

1 Introduction

§ 1.1 Urban redevelopment and forced relocation in China

Urban China has witnessed rapid urban (re)development since the 1980s, which is featured by the forced relocation of millions of residents and large-scale demolition of old neighbourhoods, such as the old inner city neighbourhoods, danwei communities or urban villages (He et al., 2010; Liu and Wu, 2006). Compared to urban redevelopment programmes in the USA and Western Europe, the scale and numbers of affected residents and neighbourhoods demolished in China is substantial. For instance, between 2008 and 2012, about 12.6 million households were involved in the national Shantytown Redevelopment Projects (SRPs) (MOHURD, 2013), which aim to improve the living conditions of low-income residents and to stimulate the depressed housing market. Their dwellings were demolished by local governments and they were forced to move to relocation neighbourhoods established by local governments, or to purchase dwellings elsewhere within the city, assisted by monetary compensation from local governments. There is still more to come. In 2013, the central state has triggered the second round of large-scale SRPs. It was estimated that approximately 10 million households will be affected by this second round (Li et al., 2017a; The State Council of PRC, 2013). Such extensive residential redevelopment projects have resulted in tremendous social, economic and physical changes in urban areas, parallel to the emergence of massive numbers of relocatees.

Compared with the sheer numbers of affected residents in China, the research on the experiences and perceptions of residents involved in forced relocation and urban redevelopment is still limited. Previous research in China often takes urban redevelopment and forced relocation as a single event and mostly targets the post-relocation situation (Day and Cervero, 2010; Fang, 2006; Gilroy, 2012; He and Liu, 2013; Hu et al., 2015). In addition, some studies and news reports have shown the conflicts and tensions between relocatees and local governments or developers from a macro-, meso- or political-economic perspective (He, 2012; Hin and Xin, 2011; Qian and He, 2012; Sichuan News, 2009; Weinstein and Ren, 2009), which gives an impression that the role of residents in redevelopment projects is always passive. On the one hand, this might reflect wider experiences, since residents in declining neighbourhoods often have limited resources and rights to influence the

redevelopment process in order to maximise their own benefits (He, 2012; Shin, 2016). On the other hand, however, this impression can lead to the ignorance of the active role that relocatees may play before and during the process of urban redevelopment and forced relocation; an active role which may be revealed by their behaviours and perceptions regarding their original neighbourhoods, the neighbourhood redevelopment and forced relocation as well as their choices during this process (Ho, 2013; Shi and Zhu, 2013).

In particular, different residents with different perceptions and neighbourhood experiences can have different coping strategies, which means that a seemingly similar intervention (urban redevelopment and forced relocation) is likely to be experienced in various ways by different residents (Kleinhans, 2003; Kleinhans and Van der Laan Bouma-Doff 2008; Posthumus and Kleinhans, 2014). For instance, various forms of neighbourhood decline, such as crime, social disorder or physical environmental deterioration, often have a negative influence on residents' perceived quality of life, which can trigger some residents to move out as shown for the United States, United Kingdom and the Netherlands (Feijten and van Ham, 2009; Livingston *et al.*, 2010; Vale, 1997). Forced relocation might be an opportunity for improvement for those who want to move in the context of redevelopment, by using the relative advantages offered by relocation compensation schemes (Kleinhans and Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008). However, other residents, especially those who are deprived (e.g. with low-incomes, unemployed or age-related diseases), might feel disrupted if they are highly dependent on their neighbourhoods in various ways (e.g. closeness to job opportunities, cheap rent, and social networks) (Day and Cervero, 2010; Fried, 1963). In addition, some residents may feel increasingly ambivalent facing forced relocation as they may have both positive and negative experiences in their neighbourhoods which might make it difficult to evaluate the negative and positive influences of urban redevelopment and forced relocation before they actually relocate. Similarly, in China, the effects of forced relocation on relocatees during and after urban redevelopment projects are diverse and not necessarily negative. While several scholars have blamed large-scale property-led restructuring projects in China for causing displacement of low-income residents (Gong, 2012; He, 2012; He and Wu, 2007; La Grange and Pretorius, 2016;), other studies have demonstrated real improvements in relocatees' (perceived) living conditions after relocation (Li and Song, 2009, Wu, 2004a, 2004b; Xia and Zhu, 2013).

Driven by the above concerns, this thesis provides a systematic overview and in-depth research of the influence of urban redevelopment and forced relocation on affected residents, by focusing on their pre-relocation perceptions and behaviours and by investigating their neighbourhood experiences with regard to social, economic, physical and psychological aspects. The research takes the state-led urban redevelopment projects in Shenyang as a case study to provide a comprehensive

understanding of residents' experiences in the Chinese context. Shenyang is considered as a pioneer of SRPs in China, and the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of PRC (MOHURD) has promoted the 'Shenyang Mode' of urban redevelopment nationally due to its success on SRPs (Shenyang Daily, 2016). In particular, the thesis focuses on the complex and dynamic nature of homeowners' lived experiences in declining neighbourhoods that will be target areas of SRPs. Contrary to the majority of existing research, this thesis investigates the pre-demolition stage, i.e., the stage when residents have not yet moved out of their neighbourhoods, but have been informed that their neighbourhoods are going to be demolished due to SRPs.

Therefore, the **main aim** of the thesis is to gain a deeper understanding of how forced relocation and urban redevelopment affect residents of declining neighbourhoods in Shenyang, in terms of their pre-relocation neighbourhood perceptions and behaviours. Section 1.2 provides a theoretical background with regard to residents' overall experiences with urban redevelopment and forced relocation in the Chinese context. In section 1.3, the research questions are presented. Section 1.4 describes the research area – Shenyang, a city in Northeast China. Section 1.5 discusses the data and methods used in the thesis. The last section presents the outline of this thesis.

