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ID 1345 | THE URBAN-RURAN RELATIONSHIP AND ITS DEVELOPMENT TENDENCY BASED ON THE PHENOMENON OF PSEUDO COUNTER- URBANIZATION - TAKING WUHAN AS AN EXAMPLE

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1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY ON THE URBAN-RURAL RELATIONS BASED ON "PSEUDO COUNTER URBANIZATION"

1.1 THE JUDGMENT OF URBAN-RURAL RELATIONS IS AN IMPORTANT PREREQUISITE FOR THE COGNITION OF THE CHARACTERISTICS AND CONNOTATION OF URBANIZATION

Urbanization is, with the development of social productive forces, the process of promoting the rural population's migration in urban areas, causing changes in the social and economic space, and making closer sharing relations of public services. In this process, the urban area and the rural area are the two poles of the flowing of elements such as population, economy, and service, and is an important geographical space carrier in urbanization. Therefore, the judgment of the urban-rural relations has an important role of explanation and prediction for the cognition of the characteristics and connotation of urbanization development. And different development stages of urbanization are accompanied by different economic and social development levels, industrial divisions and institutional changes, and then show the corresponding urban-rural relations characteristics, forms, and functions. Therefore, so the prejudgment for the development trend of urban-rural relations is also an important basis for formulating the future urbanization development strategies.

1.2 URBANIZATION'S NEW CHALLENGES AND DEVELOPMENT TREND BROUGHT BY THE CHANGE OF URBAN-RURAL RELATIONS

The evolution of urban-rural relations in China is divided into three stages. The first stage (before the reform and opening up): The dual urban-rural system was comprehensively established, the areas with urban-rural antagonism continued to be expanded and its degree was continuously strengthened, and the rural areas are the main base for urbanization and industrialization; the second stage (1978 - 2002): Part of the dual urban-rural system began to break away, and in some fields such as the urban-rural land system and market were further strengthened with urban areas bring along rural areas; the third stage (2002 to present): Overall urban-rural development was clearly put forward. With the comprehensive deepening of the economic system reform, the dual urban-rural system began to really be broken systematically from the whole perspective, and rural areas began to be brought along by urban areas. At present, China has entered the stage of rapid evolution of urban-rural relations. Much of rural population, land, and industries have all begun to transfer to urban areas. The quality of urbanization needs to be improved. A large number of labor released by the "agricultural to non-agricultural transfer" are in urgent need for allocation, accompanied by a significant "semi-urbanization" population movement [1]. Therefore, the characteristics and connotation of urbanization in China will face more challenges as the economic and social changes are more diverse and complicated.

1.3 "PSEUDO COUNTER URBANIZATION" SITUATIONS LIKE "NON-AGRICULTURAL TO AGRICULTURAL TRANSFER" AND "MIGRATING INTO URBAN AREAS WITHOUT TRANSFERRING AGRICULTURAL HOUSEHOLDS" APPEARED IN SOME CITIES

"Counter urbanization" refers to the process that a large number of urban population and resources flow to rural areas and small towns when western countries' development of urbanization comes to a certain stage and the development of big cities begins to slow down [1]. According to the curve of urbanization and the experience of developed countries, "counter urbanization" generally appears in the stable development stage of the urbanization rate, and is an inevitable stage in urbanization. With great development of China's urbanization, the "non-agricultural to agricultural transfer" in household registration has quietly appeared in some places. Contrary to the usual "agricultural to non-agricultural transfer" trend in urbanization, some people hope that their urban household registration could be transferred into rural household registration. For example, in Hangzhou City and Tongxiang City of Zhejiang Province there have been collective requirements of college students for inter-provincial "agricultural to non-agricultural transfer". And a national survey also shows that more than 75% of migrant farmers are not willing to give up their agricultural household registrations. This situation appears to belong to "counter urbanization", but its logic and connotation are some different from the "counter urbanization" experienced by developed countries.

