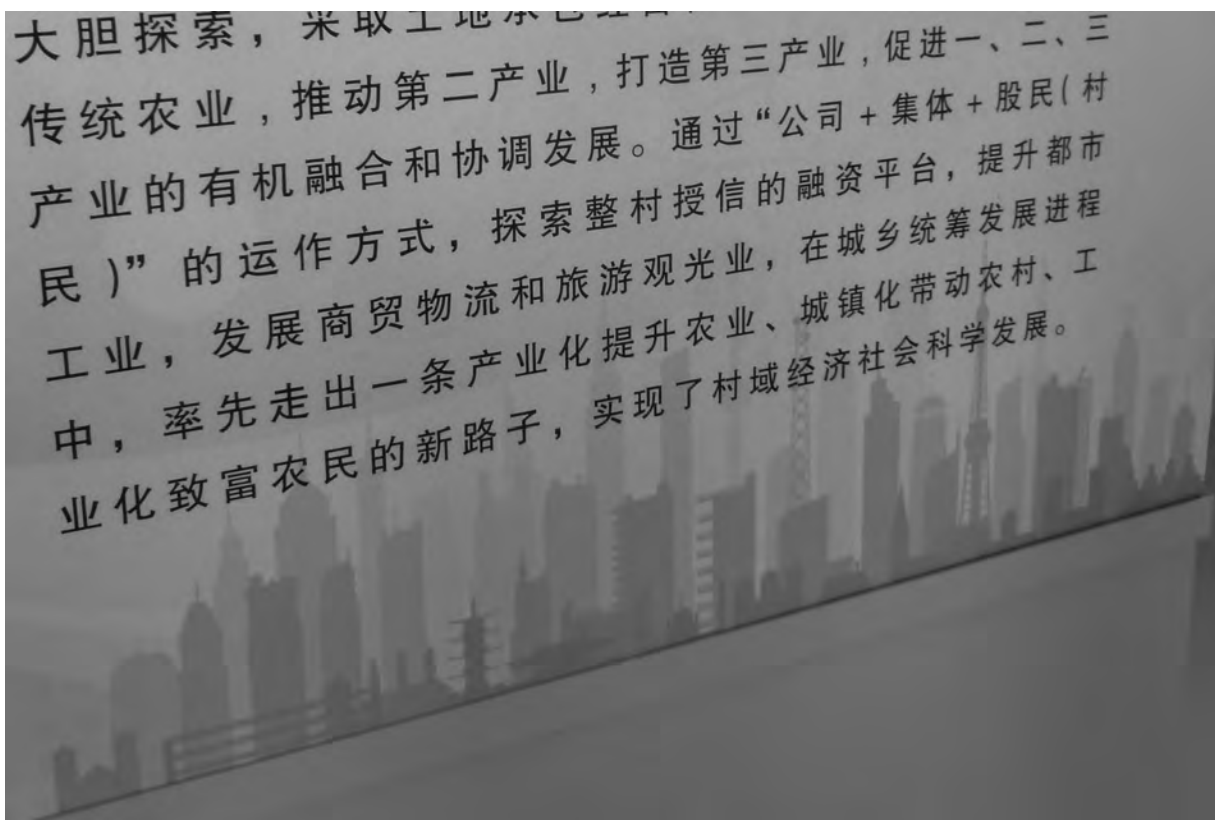


Figure 3.18: Hailong Exhibition Hall Board

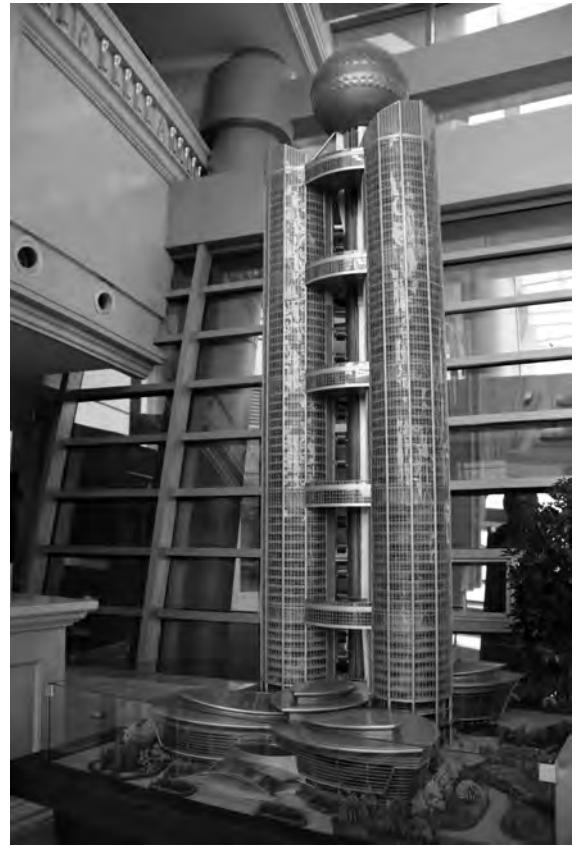
A display board in the exhibition hall discussing village-scaled urban-rural coordination shows a skyline pastiche made of skyscrapers from a variety of international cities.



(a)



(b)



(d)



(c)

Figure 3.19: Huaxi Village

Images from Huaxi Village: (a) the village's skyscraper, viewed from one of the village's industrial areas; (b) a view from the 60th floor, looking out over the Huaxi landscape, including empty pagodas, tract housing, industrial estates, and an artificial mountain; (c) tourists jostling to pay for their photos with the golden bull; and (d) a scale model of village's skyscraper, placed in the lobby of the skyscraper.



(a)



(b)

Figure 3.20: The Hailong Ladies Marching Band

These images from the Hailong newspaper show members of the Hailong Ladies Marching Band (a-b).

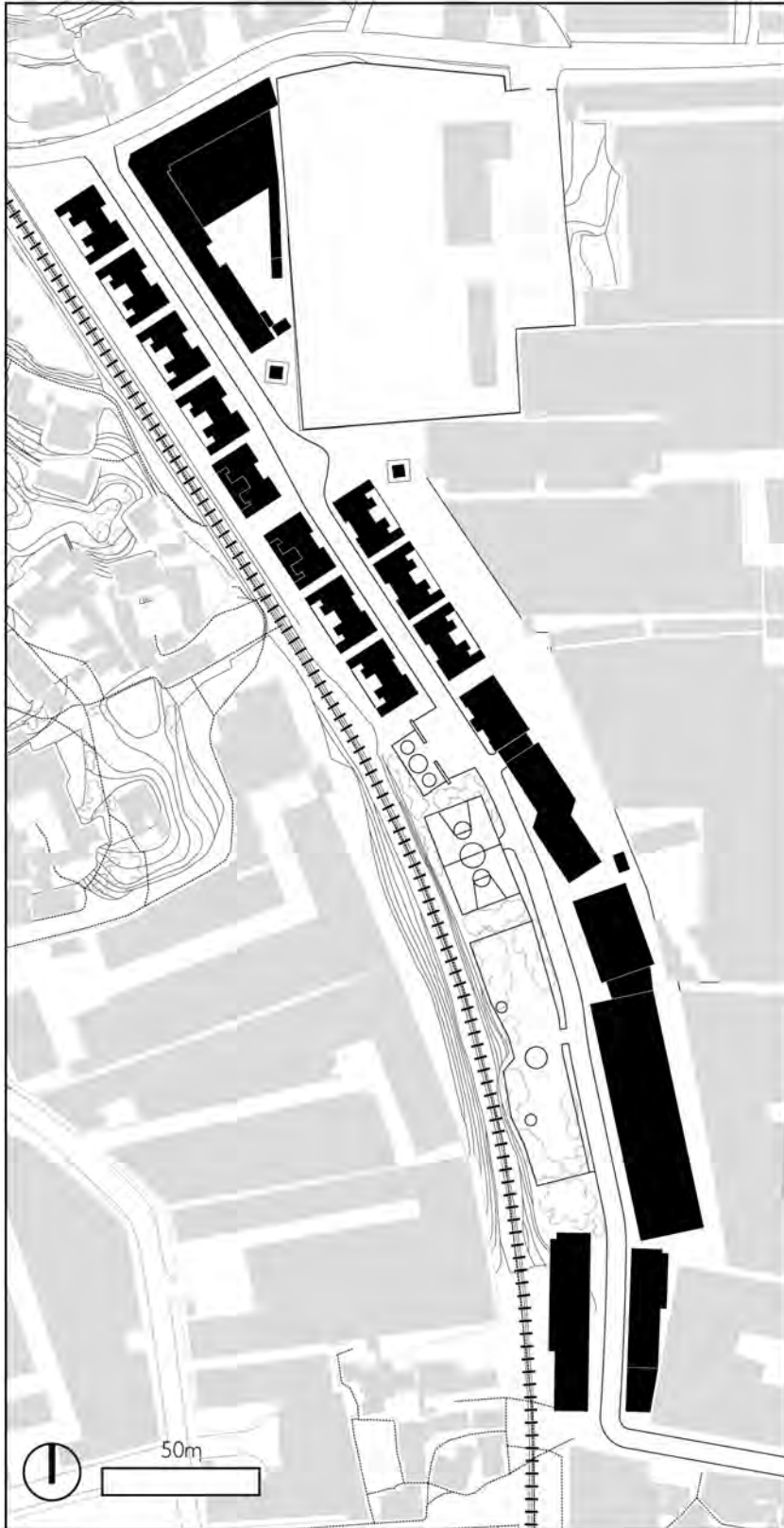


Figure 3.21: Easy Street

This line drawing shows Easy Street, highlighted in black. At the north end, there is a market and shopping complex abutting the power substation. Following the road south are eleven three-storey apartment buildings, with commercial ground floors. Following these apartments are the village's office buildings, the village's exhibition and meeting halls, and four larger apartment buildings.

At the southern end of Easy Street is Hailong Plaza, complete with a basketball court and a fountain.

(For a larger map of the village showing the location of Easy Street, see Fig. 4.9, inset 3.)



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

Figure 3.22: Easy Street (Photographs)

Views of Easy Street: (a) near the entrance to Easy Street, facing south; (b) three-storey apartment buildings, with commercial tenants on the ground floor; (c) the apartment buildings from the rear; and (d) the larger six-storey apartment buildings at the south end of the street.



Figure 3.23: Hailong Plaza

Hailong Plaza, facing south, including a statue symbolizing Hailong's development on the right, the Hailong Exhibition Hall on the left, and the two six-storey apartment buildings in the background.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)

Figure 4.1: Factory Dormitory Construction (2011-2014)

The construction of a factory dormitory from 2011 to 2014: (a) in 2010, before the start of construction, the area adjacent to the factory was devoted to agriculture; (b) in summer 2011, the fields have been graded and a retaining wall has been built around the lot; (c) in 2012, the foundations for the dormitory have been laid, and the first floor has been completed; (d-e) in summer 2012, the basic structure has been completed; and (f) by 2014, the dormitory has been fully occupied.

