

Yalçintan, Murat Cemal; , & Çavuşoğlu, Erbatur. (2008). Kentsel Dönüşüm Süreçlerine Bağlı Yeni Sınıf Dengelerinin İnşasında Toplumsal Muhalefet: Taraflar ve Stratejiler. Paper presented at the Kentsel Yeniden Yapılanma: Kazananlar – Kaybedenler, İstanbul.

Yalçintan, Murat Cemal; Çalışkan, Çare Olgun; Çılgın, Kumru, Dündar, Uğur;. (2014). İstanbul Dönüşüm Coğrafyası. In A. Candan Bartu & C. Özbay (Eds.), Yeni İstanbul Çalışmaları: Sınırlar, Mücadeleler, Açılımlar. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.

Yücel, Hakan; , & Aksümer, Gizem;. (2011). Kentsel Dönüşüm Karsi Kent Hakkı: Kazımkarabekir Mahallesi'nde Mekansal Kimlik ve Dayanışma Örüntüleri. Education Science Society Journal, 9(6), 117-139.

ID 1383 | STUDY ON LIVING SPACE AND COMMUNITY ATTACHMENT OF THE THREE GORGES MIGRANTS - A COMPARISON BETWEEN MIGRANTS RESETTLED NEARBY AND RELOCATED OUTSIDE

Wang Zhihan¹; Zhao Chunyu¹

¹College of Architecture and Urban Planning, Tongji University
wanghonri@outlook.com ; 1194093492@qq.com

ABSTRACT: China has a large number of migrations organized by the government, mainly for engineering, ecology and poverty alleviation. The project of resettlement has great significance in politics, economy, society and other aspects. Previous research on migration is mostly based on the survey of economic income and social adaptability, instead of living space and community attachment. These fields have a bearing on the vital interests of migrants, and play definitive roles in the living quality and dignity after relocation. The migrants of the Three Gorges are chosen as the object of study, because of their symbolic significance and the large number of migration samples. The migration is divided into two modes: 79% are resettled nearby, and 21% are relocated outside (Shanghai, Zhejiang, Sichuan, Hunan and so on), then four groups of sites are selected as the research destinations. The study records the forms of living space of the migrants' present and original residences, (the submerged areas are consulted according to the surrounding villages.) and induces residential features, street forms, housing forms, social and economic characteristics. Furthermore, communications with migrants show their living conditions and community attachment, and the evaluation of living space before and after the migration. The investigation of the two modes of migration reflects the great influence of the living space and community attachment on the stability of migrants. The living space of migrants resettled nearby changes to a lesser extent, thus leads to faster life adaptation, but there are still problems of integration into city life; migrants relocated outside face obvious differences in living space, difficult community culture, hence the lifestyle changes significantly. The humanistic construction method of the immigrant community, as well as the adjustment of the social psychology, determines the success or failure of the migration project, and the maximization of the dignity of the migrants, in order to properly arrange this special group.

KEYWORDS: Living Space, Community Attachment, Migration Project, Dignity Maximization

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 RESEARCH PURPOSE

In China, governmental migrations, mainly for engineering, ecological migration, poverty alleviation and so on, are very common, and the resettlement of migrants is of great significance in politics, economy, society and other aspects. The form of living space and community attachment of migrants, which are related to their vital interests, have a decisive role in the quality of living environment after the migration.

Maladjustment of living space, inharmonious neighborhood are two widespread issues caused by migration. For example, an investigation on resettlement of migrants of Qingshanzui Reservoir in Chuxiong

City, Yunnan Province in 2012 showed that, though the migrants' living condition has been improved, there is still inadaptability in the conversion from the vast rural space to the relatively cautious urban space, while following problems also occur in social interaction: living restructuring, neighborhood defamiliarization, sense of relative deprivation, residential concentration, neighbor intrusion and so on. (Ran Qizhu, 2014)

The huge number of migrants involved in the Three Gorges Project, whose relocation destination covers several provinces, are facing diverse living space and complicated resettlement situation. Centralized communities and individuals are placed in towns and villages at the same time. At present, the research on the ontology of the Three Gorges migrants is mainly based on the investigation of economic income, social adaptability and social relationship. (Li Zhe, 2016) This paper examines the residential patterns and community attachment of the two types of migrants, hoping to explain the great impact of living situation and space forms on their stability and integration.