§ 1.2 Forced relocation: a special mode of residential mobility

Urban redevelopment characterized by neighbourhood demolition and forced relocation, has been taken as an approach by national and local governments to combat poverty or minority concentration, social disorder, physical neighbourhood declines etc. (Goetz, 2011, 2015; Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013; Lelévrier, 2013; Uitermark et al., 2007). However, by investigating the influence of urban redevelopment on residents at the pre- and post- redevelopment stage, many questions arise about to what extent forced relocation can lead to negative and positive outcomes for residents in the context of such state-led neighbourhood redevelopment (Goetz, 2011; Oakley et al., 2008; Popkin et al., 2004). Neighbourhood demolition and residential forced relocation have been criticized for causing various negative impacts on disadvantaged social groups (Brown & Perkins, 1992; Fried, 2000; Manzo et al., 2008). Moreover, the affected residents are often regarded as being passively involved in the redevelopment (He, 2012; Lees, 2012). To some extent, this is related to the fact that the power and influence of affected residents on the redevelopment process is relatively limited, compared to other stakeholders such as the developers, governors or planners (Shin, 2016). However, other researchers have pointed out that affected

residents also develop constructive coping strategies in the redevelopment process (see e.g. Posthumus and Kleinhans, 2014; Weinstein and Ren 2009). Some studies have found that those who feel in control or positive about forced relocation may end up more satisfied with their new dwelling. It also occurs that some relocatees perceive forced relocation as a chance to improve their housing situation because compensation may effectively increase their options on the local housing market (Allen, 2000, 450; Kleinhans, 2003, 487).

The agency of residents during forced relocation stimulates us to take forced relocation as a specific example of residential mobility, which provides us a lens to investigate the influence of urban redevelopment on residents with regard to their moving intentions, anticipated moving behaviour and housing choices (Li, *et al.*, 2016). Similarly to voluntary movers, residents involved in forced relocation have different socio-economic statuses and household features and can therefore have different neighbourhood experiences (Freeman, 2008; Oakley, *et al.*, 2008; Popkin, *et al.*, 2000; Popkin, *et al.*, 2005). In particular, for deprived residents, their moving behaviour and coping strategies during forced relocation may be affected by people-place interactions, in particular their satisfaction with, attachment to and dependence on their neighbourhoods (Brown & Perkins, 1992; Fried, 2000; Manzo, *et al.*, 2008). Deprived residents often lack resources, information and authority to gain better housing. Forced relocation and neighbourhood redevelopment might impose negative impacts on them for several reasons. First, forced relocation can disrupt their neighbourhood-based living strategies that they have developed over the long term of residence, which are essential to relieve their life constraints (Fried, 1963; Vale, 1997; Manzo, 2008). Second, some research finds that it is very likely for deprived residents to be relocated into neighbourhoods with similar deprived situations as their former neighbourhoods, for example, with high poverty concentration rates (Bolt and van Kempen, 2010; Doff and Kleinhans, 2010; Massey, 2013; Goetz, 2011). Third, they can become the hard-to-house social groups, featured by difficulties to find dwellings that can meet their demands or to be rehoused on time, which can be related to reasons such as the strict relocation policy, their changing family and socio-economic situation during the rehousing process, or their limited ability to gain more information about better housing (Goetz, 2013; Popkin, *et al.*, 2000; Popkin, *et al.*, 2005).

The significance of the macro context should also be recognized. Goetz (2011, 2015) has put forward that the position of the target neighbourhood (e.g. the scale and location of the neighbourhoods within the city) and the affected residents (social-economic status and their access to social capital) within society affects to what extent urban redevelopment can achieve its 'primary' aim of solving neighbourhood problems. Urban redevelopment often includes both interventions targeting people (i.e., the residents) and places (neighbourhoods) (Owens, 2017). Therefore, not

only the features of place and people should be considered (e.g. physical, social and economic dimensions of neighbourhoods and demographic and socio-economic statuses of residents), but also their positions within the macro context, i.e., the city, regional and national scale. In fact, urban redevelopment often involves a combination of aims at the same spatial scale but of different dimensions (social, economic or physical) or aims related to different administrative and spatial scales (such as national, regional or city level). These dimensions and scales are closely related to interests of different stakeholders involved in the process: governments, residents, and developers (Goetz, 2011; He, 2012; Li *et al.*, 2017a). For instance, some scholars criticize the fact that urban redevelopment serving social mixing policies often turns out to be more related to the economic development of the city rather than the benefits of the affected residents, which might lead to displacement and disruption of disadvantaged social groups (Davidson, 2008; Goetz, 2011; Oakley *et al.*, 2008).

Another issue that matters for how forced relocation and urban redevelopment can affect residents is the temporal nature of residents' experiences during the process. Generally, a redevelopment project consists of different stages with different periodical targets as it proceeds over time. For each redevelopment target at each stage, it involves different stakeholders and social groups (Li *et al.*, 2016). For instance, the targets at the before-demolition stage can be related to gain an overall idea of the redeveloped neighbourhoods such as the amount of the affected residents, areas and dwellings. The interaction between different stakeholders can vary in different stages as well. Also, the larger contexts that are closely related to relocatees' experiences, such as urban policies, housing market situation or household situations, may change as forced relocation proceeds (Goetz, 2013). In addition, the micro context i.e., the social, economic and physical situations of the affected residents themselves are also changing. Therefore, the perceptions and experiences of the residents are not necessarily static. During urban redevelopment and forced relocation, their moving intentions and (anticipated) moving behaviour can change.

