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NEXT GENERATION PLANNING

Exploring Human Well-Being and Community Dynamics

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Each year, *plaNext* aims to publish two volumes; one of which presents a collection of original works following an open call, and the other presents a selection of articles from the annual conference of AESOP Young Academics (YA). plaNext also publishes special volumes following global challenges. This volume includes manuscripts presented at the 16th AESOP Young Academics Conference 'In Search of Well-Being in Liminality: No Longer-Not Yet' that took place in Istanbul between April 5-8, 2022, in addition to one research paper which was submitted to plaNext through its regular open calls. This paper raised important questions to the topic of this volume. All papers use different perspectives on notions of 'well-being' and how they can be achieved, following a comprehensive and holistic perspective under the liminal and uncertain conditions that cities experience today. The topic is timely and inspiring. The call for conference papers attracted more than forty original papers. The editors of this volume invited ten manuscripts, following the nomination made by the chairs of sessions. But the process of publication remains challenging for many young academics. This is mirrored in the number of manuscripts that were eventually published in this volume. The contributions went through a rigorous peer-review process managed by an editorial board.

Content

Sarı Ayşegül; Aydın Enes; Husár Milan
Editorial

Xinxin Cao; John Sturzaker
Citizen's motivation in neighbourhood planning in North West England

Şelale Balambar Ergan
Ethnic Economy in Milano: The Case of the Turkish Immigrants in the Kebab Sector

Xuewei Chen
From private to public: redeveloping private space as the way to reframe publicness of everyday life. Investigating build-by-people trials in Shanghai

Meiling JIN
Residents' sense of belonging in (gated) communities in urban China

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Editorial

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Volume 13 titled 'Exploring Human Well-Being and Community Dynamics' of the peer-reviewed journal plaNext–Next Generation Planning is here. Partially derived from the 16th AESOP Young Academics Conference 'In Search of Well-Being in Liminality: No Longer-Not Yet' that took place in Istanbul between April 5-8, 2022, it includes one research paper previously published online. We are delighted to present this latest volume, which draws together a diverse collection of research papers delving into the complex dynamics of human interaction with the living environment, social participation and community development. While originating from different geographic and disciplinary backgrounds, the four papers featured in this volume share a common theme: the complex interplay between individuals, communities, and the places they inhabit.

The theme of 'Exploring Human Well-Being and Community Dynamics' encapsulates a rich tapestry of interdisciplinary research examining the diverse connections forged among inhabitants, societies, and their spaces. Grounded on a multidimensional understanding of well-being, this theme integrates insights from sociology, urban planning, economics and related disciplines to unravel the factors influencing human well-being within communal settings. Research in sociology has long emphasized the significance of social structures and community ties in shaping individual well-being. Contemporary scholars have expanded upon this perspective, incorporating concepts such as social capital (Woo et al, 2023; Sanchez-Garcia et al, 2023; Putnam, 2000) and community engagement (Bernstein and Isaac, 2023; Kawachi & Berkman, 2001) to explore the dynamics of collective well-being. The idea that communities play a vital role in shaping the health, prosperity and happiness of their members forms a foundational aspect of this research topic.

The planning literature contributes to this theme by investigating the design and functionality of spaces that foster community well-being. Lynch's (1981) seminal work on the image of the city and Gehl's (2010) studies on human-scale urban design underscores the importance of physical environments in supporting social interactions and, consequently, individual and communal well-being. Migration studies, as reflected in the work of Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) or Nikolopoulou et al (2023), shed light on the role of immigrant communities in economic and social development. Balambar Ergan's contribution to this volume, which investigates how ethnic economies foster immigrant integration into communities, enriches our understanding of the economic factors influencing immigrant integration.

Additionally, grassroots initiatives, as exemplified by Chen's examination of build-by-people trials in Shanghai, highlight individual agency in transforming private spaces into public assets, thereby fostering a sense of community and belonging. Furthermore, Jin’s research on the correlation between social capital and neighborhood maintenance in gated communities aligns with the broader discussion on the social determinants of health (Marmot, 2005). This study delves into the impact of social networks on community well-being and the maintenance of living environments in the urban space with an emphasis on the forgotten spaces.

The first paper, authored by Xinxin Cao and John Sturzaker, elaborates on the motivations of citizens participating in Neighbourhood Plans in North West England. By exploring the factors influencing individual engagement in local planning processes, this paper unveils the multifaceted nature of civic participation and its implications for effective community development. The second paper, by Şelale Balambar Ergan, examines the role of immigrant entrepreneurs in the kebab sector in Milano, Italy. This study highlights how ethnic economies can serve as a pathway to integration for immigrant communities, offering valuable insights into the dynamic relationship between entrepreneurship, culture, and economic development. In the third paper, Xuewei Chen explores the transformation of private and semi-public spaces in Shanghai through build-by-people trials. This research investigates how individuals can actively contribute to reshaping urban environments and fostering a sense of publicness in everyday life. It emphasizes the importance of grassroots initiatives in city planning and development. Finally, the last paper, authored by Meiling Jin, delves into the correlation between social capital and neighborhood maintenance in gated communities within Suzhou industrial park, China. This study provides valuable insights into the role of social capital in community upkeep, revealing the intricate dynamics between residents' social networks and the quality of their living environment.

As editors of this volume, we are intrigued by the common thread that runs through these studies, highlighting the pivotal role of individual and collective actions in shaping communities and urban spaces. Whether it is citizens engaging in local planning, immigrant entrepreneurs contributing to urban economies, individuals transforming private spaces into public assets, or residents maintaining gated communities, the central theme is clear: human agency plays a pivotal role in community development and the evolution of urban environments.

These four papers serve as a reminder that communities are not static entities; they are vibrant and ever-evolving ecosystems shaped by the motivations, actions, and aspirations of their members. We hope that this volume inspires further research and discourse on the multifaceted and dynamic nature of human engagement and its impact on the communities we inhabit.

The theme of this volume draws from a rich array of literature spanning sociology, planning, migration studies and public health. By examining the multifaceted interplay between individuals, communities, and their environments, researchers contribute to a holistic

understanding of the factors that shape human flourishing within diverse social contexts.
We extend our gratitude to the authors for their insightful contributions and to our dedicated reviewers for their invaluable feedback. We hope that you find these papers as thought-provoking and enlightening much like we do.

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Citizen’s motivation in neighbourhood planning in North West England

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Although some researchers have addressed the question of what motivates citizens to become involved in lower tier planning in the UK, the phenomenon is not yet fully understood. A lack of hard data, combined with some mutually contradictory arguments in the field, makes for imperfect analysis, and this can potentially undermine the effectiveness of individual engagement in Neighbourhood Plans (NPs). This paper focuses on what motivates citizens to participate in the process of creating NPs in North West England, and explores past theories on individual motivation. This study achieved its research aims through extensive research of the relevant literature, combined with an empirical study of five neighbourhoods in North West England. The main conclusion drawn from the dissertation is that there are complex and multiple motivations of people participating in NPs, and these impetuses are affected by a range of political, environmental and socio-economic factors. This research offers opportunities to enhance the effectiveness of NPs for researchers and NP stakeholders alike.

Keywords: Neighbourhood Plans; individual motivation; community engagement

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Introduction

Scholarly attention to the importance of public participation in urban planning became prominent in the late 1960s, with most pointing to the landmark work of Arnstein (1969) in the USA and Damer and Hague (1971) in the UK as being the earliest attempts to engage with the subject. Those authors argued for the importance of such participation, now established as 'an unassailable pillar of the planning system' (Inch, 2012, p. 523). A parallel strand of research has explored the question of what motivates communities to become engaged in the planning process (Bailey & Pill, 2015; Brand & Gaffikin, 2007; Durose & Rees, 2012; Ercan & Hendriks, 2013; Hampton, 1977; Olson, 1965; Painter *et al*., 2011; Smith, 1981; Tewdwr-Jones & Thomas, 1997). Early theories suggested that individuals tend to become involved in local planning for two related reasons: their attachment to place, and desire to protect it; and a sense that the local is an important point of engagement for democracy (Birchall & Simmons, 2002; Boaden *et al*., 1982; Cullingworth, 1990; Derrick Sewell & Coppock, 1977; Smith, 1981). The latter is perhaps best expressed through a quote from Derrick Sewell and Coppock (1977, p.1), who argued that people want to engage in planning because 'the individual has the right to be informed and consulted and to express his views on matters which affect him personally'.

This right to be informed and consulted was a key plank of the rhetorical justification employed by the UK government for their 2011-onwards reforms to the English planning system (Department for Communities and Local Government & Eric Pickles, 2010). These reforms, the focus of this paper, are the latest in a series of attempts by governments of different political orientation to strengthen community participation in planning. These include national initiatives such as the Community Development Project (1970-1978), and local approaches, for example Liverpool's resident-led housing cooperatives in the 1980s (see Sturzaker & Nurse, 2020 for a more comprehensive review). More recently, the 1997-2010 Labour governments emphasised, rhetorically at least, the importance of participation as part of their *Spatial Planning* programme (Shaw & Lord, 2009). In 2009 the last of those governments consulted upon a proposed set of reforms to devolve power to local authorities and communities (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2009). Labour lost power in the 2010 UK general election, and the coalition government which replaced them introduced their own set of reforms to planning in England, with a much stronger emphasis on devolution to communities. Those promoting the reforms claimed that they would devolve planning decision-making power to communities through the introduction of Neighbourhood Plans (NPs). NPs became a legal part of the English planning system under the *Localism Act 2011.* According to Department for Communities and Local Government and Eric Pickles (2010), the Act would

> '…enable regional planning to be swept away and in its place neighbourhood plans will become the new building blocks of the planning system where communities have the power to grant planning permission if a local majority are in favour'.

In Gallent's study (2013:374), NP was clarified as handing 'new powers to civil parishes [communities], who are able to draw up their own planning "orders"… [but these must be] demonstrably "compliant" with the content of local plans and with national policy'. For the purposes of this paper, NP is used to describe the new planning power for local communities to produce a community-level plan based on their own preferences, which local citizens truly pursue and which will then play a role in decision-making on development proposals (known as planning applications in the UK).What we know about individual motivation in planning is largely based on research undertaken with respect to "higher tier" planning processes at the local (municipality) or strategic levels (Boaden *et al*., 1982; Damer & Hague, 1971; Derrick

Sewell & Coppock, 1977; Gallent & Robinson, 2012; Hampton, 1977; Pratchett, 2004; Smith, 1981). Despite exploration of the success or otherwise of the “area-based” redevelopment and regeneration initiatives undertaken in the UK for many years (Jones & Evans, 2008), there has been little empirical investigation into rationales for participation at the community level, though those studies which have taken place have suggested that residents more proactively participate in affairs at a neighbourhood scale rather than at a local scale (Boaden *et al*., 1982).

Early research into NP has identified a ‘clear gap’ in understandings of motivations for participation in it (Parker & Murray, 2012: 6) and a critical need for a ‘profound understanding’ of NP participatory behaviour differences Rauws (2016: 340). Only by developing an understanding of why individuals are motivated to engage in community level planning, we can deepen our understanding in the subject area (Parker & Murray, 2012).

By exploring public participation in community-led planning in North West England, this paper concentrates particularly on what motivates residents to participate in NPs. It begins with an undertaking of a critical review of literature, to examine participatory motivation relevant to both high tier and low tier planning. The paper goes on to make a contribution to the field by providing empirical evidence regarding why people become involved in the community-led planning process in England. Therefore, the study provides fresh analysis for improving understanding of civic initiatives in the UK and elsewhere.

Review of related literature

The literature regarding motivation in planning reveals two clusters of explanatory factors: one cluster ‘internally-oriented’, i.e. to do with citizens’ own individual drivers; and one ‘externally-oriented’, i.e. related to the activities of other stakeholders. We here discuss each in turn.

Internally – oriented motivation

Public participation in planning can be simply explained as ‘… making decisions with stakeholders, rather than making decisions for stakeholders’ (Pettit & Pullar, 2004:1). Damer and Hague (1971:217) undertook a detailed pioneering review on reasons for the growing interest in citizen engagement. They suggested that people are motivated to engage in planning by the ideology of participatory democracy. They also highlighted that the motivation interacts with citizens’ doubts about the institutional planning process. Similarly, Rydin and Pennington (2000) believe that democratic reasoning is one traditional motivation of public participation, that people want a transparent plan making process. Furthermore, in Sewell and Coppock’s (1977) landmark paper, they argue that although participants may be encouraged by different reasons, they show similar aspiration on planning, that is, an aspiration of seeking ‘political equality’. They believed that people who want to become engaged in planning may also have a strong belief that they have the right to be involved in planning in a democratic society, which can be termed a philosophical reason. It has been found that individuals tend to become involved in local planning making because of a sense of democracy.

Most of these studies were based on strategic and local planning processes, therefore, the results may no longer justify participatory impetus at lower tier plans, such as neighbourhood planning process (Boaden *et al*., 1982; Gaventa, 2004). Nevertheless, the impact of democratic motivation may still play a significant role in determining citizens’ involvement in NP in the UK.

There are other types of internal factors which might motivate people. Sewell and Coppock

(1977) highlight that people are often apathetic in many political agendas because they are not directly affected. Parker and Murray (2012) explored motivation to participate in planning through "rational choice" theory (cf. Rydin & Pennington, 2000). Such a theoretical approach focuses on the personal benefits to individual actors of making certain choices. In the case of participation in planning, the theory argues, and Parker and Murray found in relation to NP, that an individual will choose to participate (or not to participate) on the basis of whether they perceive personal benefits to themselves outweighing personal costs.

Parker *et al*. (2015) note that local communities with developed skills have a better understanding of NP making, those skills including 'better' planning background, knowledge and resources utilisation. Their study confirms that motivation becomes stronger when residents have a greater ability to influence the planning making. One later study questioned Smith and Sewell and Coppock's view, finding that 80 per cent of participants who engaged in community activity were motivated by a collectivistic motivation — people want to benefit whole communities rather than simply themselves (Aspden & Birch, 2005; Birchall & Simmons, 2002). This idea emphasises the importance of collective benefits rather than individual benefits. However, what the main motivations to engage in neighbourhood plans are remains unclear.

