

ID 1337 | “VILLAGE IN THE CITY” IN CHINA AS PRODUCT OF POPULATION TRATIFICATION AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP REPRODUCTION-CASE OF JIANGDONG VILLAGE IN NANJING AND XIBALI VILLAGE IN XI’AN

Meijie Wang¹
¹Tongji University
791869896@qq.com

1 THE NATURE OF FAST URBANIZATION IN CHINA

According to Marx’s definition, capital is a value in motion, and value is decided by social labor time necessarily put in the production of commodities. The capital’s motion can be divided into four phases: production, realization, allocation and value proliferation. The four phases form a cyclic process. Through this process, capitals go through infinite reproductions. It is an upward spiral course, but this cycle won’t continue perfectly forever.

David Harvey says, when consumption is weak, in order to mitigate the overcapacity crisis caused by excess capital accumulation in production field, productive consumption is needed to stimulate economic growth. Current large scale infrastructure construction and urbanization construction in China is this process. These constructions consume a large amount of means of production like steel and cement, so values of steel and cement are realized, and excess capacity is used. Also, the Cold War after the Second World War and the large-scale urbanization of suburbs in America were effective measures of using productive consumption to mitigate excess capacity in production field.

But the scale of Chinese urbanization is much larger. Within three years from 2011 to 2013, China consumed 6.5 billion tons of cement, which was even more than the total volume 4.5 billion tons consumed in the 20th century in America. The construction activities alone absorbed 25% global steel production. But Harvey believed that capitals transforming from production field to urban built environment just transferred and postponed the problem of excess accumulation of capitals but didn’t eliminate the problem. He also views the initial stage of current global economic crisis as ‘urbanization’s financial crisis’. Urban investments normally take a very long time, and it takes even longer time to get mature. So usually it’s very hard to judge when capitals are over accumulated or when over-accumulation will occur on investing in built environment.

The investments on fixed assets (broadly defined construction index) in China in 2014 accounted for 80% of the GDP. Since modern era, no country has ever reached such a high investment level. Even in Japan, in the 80s of the 20th century when construction industry was in peak, it was merely 35% of its GDP. As for America, the number has always been around 20% of its GDP. Looking in the long run, activities creating and producing spaces are obviously speculative, though these activities originally aim to eliminate over accumulation. But later on, the risk of even larger scale of over accumulation will perhaps occur in the construction and environment fields. Therefore, both urban construction and infrastructure investments have characteristics of having crisis easily. This can be seen from the periodicity presented in such kind of investments in America and Britain in the 19th century. (Figure 1, figure 2)