招 聘

重庆方正高密电子有限公司

重庆方正高密电子有限公司位于重庆市沙坪坝区西水微电子工业园内，产业园占地560多亩，总体规划建筑面积约为27万平米。拟打造成方正集团PCB产业西部基地。主要产品包括软、软硬结合板、普通多层板、背板、封装基板等PCB产品的生产销售，为客户提供一站式服务。该项目已于2006年下半年开始规划设计、三通一平准备，2007年现场开工建设，2009年4月已正式投产，现诚邀广大有志于PCB事业的同仁加盟，共同发展。

一、招聘岗位：普工
要求：男女不限，18-33岁，初中以上学历，有电子企业工作经验优先。

二、工作时间、薪酬福利

1. 工作时间：5天8小时属于正常工作时间，超额时间属于加班时间，加班费按照国家相关法律法规计算；
2. 工资：1060元+加班费+技术津贴120元/月(转正后)=1800元—2400元/月；
3. 津贴：全勤奖、品质奖、工龄工资、特殊岗位津贴、餐费补贴、夜班补贴；
4. 福利：五险一金、年度体检、中秋月饼、中秋水果、清凉饮料、生日礼品等；
5. 年终奖：根据公司当年运营情况拟定、发放年终奖奖金；
6. 食宿：公司有食堂，餐费实行公司补贴和员工个人承担；公司自有宿舍，6人/间，空调/饮水机/卫生间/阳台，可申请上网，无住宿费，水电费均摊；
7. 假期：员工每年享有法定节日假期11天，每月享有2天全薪病假，工作满1年享有5天全薪年假；

三、公司地址：重庆市沙坪坝区西水微电子产业园367号
联系人：廖老师 **电话：15922749729**

(a)

招 聘

街，
目机
作和
岗位
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福利
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元福
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我是一家集研发、制造、销售以及出口通用机械动力及其相关终端产品的科技企业，现因发展需要，诚招如下人才：

★ **装配工 8名**
要求：男性，年龄17-35岁，初中及以上学历，身体健康，能够吃苦耐劳，工作认真负责，熟练工优先。

★ **生产内勤 1名**
要求：年龄20-35岁，市场营销及相关专业，大专及以上学历，能熟练使用office办公软件，普通话标准，有良好的语言组织能力及表达能力，沟通能力较强，具有1年以上销售相关工作经验及电话营销经验者优先。

★ **库管员 1名**
要求：女性，年龄20-35岁，大专及以上学历，有一年以上相关工作经验，熟练使用电脑办公软件。

★ **储备干部 5名**
要求：男女不限，年龄22-30岁，本科及以上学历(专业不限，机械制造类、管理类优先)，身体健康，能够吃苦耐劳，心态良好。

★ **技术员 2名**
要求：男女不限，年龄25-45岁，本科及以上学历，身体健康，心态良好，有相关工作经验者优先。

以上岗位福利待遇：
 1. 工资待遇2000-3500元，长白班，单体制，按规定享有带薪年假；
 2. 试用期结束后合格者签订合同，同时按照国家规定购买五险；
 3. 公司设有幸福基金：a 员工结婚，享有1600元贺礼；b 员工直系亲属逝世，享有1000元抚恤金；c 员工及直系亲属遭遇重大疾病，根据医疗金额享有一定程度的资助。

有意者请于2013年6月15日之前到公司综合部办理登记。
 地址：重庆市九龙坡区白市驿镇海龙村十二社
 重庆科业动力机械制造有限公司(创升公司)

联系电话：
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 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6
 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5 5
 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0

(b)

Figure 4.2: Job Postings

Two of many job postings on noticeboards in Hailong advertise jobs for people younger than 35 years-old.

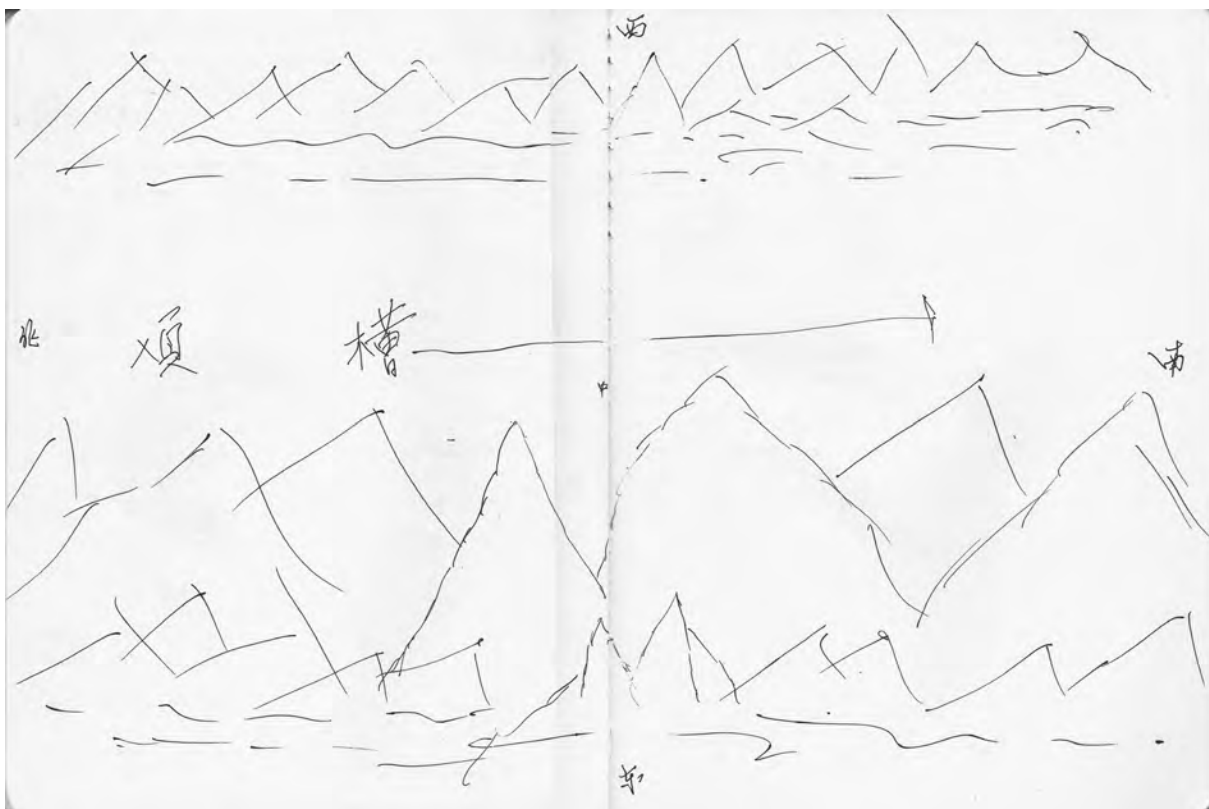
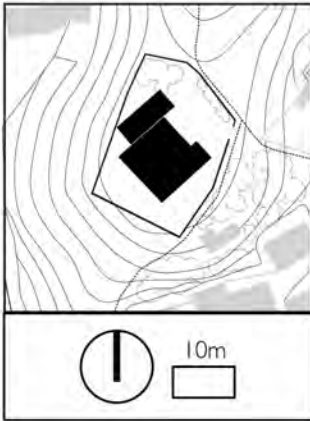


Figure 4.3: Sun Jieshi's Map

Sun Jieshi's map shows the cardinal directions, the mountains, and a large, uncertain plain between them. Just to the left of the crease in the notebook, Sun positioned us in his map by drawing a single dot.

SITE PLAN



ISOMETRIC

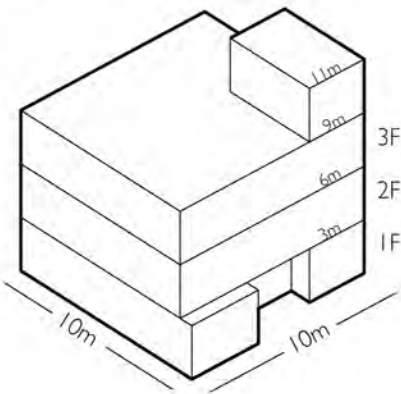
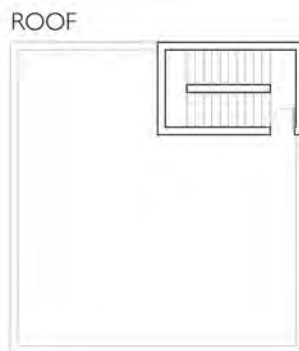
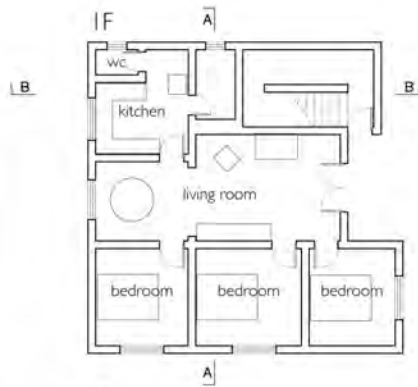


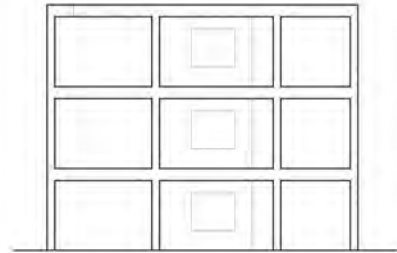
Figure 4.4.1: Li House

The Li House is composed of three main floors, each of which is home to a separate branch of the Li family. An attached staircase with an exterior entrance allows convenient access. The Li's ailing mother lives in the expanded bedroom at the front of the first floor. A private garden occupies the rear of the site, allowing the Li family to grow their own vegetables.

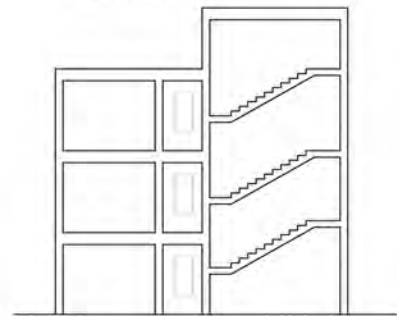
(Longfeng Wu and Wei Lin contributed to the production of these drawings.)



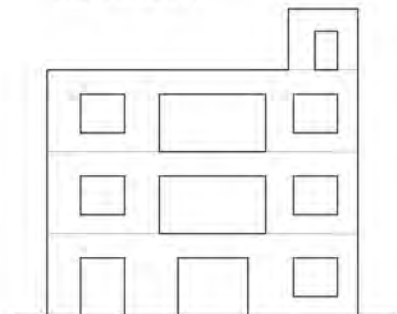
SECTION A



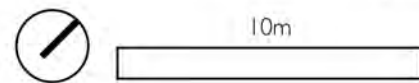
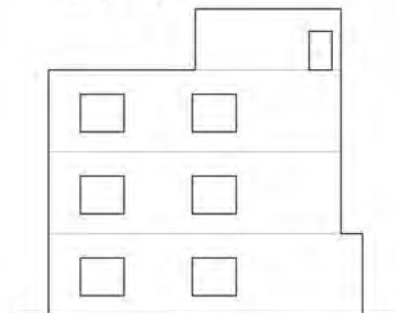
SECTION B



ELEVATION A



ELEVATION B





(a)



(b)

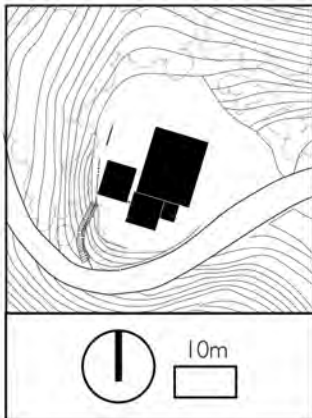


(c)

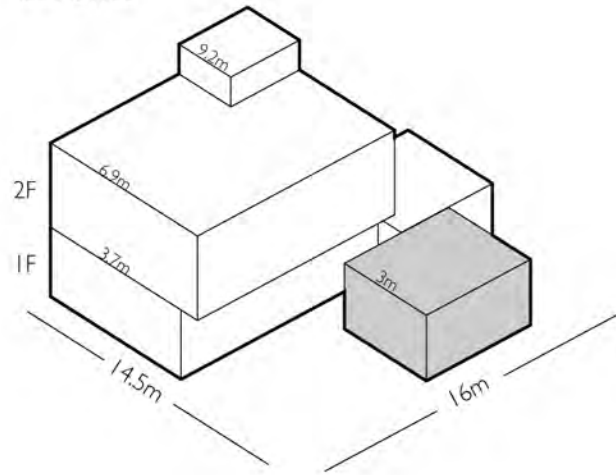
Figure 4.4.2: Li House

Images of the Li House: (a-b) the third floor unit; and (c) an exterior of the house, facing southwest.