In the Chinese context, the targeted areas for urban redevelopments are often declining neighbourhoods such as urban villages, danwei communities or old inner city neighbourhoods (see Table 1.1). Danwei communities were originally constructed by and affiliated to danwei such as state-owned enterprises (SOEs), collective-owned enterprises (COEs) government, departments or institutions to provide dwellings to their employees, who were therefore often socially, economically and physically dependent on the danwei. Urban villages are a traditional type of neighbourhood, in which the indigenous residents have lived for generations. Local residents living in urban villages have rural hukou (resident permits), and their land is collectively owned by all of the villagers. These neighbourhoods have been experiencing the temporal changes due to the economic reforms and market transition in China since 1978,

such as population turnover, social stratification and residential changes. Those who have more resources moving out, while those who are less mobile, due to poverty or ageing, remaining trapped (He *et al.*, 2008). These neighbourhoods have increasingly become enclaves characterized by a migrant population of renters on the one hand, and homeowners in the aged or low-income categories, on the other (He *et al.*, 2008). The homeowners remaining in these neighbourhoods are very likely to be the deprived social groups, especially for the many residents who were employees in *danwei* became unemployed due to the collapse of these companies (Wu, 2004c).

The impending forced relocation of residents in these neighbourhood confronts them with several challenges. First of all, housing access in current urban China is largely dependent on a household's income and status and whether people qualify for subsidized housing provided by the state or work units (Chen *et al.*, 2014; Lee, 2000; Wang *et al.*, 2012). Therefore, stayers in these declining neighbourhoods are, to a large extent, excluded from current housing provision system in China. They have to rely on state-led neighbourhood redevelopment projects, such as the SRPs, which focus on improving the living conditions of these deprived homeowners by strong governmental subsidies. Second, these declining neighbourhoods such as *danwei* communities, urban villages or old inner city neighbourhood lack adequate investment from local governments or the communities, and the homeowners themselves also lack the motivation for investing in their declining neighbourhoods because they are financially incapable and expect neighbourhood redevelopment in the near future, which would surely destroy their investment. Return on investment is not only important for the residents themselves. Redevelopment of declining neighbourhoods in China has been selective as it is mostly driven by market mechanisms (Liu and Wu, 2006). While declining neighbourhoods with high profit potentials (e.g. good location, large-scale and relatively clear homeownership structures) have become the priority for redevelopment, those neighbourhoods with high redevelopment costs and less economic profits (e.g. complicated homeownership structures, relatively small scale or poor location) have remained underdeveloped by both the governments and the market (Li *et al.*, 2017a; Liu and Wu, 2006). Therefore, these residents are trapped in their declining neighbourhoods.

TABLE 1.1 Targeted neighbourhoods for demolition

	TRADITIONAL INNER-CITY NEIGHBOURHOOD	DANWEI COMMUNITY	URBAN VILLAGE	SUBURBAN VILLAGE
Owners	Inner-city citizens/ Local housing bureau	SOE or COE or their employees	Rural farmers	Rural farmers
Ownership of the land	Stated-owned land	Stated-owned land	Collectively owned land (by the villagers)	Collectively owned land (by the villagers)
Location	Inner-city centre	Old industrial area	Between inner-city centre and urban periphery	Urban periphery

Source: Summarized from authors' observation and the related literature such as He (2012), He and Wu (2007), Hin and Xin (2011), Liu et al. (2017), Ma (2012), Wu (2004a, 2004b).

During forced relocation in China, generally, local governments (sometimes with developers) need to compensate the affected residents through either one of two types of compensation: in-kind and monetary compensation. In-kind compensation means that relocatees will be offered alternative housing. Those who chose in-kind compensation may need to wait for a certain period of time before they can move into the relocation neighbourhood provided by local governments or the developers, which means that they need to find a temporary accommodation themselves to go through the phase between leaving their to-be demolished dwelling and their final relocation dwelling. Monetary compensation means that relocatees are given money for their dwellings, with which residents can relocate to anywhere they can afford. Again, the question is how residents in deprived neighbourhoods perceive and deal with the available forms of compensation, which will obviously affect the (perceived) outcome of the relocation.

§ 1.3 Research aim and objectives

As mentioned in section 1.1, the aim of the thesis is to gain a deeper understanding of the influence of urban redevelopment and its induced forced relocation on residents, by investigating their behavioural and emotional responses to the state-led urban redevelopment in Shenyang, a Chinese city. We focus on individual residents' experiences at the pre-demolition stage, i.e. their lived experiences in their original neighbourhoods and their perceptions about the forced relocation and urban redevelopments before they actually move out of their neighbourhoods. Specifically, we intended to explore their experiences from the perspective of people-place interactions with regard to their place attachment and potential for ageing in place experience in their original neighbourhoods. Each chapter has its own detailed objective:

The objective of chapter 2 is twofold: 1) to provide a literature review of existing research on the implications of forced relocation for residents in urban restructuring areas in China, and 2) to demonstrate the various dimensions of the experiences of relocatees during and after forced relocation in urban China from the household perspective. It explains the general perceptions and experiences of relocatees, especially homeowners, preceding, during and after urban redevelopment and forced relocation in China. This chapter intends to provide a systematic review and analysis of the existing findings about relocatees' experiences during urban redevelopment and forced relocation in China. It suggests a conceptual model, which shows the sequence of events that households will experience and the various factors that affect the experiences of relocatees at different stages of the relocation process. Based on the conceptual model, we are able to subsequently identify the gaps in the literature that should be addressed in future studies on this topic.

The objective of chapter 3 is to display how the state-led urban redevelopment projects are implemented in Shenyang and what this means to different stakeholders by revealing how different stakeholders interact with each other and how their roles have changed over time against the changing context. This chapter takes a large national-scale state-led urban redevelopment projects - Shantytown Redevelopment Projects (SRPs) in Shenyang, as case study to show how the interaction between and the roles of the central and local governments, developers and the residents are changing against the changing social, economic and institutional context.