2 THE CONNOTATION OF "COUNTER URBANIZATION" AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN-RURAL RELATIONS

2.1 INTERNAL DRIVING FORCE AND EXTERNAL CONDITIONS OF "COUNTER URBANIZATION"

Residents' pursuit of low-cost, high-quality life and enterprises' goal of prioritizing profits are the internal driving force of "counter-urbanization" [2]. In the 1970s, developed countries accumulated the results of rapid development of urbanization, while their traffic congestion, environmental pollution and other "urban diseases" became increasingly serious. Urban space was unable to meet the residents' high quality needs for production, living, recreation and transportation and other basic functions. Enterprises would increasingly tend to use small towns or rural areas with lower element cost. Therefore, when a city develops to a certain scale, residents and businesses begin to relocate, to seek lower living costs and better living environment. On the other hand, with the continuous improvement of information technology and transportation network, the space and time distance between urban and rural areas was shortening, providing necessary technical conditions for "counter urbanization". At the same time, to deal with "urban

diseases" and the dual urban-rural economic contradiction, the western governments generally implemented the rural-urban relations policy of supporting agriculture in return and rural areas, strengthening rural infrastructure construction, improving the rural public service level, and narrowing the urban-rural gap [2], providing policy guarantee for attracting elements like population and capital and to transfer from large cities to small towns and rural areas.

2.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN-RURAL RELATIONS UNDER "COUNTER URBANIZATION"

In the "counter urbanization" of Western developed countries, their urban-rural relations also showed certain characteristics, specifically in population flow, spatial change and public services:

(1) THE CLASS OF POPULATION FLOW WAS THE RICH CLASS, AND IT WAS THE FREE FLOW BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS.

Western developed countries have experienced four stages: urbanization, suburban urbanization, counter urbanization, and re-urbanization. From the suburban urbanization, the outward flow of population began to emerge, first appearing in the rich, and later extending to the middle class. Its initial power, as mentioned above, was the city residents beginning to pursuing a better living environment. Therefore, the essence of its population flow is "free flow" of pursuing higher life quality, and only the social class above the middle class has the capital for "free flow".

(2) THE SPACE OF CENTRAL CITIES SPACE GOT NEARLY SATURATED, WITH HIGH LEVEL OF URBANIZATION, THEIR FUNCTIONS SPILLING OVER.

The urban population of London in the UK decreased by 100,000 from 1950 to 1970, and after 1970, the speed and scale of "counter urbanization" accelerated. In the 1950s, the British urban population decreased by 20,000 per year, in the 1960s 40,000, and in the 1970s 90,000. In France, Germany, the United States, Japan, and other countries, the urban population also decreased at different degrees each year [3]. From (Figure 1), it can be found that the backgrounds of the urbanizations in developed countries were all stages with high-level urbanization. The city scale had been over a long-term accumulation of elements, and its space development was in a saturated state. These were the significant spatial features of counter urbanization.

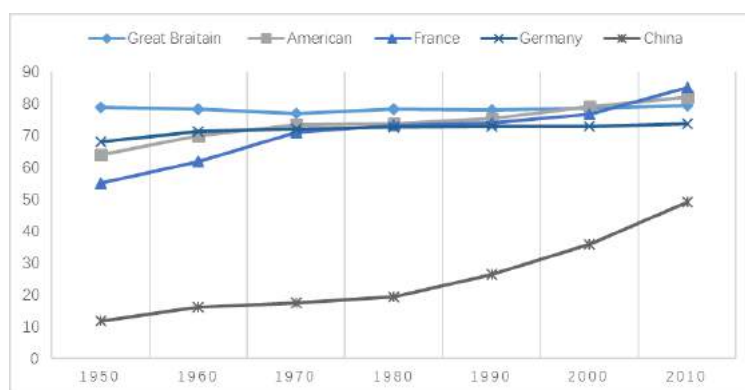


Figure 1 - In Britain, the United States, France, Germany, the urbanization rate since 1950

(3) THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTEGRATION OF URBAN-RURAL PUBLIC SERVICES ARE OBVIOUS, WITH SMALL URBAN-RURAL GAP.

The Western "counter urbanization" was achieved under the premise of the urban-rural equalization of infrastructure and public services. For example, Japan's counter urbanization, was in the context of urban-

rural social integration. Its development of urban and rural industries and living facilities gradually converged, its urban-rural gap narrowed, and rural areas had a more favorable living environment than cities, resulting in a large number of urban population's free outflow. Therefore, urban-rural integration, especially the integration of public services, is a prerequisite for urbanization.

