

Research on Region Governance character and mechanism of Suburban Counties surrounding Metropolitans in Central China

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Abstract: Based on the cases from central China, this study discusses the relation between regional governance and regional challenges in the suburban areas surrounding the metropolitan areas in China since the 1990s. Under the trends of globalization and metropolitanization, the spatial-temporal features, and governances are changing toward a different direction. The territorial governance arrangement is shaped by the regional competition and the goals of economic development, which is pushed by the central city through the interaction of powers from different levels of government and stakeholders, under the China's administrative hierarchy, especially the "city-leading-counties" system. One of the prominent examples is the governance arrangement of the industrial parks located in metropolitan fringe areas, which shows both changes and continuity over time. To be more specific, this study starts with analyzing the features and changes of the governance on the county regions in the special periods. Further, the study focuses on the cases studies of a type of specific spatial unit – industrial park. By analyzing the cases of three time-sequential but spatial-separated industrial parks, the researcher examines specific mechanism of the impact of external regional challenges and policy changes of governance arrangement. Central city's attempt to join the fringe area for the development of industrial parks into county territory has to comprise with the suburb county's government. Eventually, a typical region government arrangement at the metropolitan fringe area came into being. The "softer" governance at the fringe area could be divided into three phases: the separation of city and county, the collaboration of city and county, and the dominance of the central city.

Keywords: Governance arrangement, Metropolitan fringe area, Suburban counties



Introduction

Since the 1990s, a series of market reforming conditions in China has led to corporatist thrust and promoted competition among cities, aiming to gain regional central status in competition with other cities. The central city has expanded rapidly and the area has expanded to the entire administrative region. The central city is tightly connected with the peripheral areas and suburban counties, forming a greater metropolitan area. In the context of globalization and metropolitanization, the geographical uniqueness, spatial governance characteristics and governance structure of the county present unprecedented transformations and new features under the influences of societal development.

On one hand, the „city-leading-counties“ system with Chinese characteristics has significantly consolidated the power of the central city, vigorously realizing the infrastructural integration and spatial integration that promoted under the administrative force. Therefore, the regional reconstruction shares the same characteristics in the cases across Europe and the United States, such as administrative division adjustment, a certain degree of decentralization, various public-private partnerships, cross-border cooperation, etc. On the other hand, there are also the inherent characteristics of the internal system and culture, especially the complex property rights and institutions between the central, provincial, cities, counties and special administrative regions under the Chinese transformation system.

However, most of the existing researches are pure theoretical debates in macro scope. There are few fine empirical studies on specific regions as cases, and particularly on spatial governance in the suburban counties surrounding metropolitans. This paper aims to study the regional governance changes in Feixi County, a suburb of Hefei City, Anhui Province in the central region in China, and showcase a relatively complete representation of the historical section of the extent of development in this area, with particular attention to the following issues:

How have the characteristics of county spatial governance arrangements changed? What role municipal and county governments play in the transformation of urban areas? What specific mechanism should be applied during the change of county spatial governance? What specific mechanisms are mandatory under the impact of external regional challenges and policy changes on governance?

1. Research design

The geographical scope of this study is the central region, where generally considered an economically underdeveloped region largely consisting of Anhui, Hubei, Henan, Hunan, and Shanxi, and is directly radiated and affected by the developed regions in the east. After 2000, due to the influence of globalization and industrial transfer in the eastern region, the central cities have achieved rapid development, especially the provincial capitals have successively entered the developing stage of metropolitanization.

The time window of study was selected between 1990 and 2015, starting from the establishment of a cross-border economic development zone in the central cities, ending at a new round of planning compilation aimed at promoting regional integration, and the history will be traced according to the purpose of each project. There are three cases selected, they are TaoHua Industrial Park (completed), the Xingang Cooperative Park (completed) and

South China City Project (later stage), which represent the main features of the county space governance change in the previous period.

During 2017-2018, with respect to relevant personnel in policy-making in the case studies, we conducted a series of in-depth interviews with government officials, planners, academics, and directors of operations companies on specific projects. Among them, we focus on external environment, land and planning policies and the variables during project construction. We hoped that the analysis of these changes will be used to track the changes in the power structure between acting subjects, and to study the clues of county space governance changes. The research mainly adopts analytical methods on event analysis and literature analysis.