Chapter 4 and 5 try to answer how the forced relocation and urban redevelopment affect the people-place interaction by focusing on residents' (people) lived experience in their neighbourhoods (place). The objective of chapter 4 is to investigate the lived experiences of homeowners in declining danwei communities that face demolition in Shenyang, China by highlighting: (1) aspects of the declining neighbourhoods that residents are attached to and why, (2) the ambivalence in their place attachment, and (3) the influence of the impending demolition and forced relocation on their place attachment.

The objective of chapter 5 is to better understand the lived experiences of older people in declining neighbourhoods, in particular how the impending neighbourhood demolition and forced relocation affect their perception of ageing in place, taking danwei communities and urban villages in Shenyang, China, as a case study.

§ 1.4 Shenyang, a typical old industrial city in Northeast China

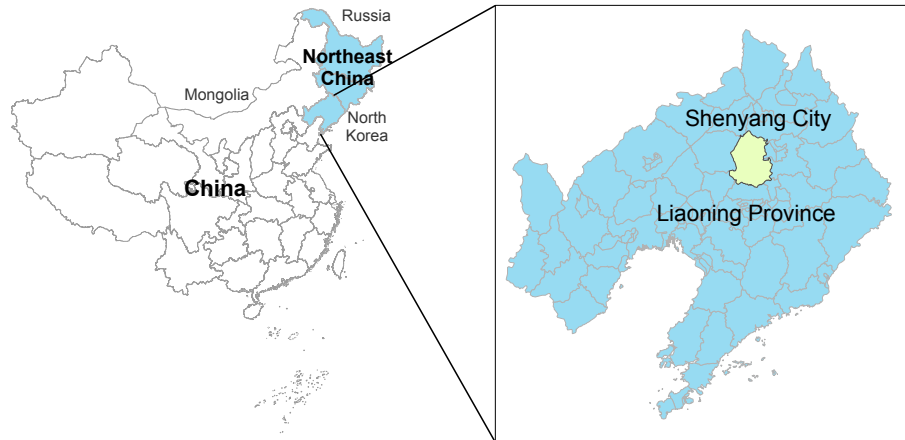


FIGURE 1.1 Location of Shenyang in China and Northeast Asia
Source: Authors

Most of the research on urban redevelopment in China focuses on eastern coastal cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou. Our case study is Shenyang in Northeast China, which has been the region's economic, political, transportation and cultural centre. Shenyang is geographically close to countries in Northeast Asia, including Russia, Japan, North Korean and Mongolia (Figure 1.1). It is the capital city of Liaoning Province and one of the 15 sub-provincial cities in China. Shenyang has a population of 5.25 million (SSB, 2014), making it the largest city in Northeast China and the 11th largest city in the whole country.

Shenyang has been playing a significant role in the industrial history of China, especially in the field of heavy and manufacturing industry. It has been a typical old industrial city, which is featured by large proportion of secondary industries, state-owned enterprises, industrial workers and resident in the danwei communities. It has been called the 'Ruhr of the East', as during the socialist era a comparatively completed heavy industrial system (e.g. manufacturing) has been established in Shenyang (Zhang and Li, 2014). Since the 1980s, China has started the economic reforms and market transition process. Since then, Shenyang has suffered from a major economic depression because of its maladjustment to the market economy, which is revealed through social-spatial changes in the urban area, featured by the emergence of a large number of unemployed workers and the decline of old neighbourhoods such as danwei communities. Below, the urban development history of Shenyang will be briefly explained.

§ 1.4.1 The cradle of modern industrial China

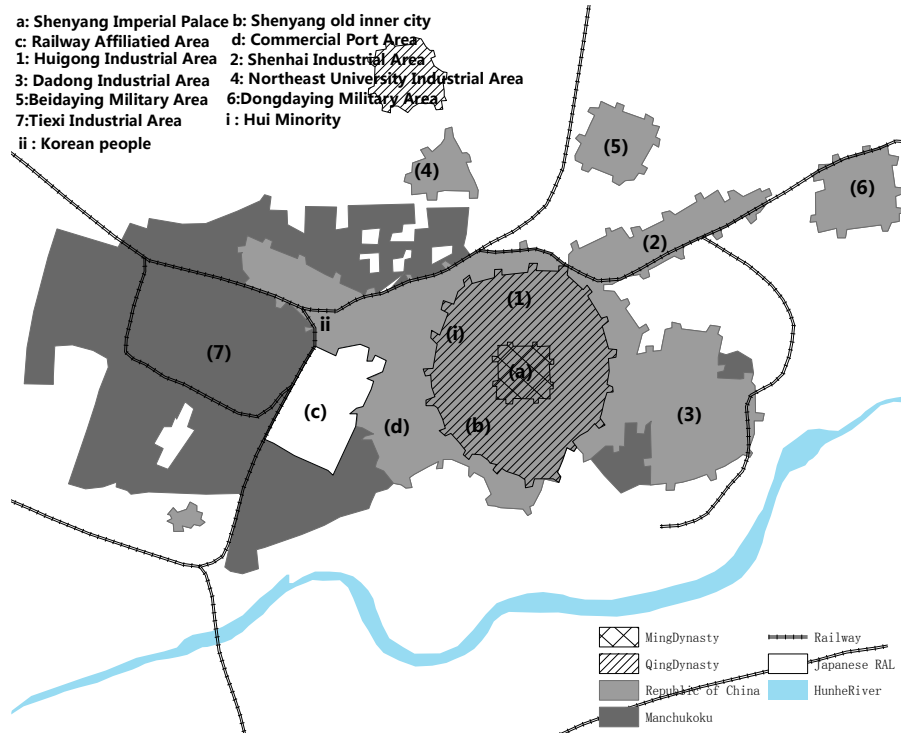


FIGURE 1.2 Spatial structure of Shenyang from 1920s to 1930s
 Source: Adopted by the author based on Wang (2010), Wang and Dong (2010) and Sun (2012)