3. THE CHARACTERISTICS AND CAUSES OF THE URBAN-RURAL RELATIONS UNDER "PSEUDO COUNTER URBANIZATION" IN WUHAN

Wuhan City is a megacity in the central region, and 61.94% of its jurisdictional area is the agricultural ecological zone. In 2014, the agricultural population was 2.6803 million, with about 2030 incorporated villages and about 18,000 unincorporated villages. The overall population distribution, in accordance with its natural and geographical environment, features dense-north and sparse-south (as in Figure 2). At the end of 2013, Wuhan City's per capita net income of farmers already reached 12731 yuan, more than the national average of 8896 yuan. The income ratio of urban and rural residents was 2.34: 1, which was significantly lower than the national level of 3.03: 1 in the same period, and has gradually decreased in recent years. However, both from the income level or the urban-rural gap, Wuhan City lags behind Shanghai in a certain degree (as in Figure 3). Therefore, it still has a big development space in the driving force of "urban" on "rural" areas.

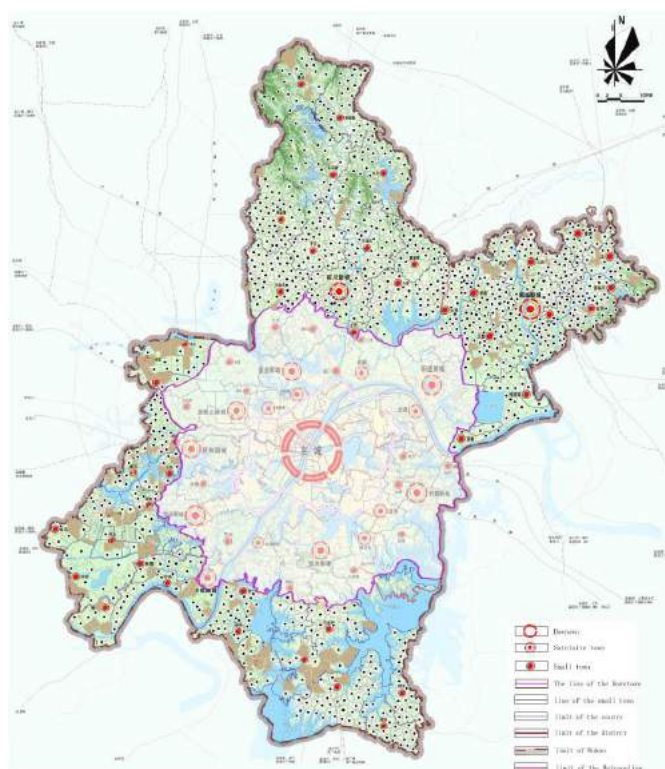


Figure 2 – The rural space distribution features in Wuhan

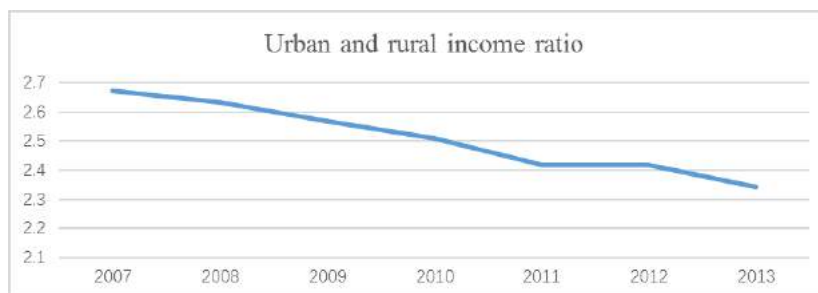


Figure 3 – The change of the urban and rural gap in Wuhan

3.1 THE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION HAS RISEN SLIGHTLY IN RECENT YEARS. "COUNTER URBANIZATION" OR "PSEUDO COUNTER URBANIZATION"?

In recent years, the agricultural population in Wuhan City, has shown a downward trend in volatility. Compared with the change trends of agricultural population and change rates in Shanghai and Chengdu, the driving effect of Wuhan's main urban area to the rural areas around it is still less than that of Shanghai. Through research, it is found that the majority of the rural residents in Wuhan are willing to move to the new urban area and the main urban area, but the current change trend of the agricultural population shows that the rate of urbanization of the agricultural population is on the fluctuant decrease, and in 2011-2014, "counter urbanization" appeared with its agricultural population growth. From (Figure 4), it can be found that the change rate of the agricultural population in Shanghai is relatively stable, showing that the rate of urbanization in Shanghai is relatively stable, while for Wuhan and Chengdu, the two metropolis at the similar development stage, "counter urbanization" appears with a fluctuant change in agricultural population. However, through in-depth analysis, it is found that the urban-rural relations of this "counter urbanization" are not consistent with the characteristics of "counter urbanization" in developed countries.