2. Changes in characteristics of regional governance -- The development of city and county integration

Feixi is located to the west of old Hefei county historically. With reference to administrative, economic or cultural aspects, it has a close relationship and integration tendency with Hefei, which is in the center of the region.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, a series of administrative division adjustments (1952, 1958, 1961, 1983, 1997, 2006, 2011) led to a final configuration in the development of integration of Hefei City and Feixi County. From the official point of view, this integration has gone through three stages: Separation of City and County Industrial Parks --Construction Phase of Cooperative Parks -- Main City of Hefei Southwest. Efforts were made on the economy, industry, facilities and other factors, and gradually the city and county disintegrated the unfavorable factors of the district administrative economy under the separation of cities and counties established in the 1980s.

With a typical metropolitan suburban county model in the central region, the central city is anticipated to obtain more space and reduce conflicts between districts and counties. As shown in Table 2, within the context of the development of integration of the whole city and county, in the early stage, district adjustment of the county was mainly carried based on the problematic administrative division. In the latter stage, compromise and negotiation among cities and counties were the main focus. The government and related functional departments always made substantial progress. It can be seen that the integration of cities and counties is a typical urban area reconstruction led by the government. However, the government is not a completely homogenized whole, but a hierarchical system of vertical management. The coordination and conflict of internal power operations can be manifested through the space carrier peripheral development zone that is regarded as the substantial promotion of integration. Its propulsion timeline is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 , City and county integration development stage and its content

	Separation(1991-2004)	cooperation (2005-2010)	Integration(2011-2015)
main problem	Urban development direction, Administrative division adjustment, County industrialization	Unified planning of edge development zone, Partition implementation management, City and county cooperation	The development of peripheral development zones to the urbanization of diversified formats
Way of promotion	set up development zones separately on the edge of the city and county	Benefit distribution, cooperation establishment	Integrated development
Substantial progress	Discussion stage	Agreement phase	Entering the operation phase
Major events and administrative division adjustments in the development zone	In August 1991, the Hefei Municipal People's Government approved the establishment of Hefei TaoHua industrial park in Feixi County. In 1997, the administrative division of Hefei Economic and Technological Development Area(HETA) was adjusted, 16 administrative villages in Feixi county and Hefei suburban district were placed under the jurisdiction of HETA. The land use scale is 39 square kilometers, covering one county (Feixi county), one district (former suburb district), and three townships (Changqing town, Feixi county Taohua town and Yandun town).	In 2006, district-county cooperative Xingang industrial park between Feixi county and HETA, In 2005, district-county cooperative Baiyan science park between Feixi county and Hefei Hi-Tech development zone	The municipal government put forward “county breakthrough” strategy and promoted urban infrastructure, and urban public services extend to the suburban areas.. In 2012, mega-project China south city located in Feixi county ,city-county collaboration dominated by central city came into being

In the construction of the peripheral development zone, we pay attention to the following node changes: The first is a policy gap between the constructions of peripheral development zones and obtaining national policies, in another word, the development zone policies broke through the restrictions of land and urban regulations. The second is the cooperation model: how to distribute the land quota? What is the functional division of investment and management between district and county? How is the relationship changed between the province, Hefei City and Feixi County during this process? And what is the specificity of the Feixi case for the governance in the central region? Through answering these, we can gain insight into the original power framework and its changes between city and county governments.

2.1 Geospatial characteristics of peripheral suburb counties: development and construction of peripheral development zones



Because of the location and development conditions near the main urban area, peripheral suburban counties, especially the cross-border areas, have huge potential development space and less demolition required. In the upsurge period of the establishment of development zones, they are often the ideal location for central cities. At the same time, the development of the cross-border areas in suburban counties is not only a unilateral action of the city, but also a location advantage and basis for attracting urban resource spillovers and constructing urban infrastructure. The disparity and imbalance in the development of cities and counties also prompted the county to shift its focus of development from the traditional county-level town development to the peripheral development. Especially around or towards the main city development or enclave development zones established by the central city, county-owned industrial parks will often be formed and developed at opposite and peripheral location; and the county-level development shows the spatial configuration in growth around the metropolitan areas.

Such peripheral development zones refer to the development zones set up in the fringe area in the light of their own interests by the municipal and county governments. Firstly, the cities' locations are selected relatively far away from the central city, the county's are adjacent to the cities' in the opposite direction. By attracting investment, it accommodate the enterprises that withdrawn from the central city due to urban renewal, and the enterprises that industrial transferred from developed areas.