Before the foundation of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, Shenyang had been under the control of both the government of Republic of China and the Puppet Manchuria Regime supported by Japan for decades. These two political forces have significantly affected the industrial and the socio-spatial development of the city (Wang and Dong, 2010). As Figure 1.2 shows, the two forces tried to avoid conflicts with each other and located their factories and residential areas in different districts in Shenyang (Wang and Dong, 2010). Both the local governments of Republic of China and the Japanese government invested on the cities industries (e.g. manufactory and military industries). Japan ruled the Tiexi industrial district in the west part of Shenyang in 1938 (Figure 1.2 and 1.3). Many Japanese manufacturing companies such as the Sumitomo and Mitsubishi Groups established their factories in Tiexi district.



FIGURE 1.3 Urban landscape of Shenyang Tiexi District in 1930's
Source: Zhang (2014)

After 1949, the central state of China invested heavily in Shenyang, on the basis of the city's industrial legacies, such as the skilled workers, technologies, factories and manufacturing machines. After the foundation of the PRC, the Chinese government aimed to establish its modern industrial system. By 1957, the gross value output of the secondary industry in Shenyang was RMB 2.39 billion, which accounted for about 3% of the whole nation's gross value output of the secondary industry (Zhang, 2003). Shenyang was also the third largest industrial city in China during that period. The focus on the development of heavy industries has been further strengthened during the period 1958-1962, during which the Shenyang municipality put forward a new development strategy of the city as 'compressing heavy industry, enhancing light industry and prolonging service lines to agriculture.' (Zhang, 2003). As a result, just before the the beginning of economic reforms in China (around 1978), the secondary industry in Shenyang has accounted for more than 65% of the whole GDP, while tertiary industry only held 25% (SYB, 1992).

During the socialist era, state-owned enterprises (SOEs) has dominated the economy in Northeast China (Zhang, 2014). Ten thousands of workers were working in the SOEs. Employees from SOEs or COEs had accounted for almost 100% of the employees in Shenyang from the 1960s to the 1980s, while private sector firms only accounted for a very limited proportion of employment. By the end of the socialist era, about 70% of the households in Shenyang were living in dwellings that were affiliated to danwei

communities or the local governments. Meanwhile, only 10 % of the residents were purchasing housing from the private housing market (SSB, 1982). These figures not only show the significance of danwei on providing dwellings to the citizens, but also imply the underdevelopment of the commodity housing market and the suppressed housing needs of the households during the socialist era.

§ 1.4.2 The recession of Shenyang

Since 1978, the central state has initiated economic reforms, which are featured by the market transition and opening up policy in the field of economy (e.g. reforms of SOE management, fiscal revenue distribution, rural land management and agricultural production), public policies (e.g. reforms of urban housing, education and medical care), and foreign business trade. The emphasis for economic development has shifted to the south-eastern coastal areas (e.g. Shanghai, Beijing and Guangzhou). The heavy industry-oriented structure, aged SOEs' workers and other traditions in Northeast China have become heavy burdens for the transition of Northeast China towards the market economy. Shenyang has suffered severe decline in the economic, social and physical dimensions. For instance, from 1990 to 2015, Shenyang's GDP ranking among China's 36 largest cities has dropped from the 6th to the 16th place.

Old industrial areas occupied with large-scale SOEs and work-unit communities were also in serious recession. For example, by the end of the 1990s, many enterprises in the Tiexi old industrial area had an average leverage ratio of 90%, and an accumulated debt of RMB 26 billion (Zhang and Li, 2014). In addition, 90% of enterprises had partially or entirely stopped operation (Dong, 2007). Meanwhile, the unemployment problem became more severe. During the 1990s, 130,000 workers were laid off (accounting for 40% of all workers) in Tiexi old industrial area, the majority of whom do not have any secure pension fund or medical insurance (Zhang and Li, 2014). Social conflicts between the laid-off workers and the enterprises and/or local governments worsened, and social stability became an issue.

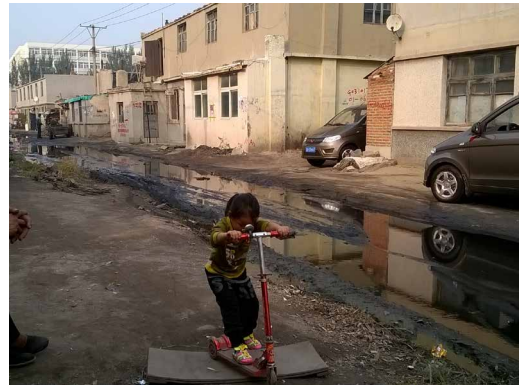


FIGURE 1.4 Some declining Danwei communities in Shenyang
Source: Authors

Danwei communities in the old industrial areas in Shenyang have experienced social and physical decline as well (Figure 1.4). For instance, the historically famous work-unit neighbourhood 'Tiexi Workers' Village' had sarcastically gained a reputation as the 'workers resort' around 2000 by the residents both within the workers' village and outside, because most of its residents became unemployed and spent their time with doing nothing (Liu, 2009). Shenyang's old industrial areas consisting of large-scale SOEs and danwei communities, which used to be the driving engine of the urban economy for decades, had become the city's 'problematic area' (Jin *et al.*, 2006).