Figure 4 – The change of agricultural population and the population rate in 2008-2014 in Wuhan, Chengdu and Shanghai

3.2 DEMONSTRATION OF THE CONNOTATION OF "PSEUDO COUNTER URBANIZATION" IN WUHAN BASED ON THE CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN-RURAL RELATIONS

The urbanization rate of resident population in Wuhan in 2013 was 79.3%, and the urbanization rate of registered population was 67.6%. The household registration system is not only a sign of identity difference, but also a difference in the level of rights and benefits. The equality of rights attached to the household registration for employment, enrollment, social security and others, determines the real level of urbanization. Therefore, considerable "semi-urbanized" people in Wuhan haven't been "citizenized" and enjoy the same treatment of urban residents, which is the focus of the current new urbanization. Wuhan's "pseudo counter urbanization" can be seen from the difference between its urbanization rate of household registration and that of its resident population. From the perspective of population flow, spatial changes and public services between urban and rural areas, the "pseudo counter urbanization" of Wuhan has the following characteristics.

(1) THE FLOWING POPULATION IS IN A "FORCED FLOW" BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS OF FARMER-BASED MIDDLE-OR-LOW CLASS IN SOCIETY.

The main part of the flowing population in Wuhan is not the middle class flowing to the suburbs, but is mainly composed of migrant workers. Due to the high cost in the city and because they cannot settle in the city with household registration, most farmers still retain their agricultural household registration and their rural land as a way to increase income, but also as the reserved guaranty when they return their hometowns. So the flow of the population features repetitiveness and "forced flow" due to low income. Calculated with the natural growth rate of 7.5 ‰ in Wuhan, the agricultural population in 2013 and 2014 is basically the same as that of natural growth. Therefore, it can be found that there is not much change of household registration in agricultural population in recent years, and the growth is mainly natural growth.

(2) WUHAN'S URBANIZATION LEVEL AND ITS MAIN CITY AREA STILL HAVE A LARGE DEVELOPMENT SPACE.

Wuhan is a megacity in the central region, with an extremely high primacy ratio. The large-scale agglomeration of economy, education, industry and other elements enables it to have strong population absorbing ability, with its foreign population in 2014 reaching more than two million. And its population growth still has a strong momentum, so the development of its urbanization level still has a large space. From the perspective of space utilization rate in urban development, its spatial expansion is fast, but its extensive development way results in its poor land performance. Therefore, in its next development stage, the main city and urban development area still have a large population holding potential. Its urban space hasn't reached the saturation degree of "counter urbanization".

(3) THE DEGREE OF URBAN-RURAL PUBLIC SERVICE INTEGRATION IS NOT HIGH.

There are still big gaps between rural and urban areas of Wuhan in education, health care, and social security. The huge rural-urban difference in infrastructure and public services make it not have the conditions for "counter urbanization", and it still takes "urbanization" as the main driving force. Through the sample survey on Yanghu Village and Yingxiong Village of Jiangxia District, it was found that except basic public service needs, rural residents basically use public service facilities in urban areas. Although basic public service is accessible in rural areas, the facilities' configuration standards are too low, and their use rate is not high.

3.3 THE CAUSES OF "PSEUDO COUNTER URBANIZATION" IN WUHAN CITY

3.3.1 GRADUAL INCREASE IN THE BENEFITS OF RURAL HOUSEHOLD REGISTRATION MAKES SOME RURAL RESIDENTS RETAIN THEIR HOUSEHOLD REGISTRATION.

In 2014, the State Council promulgated the Opinions on Further Promoting the Reform of Household Registration System. It decided to establish a unified household registration system for urban and rural areas, cancel the non-agricultural household registration and ensure the legitimate rights and interests of the agricultural transfer population. Wuhan City has also established a pilot project for household registration reform. This is undoubtedly a great policy for the vast number of migrant farmers who desire to truly integrate into cities. However, according to a research report by the Academy of Social Sciences, nearly 80% of farmers do not want to become citizens, because the benefits of agricultural household registration are gradually increasing .