1.2 RESEARCH SITES

After the impoundment of the Three Gorges Dam, there are two cities, 11 counties, 116 towns that need rebuilding in whole or in part. (Ji Changhua, 2007) And the migrants are resettled in two ways: 79% are resettled nearby (resettled locally) and 21% relocated outside (moved to Shanghai, Guangzhou, Zhejiang, Shandong, Sichuan, Hunan and other places).



Figure 1 - Urban area of Three Gorges Reservoir Area (Zhao Wanmin, 1999)

As one of the resettlement provinces for migrants relocated outside, Sichuan has a few differences in geographical climate from the Three Gorges area, and there are many changes in living habits, residential environment and interpersonal communication after the migration. Chongqing is the resettlement site for migrants resettled nearby, which means fewer discrepancies on these aspects. Chongming County, Shanghai is another resettlement area for migrants relocated outside, with diverse climatic conditions and cultural environment. For a more comprehensive understanding of living space and community attachment in different resettlement situations, and the comparison between two types of migrants' living conditions, the following sites are selected as research destinations. Though a great number of original residences has been basically submerged by the rising water level of Yangtze River, or abandoned, the visit to towns and villages nearby can also clearly reflect the corresponding living situation and forms.

The specific relationship between the present and original residences is shown in the figure:

	Present Residences	Original Residences
Relocated Outside One	Panxi Village, Chongming District, Shanghai	Zhoudu Village, Kai County, Chongqing
Relocated Outside Two	Caichang Town, Dayi County, Chengdu	Wanzhou District, Chongqing
Resettled Nearby One	Kai County New Town, Chongqing	Kai County Old Town, Chongqing
Resettled Nearby Two	Baidi Village, Fengjie County, Chongqing	Baidi Village, Fengjie County, Chongqing

Table 1 - Research destinations of present and original residences

2 LIVING SPACE

Living space forms, living social space and residential groups are the three elements of urban living space, and the residential group is the link between space forms and social space. After a long period of construction, the living space of the Three Gorges migrants has undergone tremendous changes, and reconstruction has been a significant feature of spatial succession, having a lot of internal correlations with the socio-economic process of migration. Different forms of living space for both migrants resettled nearby and relocated outside, like work unit communities, individual migrant communities, and mixed residential areas in old towns, have their own characteristics in functions, streets and facilities. Factors, like the commercial management and housing mode, housing distribution reform, the resettlement system and so on, which are related to culture and other socio-economic aspects, promote the continued reconstruction of migrants' living space.

2.1 RESIDENTIAL FEATURES

"The Three Gorges Project Migration Ordinance (2001)" makes clear that the migration implements the combination of local and outgoing, centralized and decentralized resettlement, while the migrants could figure out their own moving ways along with the government's measures. Migrants ought to be resettled nearby in the original county or district as priority, or else they will be relocated outside in or out the original province. And the migration of the latter follows the principle "relatively concentrated, scattered placement", that is concentrated relocation in certain counties and districts, and dispersedly dwelling within the area. (Su Hong, 2002) Living characteristics of the two types of migrants can be summarized as the following four categories:

	Present Residences	Original Residences	Space characteristics
Relocated Outside One	Country of water town	Country in mountain area	Mixed residential area
Relocated Outside Two	Town in plains	Town in mountain area	Shop front housing estate
Resettled Nearby One	New town in mountain area	Old town in mountain area	Gradual changing estate
Resettled Nearby Two	New house in mountain area	Old house in mountain area	Traditional residential area

Table 2 - Settlement characteristics of present and original residences

2.1.1 MIXED RESIDENTIAL AREA

The migrants relocated outside in Chongming County, Shanghai are dispersed to different villages, thus form mixed residential areas with local residents. The migrants own a certain amount of contracted land and household plots assigned by the government. And their housing standard follows Shanghai planning per capita standards. This kind of arrangement represents a major resettlement method for a large number of migrants relocated outside - that is, preventing the formation of aggregated migrant communities in order to facilitate their adaptation to new settlements, which also allows local residents to participate in interaction with migrants. Residential planning is always the continuation of the normal style of present residences.