SITE PLAN



ISOMETRIC



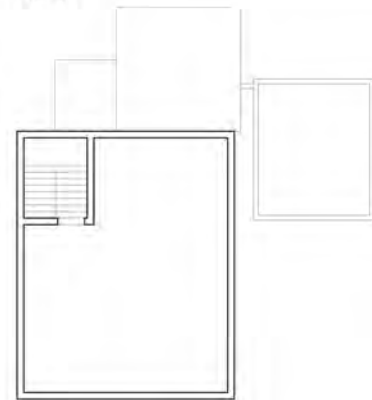
1F



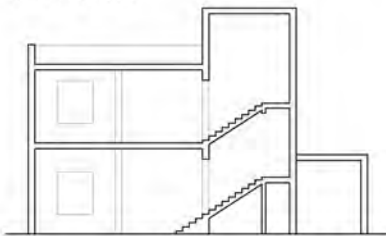
2F



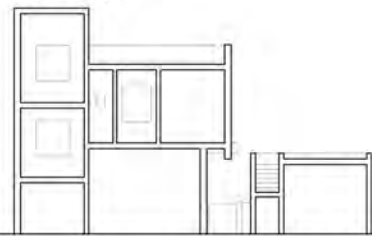
ROOF



SECTION A



SECTION B



ELEVATION B

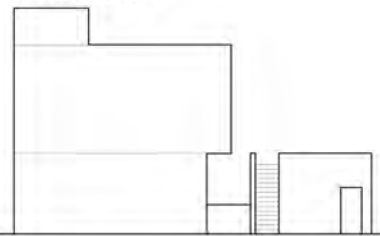


Figure 4.5.1: Lin House



The Lin House comprises two floors, with attached outbuildings, including a shed, a washroom, and a pre-existing brick structure that serves as a kitchen. The main living area is on the second floor, with a day room and a kitchen on the first floor. One room on the first floor is kept vacant in anticipation of a potential future sideline business, and an extra bedroom on the second floor accommodates visiting family members.

(Longfeng Wu and Wei Lin contributed to the production of these drawings.)



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 4.5.2: Lin House

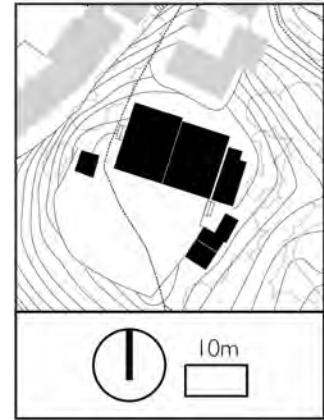
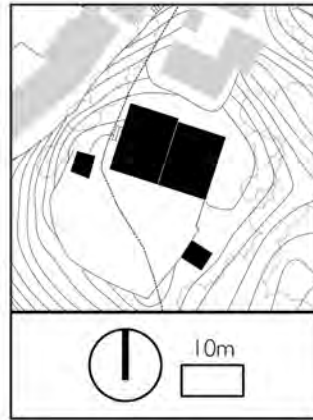
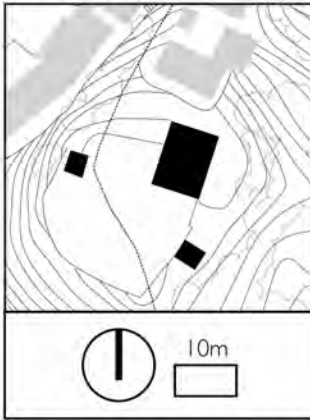
Images of the Lin House: (a) the Lin House has a white facade and is positioned on the hill in the middle distance; (b) an exterior shot of the house shows the entrance, on the right, and the brick building that preceded the new house and is now used as a kitchen; and (c) the upstairs living room.

PHASE I (c. 1990)

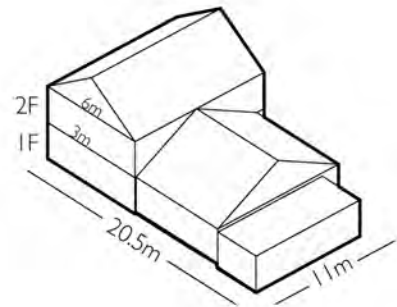
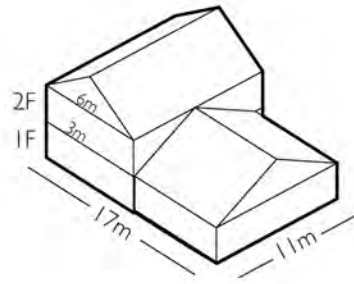
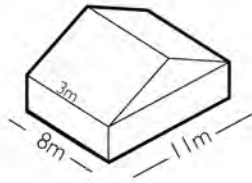
PHASE 2 (c. 1995)

PHASE 3 (c. 2000)

SITE PLANS



ISOMETRICS



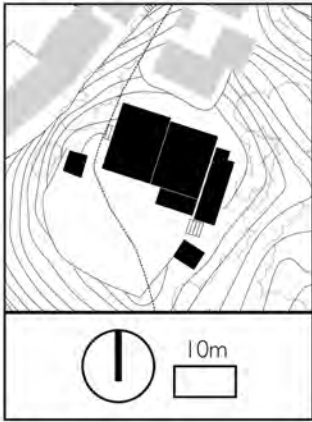
FLOOR PLANS



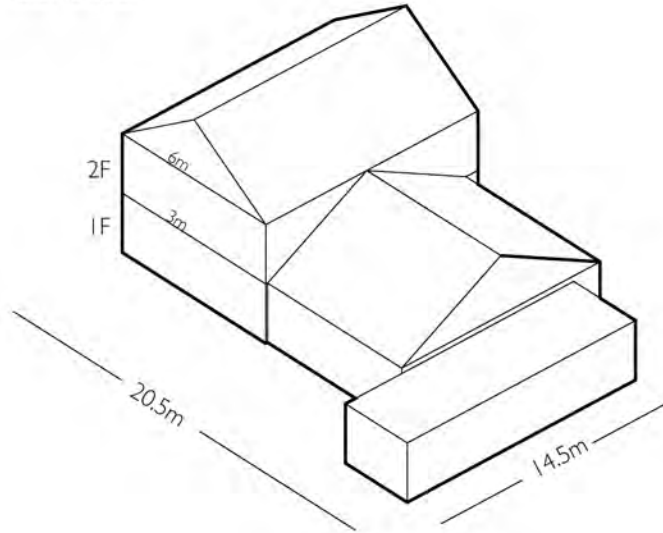
Figure 4.6.1: Wang House (continued on following page)

PHASE 4 (2014)

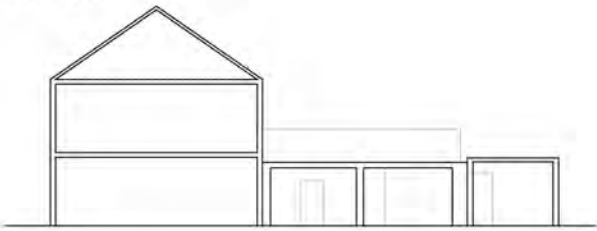
SITE PLAN



ISOMETRIC



SECTION



FLOOR PLAN



ELEVATION

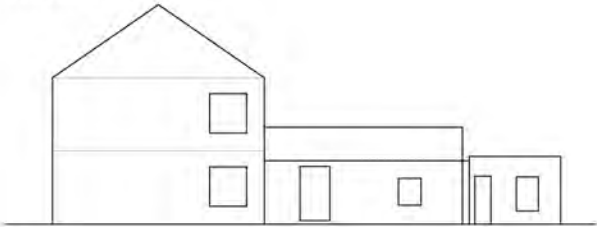


Figure 4.6.1: Wang House (continued from previous page)

The Wang House presents a particularly good example of phased construction in response to evolving household needs. From 1990 to 2015, the Wang family went through three main phases of construction: first the elder brother added a two storey addition with a separate entrance, then the younger brother added a two-room annex, and most recently, an extra bedroom was added to the annex to accommodate the younger brother's mother-in-law. In the most recent adaptation, a corrugated metal awning was added to the front of the house, reflecting the tight socio-spatial integration between the living room and the house's exterior.

(Longfeng Wu and Wei Lin contributed to the production of these drawings.)



(a)



(b)



(d)



(c)



(e)

Figure 4.6.2: Wang House

Images of the Wang House: (a, d) the house's exterior in 2011, showing the adaptive use of wasteland space for agricultural activities; (b) the house's exterior in 2014, with family members and neighbors enjoying the covered area adjacent to the house's entrance; (c) the original living room (2011); and (e) the newest living room (2014).



(a)

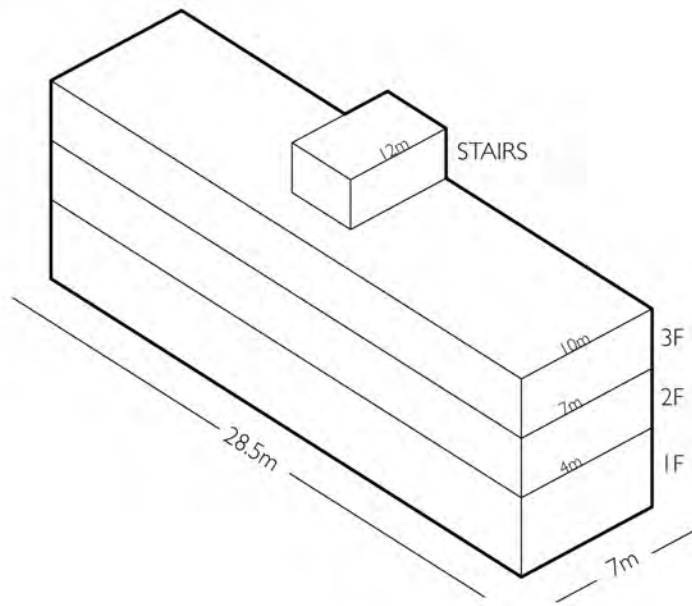


(b)

Figure 4.7: Building a Majiang Parlor

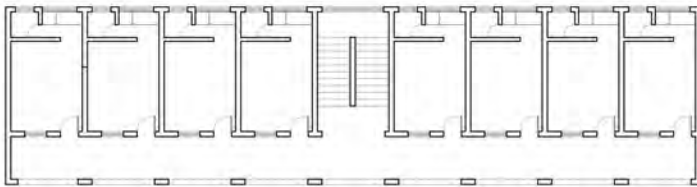
Workers build an attached majiang parlor, aided by the household's patriarch (a), while two younger generations of the family supervise (b).