Externally driven motivation: difference in local contexts and participant empowerment

Democracy may give people the aspiration to become involved in planning but this may not necessarily lead to an actual engagement in planning unless the system is designed in such a way to facilitate it (Parker *et al*., 2010). Much of the literature suggests that the British planning system has created unfavourable conditions for collective participation within a substantially top-down planning system (Boaden *et al*., 1982; Bailey & Pill, 2015; Lane, 2005; Lieske *et al*., 2009; Morphet, 2008; Tewdwr-Jones, 2012), but others suggest that it is possible to reshape planning processes to become more bottom-up and facilitate some degree of community empowerment and citizen participation (Aitken, 2010; Bailey & Pill, 2015; Begg *et al*., 2015; Birchall & Simmons, 2002; Cullingworth, 1990; Matthews *et al*., 2015; Painter *et al*., 2011). However, whilst some question about the extent to which any empowerment was genuine (Brand & Gaffikin, 2007; Gallent & Robinson, 2012; Smith, 1981; Seabrook, 1984; Sturzaker, 2011), Baker *et al.* (2007:90) pointed out that in relation to a previous round of reforms, the UK government identified that improving the effectiveness of citizen involvement was 'at the heart of the reformed planning system' and the government showed its determination to facilitate the effectiveness of citizen participation through various strategies.

In summary, existing literature suggests that citizens are motivated by factors including an aspiration to achieve more democratic engagement, individual and collective benefits, and they believed they had a strengthened competence to contribute to community-led activity. Some studies emphasised that local communities were motivated by strengthened statutory power in controlling planning and were affected by local backgrounds (Morphet, 2008; Tewdwr-Jones, 2012; Parker *et al*., 2010). However, as noted above, there is a lack of research exploring motivation to engage in the new form of planning being practiced in England – Neighbourhood Planning. This is the focus of the rest of this paper.

Methods

Research strategy — multiple case study approach

Creswell (2014:21) points out that 'Decisions about choice of an approach are further influenced by the research problem or issues being studied…'. The study set out to explore 'why people become involved in NPs', which requires empirical data and an in-depth study. Large scale surveys are difficult to implement across wide areas, and it may not an ideal design for generating or testing theories (Biggam, 2015). They are also inadequate for exploring varied individual motivations in depth. In contrast, case study methodology has advantages for undertaking an intensive investigation in a community. This study compares existing theories (such as internal and external driven factors, discussed above) regarding citizen motivation to engage in planning with current practice in England, in order to gain a deeper understanding of how previous theories can throw light on individual and community engagement in NPs. This research applied the research approach of multiple case studies, because this research strategy is well recognised as being of value in planning research (Flyvbjerg, 2006) and has been practiced by previous studies in this area (Bailey & Pill, 2015; Brown *et al.*, 2013; Campbell & Marshall, 2000), thus it more easily allows comparison with previous work. Furthermore, a case study approach ensures that the investigation takes place in a natural situation, and that the generated primary data has high accuracy and authenticity. A case study strategy also allows the researchers to decide their methodology according to the scope and scale of the study, in this study, the researchers used mixture of questionnaire, observation and semi-structured interviews research techniques.

Five neighbourhoods were selected for the research in the North West region of England — Melling and Lydiate (within the municipality of Sefton); Birkenhead & Tranmere, and Leasowe (within the municipality of Wirral) and Morecambe (within the municipality of Lancaster). These five neighbourhoods were selected because communities within these neighbourhoods have already completed NPs or are engaged in a NP process, so respondents from the five neighbourhoods were experienced in the process of making NPs and they were expected to have a clear understanding of what it means to be involved in neighbourhood plans. There were socioeconomic contextual differences between the neighbourhoods, with three of them (Birkenhead & Tranmere, Leasowe and Morecambe) amongst the most deprived neighbourhoods in the North West and the remaining two (Melling and Lydiate) being comparatively less deprived. These five case studies were chosen because they were the first communities in their respective municipalities to begin neighbourhood planning, suggesting that they can be viewed as local planning "pioneers" - they indicated rapid action in terms of making their own neighbourhood planning decisions, and they demonstrated a more active approach to planning compared with other NP planning groups in their local areas. They all were established between 2014 and 2016. Using case studies in different communities with different degrees of deprivation, but at similar stages of the Neighbourhood Planning process may help the researchers to identify the underlying local contexts influencing participation.

A range of data collection methods was employed across the case studies: questionnaires, observation and semi-structured interviews. A questionnaire was implemented in all five neighbourhoods, with a supplementary two methods applied at Melling and Birkenhead — observation of NP meetings and semi-structured interviews (Table 1). The reasons for singling out Melling and Birkenhead & Tranmere for more in-depth investigation were as follows: Firstly, NPs in the two neighbourhoods were at a similar stage of the process, that of inviting local people to join the NP policymaking process. Therefore, the local communities can provide valid and comparable data; secondly, the two neighbourhoods offer significant contextual differences in deprivation and their level of rurality, which enables exploration of the interrelationship between individual motivation and local contexts. The two neighbourhoods which were in close physical proximity but with very different contexts of deprivation, and which were actively engaged in NP processes at the time the research was undertaken (in 2015/16). The observation process helped the researchers to identify who had higher attendance rates at meetings, thus ensuring that sampling for interviews could be more robust.

Table 1. The methods applied at the five neighbourhoods.

Neighbourhoods	Questionnaire	Semi-structured interview	Observation
Birkenhead & Tranmere	√	√	√
Melling	√	√	√
Morecambe	√		
Lydiate	√		
Leasowe	√		

The following parameters were used for selecting eligible participants for the questionnaire and interviews — all research participants would have already engaged in a NP process and would be aged 18 or over; they would be able to access the Internet at home and would have a valid email account. More detail on specific sampling approaches for the two methods is discussed below.

Data collection method — Structured observation

The researchers carried out a structured observation in the two case study neighbourhoods (Melling, and Birkenhead & Tranmere). Because the NPs at the two neighbourhoods were already in process, the researchers had the opportunity to attend three meetings (two NP meetings at Melling and one NP meeting at Birkenhead & Tranmere). Nisbet and Watt (1978:13) suggest that observation output shows 'what actually happens'. The research applied observation checklist and field notes in order to improve the accuracy of observation data (Appendix One).

In addition, this observation helped to identify interviewees from Melling and Birkenhead & Tranmere, according to their attendance rates and participation proactivity. In order to explore raw data, interviewees were identified who had higher attendance rates compare with others. Observation is particularly useful for a comprehensive data analysis, because it can reflect 'whether people do what they say they do' (Bell & Waters, 2014:211). Therefore, it can be used for adjusting the reliability of interview data.

Data collection method — Semi-structured interviews

Evans (2015) suggests that simply asking a person to explain their motives is the most efficient way to understand citizens' behaviour (motivation). Adopting semi-structured interviews enables detailed investigation of citizens' motivation. A semi-structured interview was chosen because the author may uncover possible covert motivation and gather insight of individual participatory activity by asking particular questions through interview.

Potential participants for interviews were contacted by approaching them when the researchers visited their neighbourhoods during observation implementation and site visiting. Observations in Melling and Birkenhead & Tranmere took place around early summer in 2016, when local forum meetings took place. The author particularly looked at the characteristics of each individual, the length of time they spoke for and the content of their statements. Observing the behaviours and activities of each individual helped to identify eligible interviewees. The interviewees were selected as they show a high degree of participatory interest and performance compared with other plan-making participants within their communities. The role differences of interview participants also enabled the study to collect data from different sides, as shown in table 2 in detail. Thus, the selections of the interviewees were intended and carefully assessed after undertaking observation during the data collection process. During the interview, the investigator took notes and recorded the dialogue with a recorder to aid transcription and data accuracy. Four interviews (two from each case study of Melling and Birkenhead & Tranmere) were undertaken, with an average length of 82 minutes, which allowed the researchers to gain an insight into variables that may affect residents' motivation and the cause of their behaviours. The number of interviewees for any research is variable (Secor, 2010), and the purpose of undertaking this method is not to communicate with many interviewees, but to collect quality and necessary data through this method. In this research, the questionnaires have conducted a large amount of data, and interviewees can provide supplementary information to understand individuals' participatory actions in-depth. One feature of the interview method is not 'to generalize to a population, but instead to answer questions about the ways in which certain events, practices, or knowledge are constructed and enacted within particularly contexts' (Secor, 2010:199). Thus, researchers stopped interviewing more people when data collected from the four interviewees showed high repeatability and similarity in relation to the research questions.

Table 2. Information about all interview participants from Melling and Birkenhead and Tranmere neighbourhood planning areas.

Interviewee	Neighbourhood	Role	Participatory status
B 1	Birkenhead and Tranmere	Senior planner, Birkenhead and Tranmere	Attended every Birkenhead and Tranmere NP meeting
B 2	Birkenhead and Tranmere	Birkenhead and Tranmere resident, member of local conservation area forum	Attended almost every Birkenhead and Tranmere NP meeting
M 1	Melling	Melling resident, planning representative of local community	Attend most Melling NP meetings
M 2	Melling	Melling resident	Attended most Melling NP meetings

Data collection method — Questionnaire

One adopted method for collecting data from all five neighbourhoods (Melling, Birkenhead & Tranmere, Morecamber, Lydiate and Leasowe) is an online questionnaire. The purpose of selecting this method is to explore the motivation among more participants in the five neighbourhoods. The questionnaire technique was chosen because it provides more primary data from five neighbourhoods, to supplement the in-depth data from the observation and interviews. Questionnaire subjects were identified by asking their role in NPs.

Participants for the questionnaire were selected from the five communities where these neighbourhoods have already completed NPs or are engaged in a NP process. Within this sample, criteria for identifying respondents were that they had been involved in the process of making NPs, so were expected to have a clear understanding of what it means to be involved in NPs. Thus, they can provide valid and accurate evidence and information to help the authors answer the research questions. Many of the NP participants were contacted by approaching them when the researchers visited their neighbourhoods. This improves local residents' trust and improves the response rate. The researchers used two approaches to identify these subjects. The first and direct approach was to ask people's roles face to face, when researchers met individuals during their NP-making consultation workshops or regular meetings, where the researchers were allowed to attend. The benefit of this enquiring approach was that the researchers were able to directly understand an individual's participation status in the NP making process, and assess their eligibility for participating in the research – if respondents demonstrated a substantial involvement in the process, either over a long period or in terms of the depth of their involvement, they were considered eligible. Those people's presence, comments and performance during those events also directly reflected their role differences in their neighbourhoods. The second way to identify eligible participants was through looking at their profiles from existing sources, using a similar set of eligibility criteria. By looking at their NP Facebook pages, regular meeting minutes and neighbourhood newsletters, the researchers were able to find people who engaged during their plan-making process. The researchers thus contacted those people if their email addresses or other contact information could be found from those existing sources. Through making the first contact by email, phone or message, the researchers were able to check their eligibility to engage in the study by asking about their involvement in the NP process. It was crucial, for ethical reasons, to gain permission to collect and use these data from each respondent, and the researchers also acknowledged the participants' rights and data protection measurements applied in the research, as well as, the consent forms with detailed data storage and utilisation information were provided to all of the respondents.

The online questionnaires were posted on SurveyMonkey.com, which was chosen as an effective way of collecting data in a relatively short time. It allows participants to respond at a convenient time. Two types of questionnaire were designed for two kinds of informants at the five neighbourhoods — the first type of questionnaire was designed for planning officials or planning consultants (Appendix Two) while another type of questionnaire was designed for local residents (Appendix Three). Two open questions in the questionnaire for residents related to citizen motivation: Question 7 aimed to explore the indirect reasons for participating in the NP making process by asking 'how will this neighbourhood plan affect you?', whilst Question 9 asked people's direct reasons for their participation. By comparing people's answers, the research can examine whether people provide answers consistently. In order to analyse the data, the residents' responses were classified into different themes. For instance, to ensure participants of Birkenhead & Tranmere's raw feelings can be 'visible' and 'countable', the researchers defined respondents' major attitude and experience as narrative information into two themes for later structured analysis. The first theme concludes five types of attitudes respectively — Not sure, No effect on individual, Negative effect on residents, Positive effect on individual and Positive effect on individual and the community. The second theme was defined to show participants' raw description with more details. Four kind of attitudes were classified — Not sure, Participatory right, Having free time and Benefiting Birkenhead & Tranmere in terms of local communities and environment. The questionnaires were sent to around 100 possible respondents in the five neighbourhoods, with 45 responses being received (8 responses from Melling, 10 from Birkenhead and Tranmere, 13 responses from Morecambe, Lydiate and Leasowe, as well as 14 outputs from planners/planning officers).

The questionnaire included 10 non-technical questions and started from the most straightforward question, which helped avoid perfunctory answers. The research adopted two data analysis techniques — thematic content analysis and case study analysis. The former is designed to extract the main theme from open questions and to group them into different thematic units (Horn, 2012). This approach helps the investigator to quantify qualitative data by measuring the frequency of repeated words and the order they occur, which helps clarify textual data for data analysis (Horn, 2012).

Data analysis method — coding and content analysis

In order to improve the effectiveness of the information analysis process, the information was "cleaned" once the data was collected. This data cleaning stage happened just after the raw data was collected, which including reduction of unnecessary information and recording the original findings from the raw data. The reduction of irrelevant data made useful information clear. Data cleaning also aimed to identify the key theme or information generated during observations and semi-structured interviews. In the secondary analysis stages (in-depth information synthesis), the researchers mainly adopted combined coding and content analysis methods.