§ 1.4.3 Urban redevelopment: Shantytown Redevelopment Projects in Shenyang

Since the 1980s, Shenyang has seen some local state-initiated residential redevelopment projects (Guo and Sun, 2010). At the end of 1993, the first round of urban redevelopment had almost finished, and there were few shantytowns left in the two very inner city and central urban districts. In 2000, Shenyang municipality initiated a large-scale shantytown redevelopment project (SRP), and emphasized redeveloping shantytowns and land at market prices (Guo and Sun, 2010: 110). In 2003 the central government had initiated the “Revitalization of Northeast China Programme”, aiming to boost the institutional, social and economic development in Northeast China via reforming SOEs, adjusting industrial structure, increasing job opportunities and improving urban environments (Jin *et al.*, 2006). In 2005, the then Governor of Liaoning Province launched a provincial-wide SRP programme, incorporating SRPs into its provincial-level development strategy for the first time. Shenyang was encouraged by the policies of the provincial authority to implement larger-scale SRPs in the following two years (Guo and Sun, 2010), which involved about 130,000 households and accounted for almost 40% of the share of affected households in the Liaoning province (LNJST, 2008).

During the period 2005-2008, central government officials visited the relocation neighbourhoods of SRPs in Liaoning Province and spoke highly of the SRPs in Liaoning. SRPs were first mentioned by the central government in 2007, when it announced its national policy “Solve the housing problems of urban low-income social groups”. However, from 2008 to 2013, Shenyang launched few SRPs because there were hardly any shantytowns left in the inner city (Li *et al.*, 2017a).

Since 2013, the central state has initiated the second round of SRPs. While the local authorities of Shenyang claimed that there were no shanties left, they enlarged the scope of their redevelopment into the urban periphery and neighbourhoods at undesirable housing market locations. During the most recent of SRPs (2014-2016), about 81,500 households were involved. The Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of PRC (MOHURD) has promoted the ‘Shenyang mode’ nationally due to its success on SRPs (Shenyang Daily, 2016). Shenyang is therefore a pioneer of SRPs in China and a very interesting case study for investigating the experiences of relocatees’ during SRPs over time. Table 1.2 shows the housing conditions in Shenyang in 2010, at the time of the second round of SRPs. There are still thousands of households living in dwellings that lack basic facilities such as tap water and private bathroom and toilet. Also, about 177,061 households are living in lower-story buildings of all buildings in Shenyang. These low-story buildings, which lack basic facilities, are very likely to become the targets for future SRPs.

TABLE 1.2 Housing conditions in Shenyang (2010)

	HOUSING FACILITIES				FLOORS	BUILDING YEARS
	No private Kitchen	No tap water	No Bathroom	No Private Toilet	1-6 floors	Before 1980
Absolute Number (households)	5,913	31,510	114,426	25,422	177,061	23,582

Source: Based on the Population Census Data in Shenyang 2010 (SSB, 2010).

Due to the reform of the national housing policy, Shenyang’s housing provision structure also has changed. Households and individuals of different occupations live in diverse housing types. With the development of the commodity housing market, about 39% of all households lives in commodity housing market nowadays, which is much higher than the almost 10% in 1982, while only about 27% of all households now living in dwellings that used to be part of danwei communities or the housing bureau of local governments (SSB, 2010).

In parallel with the large-scale urban redevelopment in Shenyang, the built up area of Shenyang has been experiencing rapid expansion. Shenyang’s urban space has sprawled greatly from 261.4 km² in 1996 to 480 km² in 2010, with an average annual growth rate of almost 16% (Sun et.al, 2011). Meanwhile, Shenyang’s urban population has increased sharply as well, which has boosted the sharp increase of its urban housing area from 15.28 million square meters in 1978 to 140.24 million square metres in 2010 (SYB, 1992; SSB, 2010). Urban expansion, featured by the establishment of high-tech industrial zones and infrastructure development, has enabled many villages at the urban periphery to turn into established urban areas in Shenyang. The agriculture land in these villages have been gradually transformed into the industrial land use. Many villagers work and even live in urban areas of Shenyang. At the same time, many migrants from rural areas have moved into these villages for cheap housing. Therefore, some villagers stay in the neighbourhoods and make a living by running small business within the villages, such as supermarkets, restaurants, or renting out their vacant rooms to the migrants from rural areas. However, the lack of investment from local governments, and the construction of the illegal buildings of the villagers themselves for rental incomes or to maximize the compensation they can get during urban redevelopment have led to severe neighbourhood decline (Figure 1.5). These villages therefore together with the declining danwei communities have become targets for SRP-related redevelopment in the near future.



The illegal construction on the second floor and the dark corridor because of the illegal construction



The main streets of a Urban village in Shenyang

FIGURE 1.5 Severe neighbourhood decline
Source: Authors

§ 1.5 Research population, data and methods

This thesis investigates the influence of urban redevelopment on the residents at the pre-demolition/pre-relocation phase. The research population consists of homeowners. The literature from the US and Europe almost exclusively concerns redevelopment of public or social housing, while redevelopment in Chinese cities targets neighbourhoods with private housing and homeownership. This difference in ownership in redevelopment areas is bound to have major implications for the impact of impending relocation on residents. Another key focus of the research is on residents who are in the pre-demolition stage during the forced relocation process. At this stage, these residents are informed by the staff from local governments about the impending redevelopment in their neighbourhoods. They have not yet moved out of the neighbourhoods and have not yet reached an agreement with the local governments on the type and amount of compensation. Currently, only a small body of research focuses on the influence of urban redevelopment on residents' place attachment in the pre-demolition and pre-relocation phase (Manzo, 2014; Oakley *et al.*, 2008; Tester *et al.*, 2011; Tester and Wingfield, 2013). The majority of research deals with the post-relocation stage. This means that there is a lack of knowledge about an important phase - pre-demolition stage - of urban redevelopment (Kearns and Mason, 2013), which limits our capacity to develop a deeper understanding and create an overview of the overall impact of redevelopment on residents, especially in relation to issues such as time and context (see also Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013).