Figure 2 - Panxi Village in Chongming, Shanghai, a present residence of migrants relocated outside

2.1.2 SHOP FRONT HOUSING ESTATE

Caichang migrant residential area in Chengdu, Sichuan Province is another form of centralized resettlement of migrants relocated outside, where the houses and farmland are separated from local residents, and some of the public facilities are shared together. There is one important feature that the residential and commercial functions overlap in space - the bottom of residential buildings is designed for commercial use, arranged along roadsides. This design concept tries to improve the employment of migrants as the starting point, while the phenomenon of vacancy of these shop fronts are not rarely seen in migrant residential areas, which means the actual demand for business services is not matched with the scale and amount provided.



Figure 3 - Caichang migrant residential area in Chengdu, Sichuan Province, a present residence of migrants relocated outside

2.1.3 GRADUAL CHANGING ESTATE

Cities and towns in Three Gorges Reservoir area are undergoing the gradual process of urban renewal, dually driven by the relocation of migrants resettled nearby and urban redevelopment. The retained area and new migrant settlements, represented by old town of Kai County and new town of Wanzhou District, have emerged with the gradual expansion of commercial function and the decline of residential function along with the city's development. Business permeates into the neighborhood and spreads along the streets. Roadside buildings are remodeled or rebuilt, which separates the once contiguous residential neighborhoods with the enclosures of commerce. Migrants resettled nearby from towns and villages are rapidly placed in the process of urbanization.



Figure 4 - Scenery of new and old town of Kai County, Chongqing

2.1.4 TRADITIONAL RESIDENTIAL AREA

The living environment and lifestyle of the majority of migrants resettled nearby has not changed much after the migration. Above the flooded old houses and villages, the new communities continue the original residential form and relationship among the neighborhood. Influenced by the mountainous terrain of the Three Gorges area, a patchwork of landscape often occurs in the villages and towns.



Figure 5 - Relics and new buildings of Baidi Village in Kai County, Chongqing

2.2 STREET FORMS

2.2.1 STREET SYSTEM SCALE

The living space of both migrants resettled nearby and relocated outside is composed of different scale of street systems. There are massive streets and lanes for vehicles and pedestrians between buildings in shop front housing estates and gradual changing estates, to guide the traffic flow to shop fronts of residential areas, resulting in the small-scale street system for the diversity of functions. As a result, green space between dwellings is relatively reduced, and in fact, forms borderless settlements which are easy to cross.



Figure 6 - Small-scale street system in old town of Fengjie County, Chongqing | Figure 7 - Big-scale street system in Caichang County, Chengdu

In contrast, big-scale street system is, on one hand, due to the demand of some migrants for the comfort of living environment, and on the other hand, because of the traditional form of residential areas that meets basic living needs. This system means the relatively concentrated, or even absent commerce in communities. In general, migrants are low-income groups, whose survival needs are still at the first place. The two scales of street systems fit different socio-economic status of the living groups.

2.2.2 VERTICAL STREET SPACE

Before the construction of the gam project, there have been a large number of urban vertical streets that connect the altitude difference in terrain. These vertical street space, as an important part of urban collective memory, is not only the traffic channel of residents, but also the unique commercial ladder space of cities along the Yangtze River. The settlements of migrants resettled nearby also continue the design of vertical ladder space, but the field research finds that there are situations where some shop fronts are vacant, and degenerate into a single function of the pedestrian walkway. The reasons behind include the lack of diversity in new urban areas and other planning and design factors.



Figure 8 - Street space of Wanzhou District and Kai County, Chongqing

2.2.3 DIFFERENTIATION IN CENTER AND EDGE

The flooding degrees of urban area within the Three Gorges are different, causing the mixture of migration resettlements and original residential areas. From the vigorous developing Wanzhou District, to the relatively stagnant Kai County, the urban social space has shown a mode of differentiation in center and edge.

(Gao Shangwu, 2016) The center area gathers business, finance, transportation hub, catering and entertainment, public square and other public urban functions, and provide a rich and colorful modern atmosphere of the city life to the migrants and indigenous residents, where especially many migrants resettled nearby live with their work units. More rural migrant groups live in urban fringe areas and small towns.