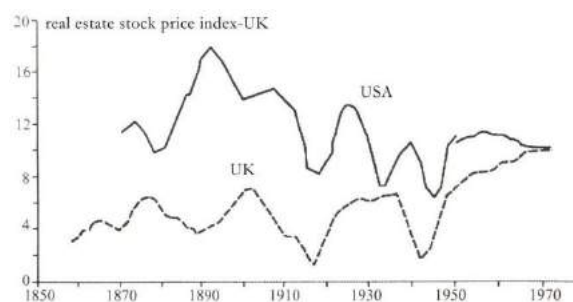


Figure 1 – Different Built area Investment Rhythm of UK and USA

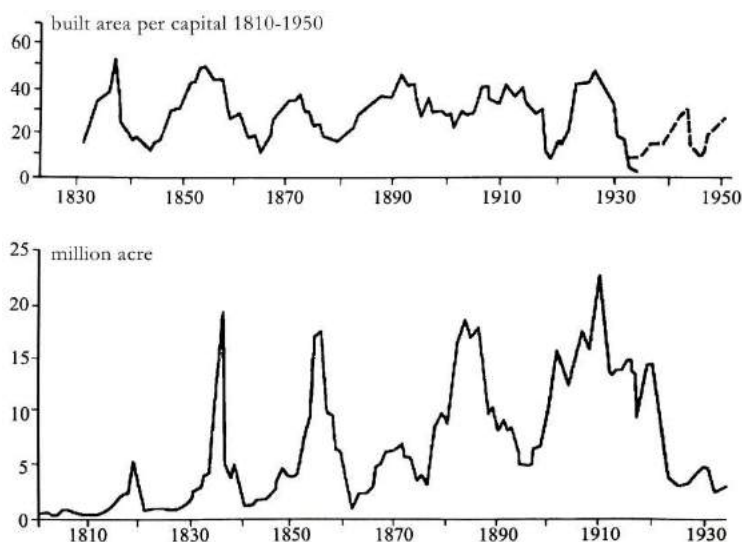


Figure 2 –Built area per capital and land selling in USA

This large scale urban construction activity was what had been said by Lefebvre, ‘Change from the production in space into the production of space itself’, namely capitalized space or the urbanized capitals. So, urbanized capitals mean capitals transform from the production itself to the urban built environmental production, to mitigate over accumulation in production field, meanwhile drive the urbanization process. The essence is that space after absorbing capitals, means of production and labor’s work time, turns into a commodity with certain value that can go through transactions in the market. Housing or other urban space products when they are sold out or consumed again and again, their values get realized in this way.

Lefebvre applied the logic of Marxism to social space field, he pointed out ‘space production is the reproduction of social relationship’. He views space as a kind of massive social resource, which is impacted and shaped by many factors such as history, nature, society and etc. It is factually a complex product filled in with various ideology and social production relationships, a process of social relationship reorganization and social order construction. Lefebvre went on to say, ‘No matter where, what’s in the center is the reproduction of production relationship.’

2 THE CAUSES AND MAIN PROBLEMS OF “VILLAGE IN THE CITY” IN CHINA

In China, the urbanization process since 1990 is also a process of over accumulation of built environment. In 1994 when tax distribution system reformed in China, local government gained some financial autonomy as well as bigger competition pressure. Over 20 years since then, real estate development had been one of the most important work contents of local government. ‘selling lands’ was local governments the principal source of revenue. When most cities in China adopt this kind of urban development module, serious excess and over accumulation in built environment will be caused.

During 1998 – 2004, the built urban area had increased by 9027 km² in China that was the equivalent of nearly 14.5 times of Singapore’s land area and 1/4 of the Taiwan Island area. Land acquisition area had expanded from 515.54km² in 1998 to 1612.56km² in 2004. And in 2002 it reached the peak at 2879.86km². This indicated Chinese cities are spreading outward at an unprecedented speed, which was called by international and domestics medias as ‘Chinese way of building cities’.

However, urban villages are precisely the frontier of Chinese urbanization development, the most vigorous districts in the expansion of urban space, but meanwhile many problems exist in villages in the city.

1. Illegal buildings are many. In the fast expanding process in the city, villages are quickly surrounded by high-rise buildings. Land price, property price, rentals are also pushed up and increase greatly. Driven by rental and compensation for housing demolition, villagers make use of every bit of space to make private constructions, such as ‘filling the gaps’, ‘new expansions’,

- 'build upon old constructions' etc. Various illegal constructions are banned a number of times but never stop.
2. Environmental hygiene is poor. Basically, villages in the city don't have fences, thus unable to implement closed property management. There are many external tenants, mixed and disorderly people, poor environmental management, and various safety hazards in existence. Besides, various facilities are poor, public green space and sports utilities are in shortage, which become neglected corners of public hygiene in the cities.
 3. Land utilization is low. Villagers' buildings in urban villages are mostly single family type, which occupies large area with high density. As a result land occupation rate is high but utilization rate is low. What's more, many urban villages took up privileged locations in the city, but their comprehensive development is far lagged behind the surrounding areas, which is a huge waste of land resource. In modern urban life, people cares living environment and also the cultural environment. Villages in the city are the city's failures by the appearance with poor internal social security and low population's quality. Ordinary residents are unwilling to live in the neighborhood, so the value of lands and housing nearby urban villages is impacted and devaluated.
 4. Social security problem. The public infrastructure construction and maintenance in urban villages hasn't been perfectly incorporated into the city's system. Large parts of residents in the urban villages haven't enjoyed the same social securities as ordinary urban residents do. Public infrastructure maintenance, villagers living subsidies, old pension, medical insurance and etc. are largely paid by village's collective economy, subsequently collective assets are eaten away over time.
 5. Employment problem. Because the incomes from collective economy's dividends allocation and private house rentals are very nice, residents over the age of 35 are lack of education and labor skills and 20-year-old young people have psychological barriers with their talents smaller than ambition problem. So residents in urban villages are drifting away from the city's employment system.