ISOMETRIC



(a)

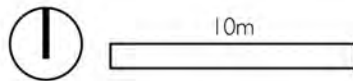
2F FLOOR PLAN



UNIT PLAN



UNIT SECTION



(b)

Figure 4.8: Migrant Dormitory

This typical migrant dormitory (a) is part of a larger factory complex. Each unit measures 3 x 5 meters, with a single bedroom, bathroom, and kitchenette. Communal laundry facilities are located on the first floor. Each floor is accessed via an exterior gallery (b). (Wei Lin contributed to the production of these drawings.)

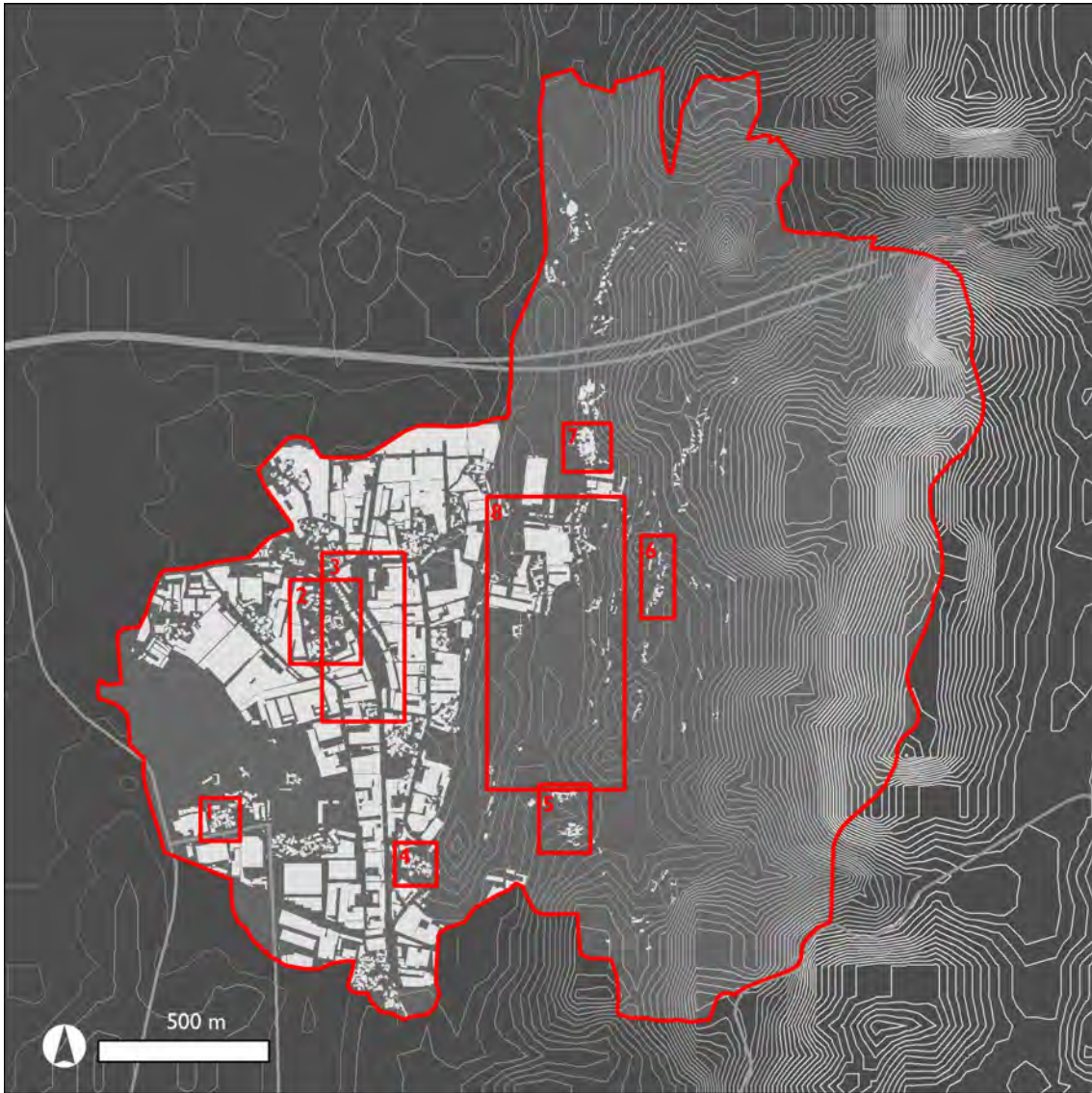


Figure 4.9.1: Hailong Communities (Orientation)

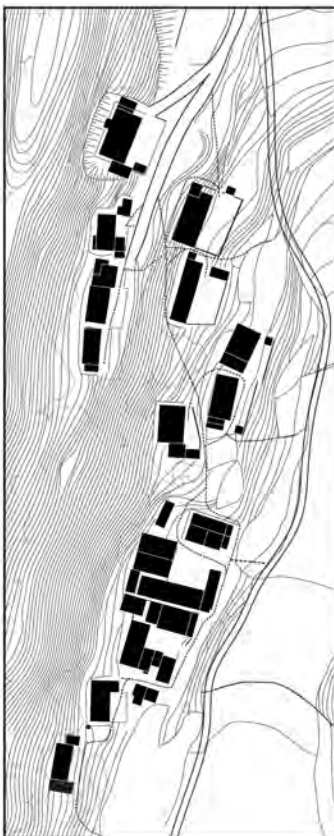
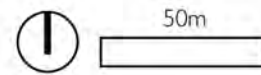
This map shows the locations of the communities represented on the following pages, as well as Easy Street (Inset 3, Fig. 3.21) and Hailong City (Inset 8, Fig. 6.2).



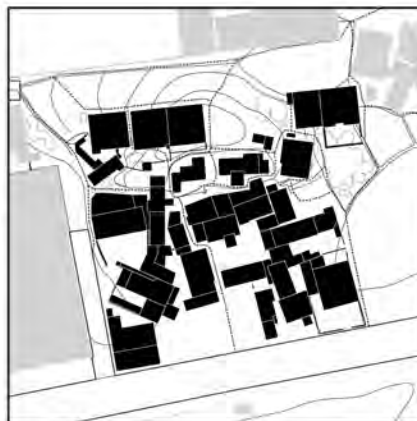
COMMUNITY 5



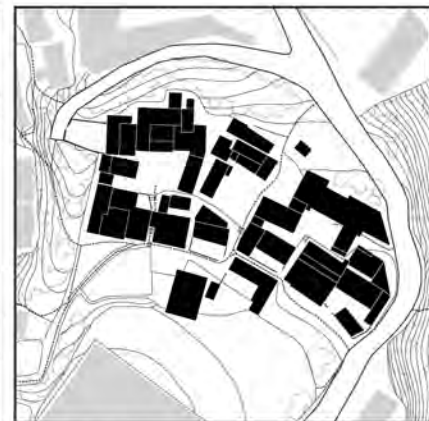
COMMUNITY 7



COMMUNITY 6



COMMUNITY 1



COMMUNITY 4

Figure 4.9.2: Hailong Communities

These five drawings represent typical natural village morphologies in Hailong, many of which reflect the surrounding topography. Community 5 shows a bi-modal settlement on two sides of a valley, below the Jiulong Reservoir. Community 7 has grown around the historical home of a local landlord, ownership of which was divided among several households during the Maoist period. Community 6 is a typical linear village, built into a hillside along a dirt road. Community 1 is clustered along a primary road. And Community 4 is nestled into a hillside, with a new road wrapping around its edge. (Longfeng Wu contributed to the production of these drawings.)



COMMUNITY 2

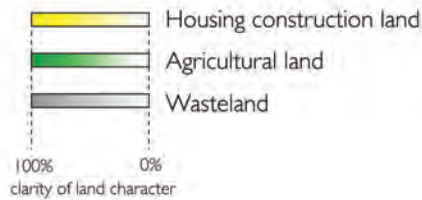
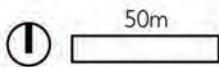


Figure 4.10.1: Community 2

This pair of drawings shows Community 2, which is built around a small hill nestled between a road and the rail line. The drawing on the right seeks to realistically portray the imprecision with which residents represent the character of land. Certain lots are clearly either housing construction land, agricultural land, or wasteland, while the character of other pieces of land is less clear. Wasteland comprises nearly 50 percent of the land in the community and represents an important resource. Many of the structures in the community are built on wasteland, including most of the rental properties and dormitories built by village households. In addition, all of the tombs in the village are located on wasteland. Two outdoor stoves, used to smoke meats and prepare other large foods, have also been built in the community's wasteland. Finally, the primary social spaces in the community are all found on wasteland, particularly at the intersection of wasteland and housing construction land. These social spaces are sometimes policed by community dogs, which are otherwise used to guard household residential space.

(Longfeng Wu contributed to the production of these drawings.)



(a)



(b)



(c)

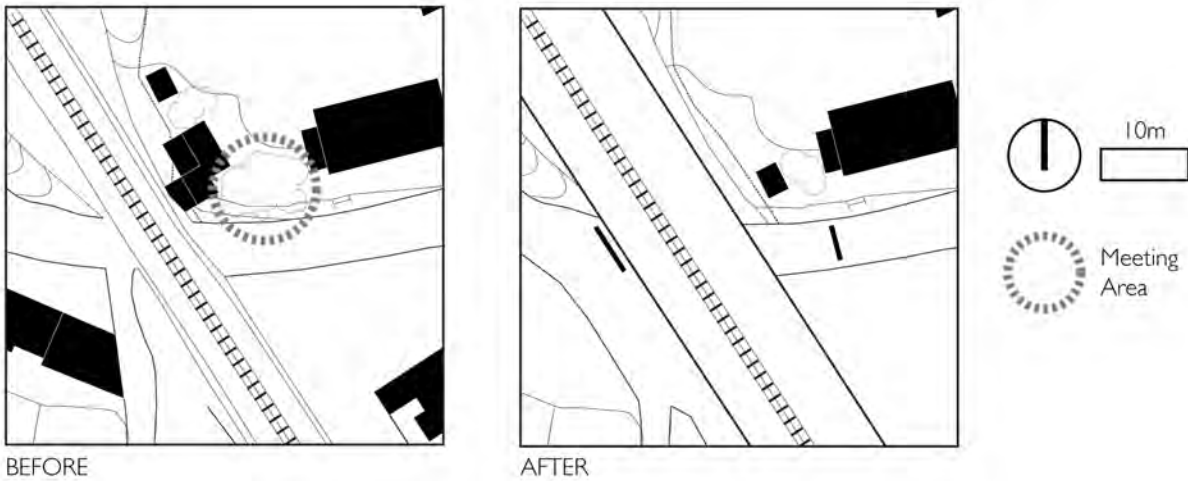


(d)

Figure 4.10.2: Community 2

Images from Community 2: (a) playing badminton in one of the community's social spaces; (b) a tomb located at the edge of wasteland and housing construction land; (c) an outdoor stove; and (d) a social space forms around an outdoor stove where a resident is smoking pork sausages.

RAIL JUNCTION



(a)



(b)

Figure 4.11: Rail Intersection

This pair of drawings shows the main rail intersection in Hailong, before and after the opening of the new high-speed rail line. Before the line was converted to high-speed rail, this intersection was one of the busiest locations in the village. In particular, the dotted circle indicates a large shaded area with ample seating that was used by residents as an informal gathering place during long, hot afternoons (a). After the opening of the high-speed rail line, the buffer zone for the line was expanded, and a two-meter wall was built on either side. Concrete bollards were also installed on the road to prevent traffic from crashing into the wall (b). In the process, the tree that shaded the meeting area was cut down and the meeting area itself was covered in rubble.

(Longfeng Wu contributed to the production of these drawings.)