This thesis sets out to reveal the coping strategies of the residents facing urban redevelopment and forced relocation by specifically focusing on their perceptions, behaviours and lived experiences. In order to gain a deeper understanding of their opinions and emotions and also due to the constraints of time, staff capacity and finance, we adopted a qualitative in-depth interview approach with the affected residents, rather than using a large-scale survey. Therefore, the data used in this thesis come from semi-structured, in-depth interviews with affected homeowners who live in declining danwei communities and urban villages (Figure 1.4 and 1.5) at the pre-demolition stage. Another target group for interviews were experts (governors, scholars, planners and developers and experts) to gain in-depth knowledge about how the policies and projects are implemented against the changing social, economic and institutional context. In total, 81 interviews were conducted, including 17 interviews with scholars, governors, planners and developers, and 64 interviews with residents. Table 1.3 shows the basic information of the experts.

TABLE 1.3 Basic information of professional respondents

ID	PROFESSIONAL ROLE	FUNCTION OF DEPARTMENT	ID	PROFESSIONAL ROLE	FUNCTION OF DEPARTMENT
13	Governor	SRPs + Land Expropriation Department	10	Developer	Private Real Estate Company
2	Governor	SRPs + Land Expropriation Department	11	Developer	Private Real Estate Company
3	Governor	Land Expropriation Department	12	Expert	Land Expropriation Company
4	Governor	Land Expropriation Department	13	Expert	Land Expropriation Company
5	Governor	Land Expropriation Department	14	Expert	Scholar
6	Governor	Land Expropriation Department	15	Expert	Scholar
7	Governor	Land Expropriation Department	16	Expert	Scholar
8	Planner	Urban Planning and Design Institute	17	Expert	Scholar
9	Developer	Private Real Estate Company			

TABLE 1.4 Basic information of the resident respondents

CATEGORY	GENDER		AGE (YEAR)				LENGTH OF RESIDENCE (YEAR)				
	Male	Female	30-60	60-80	≥80s	Unknown	<20	20-40	40-60	≥60	Unknown
Absolute Number	31	33	21	28	4	11	8	22	17	9	8
Proportion	48%	52%	33%	44%	6%	17%	13%	34%	27%	14%	13%

Among the interviews with residents, 33 were conducted in danwei communities and 31 were conducted in urban villages. Table 1.4 displays the basic descriptive statistics of the resident respondents. Most of them have been living in their declining neighbourhoods for more than 20 years. The interviewed residents who are older than 55 are usually retired and can get a pension ranging around from 1800-3000 RMB/month (about € 231-385 per month). In 2015, the annual average disposable income for the lowest and lower income households are 14679 RMB (about € 1931) and 23944 RMB (about € 3150) respectively (SSB, 2016). However, the average selling price of commercialized residential dwellings is 6416 RMB (about € 844) per square meter (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2015). In general, it is relatively difficult for these lowest – and lower income residents to afford the dwellings.

Those respondents who are aged between 30 and 55 either have part-time jobs or are self-employed. All of them are homeowners. Many renters had moved out or were moving out. These homeowners can rent out rooms to migrants and earn around 200 RMB (about € 26.3) per month per room. Many young and more affluent residents have moved out of these neighbourhoods. The stayers are mostly middle-aged residents with a low or middle income. There are also many migrants living in these neighbourhoods.

Interviews with governors, developers, planners and experts were recorded by making notes. For in-depth interviews, the issue of trust between the interviewer and interviewee is always a problem in the Chinese context. The expert interviewees only accepted the interviews when there was no recording, which made them comfortable to talk and express their ideas. The questions posed to governors, planners, developers and scholars focused mainly on (1) how the SRPs in Shenyang were implemented in terms of financial issues, land expropriation, and governance arrangements; (2) how and why different actors took part in the SRPs; (3) the interrelationships between different stakeholders and implementation problems.

The interviews of residents, with the exception of four (because the author did not get permission to record the interview), were recorded and subsequently transcribed verbatim, enabling content analysis of the transcriptions. All the interviews were conducted face-to-face using a semi-structured interview schedule which varied according to type of respondent. During the interviews with residents, questions were asked about their perceptions of the SRPs, impending demolition and neighbourhood changes, their family and moving history, their moving intentions, and lived experiences with regard to their residential satisfaction, place attachment and ageing issues. Before using Atlas.ti to analyse the transcriptions, the notes and recordings were read and listened to several times. To guarantee the anonymity of respondents in the analysis, the quotes of residents are accompanied by gender, age category, and fictitious names. The quotes of scholars, governors, planners and developers are indicated by a number (to distinguish different respondents), their respective function and interviewing date.

The neighbourhood types in our research are danwei communities and urban villages. Table 1.5 and Figure 1.6 show the basic information and locations of the case study areas. Based on the SRP plans issued by the local governments and the assistance of acquaintances and interviewees, we were able to know and gain access to the neighbourhoods (i.e. danwei communities and urban villages) that are currently undergoing SRPs. Neighbourhood I-VI are danwei communities, which used to be affiliated to the state-owned manufacturing enterprises, government apparatus or state-owned farms. Neighbourhood VII and VIII are urban villages and nowadays mainly focus on farming activities and agriculture production. Shenyang is an old industrial city, so there are many danwei communities which were established during 1950s and 1960s, which are the targets for urban redevelopment projects. Hence, we intend to focus on these declining danwei communities which are targeted for the redevelopments. We also focus on urban villages at urban periphery. Section 1.4 shows that these neighbourhoods area also experiencing physical decline and social change, which makes these villages become the target for SRPs.