The coding process involved categorising information according to the themes. This coding process transformed the raw data into codes. Then, these codes can be measured by frequency of use, such as how often one theme had been discussed by the participants, and how many participants discussed the same theme. The purpose of applying the coding analysis method is in order to define the key theme, which is the motivation of respondents in planning. This also improves the accuracy of data by comparing data generated from the three techniques (observation, interview and questionnaire). The trustworthiness of information was secured by contrasting information between different research techniques. This systematic data analysis process helped the author developed a comprehensive understanding of the primary data. Figure 1 shows the process of data analysis stages diagrammatically.

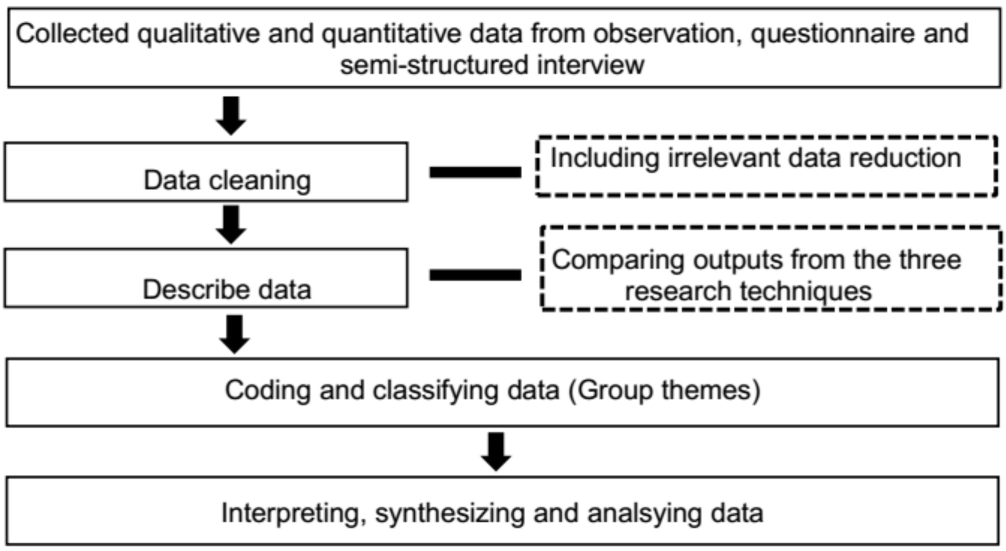

Figure 1. Qualitative and quantitative data analysis process.

Content analysis has been widely used in qualitative projects (Kumar, 2014). Qualitative data can show people's attitude, feeling, views and behaviours, etc. Generally, content analysis is used to analyse 'the contents of interviews or observational field notes in order to identifying the main theme…' (Kumar, 2014:318). In this study, coding and content analysing have both been adopted to help identify the main themes emerging from the research. The themes have been defined both by looking at frequency of use as well as content. These themes helped the undertaking of in-depth analysis. The interview raw data, such as interviewees' ideas, have been quoted verbatim below.

It is important to avoid any ethical risks to the research participants. All the participants in this study signed a consent form and agreed how the author will use the data. All the primary data generated in this research has been anonymised.

Findings and discussion

Benefiting from quality data from 49 participants (four interviewees and 45 questionnaire respondents), the research therefore can report what raw data reflected, and building analysis on the meaning behind the data. The data was analysed based on local contexts and compared with previous literature. Case study analysis allows the analysis of data relevant to each case. The data generated in the study was used for obtaining insight into individual impetus in NPs. In what follows we primarily draw upon the questionnaire data, using interview extracts only to add depth where appropriate, given the asymmetry of data between our case studies.

Multiple drivers as key determinants for engagement in NP from the residents' viewpoint

By identifying key-words-in-context, word frequency and cognition grouping, the researchers have extracted three main reasons for resident participation in planning processes from questions 7 and 9 of the residents' questionnaire. The responses illustrate participants' various and complex motivations in Birkenhead & Tranmere NP. From the answers of Question 7 in Questionnaire for residents in Birkenhead and Tranmere, two responses mention because they have free time to contribute and likes to be informed about what is happening in the area, and five explain they want to benefit Birkenhead & Tranmere, in terms of the local community and environment. Similarly, responses from Question 9 indicate consistent answers when they provide more informative answers. Specifically, five Birkenhead & Tranmere residents state that through involvement in NP making, they want to achieve local improvements, and some of them also in order to achieve community coherence and contribute to the area. Two of them are motivated by a belief that the chair of the NP forum can make the plan better for them. Two of them state that their motivation is influenced by their time availability and the existence of plan-making power (residents' planning empowerment). Two respondents state that they try to provide contribution and are curious about NP, and only one respondent is motivated by a will to influence NP decision making. Despite the variety of motivations, the data indicated one frequent factor from eight respondents — that participants hope the plan can bring benefits to the neighbourhood — 'The plan will make the wider area a better place to live and work', 'Will improve the town which is badly needed' and 'Better environments for us all'.

Similar comments were encountered during observation and interview — 'those (the Birkenhead & Tranmere NP) policies protected the viability of the high street. In the way, if the local plan goes through, as suggested, this could lead to the death of the high street' 'it's a small change, but a positive change' (Interview). Although data collected from observation show people may talk about various topics (such as, meeting participative rate, feelings about local councillors, etc.), discussion on the impact of the community plan and procedures and content design of the plan led to heated discussion and conversation. Therefore, one common motivation for Birkenhead & Tranmere NP participants seems associated with local improvement.

These findings may accurately reflect Birkenhead & Tranmere citizens' motives because they are triangulated from different data sources (observation, interviews and questionnaires). The findings corroborate the results of Parker *et al*. (2015), who found that local communities' motives are linked with improving local planning. However, it remains unclear to what extent people want to achieve improvement through the NP in Birkenhead & Tranmere.

Compared with Birkenhead & Tranmere informants, Melling residents indicated a different set of priorities motivating their involvement in the NP. Specifically, three of them mentioned the importance of preventing over development within their village. At the same time, they also indicated their desire to protect the local environment. Another three residents see the participatory process of the NP as allowing them to have a say in planning decision making, thus, guaranteeing their democratic rights and influencing future development. People express differently about what they want to secure through Melling NP. For example, people point out because 'it will help…… ', 'it gives me opportunity……', 'it will keep……' and 'It will enable us to…… '. These responses suggest they have one consistent view of the NP, which is trusting in the benefits of NP. For instance, one resident directly says 'it will benefit all the residents in Melling……' (Interview). By looking at the data collected from observation, people can find that traffic, housing and rural environment were the three main conversation topics during the NP making meeting in Melling.

Noticeably, a previous paper from 50 years ago (Damer & Hague, 1971:217) identified 'a growth of public interest in the urban environment' in higher tier planning, while this research argues that people may have special concerns about the rural environment as a dominant driver for participating in the NP process, which is similar to what Gallent (2013) concluded. Melling respondents also placed greater emphasis on 'maintaining' the local environment rather than 'improving' it. This result was confirmed during interview and observation, where people in NP meetings mentioned rural environment quality particularly and M 2 noted that:

> 'The only personal thing I want, is to remain a lovely area to live in…. They want Melling to remain, if it does not improve, they do not want that it goes down. They want to maintain this, what we've got' (Interview).

Data from Morecambe, Lydiate and Leasowe indicate there are various individual motives for participating in NPs compared with both Melling and Birkenhead & Tranmere. According to the views of residents from Morecambe, Lydiate and Leasowe, two replied that they participate because they working as councillors. Six indicate that they were motivated by a desire to provide personal contribution. Four express that they distrust the local authority and also want to influence NP decision making (neighbourhood autonomy). In particular, the evidence also indicates three typical reasons for their participation. 7 of 13 respondents consistently suggest they trust in the benefit of NPs. Meanwhile, 5 of them also say their democratic rights and preventing future over-development or protecting local characteristics were variables stimulating participation in NPs making process in these three localities. In other words, communities from the five study neighbourhoods demonstrate distinctive motives behind NPs participation.

Past studies have tended to emphasise broad brushstroke explanations (Aspden & Birch, 2005; Birchall & Simmons, 2002; Gallent & Robinson, 2012; Parker & Murray, 2012) rather than providing detailed interpretations based on empirical data. For example, previous studies have argued the importance of personal and collective benefit consideration (Aspden & Birch, 2005; Birchall & Simmons, 2002; Gallent & Robinson, 2012; Hansen, 2008) and the current research suggests that this 'benefit' is related to local condition improvements, the protection of local features and restrictions on development within neighbourhoods. Therefore, the study may provide more detailed knowledge and evidence to support the ongoing theoretical debate.

The results presented above show high reliability and accuracy because they were obtained through implementing the three research techniques (observation, questionnaire and semi-structured interview). One potential problem is that the findings are unable to verify the level of significance of each determinant factor for influencing residents' motivations in different regions, because some individuals' participative actions may be driven by several reasons, and it is hard to assess which factor has the most important impact. Another limitation is that the result may merely reflect people's attitudes in North West England rather than those of other parts of the UK.

By analysing data from planners/planning officials, it seems apparent that planners hold consistent views on why local people engage in the NPs making process. For example, six of 14 planners/planning officials agree that people decide to engage because they want to prevent certain development which they see as 'inappropriate', and to ensure both private and collective benefits, through influencing decision-making to achieve their purposes. It is noteworthy that this motivation also highlights those people's attitude of distrusting local authorities. However, the information from planners/planning officials shows a particular concern with the political environment. They report the importance of planning empowerment and cannot neglect the impact of planning system reformation. And as result of these factors, people can gain power and motivation to participate. Interestingly, planners observe that preventing development is one demonstrable factor to the active NP participants, while residents themselves refer to the desire to 'maintain' the local environment. It seems that to local people there is no way to 'maintain' their local environment under development threats.

Meanwhile, question 6 of the residents' questionnaire presents the answer to the prompt: "This neighbourhood plan for our neighbourhood is…". Although around one to two people express concern about the possible negative impact of NPs (such as 'risky' or 'unlikely to have any effect') within each neighbourhood (except Birkenhead & Tranmere), the benefits of NPs more than its negative impacts have been widely acknowledged by all 45 respondents from the five neighbourhoods. For example, evidence can be found in Birkenhead where all people indicate either they 'Strongly agree' (60%) or 'Agree' (40%) about the 'beneficial' impact of the NP.

The results indicate, however, that local residents may define this positive impact of the NP in different ways. For example, Birkenhead & Tranmere residents associate the positive effects of the NP with improving business development along with influencing NP decision-making. By contrast, Melling residents see the positive impacts of the NP as protecting local characteristics/environment and a guarantee of their democratic rights. Although individuals consider this 'benefit' differently, it is possible that people recognise the benefits of NPs more than their negative impacts, and this perception may trigger those individual participatory behaviours. This attitude was also supported by the comments for question 7 in the questionnaire, which shows the respondents identifying themselves as positively affected by NPs outnumber those who see themselves as negatively affected in all five neighbourhoods.

It can thus be suggested that one of crucial motives for people engaging in NPs may be quite simply that people expect to receive a positive impact from NPs, and if they believe NPs to have a beneficial impact on individuals and their communities. This motivation as one of the six is worth discussing in detail, as this motivation was found within the all the communities, and has been interpreted differently by two neighbourhoods with very different local conditions. In other words, one key trigger for individual involvement in NPs is whether people value the influence of NPs as negative or positive. In particular, the aspect of individual understanding of the benefits of NPs may be a common one, because it was found within all five different neighbourhoods: the benefits identified by respondents are related to local condition improvements, the protection of local features and restrictions on over-development within neighbourhoods. Thus, this finding may be considered more widely applicable to other neighbourhoods in North West England.

Previous research rarely discussed whether a determinant factor in community-led planning may be that individuals may be motivated by a belief that they would be positively impacted by NPs. For instance, Gallent and Robinson (2012) believe that individual benefit consideration is important, while Aspden and Birch (2005) and Birchall and Simmons (2002) found that collective benefits consideration is the dominant factor. The past debate is mainly around 'who' would benefit from NPs rather than 'how people value' the impact of NPs. Therefore, the current study sheds new light on individual motivation in the NP process and the originality of the findings complements previous studies.

This paper finds that local communities indicated major six motivations for involvement in NPs in five neighbourhoods in North West England. When a person may have multiple purposes, instead of defining each given reason or list every single given reason, it is important to extract more 'representative' and 'generalised' information to understand people's main driven. This can be done through analysis the content of information and the frequency of them. Interestingly, all the six motivations behind engagement in NPs are 'neighbourhood' specific. Respondents might want to protect characteristics of the communities, and they also want to improve the environment of their communities. The second factor is consistent with previous studies (Boaden *et al.*, 1982; Derrick Sewell & Coppock, 1977; Gaventa, 2004; Parker & Murray, 2012). The final motivation is associated with an expectation of the positive impact of NPs on local communities, which may be one universal variable for people involved in NPs in different neighbourhoods in North West England. The results, as shown in table 3, demonstrate six determining motivation factors that most affect individuals becoming engaged in NPs in North West England.

Table 3. Six vital motivation factors behind participation in NPs in the five neighbourhoods.

The motivations were frequently found from the local residents for reasons in engaging NPs	
1. Local environment promotion. 2. Guarantee of democratic rights; 3. Protecting local characteristics;	4. Influencing NPs decision making; 5. Preventing over development; 6. Trusting on the benefit of NPs.

Conclusions

The findings, combined with the outcome of the literature review, achieve the research aims — to explore the underlying motivations of communities for engaging in Neighbourhood Plans in North West England and to advance understanding of the impacts of local contexts on individual motivation.

Six determinant motivations were suggested as main drivers for people participating in NPs in North West England by undertaking the empirical research. First, based on empirical investigation, the study explores six key motivations for why people become involved in NPs by undertaking an empirical study of five neighbourhoods across North West England — working as councillors, protecting democratic rights, making a contribution, achieving community improvements, protecting neighbourhood characteristics and believing in the benefit of the plan. In particular, the study suggest that participation is associated with a belief that benefits can be achieved and thus, individuals want to take part to produce the Neighbourhood Plans, although there were differences in how those individuals defined these benefits.