Figure 4.12: Resident Land Use

A photographic cross-section of resident land use, including two dormitories (left and center), a villager house (background), agricultural fields (center foreground), and a factory (right foreground).



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

Figure 4.13: Resident Businesses

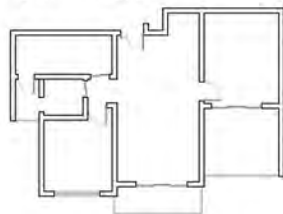
Resident businesses included markets (a), small industrial workshops (b), larger industrial enterprises (c), and gambling parlors (d).

UNIT FLOOR PLANS

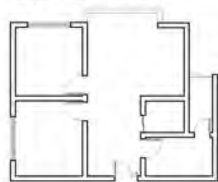
UNITTYPE: C2



UNITTYPE: B1



UNITTYPE: B4



UNITTYPE: B3

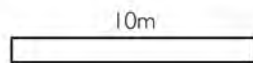
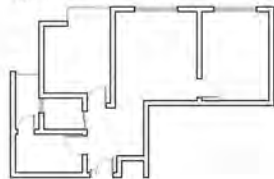


Figure 4.14: Villager Relocation Housing (continued on following page)

These drawings show four of the eight units that village households could choose to purchase in Hailong's new residential area, including their representation in the village's marketing materials.

(Wei Lin contributed to the production of these drawings.)



Figure 4.15: The Five Chongqings

A display from Chongqing's planning museum advertising the Five Chongqings.



Figure 4.16: Zhang Yizhou

Zhang Yizhou, a rural resident and a farmer, looking dapper and challenging urban-rural stereotypes.

Photo: SARA M. WATSON



(a)



(b)

Figure 5.1: Site of New Village Center (2011)

Views of the new village center site, prior to development: (a) the last house remaining in 2011; (b) facing south, prime agricultural land left fallow while the planning process stalled.

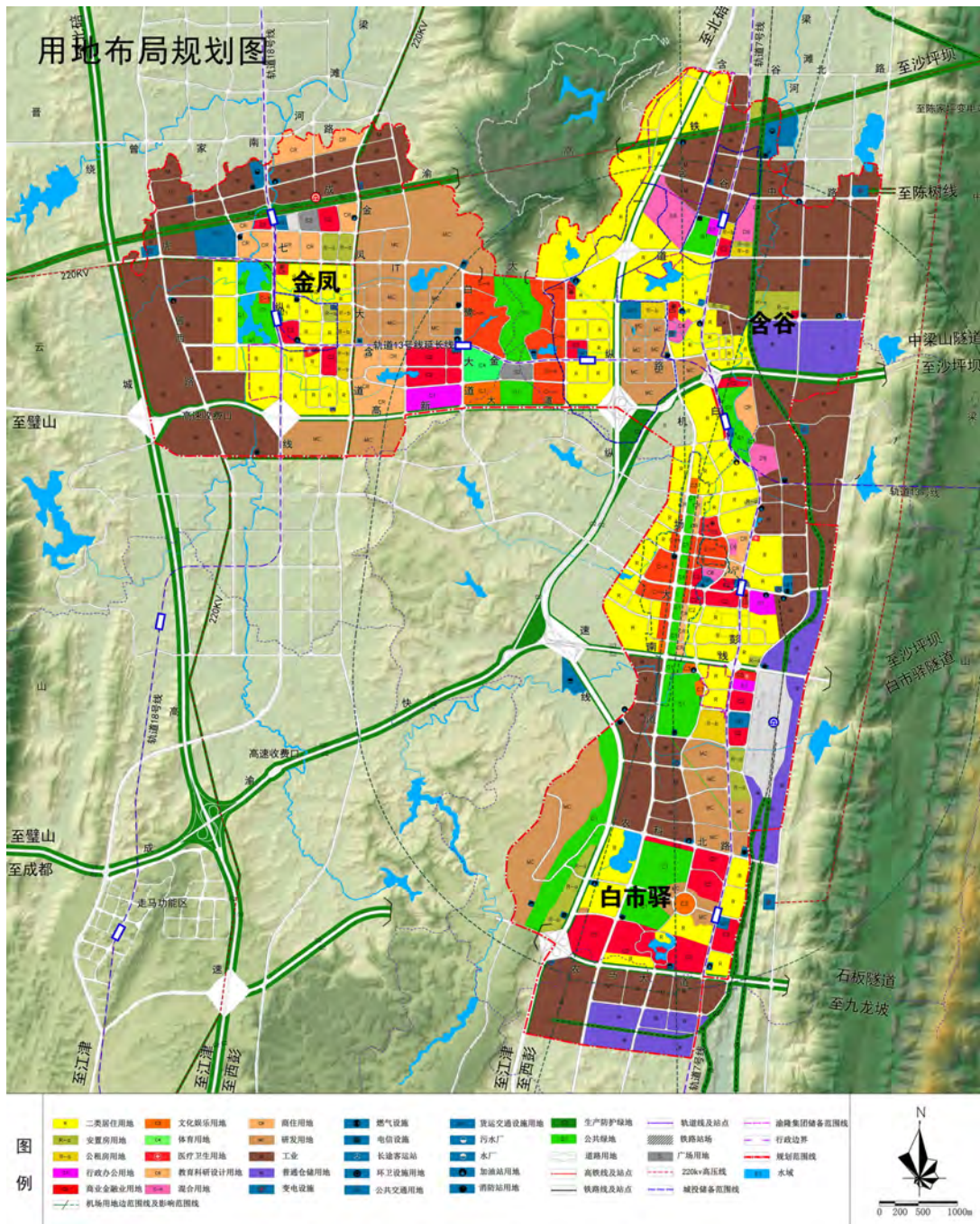


Figure 5.2: High-Tech Zone Master Plan

A draft of the master plan for the High-Tech Zone (dated August 2011) includes Hailong, on the far right. The plan reflects the urban-rural construction boundary negotiated in 2011 (see Fig. 5.3) but does not change the planned land use for the village, which remains entirely industrial, as originally envisioned by the planners for the High-Tech Zone. Source: Chongqing Municipal Planning Bureau

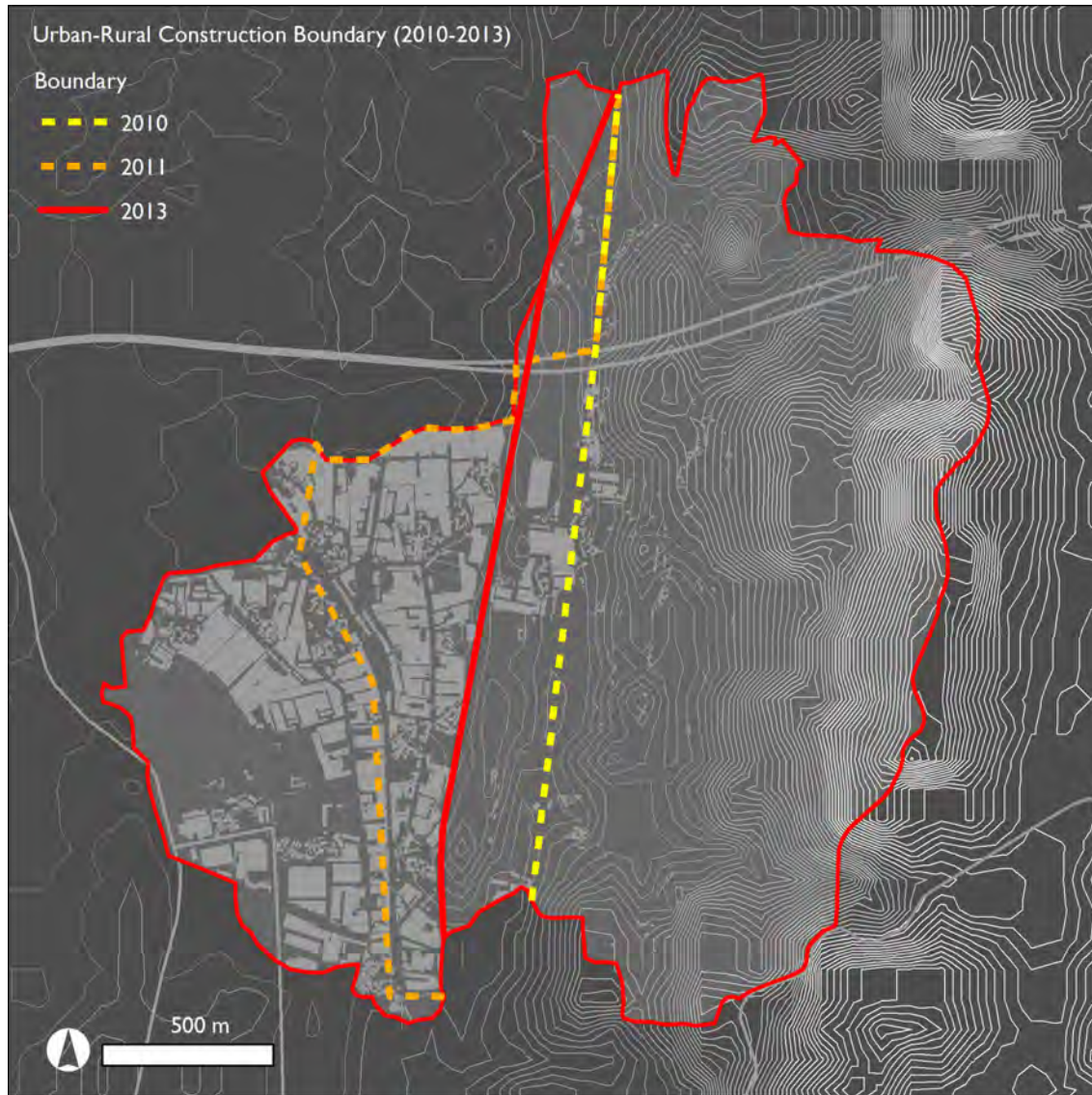


Figure 5.3: Urban-Rural Construction Boundary (2010-2013)

The urban-rural construction boundary was used to divide the urban planning area (to the west) from the village planning area (to the east). The boundary originally proposed by the High-Tech Zone ran along the foothills of Silong Mountain and would have entailed the expropriation of nearly all of Hailong’s collectively controlled land. In 2011, in the middle of the negotiation process, Hailong succeeded in revising the boundary to follow the rail line. The final boundary, reflected in the village’s approved statutory plan of 2013, ran along the western edge of Silong Mountain, the small ridge separating western Hailong from the village interior. The majority of Hailong’s existing development was located on the urban side of the boundary.