3.3.2 ECONOMY ESSENTIALLY DETERMINES THE DIRECTION AND DURATION OF THE RURAL POPULATION'S FLOW.

Through the survey of some rural villages in Jiangxia District and Xinzhou District of Wuhan City, it was found that farmers' income in agriculture is far less than that as migrant workers. Therefore, the young and middle-aged labor in rural areas chooses to work as migrant workers in cities to earn the annual income of 50-100 thousand yuan. The survey also found that agricultural income accounted for about 20% - 45% of the total income of farmers, and only a few agricultural villages could reach 60%.

The economy determines the outflow of the rural population in nature, but the instability of being a migrant worker in cities and the gap between migrant workers and urban workers in social security have led to the fact that the duration of migrant workers' work in cities is uncertain, and the high cost of urban life makes farmers not afford to completely settle in cities. Therefore, the outflow of rural labor is cyclical and repetitive. In Professor He Xuefeng's view, farmers' migrating into cities itself is a repeated, long-term process, and cannot be achieved overnight. British urbanization, from the clustering, suburbanization, counter urbanization, to urban-rural integration, took 250 years, France 120 years, and the United States, Canada, and Japan about 100 years [4]. In rough calculation, according to the annual income of 12731 yuan of farmers, and the main city's housing price of 8,000 yuan/m² and the new city area of 3,000 yuan/m² , if a farmer would purchase an apartment of 70 m², he would spend, respectively, 43 years and 16 years

(not taking into account price increases and living expenses). In other words, it still needs to take Wuhan farmers at least 20 years to completely migrate into the city, and the citizenization of migrant workers is still a long process.

3.3.3 THE CONTRADICTION OF THE UNIQUENESS AND BINDING OF LAND LEAD TO THE INSTABILITY OF FARMERS' FLOW.

Under the current land system and collective construction land system, land is still the only means of production for farmers. Therefore, it is difficult for farmers to give up their only living guarantee and enter the city to engage in an unstable, not decent job. During the process of land transfer, farmers and village collectives don't participating the sharing of the value-added benefits for the non-agricultural use of agricultural land. On the other hand, for migrant farmers, the land without high output efficiency becomes encumbrance and binding. This contradiction caused by the uniqueness and binding makes the land use ineffective, and also leads to different willingness of land transfer for farmers with different land amounts, resulting in the instability of the rural-to-urban flow.

Therefore, in summary, the current "counter urbanization" in Wuhan City is actually a "pseudo counter urbanization". It is not the same process as the developed countries "counter urbanization", but a special phenomenon formed in the urbanization under China's special dual urban-rural system. In this special urbanization phenomenon, the urban-rural relations are still in a relatively fragmented and antagonistic state. However, with the macro regulation in policy and the economic development, Wuhan's urban-rural relations will face a new development trend in population, space, public services, and other aspects in the new round of urbanization development.

4 ON THE DEVELOPMENT TREND OF URBAN-RURAL RELATIONS IN THE NEW ROUND OF URBANIZATION IN WUHAN

At present, Wuhan City is facing a new round of the revision work for its overall planning. Therefore, it is of great significance to correctly understand the development of urbanization and to predict the development trend of urban-rural relations accurately for formulating urbanization development strategies and achieving urban-rural integration in the new round of overall planning. In the following, I still analyze the development trends of urban-rural population flow, urban-rural spatial relations, and urban-rural public service.

4.1 DEVELOPMENT TREND OF URBAN-RURAL POPULATION FLOW IN WUHAN

4.1.1 WUHAN'S RURAL POPULATION TRANSFER WILL SLOW DOWN, BUT THERE IS STILL MUCH TRANSFER DEMAND WITH MUCH TRANSFER PRESSURE.

In accordance with the relevant theory and international experience, when the urbanization rate is greater than 60% and agricultural workers accounted for less than 20% of the proportion of all employees, the dual urban-rural economic development stage, in the labor transfer level, has ended the dual structure, which means that the stock surplus labor has been finished being transferred [5]. In 2013, the proportion of the first industry practitioners in Wuhan was 9.7%, in theory, having crossed the "second Lewis turning point", but the future transfer of rural surplus labor will continue to exist. Because the rural areas of Wuhan are mainly concentrated in six new urban areas, the urbanization rate of the six new urban areas in 2014 was only 51.36%, which is lower than the national average of 54.77%. In the same period, the proportion of non-agricultural labor force in the new urban area was 64.8 %. In accordance with the 13th "Five-Year Plan" of Wuhan City, during this period there are still 50,000 of rural surplus labor needing to be transferred. However, because the population has been over the demographic dividend range, the rate of population transfer will slow down in some sense.