This paper builds on previous research into motivation to engage in planning (Aspden & Birch, 2005; Baker *et al*., 2007; Rydin & Pennington, 2000). In terms of research methods, one contribution this paper makes is that it uses empirical evidence to explore integrated motivations for participation in recent Neighbourhood Planning processes. Previous studies have suggested that our understanding of citizens' motivation in planning may be incomplete, in terms of understanding dynamic individual motivations behind the plan-making process (Aspden & Birch, 2005; Gallent & Robinson, 2012; Hansen, 2008; Parker *et al*., 2010). One significant value of this research is that it fills the gap by interpreting the factors necessary for stimulating civic initiatives from different perspectives (such as the planning members were from the neighbourhood and diverse NPs benefit consideration). These six motivations are all 'neighbourhood' relevant. Therefore, this research is important as it provides insights into the variables behind of local residents' participation in planning interests and it offers material for further investigation. The strength of this study is that it triangulates data collected through both qualitative and quantitative research methods, although further investigation could be done in term of the relative importance of the motivating factors.

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Appendix One: Observation checklist

Observation Checklist

Title:

Organiser:

Background :

1. Who attended meeting?
2. Who proactively interested in the process and have attend the NP events regularly.
3. Could I interview with them people or send them questionnaire to understand the reasons beyond their attendance?
4. Does their motivation is different compare with past study?

Person (Characteristics)	Speak times	Nod times	Body language	Main Content of speaking

Appendix Two: Questionnaire sample for planning consultants and planning officials in the NP

Questionnaire Sample for Planning Consultants and Planning Officials in the NP

The motivation of people to engage in the process of creating Neighbourhood Plans in England

1. What is your employment (or how do you describe your role in neighbourhood plan making process)?______________________

2. How would you rank the importance for people to engage in this plan making process?
   Very significant significant neutral less significant very insignificant not sure
3. Please list three main reasons you engaged in this planning process.

1: _____________________________________;

2: _____________________________________;

3: _____________________________________.

4. How significant would you rate the following factors in affecting you to engage in the plan making process? (type the number)

	Not significant (0%)					Very significant(100%)
Citizen right	1	2	3	4	5	6
Citizen obligation	1	2	3	4	5	6
Accessibility of meeting place	1	2	3	4	5	6
Time arrangement for meeting	1	2	3	4	5	6
For community benefits	1	2	3	4	5	6
Impacts by the plan	1	2	3	4	5	6
Lack of trust in official decision	1	2	3	4	5	6
Confidence to bring new Knowledge and information	1	2	3	4	5	6
Responsibility to the area	1	2	3	4	5	6
To influence plan outcome	1	2	3	4	5	6
Curious/subject interests	1	2	3	4	5	6

5. In your opinion, how neighbourhood plan will affect local communities?

____

6. Other comments:

____

Appendix Three: Questionnaire sample for residents in the NP

Questionnaire Sample for Residents in the NP

The motivation of people to engage in the process of creating Neighbourhood Plans in England

1. (Optional question) In what year were you born?_____________________

2. what is your employment (if you retired, what was your employment before retired): ____

3. How do you describe the role you play in this neighbourhood plan making process?
____

4. How would you rank the importance for you to engage in this plan making process?
Very significant   significant   neutral   less significant   very insignificant   not sure

5. For you, how importance to engage in the neighbourhood plan compares with engaging in the local plan making process?
Very significant   significant   same   less significant
very insignificant   not sure   Never heard about Local Plan

6. NP for our neighbourhood is:

	Strongly agree	agree	neutral	disagree	strongly disagree	not sure
Beneficial	1	2	3	4	5	6
Difficult	1	2	3	4	5	6
Risky	1	2	3	4	5	6
Unlikely to have any effects	1	2	3	4	5	6

7. How this neighbourhood plan will affect you?
____;

8. How significant would you rate the following factors in affecting you to engage in the plan making process? (type the number)

	Not significant (0%)					Very significant(100%)
Citizen right	1	2	3	4	5	6
Citizen obligation	1	2	3	4	5	6
Accessibility of meeting place	1	2	3	4	5	6
Time arrangement for meeting	1	2	3	4	5	6
For community benefits	1	2	3	4	5	6
Impacts by the plan	1	2	3	4	5	6
Lack of trust in official decision	1	2	3	4	5	6
Confidence to bring new Knowledge and information	1	2	3	4	5	6
Responsibility to the area	1	2	3	4	5	6
To influence plan outcome	1	2	3	4	5	6
Curious/subject interests	1	2	3	4	5	6

9. Please list three main reasons you engaged in this planning process.
1: ____________________________________;
2: ____________________________________;
3: ____________________________________.

10. Other comments:
____

Open Access Journal

Ethnic Economy in Milano: The Case of the Turkish Immigrants in the Kebab Sector

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The concept of ethnic minority entrepreneurs in the economy represents the employment patterns in a particular country. Ethnic economies consist of immigrants from a specific ethnic group who are either self-employed or employ other members of the same ethnic group. Immigrants often experience discrimination and exclusion in the labor market and the outcome of this process is a high rate of unemployment. Ethnic economies seem to have emerged to provide a potential alternative to unemployment for immigrants. Comprising a big part of urban economies, immigrant entrepreneurs may create their own businesses and support other immigrants if the business reaches success. Besides contributing to the economics of the countries, immigrant entrepreneurs also open the way for the integration of immigrants in their new host societies. By creating an ethnic economy to overcome discrimination and exclusion, immigrants are making themselves attractive and integrated into the host society. In Italy, many immigrants who came from Turkey and eventually settled in Milano between 1988-2010 are self-employed in the kebab fast-food restaurant sector. Interviews showed that most of them migrated as asylum-seekers, looking for work, study, and living. The research findings from this study provide valuable insights into the significant role played by the ethnic economy in the integration process of Turkish immigrants within the city of Milano. Furthermore, these findings also shed light on the broader impact of the ethnic economy on societal dynamics and urban development within the region, more broadly.

Keywords: Ethnic entrepreneurs, integration, ethnic economy, migration, ethnicity

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Introduction

The concept of ethnic economy refers to a specific economic sector run by immigrants with foreign backgrounds, capitalizing on their ethnic resources and social networks (Light & Gold, 2000; Light & Karageorgis, 1994). Immigrant individuals and/or groups usually establish small family businesses where they are the owners and employees and do not require any skilled labor. The ethnic economy is characterized by its flexibility, encompassing informal employment, the absence of social security, long working hours, challenging working conditions, busy schedules, and low wages.

Ethnic entrepreneurs follow one another in entrepreneurial chains. One ethnic entrepreneur creates a path for the other and this path enables other small enterprises to follow and grow. The ethnic economy creates an alternative space characterized by solidarity and trust, which serves as a boundary against the discrimination and hostility faced by immigrants in the host country. According to Cao (2022), the ethnic economy is not a tool for integration; rather, it consists of self-help economic activities driven by ethnic solidarity, serving as a defense against hostility. However, according to Rath, Swagerman, Krieger, Ludwinek, & Pickering (2011), economic integration plays a crucial role in the societal and economic integration of immigrants into local communities.

The migration process goes hand in hand with the discussions on integration. The integration process could be defined as a double-sided process in which both parties need to move toward each other. In this process, both the commitment of the immigrant to his/her own culture and adaptation to the host country's norms need to be achieved together. The absence of one of these two sides brings assimilation or isolation. According to Berry (1997), successful integration could be achieved when the host society embraces cultural diversity and both parties acknowledge each other's rights. Consequently, immigrants are expected to adopt the fundamental values of the dominant society, while host societies should restructure their institutions to align with the needs of newcomers. Integration policies differ based on the role of the state. But they follow traditional key indicators such as labor market participation, educational level, language skill and naturalization, political participation, sense of belonging and levels of intermarriage (Avcı & Kırışçı, 2006; Haliloğlu Kahraman, 2014).

Successful integration cannot be achieved by prescribing a specific path and outcome. There is no one-size-fits-all approach to integration that can be followed by both migrants and host societies across generations. Integration can manifest differently in various aspects of society. For example, migrants can be integrated into the labor market, but they can be excluded from participation in civil society and political processes. Conversely, some immigrants may become active citizens, engaging in social and cultural interactions, yet they may encounter challenges related to limited access to education and employment opportunities. While both cases can be viewed as integration failures, they require different political interventions. Integration can also involve completely different ways of interacting with the host society. For example, some migrants may build social networks through work relationships and find a partner in the general population. Many others, however, rely on family and kinship networks or neighbors of the same race or ethnicity to create stability and develop roots in the host society (The European Commission and the OECD, 2003).

Integration in Italy has received the government attention since the 1980s. To manage the influx of migrants, various administrative programs and migration regulations have been implemented. However, it was not until the mid-1990s that the first integration law specifically addressing the integration of immigrants was passed. Then, the three-year migration planning document *Documento Programmatico Triennale* was introduced as the first policy instrument in Italy. This planning document defined the main priorities and planned integration measures for the years 1998-2000. The third planning document of 2005 was the last national strategy that aimed at the integration of migrants. In 2017, the Italian government introduced the national integration plan for beneficiaries of international protection defined in Regulation 18/201 and this plan put priorities for 2017-2018, including interreligious and intercultural dialogue, language learning, access to education, participation in the workforce and vocational training. Local governments and local public services with the support of non-governmental organizations were responsible for the implementation of the plan. However, at the end of 2019, the implementation of the plan was limited to three regions, Piedmont, Emilia Romagna, and Calabria. Since 2012, newly arrived migrants are obliged to sign a so-called *Integration Agreement* right after receiving their first residence permit. The program includes language courses, civic education and professional training. Except for this agreement, Italy does not have a self-standing integration law (European Commission, 2023).

Immigration from Turkey to Italy began in the 1980s, with Milano being one of the attractive destinations for immigrants. They came for employment, family reunification, study and asylum, asylum requests, and humanitarian reasons. Lack of cooperation around migration issues and subsequent tensions between Italy, the EU, and other European states, a national/municipal reception system was introduced in 2013 (Bini & Gambazza, 2020). This pioneering approach, the Milano Model, is constituted by different individuals and agencies with the city council to provide basic daily needs for refugees. In addition to being the financial capital of Italy, Milano's approach toward refugees and migrants made the city more attractive to migrants.

Although the rate of migration from Turkey to Milano has been relatively low, the impact of their ethnic economy has been significant for both Turkish immigrants and the Italian population. For Turkish immigrants, the kebab shops have become an integral part of the Italian society. Thanks to their fast-food shops, Turkish immigrants have developed a group identity. Like any other post-industrial/low-skilled market, the kebab sector is easily accessible and attractive for many aspiring immigrant entrepreneurs.

This article addresses the issue of Turkish immigration to Italy/Milano, underlines its special character, discusses the integration problem arising and their problem-solving method, which is the inclusion of kebab restaurants, as an integral part of the ethnic entrepreneur sector, into the Italian labor market. This article also delineates the current situation of Turkish immigrants, who constitute one of the smallest groups of all immigrants in Italy and who are largely undocumented. Integration of Turkish migrants' profile in Milano is classified by typical key indicators of integration such as labor market participation, language skills, citizenship, political participation, level of intermarriage and sense of belonging.

The article, therefore, focuses on notions of ethnic economy and researches its impact on the integration of Turkish migrants in Milano. To establish this correlation, a theoretical framework is initially introduced. Subsequently, the utilized data and methodology are presented, followed by the results demonstrating how Turkish migrants have developed their adaptation skills through their involvement in kebab restaurants. Finally, comments and suggestions are offered to improve the integration strategies for countries.

Ethnic Economies' Geography

With the rising numbers of the immigrant population, small business activities carried by migrants in destination countries have been focused on by many academics. Migrant entrepreneurs' motives are influenced by various factors at the national, local, and individual levels. While some researchers focus on resource mobilization (Waldinger, Aldrich, & Ward, 1990), others define supporters and the restrictive side of the environment or the system (Sarason, Dean, & Dillard, 2006) or discuss barriers and favorable principles to support an entrepreneurial mindset (McElwee & Smith, 2012). For example, Kloosterman & Rath (2001) refer to empirical evidence containing the demand-side of opportunity structure. They suggest that social networks, the interaction between the entrepreneurs, family issues, and household dimensions play a key role in the development of entrepreneurial behavior. Motivations to start up ethnic business may contain multi-level dimensions. Opportunity structure is a useful concept to define both the motivation and strategies behind ethnic business.

With the new visible aspect of globalization, immigrants from less-developed or developing countries move to their destination countries with the motivations of either work, education, or living through asylum-seeking processes. Their mobility inevitably generates new patterns of capital and labor flows. Immigrants themselves offer their exotic products and services to far-off places to adapt to new host country life. These sectors are generally labor-intensive and low-skilled. Hence, immigrants of the same ethnic groups are self-employed and employees in this economy. In the ethnic economy concept, it may be misleading to think that only ethnicity has a crucial role in the formation of an ethnic economy. On the contrary, it is important to take into account the economic, institutional, and social context of the market (Rath, 2000).

Besides their economic impact on respective host societies, they also create new spaces of leisure and consumption (Rath, 2007). This goes through phases. In their first phase, the immigrants generally work in various jobs that they do no alternative. To exemplify, Portes & Manning (1986) analyzed the U.S. context and showed that migrants had generally lived in the host country for ten years as wage workers. This experience of self-employment contributes to the social integration of migrants. Furthermore, the factors affecting the creation of ethnic businesses are also important. The motivations behind the aim of opening an ethnic business in the destination country also shed light on how immigrants feel about the context they live in. The report published by Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (2001) highlighted the concept of opportunity and necessity entrepreneurs. According to the report, opportunity entrepreneurs have a positive context that these ethnic immigrants perceive as a chance in the market. They thus tend to explore it. However, necessity entrepreneurs have a negative context around them. Consequently, they also launch a new ethnic business not because they have an option, but because they do not have any alternatives in the market. These entrepreneurs are generally victims who have unfavorable working conditions. These pull and push factors in the market economy also motivate immigrants to create their own jobs in the destination countries.