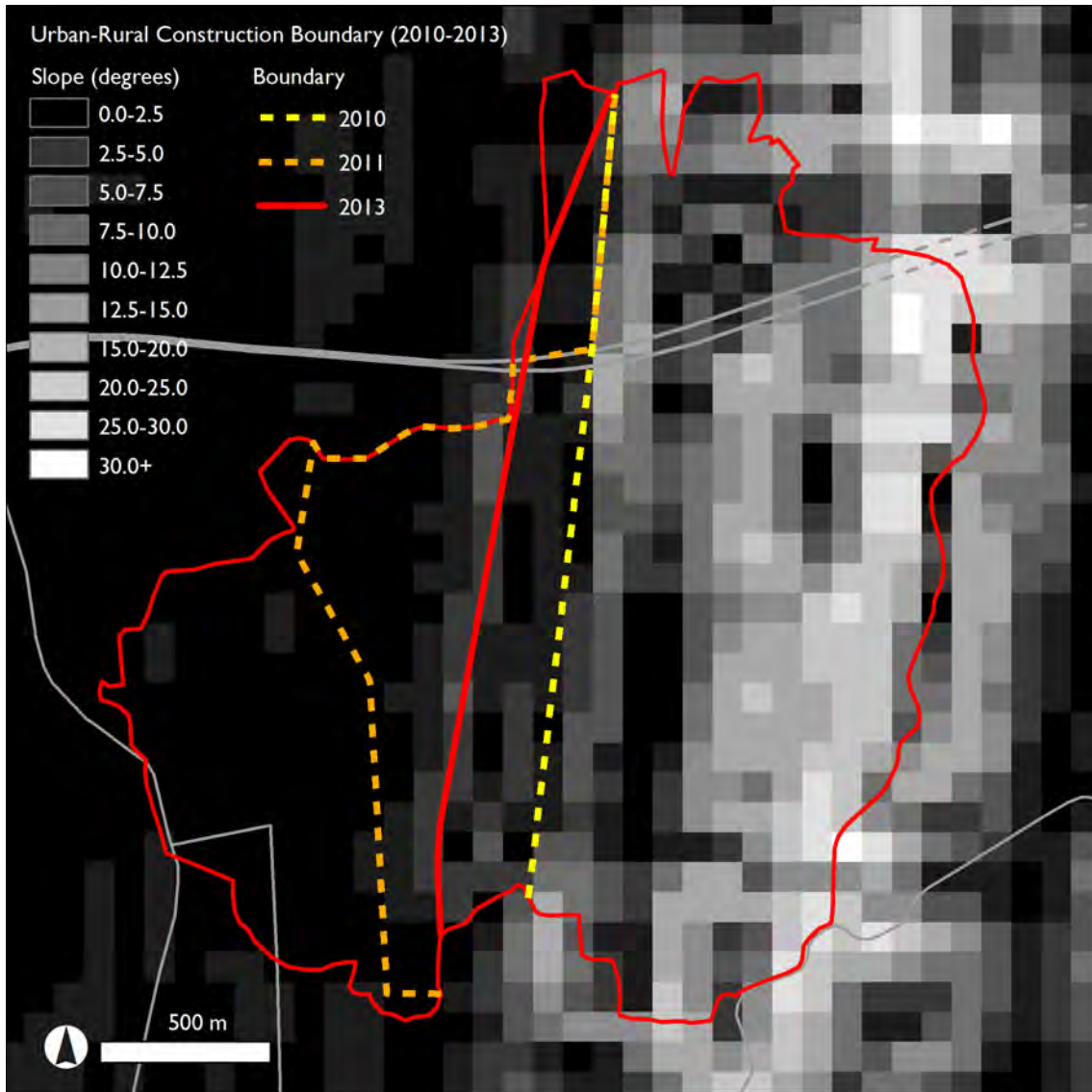


Figure 5.4: Urban-Rural Construction Boundary with Slope

The majority of Hailong's flat land was located on the urban side of the boundary.



Figure 5.5: Urban-Rural Construction Boundary with Accessibility

The most accessible parts of the village were located on the urban side of the boundary.

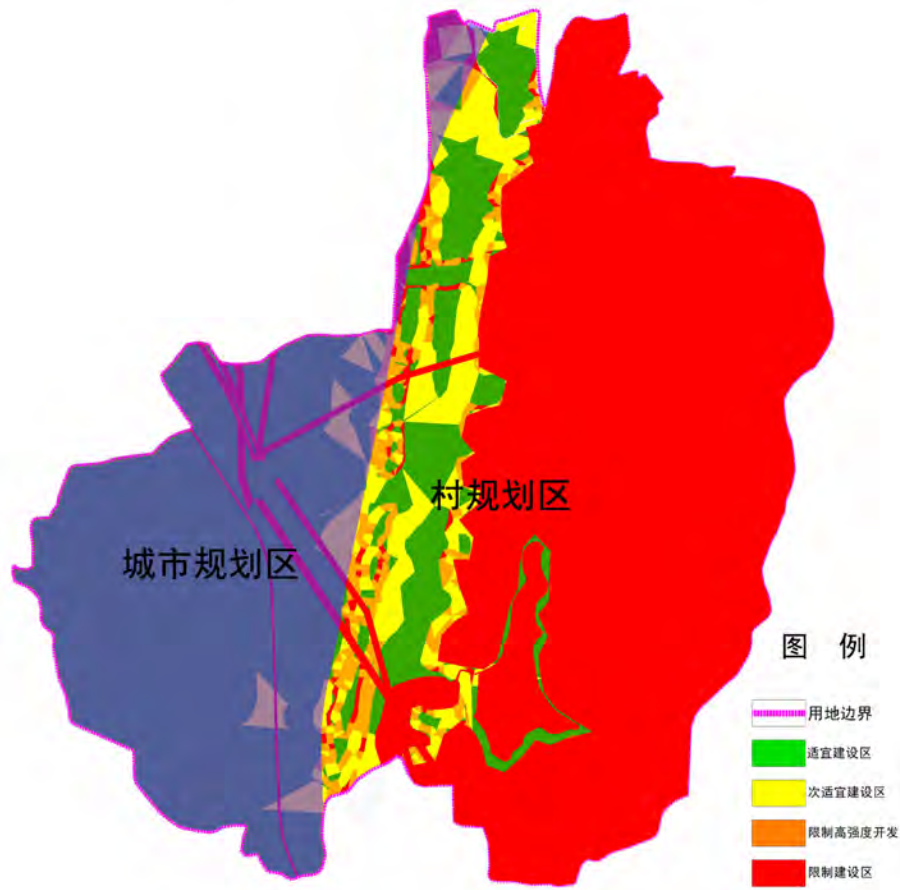


Figure 5.6: Suitability for Development

An excerpt from the village plan shows an analysis of development suitability in Hailong. Red areas have been deemed unsuitable for development, and orange areas have restricted development. Green and yellow areas (as well as the areas in medium- and light-purple) have been designated suitable for development. The left of the drawing has been shaded purple to indicate its inclusion into the municipality's urban planning area. As can be seen from the drawing, the majority of land designated as suitable for development has been incorporated into the urban planning area.

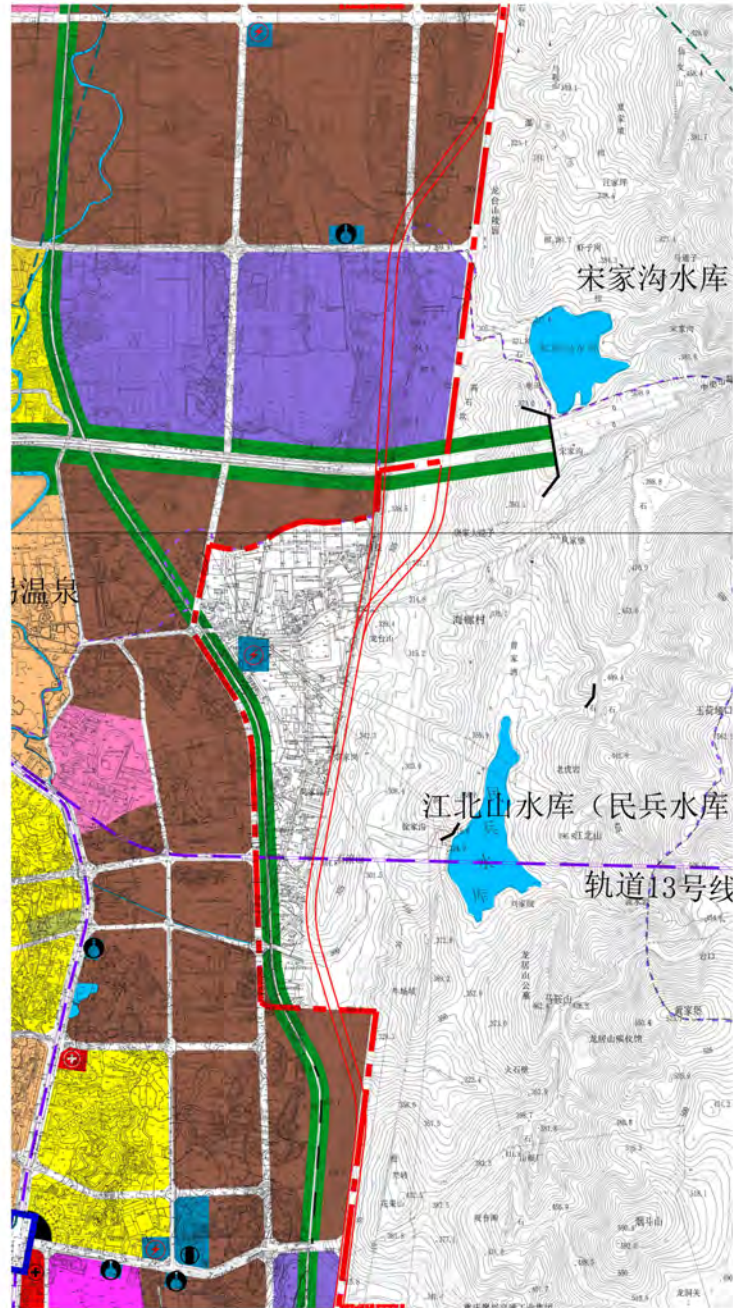


Figure 5.7: Freight Highway, Revised

This drawing shows the process of revision for the freight highway. The 2011 urban-rural construction boundary is represented with a dashed red line. Alternate paths for the highway are represented with lighter double red lines. The originally proposed path of the highway can be seen faintly in black. Where the revised path diverts to the west, the original path continues straight, running through the valley designated for Hailong's new residential area. Source: Chongqing Municipal Planning Bureau



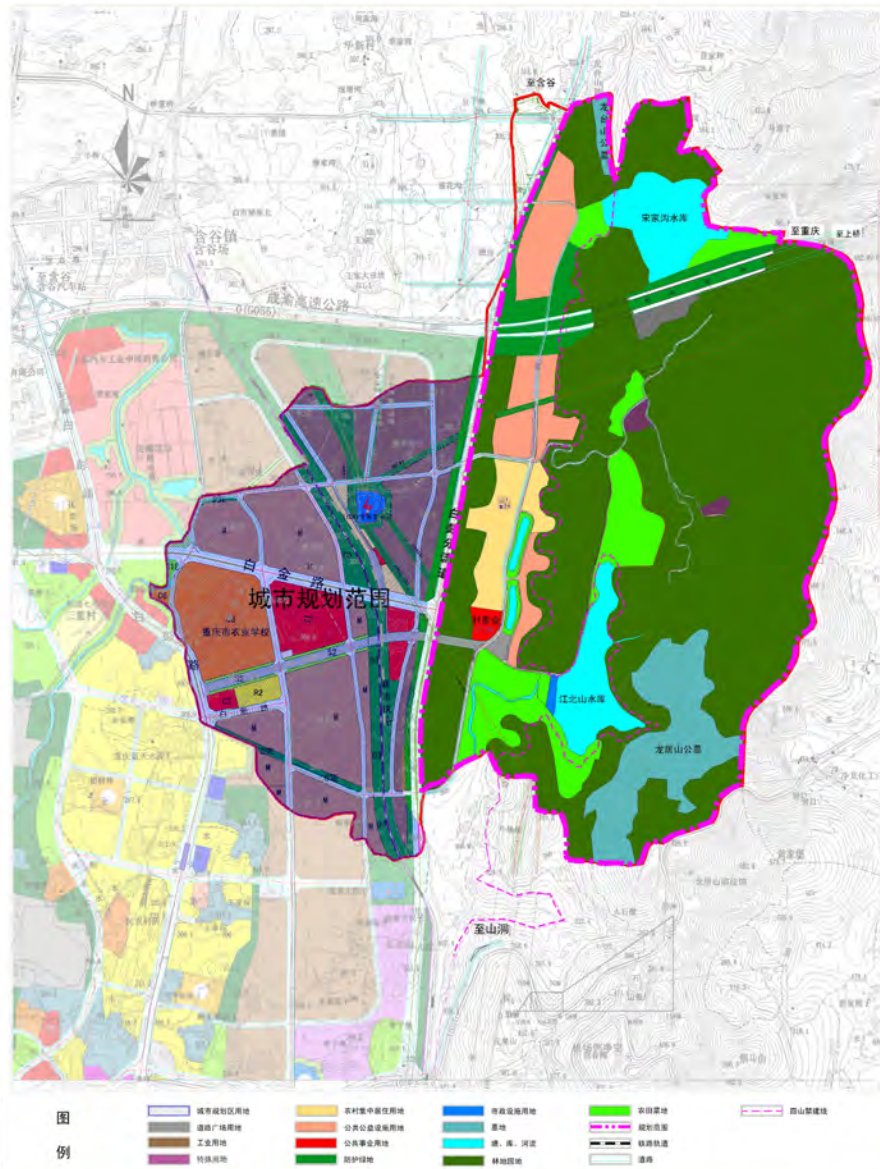
Figure 5.8: Baishi Development Control Plan

The land use plan from the Development Control Plan from the Baishiyi zone of the High-Tech Zone. Hailong is located in the northeast corner. This draft of the plan, dated November 2012, reflects the urban-rural construction boundary negotiated in 2011. The portion of Hailong that is included is planned for industry, with a small strip of land for housing.