Figure 9 - New-built residential buildings in downtown of Wanzhou District, Chongqing
 Figure 10 - Old town of Fengjie County, Chongqing

2.3 HOUSING FORMS

In the process of migrant housing building, first the local government is in charge of planning, surveying and infrastructure construction. After the reform of housing system in China, the resettlement groups are no longer divided into work unit migrants and individual migrants. The construction of settlements also develops from the organization by the government, of design, building and distribution at the beginning, to new ways of self-building by groups or individuals of migrants. Consequently, there are two main modes of settlements formed: residential areas built and distributed uniformly, where migrants only participate in the final election; and self-built resettlements sited and planned by the government, and designed and constructed by migrants. (Guo Chunxia, 2009)

The richness of construction modes increases the rights of migrants and give more decision in building cost control, residential house types and sizes, fund raising and other aspects. The change of policy eases migrants' major dissatisfaction with cost and design. Housing demolition compensation funds are also allocated to individuals in accordance with the rural housing compensation standards, used by migrants for housing construction.









	Housing form of present residences	Housing form of original residences
Relocated Outside One	Courtyard house, determinant layout 	Courtyard house, zonal distribution along the mountain 
Relocated Outside Two	Row dwelling, zonal distribution along the street 	Courtyard house, zonal distribution along the mountain 
Resettled Nearby One	Multi-story building, enclosed residential area 	Multi-story building, mixed residential area 
Resettled Nearby Two	Row dwelling, zonal distribution along the street 	Courtyard house, punctate distribution along the mountain 

Table 3 - House forms of present and original residences

Due to the mountainous terrain within the Three Gorges Reservoir area, rural areas are generally difficult to form large residential areas, so the buildings and roads usually show zonal distribution, while in some small blocks, there may be row and enclosed dwellings. Insufficient depth creates the strip distribution of buildings along roads. And buildings in urban areas traditionally follow zonal or punctate distribution. Height difference in terrain forms a patchwork of landscape.

In newly-built migrant communities for migrants resettled nearby, there is a wide range of residential types which contributes to the mixture of multi-story and high-rise buildings. In recent years, the construction of skyscrapers has also enriched residential block types. A certain degree of autonomy is given to migrants relocated outside on the specific housing construction, while block forms are still in accordance with the local residential form, and form mixed communities with local residents according in different geographical conditions.

Domestic scholars have conducted extensive research on migrant housing adaptability, including surveys of the Three Gorges migrants in Jiangsu, Guangdong, Shandong province by Ma Defeng (2005), Cheng Yu (2005), Xia Yongxia (2009) and other scholars. The results of visits show that the living quality of migrants has generally been improved, and benefit from the improvement and upgrading of infrastructure. But for the changes like moving out of bungalows, sharing public space, migrants also reflect certain inadaptation.

2.4 SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

From the beginning of the migration, helping migrants for achievement of employment is a win-win method to attract migrants to move and to solve their practical difficulties. In the reality of urban industrial emptiness (Xu Jingjing, 2006) and the lack of knowledge and professional skills of migrants (Zhao Wei, 2007), the government often turns to the third industry to seek employment opportunities. Therefore, as the basic space for business activities, shop front is considered as potential jobs. This opportunity for employment also become a means to promote migration and relocation. In the process of such interaction between local government and migrants, a large number of communities are created with mixed commercial and residential functions.

On the other hand, migrants are involved in the rapid Chinese urbanization process. The participation of market capital contributes to the function replacement in mixed residential areas of old towns. And the increment of commercial profit and living comfort brought by the development of the society also cause the movement of migrant groups in different socioeconomic status. The Three Gorges Project has given the local government countless opportunities of direct participation in the reconstruction of urban space, which promotes a greater degree of succession and expansion of residential areas in relevant cities and towns. The impact of urban housing demolition, employment, education and other factors, as well as the pursuit of a higher living standard, are major reasons for multiple movement of some migrants resettled nearby and relocated outside.