The history behind the experiences of the migrant groups during and after the migration process, education, employment structure, and discrimination also affect the patterns of their labor market and economy. Morales (2008) examined the skin color of migrants which is one of the factors determining the migrants' labor market patterns while Khattab (2012) evaluated migration histories, educational background and color racism. According to Light (1993), the employment structure, occupational and industrial clustering affects migrants' labor market patterns. On the other hand, Colic-Peisker & Tilburg (2006) claim that ethnicity and racial discrimination also play an important role in the formation of migrants' labor market patterns. Migration patterns and ethnic disparities experienced in the country of origin could be transferred to the destination country. In this situation, immigrants could experience similar inequalities in the destination country as well. All kind of migrants' patterns and ethnic disparities also affect their access to benefits in their destination country and keep them at the least desirable position in the ethnic economy. Thus, the histories, motivations and ethnic disparities of immigrants should be taken into account when planning for integration through labor markets (Kesici, 2022).

For immigrants, starting their own business in the destination country is important. By setting up a new business, immigrants create their own job and take the advantageous position to sustain themselves in the host country. By creating a new ethnic economy, they also built a suitable host environment for newcomers (Rath, Swagerman, Krieger, Ludwinek, & Pickering, 2011, p. 2). In the market, employers of ethnic businesses generally decide to sell a product that already exists. That is because the close contact with the existing market makes acceptance of the ethnic product itself easier. Due to this, many ethnic businesses follow and check the similar economic process applied by the immigrants who come previously (Waldinger, Aldrich, & Ward, 1990).

Ethnic business owners are also employers for newcomers. Sometimes these businesses also value kinship and trust more than market policies and formal rules (Rath, Swagerman, Krieger, Ludwinek, & Pickering, 2011, p. 58). Although not seen in every ethnic business, family migrants are often among the owners of ethnic businesses. Family members are a convenient, flexible, and cheap pool of labor for some small ethnic businesses. In other cases, ethnic businesses might find professionals from host societies to be an effective means of expanding their reach to new segments of society (Rath, Swagerman, Krieger, Ludwinek, & Pickering, 2011).

Chain migration is a consistent feature of modern migration and it is defined as a social process in which potential migrants within a family or community are encouraged by previously migrated family members, friends and follow them to a new place of residence (Eurenius, 2019). In the chain migration process, pioneer immigrants provide information about opportunities, support for travel, transportation, housing and employment to their followers. First, they come without their families and they struggle with the problems alone. Migrants who migrate for short periods often live in temporal spaces. The critical point in the creation of the migration chain is the decision to return or to transform the temporal into a permanent settlement of families.

According to Light (2018), apart from the ethnic economy, the informal economy is another way through which immigrants can economically support themselves. While ethnic economies are often established firms with proper addresses and permits, informal economy is usually not documented and operate outside the official spaces. This makes it difficult for the government to regulate workers' wages or working conditions such as safety and health conditions in the informal economy. In this sense, the informal economy is viewed as a "shadow economy" through which the economy of goods and services are run and managed by kinship and community relationships instead of formal arrangements (OECD/ILO, 2019). Migrants have access to information through informal networks, family members and friends who had earlier embarked on the journey to Europe. Not only in the host societies, but those informal networks are also often used to enable the migrants find new routes and means to reach their new host societies. Information about the smuggling activities, successes and failures of smugglers is quickly transmitted between migrants and their families, as well as within the migrant community and within the networks of migrant smugglers (European Commission, DG Migration & Home Affairs, 2015).

In recent years, refugee crises showed that EU countries have structural weaknesses, especially in the urban policies for integration (Coulibaly B, Herkrath M, Serreli S, Monno V, 2019). The camps are shown as an initial reception policy while they face segregation and marginalization in urban areas in the later periods. During the reception period and after the camps, human rights are ignored and deemed meaningless. These kinds of oppressive and control-oriented mechanisms also increase intolerance and conflict in towns and cities. All these complex problems depend on the lack of urban policies. The inconsistency of existing integration policies and their repercussions on urban policies and planning practices results in physical degradation, inequalities, and other kinds of social problems in cities.

City's influential economic, political, or cultural positioning can have positive or negative impacts on migrant economies. The development of ethnic economies is heavily influenced by local policies and spatial conditions. It is important to note that differences in ethnic economies are not only observed between different types of cities, but also within urban areas, specifically between inner-urban and suburban ethnic commercial neighborhoods. Furthermore, variations can be observed between cities with different levels of scalar positioning, highlighting the impact of scale on the development of ethnic economies (Glick Schiller & Çaglar, 2009; Folmer & Risselada, 2013; Folmer, 2014; Folmer & Kloosterman, 2017; Kloosterman, 2019).

The effectiveness and responsiveness of urban planning and policies depend on the ability to accommodate citizens' diversifying cultural and social needs (Qadeer, 1997). Urban planning and urban policies are powerful tools in innovating approaches toward the integration of migrants while these tools are also regulating and reorganizing the governance arrangements at an urban scale. Hence, new forms of integration paths for migrants could enable the authorities to develop more inclusive forms of integration strategies in urban spaces. Supporting the ethnic economy could be one of the integration policies for national-local authorities. However, many welfare states which actively strive to prevent discrimination and assimilation do not support the creation of ethnic economies (Wahlbeck, 2007). This article also shows that rethinking integration through the ethnic economy is a creative way to discover alternative policies for integration.

Turkish Migrants in Italy and Milano

Italy has gradually become a multi-ethnic society where migrants from Albania, Morocco, China, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and Egypt are the largest ethnic groups (**see Figure 2**). The legal framework, in particular the regularization, is an important dimension to understand the dynamics of immigrant arrivals, settlement, and consequently integration.
Regularization programs for immigrants are the expressions of a variety of migratory dynamics as well as socio-political tensions between EU states. Italy is already one of the major attraction points for third-country migrants who could prefer regular or irregular entries according to their current status. In regular arrivals, not only the reasons for family reunification and employment but also the naturalization of long-term migrant residents, countries launch different mechanisms. On the other hand, in the case of irregular entries of undocumented migrants and asylum seekers, the legal framework of the Geneva Convention and Dublin III defines the Italian reception system (Bini & Gambazza, 2020, p. 3).
The statistical data depicted below was acquired from I. Stat (The Italian National Institute of Statistics). The statistics were analyzed in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding

of the demographic characteristics of Turkish immigrants in Italy and Milano.

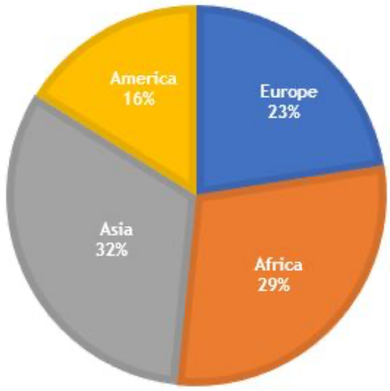

Figure 1. Residence permits of citizens in 2020
Source: Data obtained from the Italian National Institute of Statistics (I.Stat)

According to residency data collected by all municipalities of Italy, foreign citizens residing in Italy as of the 1st of January 2021 amount to 5,171.894 (I.Stat). Between 2020 and 2021, the immigrant number slowly increased to roughly 132,257 persons. Between 2020-2019 and 2019-2018, this increased by 43,473 and 148,252 respectively. Within Europe, Italy has been experiencing a large number of migrants and asylum seekers via the Mediterranean route (Caritas Italiana, 2019, s. 15). This is a so-called mixed flow, mainly from sub-Saharan African countries that flee persecution and conflict to reach better lives and opportunities.

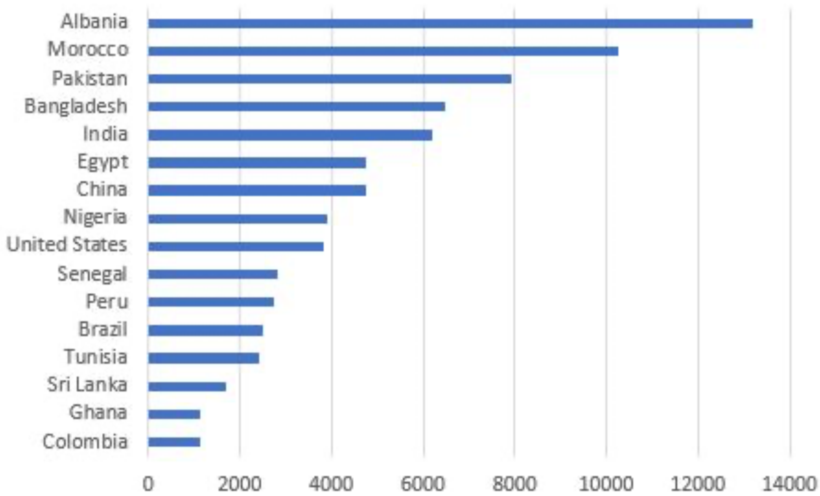

Figure 2. Most frequent immigrants' nationalities in Italy in 2020
Source: Data obtained from the Italian National Institute of Statistics (I.Stat)

Among the regions of Italy, the Lombardy region is the major arrival point for migrants and asylum seekers. In 2021, 23% of the total inflows settled in the Lombardy region, which is consistent with the rates of 22% in both 2020 and 2019. Milano, Italy's industry hub and the capital of the Lombardy region, has the largest share of the migration flow in Italy. I. Stat data shows that 444,708 persons have moved to Milano in 2021, which is 41% of the immigrants in Lombardy in 2020 while this rate was about 39% in 2019. According to residency data, the number of Turkish immigrants is not among the top ten countries of origin of foreign citizens residing in Italy (**could be seen in Figure 2**). The official Turkish immigrant population accounted for 0.03% of the total Italian population in the years 2018, 2019, and 2020 (I.Stat, 2021). In 2018, Turkish immigrants recorded 21,962 and it increased to 22,288 in 2019 and dropped to 21,802 in 2020. The statistics also show that the population of Turkish immigrants recorded as 19,777 in 2021 which is the lowest population in the last four years (I.Stat 2021). The decrease registered between 2019-2020 might be due to the pandemic.

Table 1. The Comparison of Italy and Turkish Population.

Years	Italy Population	Turkish Population in Italy
2018	59,816.673	21,962
2019	59,641.488	22,288
2020	59,236.213	21,802

Source: Data obtained from the Italian National Institute of Statistics (I.Stat)

The reason for issuing residence permits diversifies. The reasons for entry are recorded under the four headings: employment; family reunification; study and asylum request; and humanitarian reason. Among all entry reasons, the study reason has the highest rate for Turkish immigrants. Across Italy, legal entry for study reasons accounted only for 50% in both 2018 and 2019 while it decreased to 36% in 2020 which is equal to 323 persons. In 2020, the number of arrivals to Italy for all four reasons decreased and 91 persons applied for employment reasons while 334 persons took a family reunification permission. 146 permits were issued for asylum humanitarian protection reasons in 2020 while 252 registrations were delivered in 2019. In 2018, the number of asylum seekers was 358 persons. Nevertheless, during the last three years, the regular inflow of Turkish immigrants has declined. This result might be related to the high unemployment rate in the Italian labor market. Due to the unsterilized Italian economy and restricted or reduced quota available for migrant workers, Italy might be losing its attractiveness for Turkish migrants (Caritas Italiana, 2019).

Unsurprisingly, the distribution of the resident foreign population in Italy almost perfectly shows parallelism with the Turkish immigrant population distributed across the country. Almost a quarter of foreigners prefer to settle in the Lombardy region, and one-third of the total Turkish immigrants in Italy also live in this region (Purkis & Güngör, 2016, p. 441). Similarly, when the I. Stat statistics for the years 2018-2019 and 2020 are analyzed, and it is seen that more than one-third of the Turkish population who immigrated to Italy every year has settled in the Lombardy region. In 2018, 37% of the total Turkish immigrants settled in the Lombardy region, while 40% in 2019 and 34% in 2020. It is seen that the majority of the Turkish population migrates for study purposes, followed by family reunification, employment, and finally, asylum requests and humanitarian reasons.

The statistic related to Milano shows that more than half of the Turkish immigrants in the Lombardy region choose to settle in Milano. In 2018, 71% of Turkish migrants in the Lombardy region were concentrated in Milano. This percentage remained relatively stable, with 72% in 2019 and 71% in 2020.

Table 2. Distribution of Turkish immigrants by years

Years	Annual Turkish flow to Italy	Annual Turkish flow to Lombardy Region	Annual Turkish flow to Milano
2020	913 persons	314 persons	227 persons
2019	1848 persons	738 persons	540 persons
2018	2370 persons	905 persons	654 persons

Source: Data obtained from the Italian National Institute of Statistics (I.Stat)

According to I. Stat records, the Turkish population resident in Milano recorded as 3,534 in 2021 which accounted for 0.007% of the total Milano population.

Table 3. Total Turkish Population by Years

Years	2021	2020	2019	2018
Turkish Population in Milano	3,534	2,796	2,633	2,664

Source: Data obtained from the Italian National Institute of Statistics (I.Stat)

The aforementioned statistics provide valuable insights into the demographic characteristics of Turkish immigrants in Italy. It is worth noting that the influx of Turkish immigrants to Italy has predominantly occurred since the late 1980s, resulting in a relatively smaller Turkish community compared to several other European countries.

Research Context and Methodology

Immigrants from Turkey were selected as the focus of this study. Due to their low population in Italy, it has been observed that there is not enough research on Turkish immigrants. Although the rate of Turkish immigrants in Italy is very low (0.03%), the impact of the kebab sector run by Turkish immigrants is significant for Italian society.

Kebab shops have become an integral part of the relationships between Turkish immigrants and Italians, as well as a significant aspect of Turkish identities in Italy. Through these fast-food shops, Turkish immigrants have developed a group identity and social groups among themselves. Besides these, these shops have a symbolic function to integrate and communicate with Italian society. Similarly, the kebab economy is on the road to becoming a part of the local heritage in Italy.