Since the 1990s, Feixi County has developed a series of peripheral development zones to the southwest of Hefei's main city. Through nearly 30 years of development, it has formed 60 square kilometers Great Taohua industry plate, with an economic volume of 100 billion China Yuan. In a word, for the main body of cities and counties, the industrial plates of cities and counties in peripheral areas are the key bearing areas of industrial economy, and the center of economic growth in the past 30 years of reform and development. These regions also reflect the change of spatial governance of counties.

2.2 characteristics of county space governance

The essence of the problems of space governance in the suburban counties originated from counties' geographical adjacency and administrative divisions, leading to the conflict and coordination on urban planning, construction, management and development. All problems were embedded in the geographical relationship between the two administrative units and rooted in this particular space. The characteristics of space became the origin of regional governance, and space was used as a means to achieve governance goals. The evidence was shown in the progress of the regional integration in Table 2 that since the integration operation (2003-2009), almost all government cooperation projects involve spatial cross-border coordination, and spatial coordination is the most important content of regional governance.

Since the establishment of HETA and the Hefei High-tech Zone at the city-county border in southwest Hefei, peripheral area like Feixi County had already been included in the their

planning. Due to various conflicts from cross-administrative regions, the municipal government promoted the simple regional integration model of administrative division of the county. Relations between city and county development zones were not cooperative, but separate competitive. In this context, the regional space was characterized by the separation between two major municipal development zones and several county industrial parks. There are also many problems in the coordination within cross-regional areas.

The single way of administrative-division adjustment is difficult to integrate the county-founded industrial parks. The development of county industrial parks faces the shortage of funds and resources, and the challenges of cross-regional coordination. Under the "city-leading-counties" system, city mastered the administrative right on resources distribution, especially land. As a result, a cooperative park model that county bargain away its space in exchange of resources was created. In the cross-regional cooperation of district-county co-governance, the district led planning of the cooperative park, from which cross-regional planning and infrastructure coordination between cities and counties would be favored.

Since 2003, with the expansion of industrial transfer in the eastern region, lack of resources that once restricted county development zones in peripheral area was no longer development constraint, and the co-governance model of district-county cooperation lost the foundation of existence. In this context, Hefei City proposed a strategy on county-breakthrough. In the investment of large-scale municipal projects, the county area was considered as the main site, with support from municipal administrative resources. At the same time, the municipal financial investment on cross-regional infrastructure construction will realize the road connection between central city and counties. In the planning, the south western region will be included in the main urban area of south western Hefei, and unit division planning will be compiled. The spatial governance of the cross-regional area has entered the governance stage of the municipal-led cooperation between cities and counties under task division. During this stage, the spatial governance was characterized by the municipal-led spatial integration model and large industrial parks model within county space. The county has become the main entity of implementation in the scope of regional governance of metropolitan integration.

2.3 Characteristics of governance structure: from separation to municipal-led cooperation between cities and counties

Corresponding to spatial governance, in the stage of separation between cities and counties, districts and counties led separately the planning and construction of development zones, and cross-regional coordination was severely inadequate. The governance structure corresponds to the city-district and county. The county industrial park was not the municipal focus, instead it was regarded as occupying the advantageous space of the peripheral area. The industrial park of the district was the embodiment of the interests of the central city.

In the stage of cooperation-park, the cooperation between districts and counties was under the municipal coordination. The central city no longer obtains the incremental development space

for the district through benefit compensation, but provides with a relatively fair partnership through the distribution and integration of resources for districts and counties.

In the stage of the city-led integration mode, it was reflected in the direct division of work and cooperation of city-county. The county gained equal importance to district due to its geographical advantages.

3. Case and mechanism analysis

Due to the complexity of each case, the paper select a few concerns in each cases (Table 2)。

Table2 The cases and a few concerns in each cases

The cases	Key factors of concern	Change in governance structure	Mechanism: the concern of factors on the change of regional governance structure
TaoHua Industrial Park	Special development zone policy The game of provinces, cities and counties in the adjustment of administrative divisions	Development zone is an important space in the administrative adjustment	
XinGang Industrial Park	Changes in urban planning and land policy Changes in investment and financing methods and improvement in integration	District-county collaboration led by the municipal government	
China South City Project (New Industrial Park)	County breakthrough strategy	City-county collaboration led by central city	

3.1 Taohua Industrial Park

Since the Reform and Opening-up, the central region followed the experience of the eastern region and advocated the development of township enterprises. But after the 1990s, in general it faced the crisis of aging in production capacity, small scale and poor efficiency, which led to a great crisis to the township economy. Concentrated industrial parks, which were set up in the mode of industrial agglomeration and investment attraction, it became a tendency to promote county economy with industrial development. In this context, Taohua Industrial Park was the first one established by Feixi County in Southwest Hefei.