In addition, the pressure of Wuhan's transfer of incremental labor is also large. Wuhan City, as a megacity, the central city has strong attracting power to workers from the surrounding towns, as well as those from other areas. And there is a certain contradiction between the demand structure of Wuhan labor force and

the nature of surplus labor force. With Wuhan's the rapid industrial transformation and gradual growth of the high-tech industry, it needs more and more professional and technical personnel. And Wuhan is rich in human resources from university graduates, so the remaining labor generally has low education. Therefore, there is certain difficulty in employment transfer in Wuhan. At the same time, Wuhan City is in transition from the traditional agriculture to modern agriculture, so the scale land scale operation is bound to release a large number of surplus labor force, so in the new round of development, the pressure on the transfer of rural population is still great.

4.1.2 WUHAN'S RURAL AREAS WILL CONTINUE TO ASSUME SOCIAL SECURITY FUNCTIONS FOR A LONG TIME IN THE FUTURE.

The rural area is the carrier to maintain rural life and social stability. Rural areas first ensure the economic interests of farmers, and are the migrant workers' final home when returning their hometowns. They are the reservoir and stabilizer for China's modernization and urbanization. If there is economic turmoil in this country, migrant workers can still return to the rural areas, providing a buffer for modernization. As the process of migrant workers migrating into the city is a very long and repetitive process, in the next period of time, Wuhan's rural areas will still undertake their social security functions in addition to their functions of agricultural production, ecological conservation, and rural cultural heritage in the process of urbanization.

4.2 DEVELOPMENT TREND OF URBAN-RURAL SPATIAL CHANGES IN WUHAN

4.2.1 WUHAN'S MAIN URBAN SPACE DEVELOPMENT SHOULD COMBINE "STOCK POTENTIAL-EXPLOITING" AND "CONTROL OVER INCREMENTAL ACCOUNT".

Wuhan City, as a large-capacity carrier for urban and rural population, not only has a large population base, but also has the prominent demands for further population growth. External population has become the absolute mainstream of the growth of the resident population, especially the urban population. The population source structure tends to be diversified, the liquidity is increasing day by day, and the demand for production and life tends to be complicated. Therefore, the associated rapid expansion will be reflected in the space. The spatial growth of the main urban area is still the development trend of the next phase in Wuhan City. The future strategic direction of the main city's space development should be combining "stock potential-exploiting" and "control over incremental population". In addition, the new city areas and small towns will be the main urban space of the next stage of urbanization .

4.2.2 WUHAN'S RURAL AREAS SHOULD ENSURE "THE MINIMUM GUARANTEE" AND "OPTIMIZATION".

Compared with urbanization, the scale reduction of rural areas is an inevitable trend, but the future rural areas still bear important functions of production, life, industry and ecology, so the rural space development strategy should mainly be "the minimum guarantee" and "optimization". On the one hand, the production and living service functions of the rural areas should be supplemented, providing perfected facilities and conditions for the remaining rural people and getting ready for the reflow of population from residents of the main city areas. On the other hand, with the improvement of the urbanization, the overall size of rural areas will be reduced, and the layout of the residential areas will face new changes. Much functional configuration and social layout of the planning should not only meet the development needs of the current stage, but also take into account of the impact of the future size reduction. Coupled with the current instability of the transfer brought by incomplete urbanization of population, the rural space development strategy should be "ensuring minimum guarantee" to ensure the basic functions of rural areas in the urbanization. And at the same time, the idea of "optimization" development should be taken to get ready for the real "counter urbanization".

4.3 DEVELOPMENT TREND OF URBAN-RURAL RELATIONS IN PUBLIC SERVICE SHARING IN WUHAN

4.3.1 THE HIERARCHICAL CONFIGURATION SYSTEM LIMITED BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION HAS BEEN BROKEN, AND THE NETWORK URBAN-RURAL PUBLIC SERVICE SHARING RELATIONS GRADUALLY APPEAR.