Traditional villages tied with blood relationship, affinity, geography, Chinese clan, folk religion and village rules is being split rapidly as population influx increase rapidly. "Village in the city" becomes mixed habitation of villagers, immigrants and low-earned city dwellers. Thus, village in the city is the third space between city and village, which is filled with interest friction and cultural conflict, communication and cohesion. No doubt, immigrants want to integrate into city life while villagers still want to keep their rural residence.

The paper uses Jiangdong Village in Nanjing and Xi Bali Village in Xi'an as examples to analyze how the reproduction of social relationship works in the transition of village in the city.

3 CASE ANALYSIS 1. REPRODUCTION PROCESS OF THE SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP IN JIANGDONG VILLAGE

3.1 THE TRANSITION PROCESS OF SPACE IN JIANGDONG VILLAGE

According to Professor Zhang Jingxiang's research, before mid-1980s, Jiangdong village used to be a classic village based on traditional agriculture in Yuhua District in the suburb of Nanjing.

In the end of 1980s and early 1990s, mobile population was found in Jiangdong villages, they were mostly from remote areas outside Nanjing municipal scope coming to work primarily on small private businesses. At that time, most local villagers had their houses repaired or rebuilt. They prevalently changed original mud houses, tile houses and brick houses into cement steel ones.

Since 1995, along with urban economy's growth and space expansion, part of villagers' farms was taken away to run private small-sized factories and the district owned enterprises. The government granted a settlement for peasants lost their farms which was 'With farms taken away, people can work in factories'. Approximately 1-2 people in one family entered the factories and became workers, their household registration turned into urban household registration, but they still own housing in the villages. In this stage, traditional agricultural villages evolved into industrial villages.

In 2002, Nanjing municipal government made the 10th National Sports Game's main stadiums in the new district where Jiangdong village was. Along with the constructions of roads, railways and the like infrastructures, the boom of neighboring businesses and arrival of large scale shopping centers, Jiangdong village was irreconcilable with surrounding environment hence became a typical 'village in the city'. At that time, the ratio of immigrated population and local peasants in Jiangdong village was 5:1, and the immigration from outside of Jiangsu province outnumbered people within Jiangsu province. All peasants became landlords living on rentals and gained a lot of economic benefits.

In 2007, middle-class communities and CBDs bloomed in Jiangdong village's neighborhood. At that time, Jiangdong village's native inhabitants had all moved out. This urban village had already totally become a living place of mobile populations.

In 2008, the land of Jiangdong village was sold to Suning Group for the construction of international communities and commercial service facilities.

3.2 THE TRANSITION PROCESS OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP IN JIANGDONG VILLAGE

When Jiangdong village was converting from an agricultural village to an industrial one, the villagers were changing from peasants to workers. But in the enterprises, they were called as 'contract migrant workers' or 'unofficial workers' because they were stratificated based on knowledge and status difference. They were in the brink of classes amongst labor force. When Jiangdong village became a typical urban village, villagers all gave up work and lived on rentals. They leased houses to migrant workers who were on the even edge of the labor force structure.