3 COMMUNITY ATTACHMENT

Community attachment is an important factor affecting the existence and development of communities. For the Three Gorges migrants, their sense of belonging to the community is more embodied in the psychological state into a new cluster, including confirmation of their new identity, and emotions of their investment and evaluation in communities. The construction of migration communities is the key project to promote the resettlement, so it is of great significance to grasp and adjust their community attachment. (Shan Jingjing, 2006)

3.1 INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORHOOD INTERACTION

The interaction between migrants and local residents has the most important influence on their social adaptation. (Feng Xiaotian, 2006) And changes in community communication are particularly evident for the decentralized arrangement of migrants relocated outside. Migrants resettled nearby and some of those

relocated outside, are arranged into a centralized system with a group of several families, that is, to establish new migrant villages and communities. Thus the familiar language, customs, lifestyles, and the same culture guarantee relatively frequent social communication, but to some extent also cause relatively fewer contacts with local residents. (Feng Xiaotian, 2004) And the rest of migrants relocated outside are settled in disperse, which expose themselves to local communities. Under this new cultural background, the necessary communication with the local has become an important way to adapt to the social life.

The specific relocation process of unified and individual settlement, or integral moving, determine the composition of migrant groups and their mutual relations. Compared to the way of integral moving which removes all the original community to a new residential area, and individual settlement which organize familiar migrants with mutual trust to carry out construction by themselves, the residential areas of unified settlement show a complex population structure. The habitants need to re-familiar with each other, and face differences in living habits due to the occupations and living environment before migration.



Figure 11 - Migrant houses in Chongming District, Shanghai and Zhaojia County, Chongqing

The survey finds that, besides obvious elements that affect neighborhood communication like language and customs, the difference in living habits is one of the main barriers of mutual identification between migrants and the local. For instance, activities like airing cereals in multi-story communities, contradiction between migrants' health habits and urban lifestyle can both arise misunderstanding of two resident groups. While over time, migrants have gradually eliminated the gap on lifestyles and concepts, and established identification of neighborhood relationship, with the partial integration of values. But it certainly takes a longer way for both groups to truly get rid of the identity of strangers.

3.2 INFLUENCE OF SPACE DESIGN

Community attachment is closely related to the formation and development of communication space. (Jing Wei, 2015) In the practice of migrant community construction, the formation of many blunt models of space design, is born of the excessive stress of meeting the necessary settings of living functions, and economic technical indicators, such as greening rate, volume rate and others. In fact, public space of many communities does not support the development of community attachment. Here only to discuss the mismatching of migrants' behavior of consumption and leisure with space design.

Farm product markets and commercial service facilities are often the necessary supporting projects of migration communities, in order to meet the basic consuming needs of migrants. But the field survey finds that, the markets and shops are often left unused, instead some permanent or temporary stalls appear along the streets outside markets outside. This phenomenon results from factors like the disproportionate provisions of commercial capacity, and conflicts between the normal habits of migrants and local life, while also shows that blunt models of space design cannot meet the autonomy of migrants' daily activities, so the related functions are changed or even abandoned.

Concentrated green space is a general planning element in public space of modern residential areas, and also the standard design of migration resettlements, where are often stalled with sports equipment, seats, decorations, etc. However, the survey also finds that some green space are suffering from the lack of later maintenance, with the emergence of damaged facilities and low utilization rate, while some migrants also make full use of the public space to plant vegetables. Facing the design unsuitable for individual needs, migrant groups will re-divide the space functions through daily activities. Therefore, the summary of the

rules and characteristics of their living behaviors should be regarded as the basis for planning and landscape.



Figure 12 - Phenomenon of stalls and farming around migration resettlements

3.3 INFLUENCE OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

Three Gorges Migration is a national project, and the corresponding policy system is made up of pre-compensation, subsidies and post-support, trying to ensure that the living standard of habitants involved is not reduced, whilst to protect their legitimate rights and interests, and satisfy their demand for living and development. (Liang Fuqing, 2012) In the survey, it is hardly avoided to find that the economic benefits of some migrants have been violated for some reason in the implementation of specific policies. And the dissatisfaction of the local government also reduce their community attachment to some extent. Unfortunately, this point is not within the scope of this article.

In general, the government policy determines the ownership of urban public and community resources. In terms of fairness, a large number of migrants resettled nearby are arranged in new towns, districts and villages, which brings relatively better public services and the ownership of more resources, including commercial, cultural, medical, educational, sports areas and public transport, compared to those migrants relocated outside who generally moved to the edge of urban areas. At the same time, the local government is bound to put in unequal construction funds on city centers and surrounding areas over a long period of time, resulting that the difference in green environment, public space, service facilities and other aspects, between the local residents and migrants relocated outside is hard to narrow. Some migrants resettled nearby imply that the infrastructure construction which start from the very beginning, cannot keep up with the pace of the migrant influx into new towns.