The emergence of new industries and technological revolution has brought about profound changes in residents' way of life or production, and the network systems such as rail transit have become more and more mature. The traditional hierarchical relationship between urban and rural systems limited by administrative divisions has been broken in some fields of functional relationships. The network characteristics of factor flow and energy transfer are more obvious. The urban-rural relations show an obvious network trend. The living circle of the most important public facilities in the rural areas has undergone a change without the limitation of the stratification of the administrative division. But the architecture of the rural area is still necessary to exist, and its significance lies in improving the efficiency of the facilities. Therefore, the future urban-rural public service sharing relationship should take the residents' facility use as the basis of the construction of the rural space system and "living circle" should be taken as a link between urban and rural areas, to form a network time-space relationship and society sharing relationship.

4.3.2 THE TREND OF RURAL HOLLOWNESS AND AGING POPULATION IS INEVITABLE, AND IT SHOULD BE GIVEN APPROPRIATE SUPPORT.

The rural hollowiness and aging population is an inevitable trend in the urbanization in China. If the idea of "solving the problem" is taken to restrain this trend, it is bound to be difficult to solve it. Therefore, we should adapt to the change of social structure, improve the rural-related aging facilities, and carry out more activities for the elderly. We should give "auxiliary support" based on the existing status. This not only continuously improves the rural life quality, but also gets ready for the integration of the urban-rural public service for the visionary population reflow.

5 CONCLUSION

Wuhan City, as a megacity in the central region, its socio-economic development, and urbanization process characteristics will make its urban-rural relations have corresponding particularity, but also to a certain extent, considerable universality, because China's urban-rural relations in the same system framework are generally in a similar development base and stage. This paper analyzes the present situation and development trend of the urban-rural relations in Wuhan from the perspective of the special urbanization of Wuhan City's "pseudo counter urbanization", hoping to analyze and judge the urban-rural relations by analyzing its logic, so that the urbanization and urban and rural overall development in Wuhan have a more rational research foundation in a new round of development, to help lay a foundation for the construction of Wuhan City as a national central city. In 2014, the level of urbanization in China ushered in this historic threshold of 50% (54.77%). To promote a fundamental change from "rural China" to "urban China" in a country with the population accounting for nearly 1/5 of the world, the connotation and characteristics of urbanization will face some unique phenomena in China, and urban-rural relations will also face new changes. There is no doubt that this research will definitely be able to make due contributions to the strategic objective of achieving the new urbanization.

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ID 1418 | FOR AN ANTI- AND POST-CRISIS TERRITORIAL REGENERATION AGENDA. THE FRIULI VENEZIA GIULIA REGION AS A STUDY AREA

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ABSTRACT: The territorial impact of the longest and most severe post-war economic crisis is interacting, in Italy, with endemic territorial neglect that exposes people and local communities to devastating risks and a permanent state of insecurity and uncertainty. The "low carbon future" has also assumed, in the institutional and scientific literature and beyond its direct environmental implications, wider technological and socio-economic implications. A decades-long cycle of "reterritorialization", based on the regeneration of "territorial capital", can therefore become a major "Country project", at both local and national levels. It should be aimed at assuring security to the people exposed to risks, redevelopment of the settlements, certainty for investments, basic efficiency in the residential, production and service systems. It should also be oriented, on a broader horizon, towards the low carbon future. The huge financial commitment and the European fiscal compact are often considered the real constraints to the feasibility of such projects. However, the simulation (qualitative and quantitative) that is conducted in this paper, with reference to the Friuli Venezia-Giulia Region (not particularly large although functionally rather complex and governed with a Special Statute of Autonomy), demonstrates that the main problem is not so much financial nor the constraints on public budgets because most of the resources, in the regeneration of territorial capital, would be private (household savings), while public resources (essentially regional) should above all play a leveraging role. The problem appears rather to be cultural and political.

KEYWORDS: territorial capital regeneration, post-crisis plans, low carbon future

1 FOREWORD

The most serious post-war crisis is leaving obvious signs on local and regional economies and territories. This is compounded by the structural inadequacy of much of the national housing stock whose disastrous effects have again recently been demonstrated by the earthquake in central Italy. As a whole, the state of the Italian "territorial capital" (OECD, 2001) is due, in particular, to endemic neglect by central government.

Even the maintenance and upgrading of buildings by private individuals is lacking, apart from the new and promising investment prospects in big cities. Consequently, the territorial capital is visibly degrading: it loses security, cultural features, inhabitants, attractiveness, good performance, in a word, value. In such a