Source: Jiulongpo District Planning Department

重庆市九龙坡区白市驿镇海龙村规划(2010-2020)

土地利用规划图



重庆市规划设计研究院

Figure 5.9: Hailong Statutory Plan

The land use plan for Hailong reflects the division between the urban planning area (shaded dark) and the village planning area (bordered in pink).

Source: Jiulongpo District Planning Department



(a)



(b)

Figure 5.1 I: The Silong Gap

Photographs of the gap in Silong Mountain show an electric transmission tower close to the edge (a) and a house that has been partially demolished (b)



Figure 6.1: Construction Billboard

A billboard at the front of the construction site for the new village center displays the following message: “In Hailong City, activity is everywhere.”

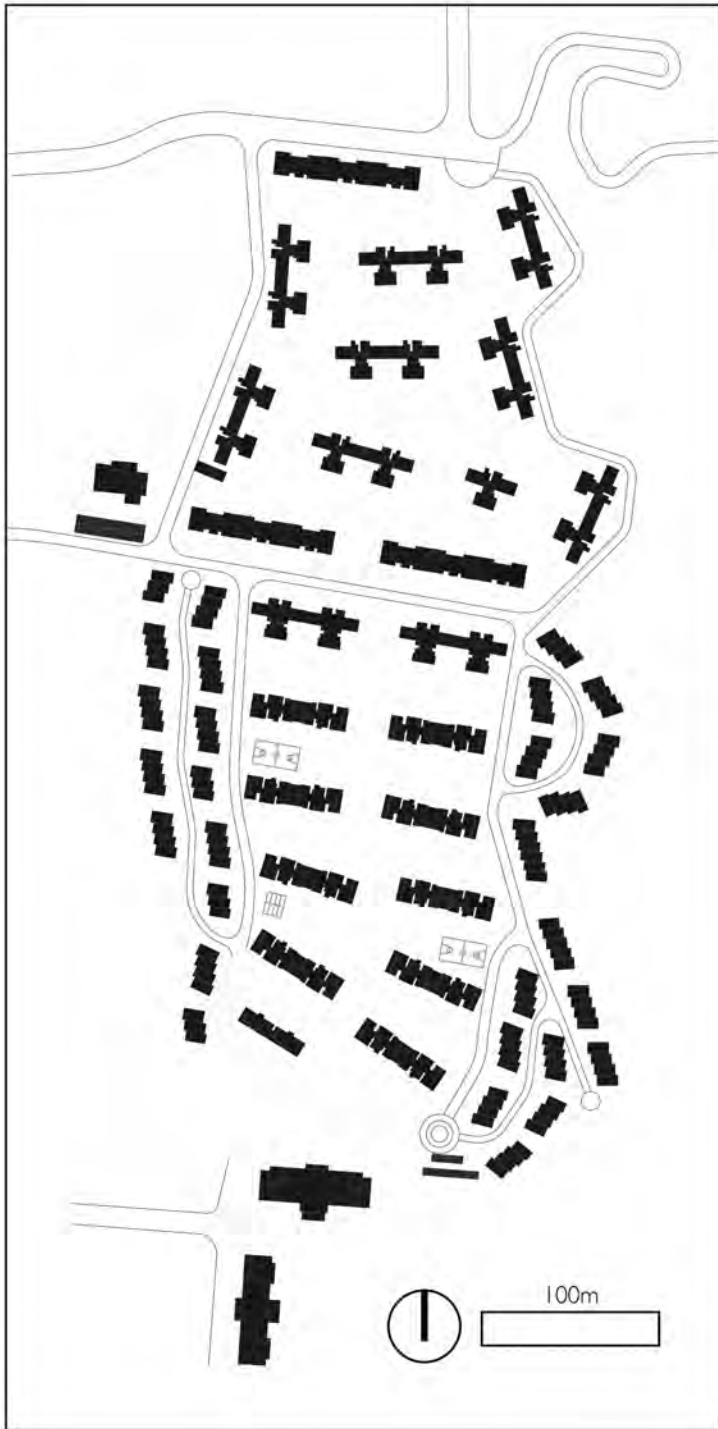


Figure 6.2.1: Hailong City

Based on a construction plan for Hailong's relaunch, this drawing shows the new residential area that is in the process of being built for the village. The hotel and office building are located to the south, and luxury villas are located on the hills to the two sides. The remainder of the development is devoted to eight-storey apartment buildings. Construction has so far focused on the development's southern half.



Figure 6.2.2: Hailong City

A rendering (facing northeast) shows the new residential area surrounded by verdent greenery and misty mountains, a common idiom in Chinese urban design and marketing.

Source: Xibu Hailong Hailong Cheng: Shengtai Kangju Zhuzhai Xiaoqu [Western Hailong Hailong City: Ecological and Healthy Residential Community]



Figure 6.3: Luxury Villas

A rendering shows the luxury villas advertised for purchase in Hailong's new residential area.

Source: Xibu Hailong Hailong Cheng: Shengtai Kangju Zhuzhai Xiaoqu [Western Hailong Hailong City: Ecological and Healthy Residential Community]

ALONG THE RIVER

ENJOYS GRACEFUL RESIDENCE LIKE IN POEMS

沿水边，诗意的栖居

西部海龙生态康居住宅小区，沿一条龙形景观水体，布局小高层观景住宅，于谷地中，形成一个南北朝向的和谐社区。

- 低容积率，让度超大休闲空间。
- 大间距，每幢小高层住宅前均有1500平方米景观绿地。
- 户型多样，单间配套、一室一厅、两室一厅、三室两厅，满足多种户型需求。
- 视线通透，户户观景，近观水景园林，远眺中梁山盎然绿意。



Figure 6.4: Relocation Housing

A rendering shows the Hailong's high-rise relocation housing.

Source: Xibu Hailong Hailong Cheng: Shengtai Kangju Zhuzhai Xiaoqu [Western Hailong Hailong City: Ecological and Healthy Residential Community]



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

Figure 6.5:
Commercial and Service Facilities

Photographs of Hailong's new center show the office building and clubhouse (a), the hotel (b), and the commercial street (c) under construction. A rendering from the village's marketing materials shows the office building and clubhouse as envisaged by Hailong's designers.

Source (d): Xibu Hailong Hailong Cheng: Sheng-tai Kangju Zhuzhai Xiaoqu [Western Hailong Hailong City: Ecological and Healthy Residential Community]

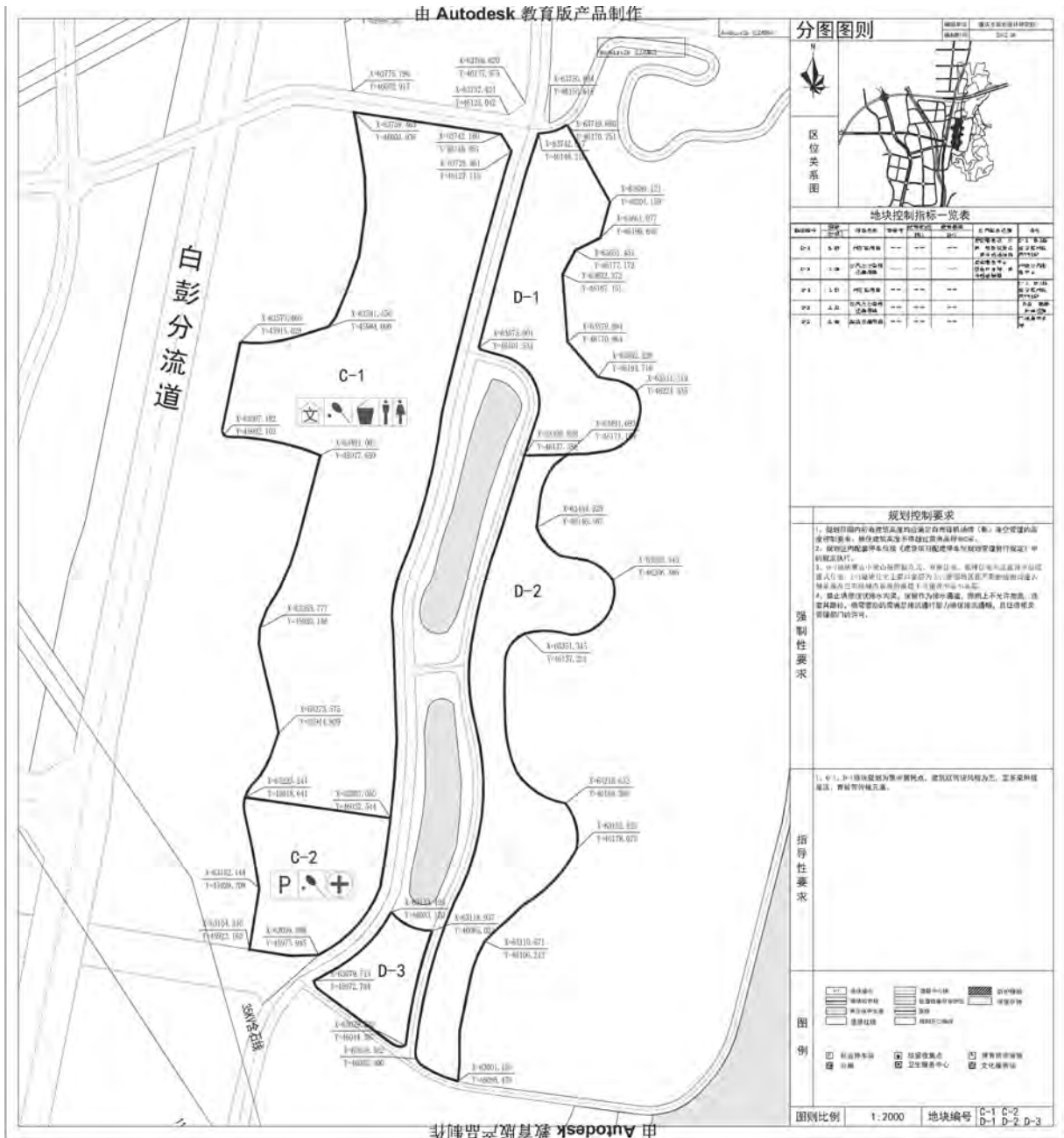


Figure 6.6: New Residential Area Lot Boundaries

A construction control drawing from the statutory village plan shows the lot boundaries and use designations for the new residential area. As constructed (Fig. 6.2.1), the residential area closely conforms to these boundaries.