The kebab means roasted meat derived from the Arabian Kabab which is also very similar to Gyros (of Greeks) and Shawarma (of Arabs). All versions of kebab in each culture consist of meat grilled. The differentiating part of each kind of kebab is the sources served and the type of meat. Turkish Kebab is typically made with mostly beef, chicken, or turkey and it is a traditional Turkish dish in Turkey. As in Turkey, in every city, every town, and every neighborhood in Italy, one may find a kebab shop which is one of the fastest-growing sectors in the Italian market. According to o statistics, there has been a continuous rise in the percentage of people consuming at least one meal outside their homes since 2001 (Cersosimo, 2011).

To become a part of the mainstream national food heritage, openness to change in the market is important (Sirkeci, 2016, p. 153). This Turkish dish is prepared with kinds of meats like lamb, beef, goat, or chicken and is often accompanied by a choice of sauces. The recipes used in kebab dish depends on the host country's taste and preferences. Thus, the flexibility of replacing ingredients of kebab dishes enabled it to enter the Italian market easily. Besides these criteria, price, availability of suppliers, and availability of skills to prepare and serve are also helping the kebab sector to join the new market. The "*kebhouze*" kebab shop is one of the indicators that the kebab sector has been recognized as a part of the Italian national food culture. This restaurant was founded by an Italian entrepreneur and offers kebab menus to its customers. Kebhouze started to serve at 5 different locations (3 of them in Milano, one in Rome, and the other one in Biella) with an interior design that differs from the classical Turkish kebab restaurants. It benefitted from the existing Turkish kebab ethnic pool. The *kebhouze*'s menu, unlike Turkish restaurant menus, also offers its customers vegetarian menus, hamburger menus, and dessert options. At first, this is a good sign that Italian society loved kebab fast food, and these kinds of initiatives make the host society get to know the Turkish ethnic group and foster further integration. On the other hand, this means that Turkish kebab businesses may have to compete with big fast-food chains in the future.

The case of Turkish immigrants in Milano presents the power of the ethnic economy in terms of integration. To understand the power of ethnic economy in the integration process, firstly, we need to understand the histories and motivations of the immigrant group. Then, we need to focus on their behavioral patterns for adaptation in the destination country. This article, therefore highlights how Turkish kebab affected the integration of the Turkish migrants in Milano.

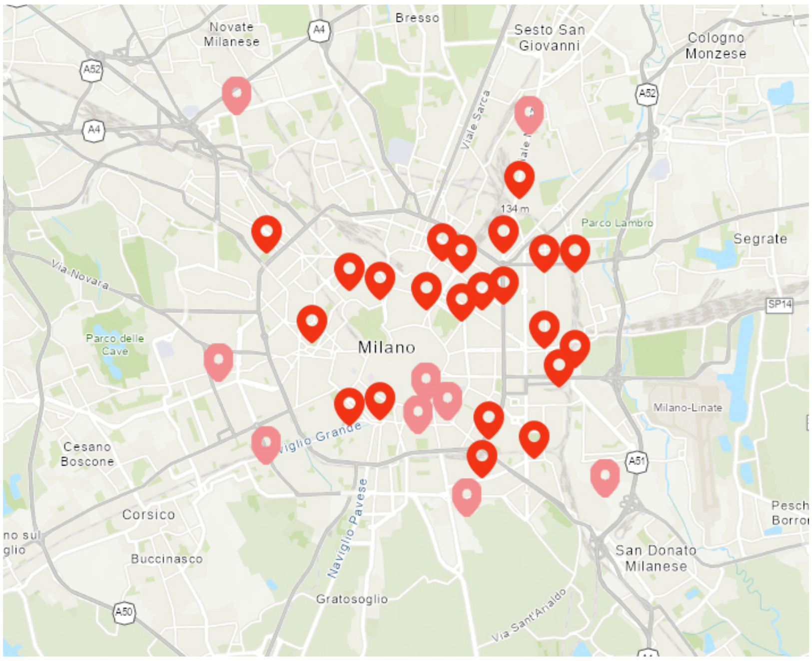

Figure 3. Distribution of 21 Turkish Restaurants
Source: Adapted from https://maps.app.goo.gl/MJVj8iMmJy7Ncwoj8

This study is based on field research, a review of the relevant literature, and statistical data obtained from I.Stat. Field research was undertaken in the period between September and December 2021. Qualitative interview methods were used to gain a comprehensive understanding of the interviewees' perspective on their situation. All of the interviews were carried out in Turkish. Interviews have been conducted with twenty-one Turkish immigrants who are owners or employees at Turkish kebab restaurants. The interview measured the aspects of the general demographic characteristics of the Turkish community, shop and accommodation preferences, the reasons behind their location preferences, and motivation to enter the food sector (opportunities and vulnerabilities in the food sector). In addition to these interviews, observations in these restaurants constitute the ethnographic data for this study. The map below shows the distribution of Turkish restaurants. The red location pins indicate the shops that were interviewed, while the pink location pins represent those that could not be interviewed due to the owner's unwillingness and other circumstances that prevented the interview process.

The study employed a quasi-experimental research design, which involved manipulating indicators of integration such as labor market participation, language skills, citizenship, political participation, level of intermarriage and sense of belonging to observe their effects on the dependent variable which is the influential role of the ethnic economy in terms of integration. The list of questionnaires was derived from the indicators of integration obtained from the literature review. The answers for each theme and respondent were coded and labeled according to the Content Analysis method.

Integration Process of Turkish Immigrants

In many countries, the integration policies focus on labor market participation, language skills, citizenship, political participation, level of intermarriage and sense of belonging. Thus, in this study, the integration process of Turkish immigrants in the kebab sector has been evaluated according to the key integration indicators mentioned above.

Turkish asylum seekers often benefit from informal networks to reach the destination country. These informal networks provide assistance to Turkish asylum seekers throughout their journey and even after they arrive in the destination country. Turkish immigrants claimed that they took advantage of illegal organizations called "*şebeke*". The informal social channels like relatives, friends, or social community members provide them the contact for these illegal organizations. This formation is nothing more than smugglers. Asylum seekers indicated that they used these profit-seeking illegal groups to pass the borders and reach the destination point. In addition to this, asylum seekers in my focus group stated that networks of "*şebeke*" also provide them with their first job which is generally informal work. These illegal organizations also contribute to the expansion of informal sectors in destination countries. As a result, it is understood that these illegal groups offer some of the basic duties of institutes and agencies to asylum seekers illegally.

The presence of women working in Turkish-owned kebab restaurants was extremely rare. Among 21 interviews, only 2 interviewees were female while the rest of them were male. Moreover, it is noteworthy to mention that out of the 3 interviewees who declined my interview request, 2 were women and 1 was a man. The study of kebab restaurants also revealed that there is no gender balance in Turkish businesses. The majority of Turkish women migrated to Milano through family reunification. This profile is dominated by unemployed women and their work careers are discontinuous as a result of motherhood. Hence, these women are economically and socially dependent on men which also affects their integration process. Furthermore, it is common practice at these kebab shops for the majority of Turkish restaurant owners to prefer hiring Turkish employees who are their relatives or friends from their home country. Although not very high, some restaurants (only 2 restaurants) also prefer to employ co-ethnic immigrants. The employees were predominantly immigrants from Turkey or members of other immigrant groups like Uzbek (who can also speak Turkish very well) or African. This also indicates that Turkish restaurant owners prioritize employees who are suitable for flexible working hours and willing to accept lower salaries.

Labor Market Participation

For migrants, social networks play a significant role during the different stages of migration, such as finding employment and integrating into society in the destination country. The social network refers to nodes that are tied together by different sorts of relationships like friendship, economic exchange, influence, and common interests. These sorts of ties enable the immigrants to integrate into their host countries while also maintaining a connection to their home countries. Besides the social network, social capital is also a need to make migration possible. Information, motivation about migration, adequate budget, persuasion, and aid are also necessary resources for this mobility. Without exchanging social capital within the social network, it could not be mentioned the quality of the tie itself (Poros, 2011). Migration is simply very risky for individuals and, immigrants search to minimize their risks by using their networks in their destination areas.

21 interviews indicate that the first kebab restaurants in Milano were established at the beginning of the 1990s. When the early Turkish immigrants entered Italy, they did not have the opportunity to choose a job and they only had a chance to work in the informal sector. Their first jobs in Italy were usually working as an employee in factories or the construction sector while some of the immigrants had a chance to work at Turkish restaurants. During their initial years in Milano, they were more likely to be engaged in the informal labor market, where there were no formal contracts or welfare provisions, and wages were often below the legal minimum. In the following years, some immigrants found formal work in various sectors, including the steel industry, publishing, and automotive (Purkis & Güngör, 2016). The first jobs that they occupied with low wages could be evaluated as on-the-job training for Turkish immigrants for their future jobs.

The first Turkish immigrants utilized their transnational connections like relatives/friends in another European country or Turkey. This support was financial as well as technical and moral to establish the first kebab restaurant in Milano. This situation where former ethnic employees become self-employed later shows an ethnic economy in the sense outlined by Light and Gold (2000). The former comers have been crucial for those arriving later on. This is because the majority of kebab restaurant owners and employees have previously worked as employees in kebab restaurants operated by other Turkish immigrants. For this reason, the pioneer immigrants were essential for the establishment and development of the ethnic economy in Milano.

Over time, as migration from Turkey to Italy continued, social networks began to form between the pioneer immigrants and those who arrived later. The early immigrants stated that they did not receive support from family, relatives, or friends during their migration process to Milano. While early asylum seekers claimed that there were no options to choose a particular destination country, the rest of the immigrants said that they preferred Italy due to the quota available for migrant workers introduced by the Italian government yearly. Plus, the social network was not fully formed in the beginning, and the pioneer immigrants did not utilize this connection. Due to this, early Turkish immigrants were not as lucky as the second or third generations of migrants. The later comers were the actual beneficiaries of the social network. According to Collyer (2005), social network theory is not sufficient in explaining asylum seekers' migration preferences. Surprisingly, except for the pioneer immigrants in my focus group who did not know any other individuals or organizations in destination countries, all the asylum seekers stated that they took financial, technical and moral assistance from their relatives and friends before, during and or after the migration process. According to interviews, Turkish asylum seekers benefitted from relatives and friends. Therefore, it could be said that the social networks of Turkish asylum seekers were effective in choosing Milano as a final destination. Contrary to Collyer's claim, it is seen that social ties also affect Turkish asylum seekers' migration processes to Milano. Borrowing money is crucial for Turkish immigrants to finance their migration processes. Besides this, most of the Turkish immigrants provided information mostly from friends and their family members.

According to Lewandowska and Elrick (2008), agents and institutions play a significant role in migration and job-seeking processes in destination countries. Notably, it is observed that institutions did not play a significant role in assisting Turkish immigrants in finding housing or employment. None of the interviewees reported receiving any assistance from institutions or agents. Seemingly, for my focus group, whose motivation to migrate was to work in Milano, these agents and institutions are not fully formed yet.

Regulations and bureaucratic procedures could also affect labor market participation (Demirdağ, 2021). For instance, simple and reduced entry regulations, along with effective or lighter bureaucratic procedures that could be merged under government support, could foster the establishment of ethnic entrepreneurs. Likewise, national strategies and plans that value diversity and multiculturalism will prioritize social mixing and equality. These initiatives will encourage and motivate the establishment of ethnic entrepreneurs in the destination countries.

Language Proficiency

There is no doubt that the language proficiency of immigrants is important due to its connection to the economic performance of the host society. This approach was first introduced by economist Chiswick (2007) and he stated that like education; language skills are also a form of human capital and it has a direct relation with immigrants' economic outcomes. Hence, better second language skills enable immigrants to better understand the local labor markets. Interestingly, this issue has been discussed by Meng & Meurs (2006) in France over African and non-African immigrants. According to statistics, immigrants from Africa who speak French before migration are more likely to gain higher earnings in the host country.

My interviews indicated that none of the Turkish immigrants has Italian language proficiency before migration. Due to their little or no ability to the Italian language usage, Turkish immigrants could only get lower-quality jobs under inferior working conditions where language skills are less required. Thus, this limited knowledge of the Italian language may have forced them to find alternatives in the labor market. At that point, kebab restaurants are the easiest way to join the Italian economy. Working in a kebab restaurant is a useful experience to open their own kebab and pizza businesses in the future. Plus, the work in these fast-food shops is simple to learn and this ethnic business requires minimal capital investment. Participating in urban economies with ethnic businesses also enables them to acquire Italian language skills. Out of the 19 interviewees, it was found that they learned the Italian language by practicing at work. They stated that municipalities were providing language courses but they did not prefer these courses. They stated that they could not make extra time to attend these language courses. From this, it is understood that learning the language of the host country while earning money is the most efficient way for Turkish immigrants.

Proficiency in the language of the host country is a crucial factor for participating in the labor market. Turkish immigrants, in particular, acquire language skills through ethnic entrepreneurs rather than relying solely on language training provided by local authorities. While many countries include language training in their integration programs, this study highlights the need for an additional integration strategy specifically tailored to Turkish immigrants. Among my focus group, only 2 interviewees came to Milano by family reunification at early ages (nearly 12-15 ages) and joined educational life in Italy. Due to that chance, these two interviewees acquired second language skills at Italian schools. All of the interviewees also claimed that they do not know another European language except for their mother tongue and Italian language. Among the 4 Turkish immigrants, it was reported that they encounter challenges when communicating in public institutions such as hospitals, migration offices and so forth.

Level of Intermarriage

Intermarriage is one of the measures of social and cultural integration. This social interaction enables two different ethnicities' interaction by breaking down ethnic exclusiveness (Khoo, 2011). Intermarriage generally occurs in multicultural societies where there is an opportunity for social interaction between people of different ethnic groups. Researchers Meng & Meurs (2006) wrote that European immigrants (mainly from Spain and Italian) had the highest intermarriage rate, close to 50% while Turkish immigrants had the lowest intermarriage rate. There are many factors affecting the level of intermarriage but the crucial ones are the generation, education level, demographic and religious patterns of migrant groups (Nottmeyer, 2009). Among Turkish immigrants in Milano, only 2 interviewees intermarried with an Italian citizen and the rest of the interviewees made a marriage with Turkish mates. This result shows that Turkish immigrants have still a similar pattern of behavior in mate selection and they haven't fully achieved social integration yet.