Before the 1990s, constrained by regional transportation, investment environment and policies, the central region did not have the practical conditions to attract large-scale industrial transfer. With the transition from Planned Economy to Market Economy and the diversification of ownership structure, after Deng Xiaoping's South Tour Speech in 1992, the Opening Policy was carried into act in the central region. With the advantage of low-cost

labour resources, the industrial transfer to the central and western regions started, and promoted the booming of industrial parks construction. Gaining the affirmation of Anhui Province and follow-up policy, the county industrial parks undertook small and medium-sized enterprises from the spill over of the main urban area, as well as a small number of low-end manufacturing industries transferred from developed areas. However, with the establishment of HETA in central city, relying on better policy levels and infrastructure allocation, the investment of county industrial parks has been reduced.

In the process of regional governance, as industrial parks became an important land use arrangement in peripheral suburban counties, it was not only an important support for county economy, as well as an important means to prevent administrative division adjustment from municipal government.

3.1.1 changes of planning and land policy

At the early stage of the Reform and Opening-up, the characteristics of national legal system were “try-and-trial” with the priority on economic development, leading to the incompleteness of laws and regulations on the development zones. The incompleteness provided opportunities for the establishment of County development zones.

According to the local government documents of Anhui Province, “the counties and towns have rights to establish industrial parks. The important towns and industrial parks have rights to occupy the lands before the development plan being approved. The development zone administration commission will have the power to manage the finance, local tax, national assets, lands, industries, economy, commodity prices, labours, personnels, environmental protection, social security and other related works. The authorization of independent power and land use autonomy rights to the administration commission actually contributed to the disordered expansion of development zones in all levels of development zones..

3.1.2 Provincial, municipal, and county games in the administrative division adjustment

The government is not just a non-homogeneous system, but also has vertical hierarchy. Provincial, municipal, and county governments have a close relationship with the urban fringe development areas, and their opinions on the administrative divisions adjustments sometimes are inconsistent. For example, the administrative division adjustment in 1997 promoted by Hefei City, intends to add the Taohua Industrial Park into the Hefei Economic Technology Area through the executive order under the „city-leading-counties“ system. However, the boycott from the county and the support from the provincial government on the county’s policies eventually forced Hefei to modify the administrative division adjustment documents and kept Taohua Industrial Park in Feixi, which also laid a foreshadowing for the subsequent series of fringe development zones growth along the main city and the establishment of a development zone. Finally it forced the central city to abandon the simple promoting administrative division adjustments through executive orders.

3.1.3 Development space as a target for administrative adjustment



The „city-leading-counties“ system gave cities the power to deprive the resources of counties, but counties“ institutional independence also gave themselves the autonomy and the power to build industrial parks. The city-level implementations were „mainly simple regional integrations, having not entered a period of regional co-governance yet, which was more diverse, more complex, and more focused on consultation.

3.2 Xingang Industrial Park

Under the background that HETA was limited by space which belong to municipality and the adjustment of administrative divisions was difficult to implement after 2003, the municipal government advocates to build the District-County Cooperative Xingang Industrial Park, according to the division of labor between city and county, which is dominated by HETA and supplemented by the Feixi county government, the Xingang Cooperation Park gradually integrated the roads and municipal facilities with urban areas“, and integrated into the urban planning area of Hefei city center, providing administrative resources such as land quota from the provincial and municipal levels. The Xingang cooperation park used the city-level platform to attract investments. Under the scope of county-level power allocation, Feixi adjusted land use planning, integrated land resources, and solved specific problems such as land and farmers' demolition and resettlement under the constraints of new land policies.

3.2.1 Changes in urban planning and land policy

In 2003, to solve the disorders in the economic development zone developments at the county level after the 1990s, the central government started working to control the land market with the focus on rectifying the economic development zone. However, Anhui Province, as the key province for supervision, passed the original local documents that are inconsistent with the relevant national land management regulations and standardized land management practices according to the opinion. At the same time, the Anhui Province also cancelled the land management authority authorized by the Development Zone Administration commission. The changes specifically included two aspects: firstly, all levels of government except the State Council and provincial governments have no right to approve the establishment of economic development zones, regulate the part of the economic development zone administration commission's authority and land rights that is inconsistent with the relevant provisions of the state, nor collect the right into the local government. Secondly, the overall planning of the economic development zone should be organized by the people's government of the host economic development zone according to the master plan. The adjustment of the land use approval system after 2004 mainly includes the right of examination and approval for the adjustment, and the revision of township land use planning back to provincial government. The adjustment of basic farmland needs to be approved by the State Council. It also included the implementation of the ombudsman system for land and resources enforcement, strengthening accountability for land violations, and strengthening the role of the land sector in land use policies.