4 CASE ANALYSIS 2: REPRODUCTION PROCESS OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP IN XI BALI VILLAGE OF XI'AN

Prior to the economic reform and opening-up, the urban-rural structure was clear. The city was a place where nonagricultural activities and nonagricultural people concentrate. Its suburbs were countryside where vegetables and meats were sourced for central city and outer suburbs were vast tracts of farmlands. At that time, Xi Bali village was close to a village in the traditional sense. There was widespread basic characteristics: Population density was low; Economic structure was single; Occupation structure was simple; Community members' values were similar and social organizations put families in the core.

Along with the 3rd industry's development, urban fringe villages utilized the geographic advantages, setting up various small industrial and service businesses, as the city kept optimizing and adjusting the industrial structure, many factories and enterprises relocated to the urban fringe. Various elements of the city like population, industry, commerce and residential properties were moving to the city's surrounding areas constantly, which had directly eaten the agricultural lands and countryside near the city. At that time, mobile population from outside of Xi Bali village began to flush in and the 3rd industry replaced the 1st industry to be the dominant power. Traditional rural communities started to decay. One story reinforced concrete buildings could be found everywhere and small shops lined up along both sides of the main roads. Countryside marks gradually declined and some farmlands, more or less, remained in places far away from main roads.

After 1997, Xi Bali village was gradually incorporated into the urban construction land. When the lands were taken away and villagers received expropriation compensation, they had a certain amount of money in the hands. Improving the living conditions became the top issue. The village in order to improve transportation conditions, built hard surface roads; In order to improve educational environment, they reconstructed primary schools. Villagers all teared down old houses for overhauls. Most reconstructed houses had 2 or 3 stories. One house had 4 stories and another house had 5 stories. In the village, except several homes people were doing transportation business outside, most of the villagers stayed idle at home, killing time by enjoying sunlight, playing billiards and mahjong. They lived a leisurely life as immortals would do, but the original plain social atmosphere in countryside settlements had obviously disappeared. People doing business in the village were all mobile population, none of them was native of the village, even the stores were all run by outsiders. Apart from rentals, the land expropriation

compensations were basically supporting their lives. The only remaining farmland was deserted, ploughed by no one. Villagers deserted the lands in advance through comparing farming profits and land's expectations. So much unused farmlands were there quietly waiting to be incorporated into urban construction lands for land expropriation compensation.

What's been increasing fast along with the city's swift development was urban lands. A lot of agricultural lands surrounding the city were all taken away by the city. Only some rural settlements remained in the cycle of urban built areas, thus forming 'villages in the city'. At this time, a lot of mobile populations flushed into Xi Bali Village, the Village became a mixed community with native inhabitants, mobile populations and urban residents. Mobile population's large demands for housing hence huge rent market had driven villagers to add and expand their houses endlessly. Houses were built in a way like sticking in a pin wherever there's room, so building density of urban villages went up rapidly, and formerly ordered space in the village started to become disordered. Large amounts of mobile population had stimulated individual businesses to grow in the urban village, which facilitated some main streets to evolve into commercial streets indispensable to the life of the village's residents. This not only created convenience to village's residences but also opportunities of gaining profits for villagers and external businessmen. Xi Bali village's villagers had transformed from previously simple peasants to current rentier class while migrant workers from outside became a new peripheral class.

5 MIGRANT WORKERS BECAME A NEW CLASS ON THE EDGE—A RESULT OF THE REPRODUCTION OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP

Migrant workers are main part of mobile population. From the end of the 50s and the early of the 60s in the 20th century, there has been dual economic structure in China universally. Urban and rural was opposite. Urban communities set many barriers against peasants. Household registration system was the sign of the separation of urban and rural, and became the most fundamental guarantee system when the dual urban-rural structured society runs in the status of mutual separation. Chinese citizens thus were divided into two very unequal classes in both social and economic perspectives namely the urban residents under protection and the peasants being excluded by it.