Due to the limited language skills and social borders, intermarriage rate in the first generation of immigrants is low while it is more common in second and third generations. For instance, Turkish immigrants, the largest immigrant group in Germany had the lowest rates of making intermarriage in the first generation while the second and third generation is more open to intermarrying. Parallel to this trend in Germany, those who made intermarriage in my focus group are also the second generation of Turkish immigrants. Furthermore, the immigrant group's level of education also influences the rate of intermarriage. Participating in any educational process in the host country or being highly educated also affects the adaptation to the host country. In my focus group, of the 21 interviewees, only 2 Turkish immigrants have joined educational life in Italy. However, two interviewees did not make intermarriage and found partners from Turkey. This could be because of their parents who pressure them to marry within the same ethnic background. This study shows that Turkish immigrants are not still close to intermarriage and they are less likely to interact with the host society. Still, ethnic business is the primary and only channel to evolve personal relationships with Italian society.

Citizenship & Political Participation

Citizenship is one of these integration indicators (Avcı & Kırışçı, 2006, p. 131). The reason behind this approach comes from the proposition that citizenship proves the sense of belonging of immigrants to the host country (Caritas Italiana, 2019). Of the 21 interviewees, only 2 interviewees were having citizenship. The remaining interviewees had long-term residence permits or short-term residence permits with labor laws for third-world countries. Immigrants who have long-term residence permits could vote in the local elections while they could not vote in the national elections. Turkish immigrants claimed that the long-term residence permit rights are sufficient for them. According to my observations, they are not as interested in Italian political life or political participation in Italy as they are in the Turkish political climate. They follow the Turkish country's agenda and make much of voting for general elections. They stated that they don't want to apply for citizenship, because in this case, they will lose their Turkish citizenship. Correspondingly, although returning to Turkey is not among their short-term plans, they expressed a desire to spend some time in their home country during their retirement years. Hence, Turkish immigrants have an attempt to protect and continue the relations and connections with their home country.

Sense of Belonging

When it comes to the sense of belonging feeling, those 4 interviewees stated that they feel a part of Italian society. They also expressed a sense of belonging and attachment to the neighborhood where they settled. Interestingly, 2 of these 4 interviewees have Italian citizenship. Based on this result, it is difficult to determine whether there is a precise connection between citizenship and the development of a sense of belonging. That is because there are many parameters affecting the sense of belonging to the host society. Nevertheless, 3 of these 4 interviewees are the second generation who came to Milano through family unification at a young age. Migrating at a young age could be the reason that eases and compensates for the adaptation process to a new living context (Albert, 2021).

Conclusion

The ethnic economy represents a significant step taken by Turkish immigrants towards achieving improved financial prospects in Milano. This tool not only brings them economic success but also enables them to partially integrate with host communities socially, culturally, and politically. This article contributes to the literature by presenting how the ethnic economy affects the integration of immigrants in the destination country. Acquiring practical skills by working in kebab restaurants before opening their restaurants is deemed advantageous for Turkish immigrants. As a result, many immigrants find themselves involved in the labor market, hoping to eventually establish their own businesses. Transitioning from employee to self-employment is prominently observed in ethnic economies overall (Light & Gold, 2000). This study also proves that this pattern is common for Turkish immigrants in Milano.

This study also suggests that contrary to Collyer's viewpoint, social networks play a crucial role in facilitating labor market involvement among Turkish asylum seekers. Throughout various stages of the migration process, Turkish asylum seekers received financial, technical, and moral support from their relatives and friends.

Thanks to the ethnic economy, Turkish immigrants have developed proficiency in the Italian language and become part of the Italian labor market. However, when it comes to intermarriage, it is observed that a majority of Turkish immigrants, including those belonging to the second generation, tend to select partners from the same ethnic background, which reinforces transnational connections and can be seen as a challenge to integration. Additionally, Turkish immigrants in Italy generally display a limited interest in the political affairs of the host country and demonstrate a low propensity to apply for Italian citizenship. They also have a low sense of belonging in their host country. While kebab restaurants enable Turkish immigrants to achieve partial economic and professional integration, they have yet to fully achieve social, cultural, and political integration.

The case of Turkish immigrants examined in this article also demonstrates that integration indicators such as level of citizenship, political participation, intermarriage, and sense of belonging are hard to develop. This study shows that the ethnic economy, on its own, is not adequate for the integration of immigrants. It can only make a start for the integration process and the process needs to be supported by additional strategies.

For many asylum seekers and immigrants, the integration process is a rocky one. They face traumas when leaving their home country and encounter discrimination and exclusion along the way. Learning a new language and finding basic employment is also challenging at the beginning of their adaptation process. These disadvantages make asylum seekers and immigrants on the margins of host countries' economies and societies. Additionally, there are a dozen immigrant characteristics that shape the migrant's life in the host country. At that point, where the asylum seekers and immigrants are settled within the host country is a critical factor. The place where they are settled could either be an obstacle or a path for their successful integration. According to a report by Immigration Policy Lab (2022), two refugees from the same country who settle in different places may have different outcomes, with one being able to find a job easily while the other faces challenges. Some locations have a strong labor market and community-based organizations that influence migrants' access to job opportunities. Thus, governmental and non-governmental organizations need to think of settlement strategies to promote the ethnic groups' integration process by making the best matches possible.

There is always potential tension between the host society and minor groups. To control and reduce this tension, new arrangements should be implemented. It is necessary to create a new commitment path between the host society and immigrants, separate from international agreements and procedures. The past experiences, beliefs, and identities of minority groups shape their relationship with members of the host country. Due to these differences, diversifying strategies are needed for all immigrant populations in society. For the host country, understanding the major characteristics and dynamics of immigrants is the starting point for designing strategies that are specific to each minority group. The absence of a national policy on diversity limits the ability to effectively incorporate diversity, pluralism, and equity. Developing comprehensive and inclusive planning policies for culturally sensitive urban development is another key issue for the acceleration of the integration process of immigrant groups in the host country.

The planning systems and policies generally contain universal standards (Zhuang, 2008). However, it is crucial to acknowledge that these standards may not consistently and effectively cater to the distinct challenges and issues experienced by each city. Hence, it is crucial for urban planners and local authorities to proactively develop planning guidelines that are specifically designed to meet the diverse needs of immigrants as they integrate into society. This will contribute to creating an inclusive environment and ensuring a seamless transition for immigrant communities.

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From private to public: redeveloping private space as the way to reframe publicness of everyday life. Investigating build-by-people trials in Shanghai

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The publicness discourse has been extensively explored from the perspectives of numerous disciplinary interests, multiple actors, especially the government and expert professions, and its normative ideal. This study examines how individual engagement in shaping private and semi-public space could be viewed as a means of reframing the publicness of everyday life and thereby contributing to the shaping of cities. Through examining the rationale of build-by-people trials in Shanghai, categorising in stewarding practise, DIY tactic, and informal trial, this study anticipates shedding light on the particularities of publicness in the contemporary Chinese context. Drawing on empirical data from observation and interviews, the study discusses different facets of build-by-people trials, including the combination of desire and belief to push individuals to be a part of the public, contribution to forgotten spaces, impact on social relationships, as well as concerns on privatisation. The analysis demonstrates that the current 'build-by-people' trials have manifested their capacity to proactively engage concerned citizens, develop forgotten spaces, and advance a broader sense of publicness discourse. However, additional research is needed to investigate how to maximise the value of 'build-by-people' practises in a sustainable manner, and how to strategically advocate for more 'public-isation' processes while keeping the privatisation scenario from deteriorating.

Keywords: Publicness, Public space, Build-by-people trials, People's City

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Introduction

Public space, perceived as a 'cluster concept' with multiple facets according to literature (Kohn, 2004), has been discussed with varying focus through different lenses of different disciplinary interests. Democratic and human rights have been concentrated in the political field (Arendt, 1998; Mitchell, 1995; Mouffe, 2005), and the ‘placelessness’, the sense of place, and privatisation have been discussed a lot from the human geography perspective (Lefebvre, 1991; Low & Smith, 2005; Madanipour, 2003; Massey, 2005; Mitchell, 1995; Relph, 1976; Sennett, 1992). Historical context, the value of place, and everyday urban life have been emphasised in urban sociology studies (Amin & Thrift, 2002; Sorkin, 1992; Zukin, 2008), and the accessibility and control management on public space are the focus of legal specialists (Briffault, 1999; Ellickson, 1996). While the present study recognises the multi-dimensional facets of publicness discourse, it takes the sociological viewpoints as the point of entry into the discussion of the publicness of public space, focusing on its relationship with everyday life and social interactions.

Besides, varying elements and metrics for defining the publicness of public space have been studied and examined. The ownership (Carmona, 2010; Magalhaes, 2010; Németh & Schmidt, 2011), accessibility (Carmona, 2010; Kohn, 2004; Magalhaes, 2010; Young, 2000), management (Carmona, 2010; Low & Smith, 2005; Varna, 2014), inclusiveness and the right to use (Madanipour, 1999, 2003; Magalhaes, 2010; Young, 2000) have been studied a lot in order to better conceptualise the multi-dimensional nature of publicness (Li et al., 2022). However, the empirical efforts generated by theoretical implications, contributing to or diminishing the publicness of public space have been thoroughly studied from the perspective of public authority (Carmona, 2022; Madanipour, 2003), private sector (Banerjee, 2001; Carmona & Wunderlich, 2013; Magalhaes, 2010; Mitchell, 2003; Sorkin, 1992), and ‘to whom’ (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010), whilst the standpoint of individuals and their impacts on the publicness of public space have been severely studied. Sulmontenously, Carmona (2022) pointed out that ‘with rights come responsibilities’, and that users of public spaces also have responsibilities to make contributions to the publicness of public space. Therefore, the present study takes the standpoint of ordinary people and focuses on their efforts in contributing to or diminishing the publicness of public space. The rest of the study will demonstrate that, despite the perception that ordinary people are primarily the users of public space, various small-scale individual experiments in Shanghai have in effect made contributions to the publicness of some forgotten public spaces.

Further, the dichotomy between publicness and privateness can be ambiguous. Privatisation and commercialisation have continuously brought impacts on public realms because of neoliberal capitalism (Wang 2019), and Kohn (2004) also points out that ‘the private and public realms are becoming increasingly intertwined’. The attempts to identify publicness throughout the linear transition from public to private have been determined to be challenging and complex (Németh & Schmidt, 2011), and Madanipour (2003) unveils that various overlaps between publicness and privateness may be one of the causes. Akkar (2005) and Kilian (1998) have even proposed that publicness and privateness ‘exist in every space’ simultaneously, which also indicates the dynamical conception of publicness of space (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008). Therefore, rather than solely focusing on publicness or privateness in a static manner, the literature directs this study toward a more dynamic transition process in between. The present research thereby attempts to introduce the process theory and discuss from private to public, how individuals’ creativity and capacity contribute to the shaping of cities as well as the publicness of public spaces.

This perspective is meaningful in the discussion of urban regeneration in contemporary Shanghai in the post-pandemic era. Firstly, the Chinese context may supplement to the publicness discourse from another perspective, since all of the lands is owned by the state. However, as Li et al. (2022) argue that formal ownership alone does not determine whether a space serves public interests, this study has been conducted by accepting this predetermined setting and aims to examine individuals' capacity to bring impact the other metrics of publicness. Secondly, instead of widespread 'publicly owned and publicly operated' spaces, there are also many 'publicly owned and privately operated' spaces (Németh & Schmidt, 2011) like shopping malls and commercial complex (Wang, 2019). As a result, commercial space has received a lot of attention in terms of how privatisation affects the publicness of public space in the context of marketisation and globalisation (Y. Wang & Chen, 2018; Yang, 2009). Simultaneously, anti-Covid urban experiments have stimulated prosperous build-by-people practises especially during the city lockdown, which directed the focus on community ambiguous spaces as the ground to proceeding with the present study. The value of public contributions in addressing uncertainties has been recognised (Shu & Wang, 2021; C. Wang et al., 2021); rather than questioning the government's ability to deal with crises or complaining about policies, many people took an active role in collectively resolving issues during the city's lockdown. Through unveiling everyday life and trusting relationships associated with the shaping process of community ambiguous spaces, this study also aims to complement the publicness discourse in the context of challenges and uncertainties. Finally, encouragement from the 'People's City', which advocates that the city should be built by and for the people, the new paradigm of micro-regeneration has progressively posed a challenge to top-down governance frameworks while also providing space and time for bottom-up participation. A lot of build-for-people policies and guidelines have been released like the '15-minute community' plan and urban renovation law, but comparatively few build-by-people trials have been rationalised and formalised. Therefore, the individual-standpoint elaborations of this study also anticipate providing more real-world evidence to encourage further focuses to be placed to facilitate the institutionalisation of build-by-people practises.

This study's fieldwork was conducted continuously from August 2021 to December 2022, allowing the study to follow the evolution of the examined spaces at before, during, and after the activation and deactivation of the city lockdown in Shanghai. Rather than statistically analysing data, this study anticipates to qualitatively illustrating how people's efforts have impacted the publicness of public space. The following section examines how, in contemporary circumstances, city-making efforts have evolved to include more public involvement and varying types of individual involvement. The discussion is built on secondary data collected from public social media posts by individuals, policy documents, online announcements released by different levels of government offices, varying bureaus like Planning and Natural Resources and Civil Affairs, and other social organisations and institutions. Section three takes a closer look at identified experiments with frequent individual contributions to continuously shaping spaces. The elaboration derives from data collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews and non-participant observations. The roles of the interviewees include owner/operator of spaces (n=5), planning and landscape designers (n=5), and residents (n=10). To protect the anonymity of interviewees, this study has established a coding method. Interviewees in the Sanlin community (Case A and C) have been assigned codes DM1 to DM10, while those in Tongji New Village (Case B and D) have been labelled as SP01 to SP10. This systematic approach allows for data analysis while upholding confidentiality and ethical research standards. The concluding section presents perspectives while also reflecting on some additional challenges related to maximising the value of individuals' contributions to the publicness of public space.