Figure 13 - Interview of migrant living situation

There is also a clear correlation between the community attachment of migrants relocated outside and the economic level of relocation sites, which is reflected in the compensation policy. (Li Huaquan, 2007) Migrants relocated in Chongming, Shanghai, for example, supported by land and employment aid policy of the local government, maintain satisfactory revenue and achieve general improvement in living conditions, for families who continue farming, as well as who change into the secondary and tertiary industries. On this basis, their relationship of neighborhood and sense of identity is maintained at a better level. Relatively speaking, those relocated outside who moved to Sichuan, Hubei and other economically weak areas, have more complaints about the migration life, which is the direct result of the difficulties encountered in related areas.

4 CONCLUSION

The Three Gorges is the largest control project in the history of water conservancy, with the relocation of amounted to over 1,100,000 migrants. Habitants in the reservoir area lost their original farmland and houses, even the familiar neighborhood and the means to earn a living. Their faster adaptation to new environment and transition from migrant to settler, is not only related to people's livelihood, but also determines the success or failure of the project.

Migrants relocated outside need a longer transition period than those resettled nearby. Some scholars divide the role-transforming process of migrants relocated outside into three stages: the label phase during the first and second years after migration, the learning phase during the third and fourth years, and the assimilation and comparison phase after the fifth year. (Liu Chengbin, 2007) With the conversion of roles, migrants' consideration points also develop from the comparison with original living at the initial stage, to the differences of economic income level, identity and other important factors from local residents.

Objective material conditions are the basis for the migration life, which varies in economy, culture and urban construction level among resettlements. For all migrant groups, the sharing of interests is the fundamental goal of the reconstruction of their living space. And the differences in the quality of living environment, public facilities, neighborhood communication will exist for a long time between two types of migrants and the local. Migrants' efforts of integration into local life should be based on the appropriate community environment, and the policy aiming to guarantee their living standards. Furthermore, aiming at the psychological particularity of this group, migrants' community attachment needs improving in three aspects: promotion of neighborhood communication, reasonable space design, and adequate political guarantee. The otherness caused by the migration status could be ultimately reduced or eliminated.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

- [1] Ran Qizu, Wang Xueliang, Lu Anxia, Mei Yunfei, & Li Zhiyan. (2014). Study on the Immigration Countermeasures of Qingshanzui Reservoir in Chuxiong. *South China Agriculture* (21), 102-104.
- [2] Li Zhe. (2016). Research on the Sustainable Development of Population after the Three Gorges Project. (Doctoral dissertation, Jilin University).
- [3] Ji Changhua. (2007). The Project of the Three Gorges of Yangtze River. Changjiang Publishing House.
- [4] Zhao Wanmin. (1999). The Three Gorges Project and the Construction of Human Settlement Environment. China Architecture & Building Press.
- [5] The State Council. (2001). Immigration Regulations for the Three Gorges Project Construction of the Yangtze River. 2001 [21].
- [6] Su Hong. (2002). Estrangement, Grinding-in and Integration: Study on the Social Integration of the Three Gorges Migrants in Chongming County. *Chinese Journal of Sociology*, (5), 34-36.
- [7] Gao Haowu. (2016). Spatial Delimitation of the Three Gorges Urban Agglomeration under the One Road, One Belt Strategy. 2016 Proceedings of the annual conference of Chinese urban planning (13). China Urban Planning Society, People's Government of Shenyang City, 15
- [8] Guo Chunxia. (2009). Under the Scientific Development Concept Apparent Threshold Three Gorges Immigrant Community Constructs Research. (Doctoral dissertation, Southwestern University).
- [9] Ma Defeng. (2005). A Study about the Community Adaptability of Three-gorge Immigrants: Survey from the Arrangement of Immigrants in Dafeng City, Jiangsu Province. *Population and Development*, 11(2), 62-68.
- [10] Cheng Yu, & He Xiang. (2005). Power Gaming of Migrant Villages and the Adaptation of Migrants: A Case Study of Baicun Village in Guangdong. *Journal of Guangxi University for Nationalities (Philosophy and Social Science Edition)*, 27(4), 63-68.
- [11] Xia Yongxia. (2009). Research on Life Satisfaction of the Three Gorges Rural Relocated Immigrant. (Doctoral dissertation, Shandong University).
- [12] Xu Jingjing. (2006). Research on the Problem of Industry Hollow about Immigration City in the Three Gorges Reservoir Area: A Case Study in Wanzhou District of Chongqing. (Doctoral dissertation, Southwestern University).