Source: Jiulongpo District Planning Department



Figure 6.7: Real Estate Sales Office

A concerned villager inquires about the availability of discounted units in the new residential area.



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 6.8: Front Plaza Demolition

Images of the future site of the village's entrance: (a) the first morning of demolition; (b) after the second stage of demolition; and (c) repopulated with vendors serving students from the nearby Agricultural College.



(a)



(b)

Figure 6.9: Front Plaza

Renderings show the front plaza as conceived in Hailong’s urban design (a) and the other end of the commercial street (b), complete with a Starbucks cafe.

Source: Xibu Hailong Hailong Cheng: Shengtai Kangju Zhuzhai Xiaoku [Western Hailong Hailong City: Ecological and Healthy Residential Community]



(a)



(b)

Figure 6.10: Road Safety

Narrow roads and large trucks made Hailong a treacherous driving environment (a). A driver had difficulty navigating the rail underpass at the southern end of the village (b).



(a)



(b)

Figure 6.12: Agro-Tourism Area

The agro-tourism area included a grape orchard (a) and a fish pond (b).

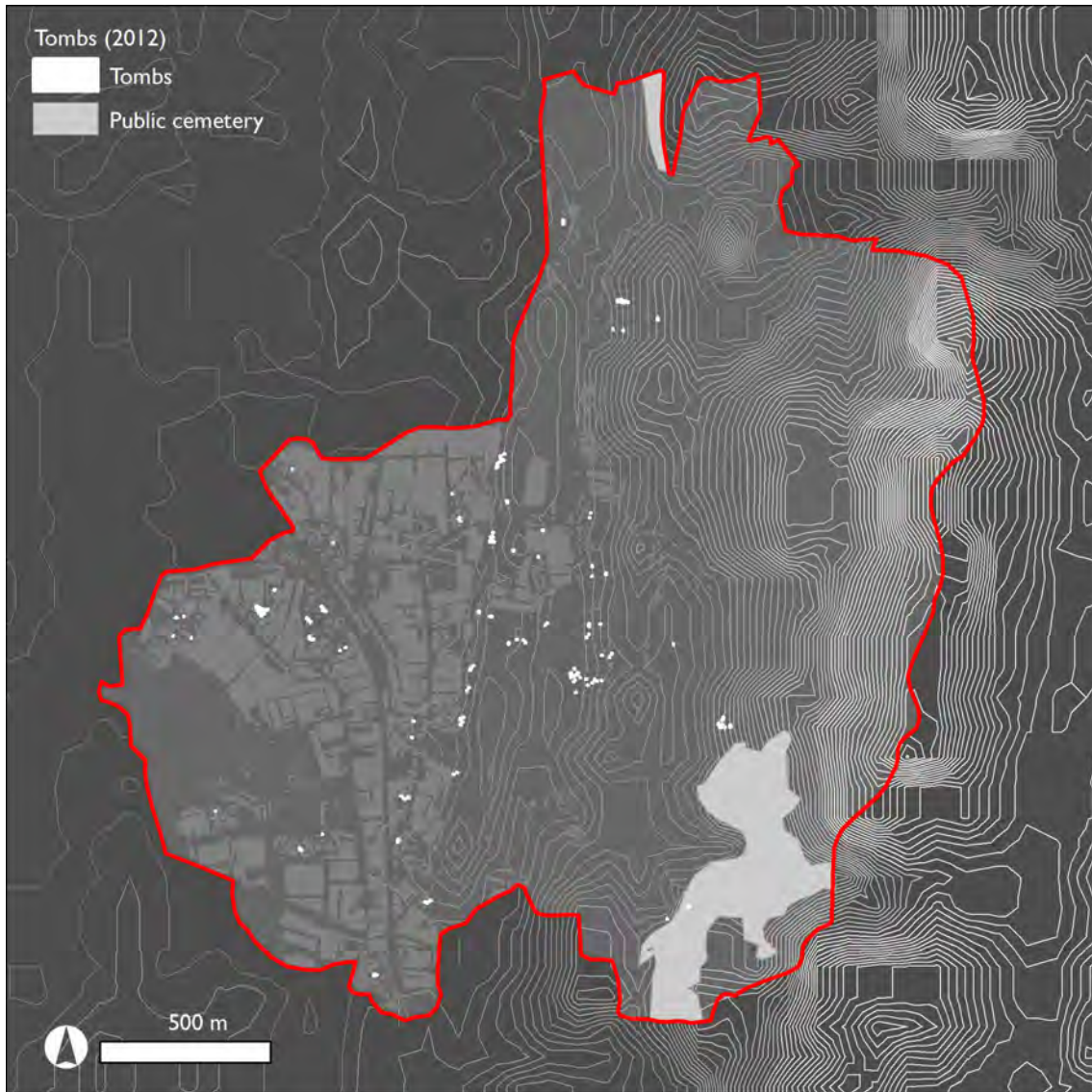


Figure 6.13.1: Village Tombs

This map shows village tombs (*fenmu*) and the two public cemeteries (*gongmu*) occupying village land.



(a)

Figure 6.13.2: Village Tombs

Tombs were scattered throughout the village: (a) a tomb adjacent to a migrant dormitory; (b) offerings to ancestors on the Qingming Festival; and (c) offerings to a recently deceased parent.



(b)



(c)

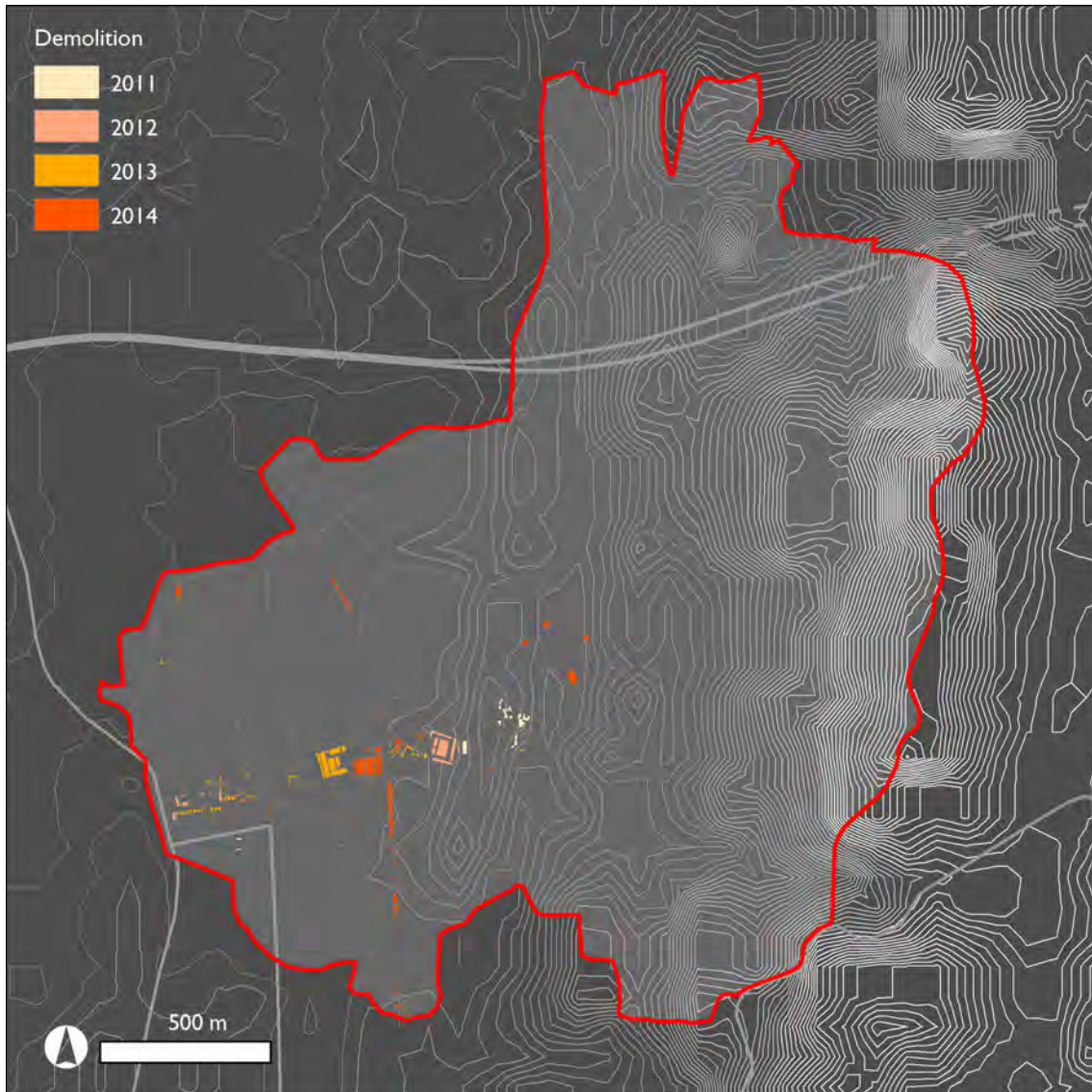


Figure 6.14.1: Demolition

Demolition for Hailong's relaunch focused on three main areas: the new village access road (east-west access), the new village center (interior), and the high-speed rail line (north-south axis).



(a)



(b)

Figure 6.14.2: Demolition

Families from Hechuan (a city in northwest Chongqing) were responsible for most of the demolition in Hailong (a). A resident picked his way through the rubble (b).



(a)

Figure 6.15: Site of New Village Center

A photograph taken from the site of Zheng's house shows rubble threatening to overtake the house where we were chatting (a). An earlier photo, taken in 2011, showed Zheng's house before demolition.



(b)



(a)



(b)

Figure 6.16: Funeral at Front Plaza

Funerary offerings lay against the marketing billboards that guarded the construction site (a). Residents began to gather in the empty construction site for a banquet in honor of the deceased man (b).



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 6.17: Public Cemetery

Views of the public cemetery on the mountain overlooking Hailong: (a) visitors making offerings during the Spring Festival; (b) visitors making offerings during the Qingming Festival; (c) a view of the cemetery from across Hailong's southern reservoir.



(a)



(b)

Figure 7.1: Longmei Village

Views of Longmei Village: (a) traditional houses surrounded (foreground) surrounded by new dormitory buildings; (b) the village ancestor hall.



(a)



(b)

Figure 7.2: Panyang Village

Views of Panyang Village: (a) the market street, the only center of social activity in the village, is primarily operated and patronized by migrants; (b) villagers have been moved into uniform, low-density residential areas.



(a)

Figure 7.3: Huanggang Village

Views of Huanggang Village: (a) the rebuilt ancestor hall, overlooked by a high-rise apartment building; (b) two office towers built by the village corporation.



(b)



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)

Figure 7.4: Construction

Views of construction in Hailong: (a-b) land is graded for the new residential area; (c) construction begins in 2013; (d) construction on the access road divides the village; (e) a resident navigates the construction site for the high-speed rail; and (f) construction on the new residential area progresses in 2014.

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