TABLE 1.5 The information for the neighbourhoods

NEIGHBOURHOOD ID	HOUSEHOLD NUMBER	LOCATION	NEIGHBOURHOOD TYPE	RESPONDENTS NUMBER
I	Around 600	Urban area	Danwei	4
II	Around 70	Urban area	Danwei	2
III	Around 75	Urban area	Danwei	1
IV	Around 30	Urban area	Danwei	1
V	Around 150	Suburban area	Danwei	10
VI	Around 450	Suburban area	Danwei	15
VII	Estimated 30	Suburban area	Urban village	1
VIII	Around 1300	Suburban area	Urban village	30

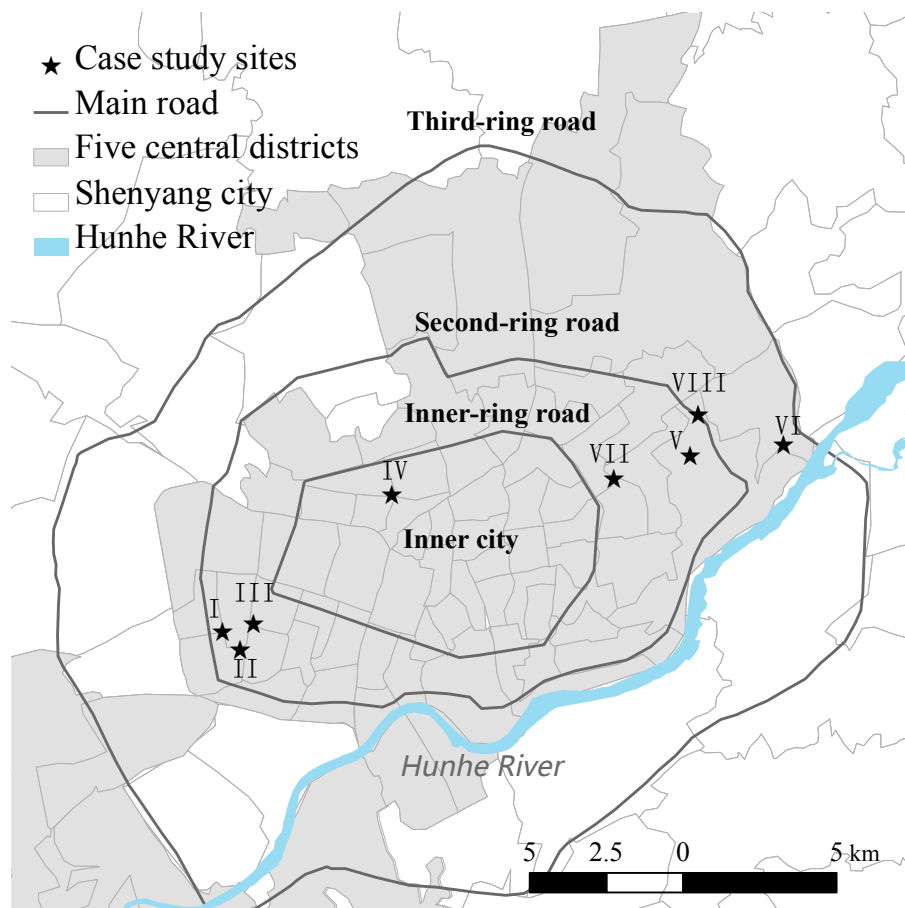


FIGURE 1.6 The locations of the case study area in Shenyang
Source: Authors

§ 1.6 The outline of the thesis

This thesis consists of a collection of academic papers (chapter 2-5) that have been (re-)submitted to or published in international, peer-reviewed scientific journals. Following these four chapters, Chapter 2 is a literature review chapter, in which we review and analyse the existing literature about the influence of urban redevelopment and forced relocation on residents of (deprived) neighbourhoods in the Chinese context. This chapter investigates existing literature on the basis of a conceptual framework developed for this thesis. In this chapter, we decompose the forced relocation process into three stages: the pre-demolition stage, the transitional stage and the post-relocation stage and summarize and analyse the social, economic, behavioural and psychological and physical experiences of the individual relocatees, as reported in the existing literature. Future research direction and gaps in current literature are also identified in this chapter.

Chapter 3 is a policy review chapter. This chapter aims to investigate how the state-led SRPs are implemented in Shenyang and what this means to different stakeholders by revealing how different stakeholders interact with each other, and how their roles have changed over time against the changing context. By analysing policy documents and the in-depth interviews with 17 experts and 64 resident respondents, we identified four key changes in the implementation of SRPs and the roles of the central and local governments, the developers and the residents. We also revealed the conflicts and consensus in their interactions with each other.

Chapter 4 is an empirical chapter based on 33 in-depth interviews with homeowners living in declining danwei communities. The chapter displays the influences of forced relocation on the place attachment of these stayed homeowners, by decomposing their place attachment and ambivalent lived experiences into the social, physical and economic dimensions. Further, the influences of the SRPs on their place attachment are explained.

Chapter 5 is also an empirical chapter, based on 54 in-depth interviews with older people (who are more than 50 years old and) currently living in danwei communities and urban villages. The chapter explores the influence of forced relocation and urban redevelopment on their perspective on ageing in place from the lens of (1) the meaning of home, (2) the living arrangement and the role of family (3) the strategies of remaining independence. The impact of the impending SRPs on older people's ageing in place experience are also discussed.

Chapter 6 is the final chapter of this thesis. It presents summaries of the preceding chapters and the conclusions of this study. This chapter also reflects upon the wider meaning and implications the empirical findings of this study, as well as the research design. The chapter concludes with policy implications and suggestions for further research.

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