With the cleanup of the development zone and the adjustment of policy documents in 2003, the plan of the peripheral suburban counties development zone is included in the county master plan. The disorders in the master plan for development zone have been standardized. The system of urban planning work in Feixi county has been also further clarified, and the standardization and regularization have been greatly improved. Urban planning approval and licensing systems are becoming increasingly strict. The municipal government officially obtained the power of planning approval and the allocation of land quotas, becoming the main administration of reviewing and approving the county's master plans. The interests of the city also penetrated into the regional governance of the counties through urban planning.

3.2.2 District-county collaboration led by the municipal government

The significant difference from the previous stage is that Hefei no longer seeks administrative division adjustment to obtain incremental space for HETA, instead of encourages the collaboration of districts and counties. Within the newly established Xingang Industrial Park, there are 10.4 square kilometers, of construction land and general farmland and 3.6 square kilometers of the basic farmland. The agreement stipulates that the basic farmland part will be adjusted by the Feixi County Government when the land use planning is revised. Feixi County used the land new policy issued by Anhui Province in 2006 to focus on the main quotas used in the cooperative park, through the method of replace construction land between city and country. Hefei provides land for large projects through mega-project specific supply and municipal-level land elasticity quotas. Under the constraints of land policies, districts and counties cooperate with each other and develop through the exchange of space resources and administrative resources.

To establish a coordination organization for city and county cooperation, the HETA commission set up the Xingang Industrial Park Office, which is responsible for the planning and construction, economic and social affairs management, and the Feixi County sent staff to participate.

3.2.3 Changes in investment and financing methods and improvement in integration

In the investment and financing mode of county-led development zone, the municipal finance did not support the Taohua Industrial Park. The investment and financing of the industrial park had to rely on the fragile county-level government financial support to gradually improve the infrastructure construction. Due to the shortage of external capital and policy resources, the county only can afford low-level infrastructure construction, and it is difficult to compete with HETA. As a result, small enterprises with small scale and low output value are in the development zone. The land use function is mixed and highly fragmented. The overall performance is lower than the adjacent HETA. In the cooperative park model, the new investment and financing plan is led by the district investment company to build infrastructure and park development, and more reliance on the district's local finance and social capital.

Under the background of the city and county integration strategy, Integration with the HETA has realized in the plan and Xingang Industrial Park has become part of the spatial structure of the HETA and is integrated in transportation, space and land. Xingang Industrial Park can

be regarded as the expansion and extension of the general planning of the HETA in Feixi County.

3.3 China South City project

After 2009, the development of industrial park depends on the attraction of small and medium-sized industrial project was restricted by higher investment threshold and less allocation of land quota. . However, with the continuous progress of the integration of city region, the development path dominated by industrial parks gradually turns to large-scale space production of industrialization and urbanization. In 2012, new industrial park founded by Feixi county in 2019 was chosen to develop China South City's mega e-commerce logistics center in the three sites recommended by Hefei government. According to project requirements, the former plan was adjusted and satisfied the demand of land size of 17 square kilometers.

The Mega-project represented by China South China has strong supportive role in county industrialization and urbanization, which has become a typical model of county development and arouse social attention widely in this period. The development of industrial parks was dominated by one or several Mega-projects that account for the majority of city incremental development space, which affects both county's spatial form and future development direction, besides the government's fiscal balance.

3.3.1 The proposal of county breakthrough strategy with counties' increased importance in municipal administrative area

After 2009, the city government participating in the fierce regional competition was challenged by the increasingly scarcity of incremental land in the central city, the development has focus on suburban county for broader space and more convenient land supply under China's characteristic land supply policy. In this context, the municipal government attaches importance to industrial and spatial layout of the county, positively introduce projects for county industrial parks and puts forward the development strategy of county breakthrough.

The specific strategies for county breakthrough mainly include the integration of metropolitan fringe area county administrative division into the southwest central district in the newly formulated Hefei strategic plan and the promotion of interregional infrastructure construction. The TaoHua area has in fact been integrated with the Hefei central district from urban planning, construction management and economy development.