- [13] Zhao Wei, & Cheng Lijun. (2007). Current Situation and Development Conception of Migrant Vocational Education in the Three Gorges Reservoir Area. *Chinese Vocational and Technical Education* (35), 8-11.
- [14] Shan Jingjing. (2006). The Community Attachment and China Urban Community's Construction. *Journal of Graduate School of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences* (6), 125-131.
- [15] Fneg Xiaotian. (2006). The Transplantation of Life: The Social Adaptation of the Three Gorges Migrants Relocated across Provinces. *Jiangsu Social Sciences* (3), 78-82.
- [16] Fneg Xiaotian. (2004). "Fall and Take Root": The Social Adaptation of Rural Migrants in the Three Gorges Area. *Sociological Studies* (5), 19-27.
- [17] Jing Wei. (2015). The Building of Community Attachment and Design of Communication Space. *Art and Design* (6), 64-66.
- [18] Liang Fuqing. (2012). Study on the Development and Innovation of the Resettlement Compensation Policy of the Three Gorges Project. *Journal of China Three Gorges University(Humanities & Social Sciences)*, 34(2), 11-15.
- [19] Li Huaquan. (2007). The Emigrants' Placement Research in Three Gorges Reservoir Under the Government's Leadership: Taking the Emigration Work of Chongqing Kai County in 2004 as an Example. (Doctoral dissertation, Huazhong Normal University).
- [20] Liu Chengbin, & Fneg Xiaotian. (2007). Degree of Satisfaction on Migration of the Three- Gorges Migrants: Transition and Causes. *Population Research*,31(1), 76-85.

ID 1387 | IMPACTS OF THE NEW URBAN LEASE LAW AND THE NON-REGULAR RESIDENT TAX REGIME ON HOUSING AFFORDABILITY AND URBAN REGENERATION IN LISBON'S HISTORIC CENTRE

Iago Lestegás¹; João Seixas²; Rubén-Camilo Lois-González³

¹University of Reggio Calabria; ²New University of Lisbon; ³University of Santiago de Compostela
iago.lestegas.tizon@gmail.com ; jcseixas@gmail.com ; rubencamilo.lois@usc.es

ABSTRACT: The adoption of the euro accelerated the dependent financialisation of the Portuguese economy, which remained structurally backward despite its integration into global finance. The flow of foreign credit towards the real estate, infrastructure, and construction sectors since the mid-nineties fueled the suburban expansion of Lisbon and the abandonment of its historic centre until the crisis of 2008. After the collapse of that model of urban development, Lisbon's historic centre became a space of opportunity for global real estate investment offering high profitabilities in the international short-term-rental and premium markets. With thousands of abandoned dwellings and tenants paying very low rents, the rent gap of the historic centre was enormous. Since many residents of that territory were tenants paying controlled rents, it became necessary to change the lease regime in order to rapidly and easily evict them and let investors engage in the transformation of the area. The new urban lease regime liberalised the rental market and triggered the actualisation of rents above the capacity of many tenants in a context of rising demand for rental housing and strong austerity policies —and evictions multiplied. The non-regular resident tax regime was implemented by the Portuguese government to attract foreign high-skilled professionals and pensioners. Under this special regime, foreign citizens benefit from a reduced flat personal income tax rate of 20% and any pension income generated abroad is totally tax exempt —even when not taxed in the country of origin. As a corollary, housing supply for conventional use has dropped significantly and prices have increased dramatically in the historic centre as tourist apartments proliferate and foreign investors multiply. Urban regeneration fuelled by tourism and international investment has not stopped the loss of residents in this area, while the impossibility for many locals to find affordable housing there constitutes a worrying outcome of Lisbon's commodification. Keywords: gentrification, commodification, touristification, austerity, public policy, Portugal