In early 80s of the 20th century, Chinese country reforms facilitated the changes to dual urban-rural structure and the loose of the mutual relationship. As for household registration management policy separating urban and rural, this was a profound crack. From then, the city opened access to peasants. What had cracked urban vs rural barrier most directly and deeply was the so called 'the tide of migrant workers' meaning people left farms to search opportunities in the cities. Rural system reforms and family joint production contract responsibility policy taking into effect, the change of values and concepts held by peasants and the fast growth of urban economy... many of these elements had created unprecedented conditions for 'the tide of migrant workers' came into being.

The number of rural surplus labor force flowing into cities are counted in tens of thousands every year in China, of which significant amount of populations always needed to rely on urban house-renting market to solve their lodging issues. Peasants entering the cities became the main body of dynamic economy. They usually chose 'urban villages' to live collectively after considering the comprehensive elements like traffic situation, rental, housing supply etc. Therefore, in a certain 'village in the city', there would be many migrant workers temporarily living together who had different backgrounds of hometowns, occupations, lacked general characters but widely interconnected. Because originally built houses couldn't meet all rent demands of large populations of migrant workers, local villagers were all lured by economic benefits to rebuild their houses thus a large batch of illegal built houses of low quality and high density appeared for the lease market. Newly built houses in the urban villages were all above 5 stories.

Unnecessary to work, native inhabitants could gain a series of profits from collective dividends and house rentals that were much higher than migrant workers do. This doubtless had been a remarkable contrast for migrant workers living under the same roof. Migrant workers became a new peripheral class, which was a result of the reproduction of social relationship in the evolution process of urban villages.

The unbalance between urban and rural development had reached to an extreme state. Average urban vs rural income gap was 1.5 times in the world, whilst it was 3.3 times in China, which was number one in the

world. Zhang Jingxiang perceived that the huge achievements of urbanization in China was gained from active creation of urban and rural difference and the plunder and exploitation of rural resources. In economy planning era, rural assets were grabbed through scissors cross of industrial products and agricultural products, rural human resources grabbed through the attraction of urbanization, and then to rural land resources grabbed through dual urban and rural land policies.

From the actual incomes of urban and rural residents, salary incomes were only a part of the family's total incomes. The gap between urban and rural residents in the asset incomes is further expanded. Continued increase of urban property price has made urban families assets significantly increase, whilst made migrant workers' late wage increase in vain. According to Professor Zhao Ming's research, the total income gap was revealed to be 5.4 times by comparing per capita income of urban families in areas receiving mobile population and that of rural families in areas losing populations, and gaps of property incomes and transfer incomes were very high with 10.5 times and 18.6 times respectively. This meant that the middle aged -centered first generation of migrant workers' families were remarkably lagged behind of the urban resident's families in terms of asset accumulation. Such a gap had weakened social mobility and would cause the solidification of classes. It was really hard for migrant workers to integrate into the cities. The gap between urban and rural was solidified.

6 CONCLUSION

The nature of fast urbanization in China is the capital urbanization. It is 'Change from the production in space into the production of space'. The production of space is actually the reproduction of social relationship and productive relationship. The result of fast urbanization in China is cities surrounding countryside, forming a large number of isolated island type of villages in the city. The process of countryside becoming urban villages was actually the reproduction of social relationship. The result of reproduction of social relationship is that migrant workers group became a new peripheral class. Due to the gap between urban and rural residents on asset incomes, the urban and rural gap was solidified, which further caused population stratification and class solidification.

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ID 1338 | STUDY ON THE RENEWAL OF TRADITIONAL COMMUNITIES IN THE URBAN-RURAL CONCURRENT BUSINESS BEHAVIOR - A CASE OF GUOYANG COMMUNITY, BAISE

Yuan Tao¹
¹Guangxi University
baijingge10a@163.com

1 INTRODUCTION

With the new type urbanization, the Chinese urbanization rapidly develops under the industrialization accelerating development. In 2011, the Chinese urban population exceeded the agricultural population at first time in thousands of years, and it marked a new development stage that China had began to enter the