Another implication of county breakthrough is that Municipal government promoted urban infrastructure, and urban public services extend to the suburban areas. After 2006, the integration of planning and infrastructure between cities and counties was rapidly promoted, the three counties leading by Hefei were required to construct infrastructure by the same standard of central city, the public service including water supply, public transportation, gas and traffic facilities etc. were constructed to integrate urban and rural area. The significant

example is the interregional roads extension to three counties. The country road used to be built as required were upgraded to regional expressway network, the investment of expressway construction is for the municipal government while the land expropriation cost is for the counties. With the elimination of traffic barriers, the integration of cities and counties contribute to attract Mega-projects located in the suburban counties of metropolitan areas.

3.3.2 City-county collaboration dominated by central city

Constrained by central government's tighter control of land, land quota distributed by upper government besides sufficient development space is the key factor for development and possible revenue growth. Only through mega-project's additional land quota at the expense of transfer part of its administrative power can Feixi county enjoy the fruits of mega-projects development and take the lead in the political tournament with neighboring districts and counties. The representative mega-project development pattern of city-county collaboration and consultation mechanism at this stage reflects the direct intervention of municipal government upon the county administrative area.

In mega-project's special insolvency procedures, the county urban planning was revised and different departments, lower levels government and social forces would be mobilized in implementation, for example, simplified procedure and one-stop service, the privilege land and taxes policy for mega-projects and the acceleration of land expropriation, house removal and infrastructure construction.

3.4 Mechanism analysis on Regional Governance changes

Changes in county governance arrangements, especially the regional governance of the suburban counties of metropolitan areas, can be regarded as results of interaction between city and county under external factors such as external regional challenges and policy changes etc.. In the first phrase, Hefei municipal government established development zone located in metropolitan fringe areas to participate in regional competition and obtain development space through administrative adjustment on county while the incompleteness of laws and regulations on the development zones provided opportunities for the establishment of county development zones to prevent administrative division adjustment, which also brings problems such as space fragmentation and insufficient spatial integration. With the central government's cleanup of the development zones, the adjustment of policy documents and difficulties to continue administrative adjustment, marked by the establishment of the cooperative park led by the municipal government, administrative, economic resources were cooperated and exchanged between city and county, which contribute the initial development of regional integration. In the third phrase, the increasingly scarcity of incremental land in the central city while suburban counties' broader space and more convenient land supply policy drive the municipal government reconsider the development of municipal region and promoted the interregional infrastructure construction to integrate urban and rural area and the integration of metropolitan fringe area county administrative division into the southwest central district in the newly formulated Hefei strategic plan. In the representative mega-project development

pattern, regional government of City-county collaboration dominated by central city came into being through Feixi county transfer part of its administrative power to city government after evaluation of external conditions and interior resource.

In general, the territorial governance arrangement in the suburban counties of metropolitan fringe area is shaped by the regional competition and the goals of economic development, which is pushed by the central city through the interaction of powers from different levels of government and stakeholders, under China's administrative hierarchy, especially the "city-leading-counties" system.

4. Conclusion

4.1 Regional governance changes in the suburban counties surrounding metropolitans under the influence of external factors

Driven by entrepreneurialism, central city's attempt to join the fringe area for the development of industrial parks into county territory has to comprise with the suburb county's government. Influenced by the external factors such as external environment, macro-policy, land and planning policies of central China at different development stages, through continuous game among multiple subjects especially the city and county governments, a typical region government arrangement at the metropolitan fringe area came into being.

4.2 Reconstruction of Region Governance in suburban counties surrounding Metropolitans is a government-led project

In all cases of regional governance, administrative power was the most obvious driving force. The mass political and economic capital possessed by the government can effectively promote or hinder the implementation of regional governance measures, which has transformed the urban-regional reconstruction in suburban counties surrounding metropolitans into a huge government project. Influenced by totalitarianism with Chinese characteristics, county government continuously resists administrative adjustment or seeks support or permission from above on its own interests, even if only some acquiescence to local reforms, in order to obtain the legitimacy and enhance the effectiveness of governance.

4.3 Reterritorialization of different levels of government

Under the circulation tendency of capital and the penetrating force of market, the horizontal administrative boundaries between cities and counties has been gradually broken. The city-county cooperation replaced previous competition and resistance. Although it takes time to form a mature cooperation framework and consensus, the most direct, fastest and simplest regional governance of administrative division adjustment have been abandoned. In governance represented by specific projects, participation and participants vary from time to time, the degree to which participants want to co-operate depends on their understanding of the interests of the city and their judgment of the gains and losses of power (Jingxiang Zhang, 2002).

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