Build-by-people trials in recent Shanghai

Along with the shift from massive economic and urban development to the national promotion of city betterment and urban quality improvement, Shanghai started to experiment with the so-called micro-regeneration as an alternative to the traditional urban regeneration approach since 2015 (Cao, 2021; M. Wang et al., 2022). Instead of large-scale, time-consuming, and expensive urban regeneration programmes, micro-regeneration may provide a more practical and efficient way of solution without challenging the current regulatory plan like the land use and Floor Area Ratio (Jiefang Daily, 2021). Further, micro-regeneration programmes are actively developing a variety of inclusive participatory platforms with the goal of involving a variety of social actors, such as those in the planning and design professions, students, social organisations, and residents (Hua & Zhuang, 2022; The Paper, 2020). Encouraged by what Zheng & Zheng (2022) proposed the elite class, which includes 'governing elites' (e.g., government and political leaders who own decision-making power) (Cao, 2022) and 'non-governing elites' (e.g., expert professionals who are intellectuals) (Zheng, 2017), residents' participation in various scales of city-shaping projects has been substantially developed (Kou et al., 2019). People's efforts to proactively participate in city-shaping activities have flourished over time, and more residents are now willing to continually embrace the designer and stewardship responsibilities in city-shaping programmes. This study values varying types of public contributions, but it particularly anticipates elaborating on how individuals may shape their cities creatively and effectively. As a result, it concentrates on studies with little or no assistance or intervention from the elite class, expert professionals, or government leaders. Distinguishing the characteristics of public space and the associated operators which lead to varying build-by-people trials, this study categorises the myriad of practices into three types, namely stewarding practise, DIY tactic, and informal trial.

To stimulate individuals' willingness in participating city-shaping programmes, community organisations, professionals, philanthropies, and other 'non-governing elites' have constantly directed individual contributions. When the elite team withdrew from the field, some places have been continuously stewarded and reshaped by locals. Sanlin Community has been chosen as one of the testing grounds for interested residents to make efforts to improve the public spaces of their neighbourhood. Many community gardens have been developed as the results of the Community Planner Workshop (fig. 1) and College Student Community Garden Production Competition (fig. 2), which were community garden participatory programmes directed by expert professionals and empowered by the subdistrict government.

Figure. 1. (Left) Community Planner Workshop, group presentation. Source: author, August 2021**. Figure. 2.** (Right) College Student Community Garden Production Competition, local residents and young professionals were collaboratively working on the development of a community garden. Source: author, September 2021.

Young professionals and local residents worked together to develop these community gardens (fig. 3), which were then turned over to the locals at the completion of the programmes. Whilst the majority of the shaped gardens have been abandoned by inhabitants following the city lockdown (fig. 4), certain gardens have been observed as being carefully maintained and continuously reshaped (fig. 5&6). Therefore, those public spaces which were initially directed by expert professionals, but eventually well-stewarded by individuals have been framed as the first type of the build-by-people trials, the stewarding practice. Fazhi Garden was chosen as Case A because DM01 has consistently assumed the responsibility of stewardship since this garden was developed as a product of the Community Planner Workshop in August 2021 (fig. 6). With the empowerment from the Community Planner Workshop, DM01 was able to make a proposal regarding the anticipation to improving this decaying building corder. Assisted by expert professionals and surrounding neighbours, Fazhi Garden was developed collaboratively, and DM01 proactively took stewardship by the end of the Workshop.

Figure. 3. Community gardens developed through community participatory programmes. Source: author, October 2021.

Figure. 4. Developed gardens have been forgotten. Source: author, July 2022.

To test individuals' capacities and public awareness in making contributions to take action and contribute to improving their surrounding areas, some action plans were coming to the fore. A prominent example is the Seeding Plan, which was launched in early 2020 during the pandemic by the Clover Nature School (CNS), a non-profit organisation which specialises in leveraging community gardens as a strategy to regenerate community public space. 'Rebuilding trust, planting hope' has been shared as the advocacy of the programme, with the objective of not only greening their balconies and other semi-private spaces, but also rebuilding social connections (Kehrer, 2020). It is a special action against the covid-19 epidemic, which aims to decentralise the community garden to spot-on building rooftops and balconies, while at the same time, transferring love and trust by sharing seeds or plants (Liu, 2020). The potential sites for accommodating these mini gardens can be diverse. Private balconies, semi-private back or front yards, and semi-public community gardens or roof-top spaces are all can be the spots for initiating planting activities (Liu, 2020).

Figure. 5. (Left) A resident was managing the garden at the front of his flat. Source: author, July 2022.
Figure. 6. (Right) DM01 was stewarding the Fazhi Garden in Case A. Source: author, July 2022.

The second type of build-by-people trials in this study, referred to as DIY tactics, involves ordinary individuals continually and autonomously developing and stewarding private, semi-private, or semi-public spaces. Thousands of people have signed up for the Seeding Plan, with active participants in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Guangzhou, and other Chinese cities. Among thousands of seeding gardens in Shanghai (CNS, 2023), Sanfendi Garden in Tongji Village has been selected as the study field (Case B) (fig. 7). Sanfendi has made a significant impact among Shanghai's numerous practices since SP01's proactive efforts have opened up her private, or technically speaking, the ambiguous semi-private space, into a community common space. In addition, she has not only shaped and reshaped the garden but also worked with neighbours to steward additional public spaces in the neighbourhood without the ongoing assistance of trained professionals (fig. 8).

Figure. 7. (Left) Sanfendi, Case B. Source: author, September 2021. **Figure. 8.** (Left) SP01 and her neighbours were cleaning up rubbish in the neighbourhood's other public spaces. Source: SP01, October 2022.

Simultaneously, some other individuals who were not engaged in the community participatory programme in Sanlin Community and the Seeding Plan in Tongji Village were motivated to take action on their own. Those spaces are technically owned and operated by authorities, but they were claimed and shaped spontaneously and informally by surrounding neighbours, resulting in the third type, the informal trials. Such reshaped spaces in both Sanlin Community (Case C) and Tongji Village (Case D) are manifested in forms of farmland (fig. 9), collected planter boxes (fig. 10), front garden (fig. 11), or decorated by other structures (fig. 12).

Figure. 9. (Left) Transformation of public space between buildings into farmland in Case C by DM02. Source: author, July 2022. **Figure. 10.** (Right) Public space between buildings has been claimed by planter boxes in Case C by DM03. Source: author, July 2022.

Figure. 11. (Left) Transformation of decaying space into open front garden in Case D. Source: author, December 2021. **Figure. 12.** (Right) Transformation of decaying space with decorations and temporary structures. Source: SP01, January 2023.

The rationale of build-by-people trials with space publicness

With the encouragement of micro-regeneration in Shanghai, more build-by-people experiments have increasingly demonstrated their ability to bring dynamics and diversity to the shaping of public spaces. The rationale of build-by-people trials with publicness of public space that can be derived from varying experiments includes pushing individuals to engage in public, sustaining forgotten spaces, and fostering social bonds, but also concerns about the potential privatisation scenario.

Pushing individuals to engage in public: the combination of desire and belief

In order for people to take action and contribute to the publicness of public space, encouraging them to participate in the public arena could be the key step. Taking the first step outside our personal social circle and cultivating a greater public awareness of the are challenging, specifically in the Chinese context (Liu, 2019). Based on Fei (1992), the urban structure of Chinese society is analogous to the circles that form on the surface of a lake when a rock is thrown into it. Each individual is at the centre of the circles formed by their own social influence and relationships. As a result, Chinese society evolved around the concept of ‘chaxugeju,’ in which each web is centralised on the self. It emphasises a sense of differentiation that occurs as a result of the social circle ‘pushing out’ from the self. Confucius emphasises the ‘push’ action, implying that the social relationship is expanding or spreading out from the centre. Fei (1992) claims that it is critical to first recognise the importance of the self and to ‘control oneself and conform to rituals.’ After getting control of one's inner self, one can then push and extend oneself into other circles of human relationships. Therefore, though some refer to it as egocentrism (Fei, 1992), others prefer the term ‘we-relation based egocentrism’ (J. Wang, 2016), stressing self-control and self-restraint and emphasising the importance of ‘from the self to the family, the family to the state, and the state to the entire world.’ However, the embedded culture makes people difficult to leave their personal social relation circle and take care of the public realm. Therefore, a closer examination of the motivations of different individuals taking actions and initiating efforts is needed.

According to interviews with those individuals who are continuously developing and stewarding the spaces, desires and beliefs have been determined as strongly motivating them to make the first step. SP01 in Case B was firstly motivated by agreeing on the philosophy, which has been advocated by the ‘Seeding Plan’, in which individuals can make contributions to their surroundings and restore community social relationships through sharing plants and seeds. Tongji Village in which she lives was built in the 1950s and has remained a forgotten area of the city, with garbage and overgrown weeds reclaiming public spaces (fig. 13).

Figure. 13. Views of Tongji Village. Source: author, December 2021 (Left), August 2022 (Right).

Furthermore, SP01, who was living alone, noted how different from previously that in contemporary life, people even don't know their neighbours, which already upset her. The city's lockdown and quarantine also made social divides and barriers worse, further severing SP01's isolation from her neighbours. By agreeing on the ‘Seeding Plan’ philosophy, SP01 perceived a sense of obligation to contribute to the neighbourhood’s maintenance and restore community social networks. Rather than believing, SP01 personally has a sort of desire and interest in planting, so participating in the ‘Seeding Plan’ can also be a way to fulfil her personal value and anticipation. A similar rationale can be found in all of the other cases, where people were inspired to act because they believed it was their responsibility to maintain order in their community and because they favoured planting as their personal interest.

To conclude, these findings have reflected what Davidson (1963) has rationalised the intended action, and he has categorised someone does something for a reason as ‘(a) having some sort of pro attitude toward actions of a certain kind, and (b) believing (or knowing, perceiving, noticing, remembering) that his action is of that kind'. These experiments demonstrate that by putting a philosophy in the programme that may express people's beliefs and having the efforts' substance align with their own desires, people may be more likely to act, take the initial step, and be willing to be visible to the public.

Contributing to forgotten spaces

The tests have already revealed a variety of efforts that people have anticipated or have attempted to support neighbourhood improvement when the authority is unable to or has temporarily overlooked. Even the strongest government with absolute power and intelligence cannot provide absolute support, protection, and care, so trust and associated autonomous activities can make up for what bureaucratic control has been neglected (Gambetta, 1988). Owing to the paternalistic leadership that fosters the populace's subordinate behaviours and reliance on the state's protection (Cheng et al., 2004), phrases like 'government will figure it out' and 'government will save us, we just need to wait' have become rather commonplace. 'We are perfectly protected, and we often forget that as citizens, we also have responsibilities to help our city,' said an anonymous, referring to the low vaccination rate, particularly among people over 60 years old, which has been assumed to be one of the inherent reasons that we are still implementing a severe form of Zero-Covid policy[1].

Instead of only relying on and waiting for the government to discover a solution and take action, various trials have demonstrated that ordinary citizens, as city inhabitants, are capable of addressing some issues themselves, or at the very least making some contributions. In Case B, SP01 not only managed the ambiguous semi-private spaces in front of her flat in an orderly manner, but also opened it up to the public, turning it into a community common space (fig. 14). In Case D, SP01 and her neighbours were making the effort collaboratively to clear up trash and maintain public space in a decaying neighbourhood that has been lacking supervision for some time (fig. 15). In Case A, contrasting the various unkempt building corner spaces in the neighbourhood (fig. 16), DM01's continuous efforts have not only improved both the environment and the publicness of the space (fig. 17). Similarly, residents of Case C also make informal contributions to clear up the garbage (fig. 18), maintain public spaces, with the aim to improve their living environment (fig. 19).

Figure. 14. (Left) Neighbours were visiting Sanfendi in Case B during the city lockdown. Source: SP01, September 2022. **Figure. 15.** (Right) Residents worked together to clean trash in the neighbourhood's other public spaces in Case D. Source: SP01, October 2022.

[1] Chenqin, 'Are we really ready for the "first shock"?', *metrodatateam WeChat official account*, 2022, https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/ZTi3CCjBSN9Y_3CTtImAoQ, (accessed 27 Octorber 2023).

Figure. 16. (Left) A typical building corner space in Sanlin Community. Source: author, July 2022. **Figure. 17.** (Right) Fazheng Garden in Case A. Source: author, July 2022.

Figure. 18. (Left) A typical public space between buildings in Sanlin Community. Source: author, September 2022. **Figure. 19.** (Right) The maintained public space in Case C. Source: author, September 2022.

Rather than waiting for a formal solution to impose changes, build-by-people experiments in studied cases have proved their values to contribute to what authorities have been unable to govern or manage. While not conventionally considered residents' responsibility, these trials help activate forgotten spaces and transform those spaces into visible, accessible, and interactable public spaces. The shifting roles of residents ultimately help strengthen a more publicness milieu of community public spaces, when those spaces were temporarily forgotten by authorities.

Simultaneously, people's accomplishments have been recognised by authority, which may have resulted in a broader sense of publicness. Blog posts from official professional accounts, video documentary clips from various social media platforms, reports published in newspapers, and articles produced by young scholars all serve to highlight the inherent value of the Sanfendi in Case A. The discussions and social responses have increasingly conveyed to governments the message that citizens' creativity and contributions are unique and valuable. Authority's recognition has been manifested as they have included Sanfendi and SP01's efforts in the Shanghai Manual[2]. The introduction of Shanghai Urban Renovation Law

[2] The Manual has been developed in partnership between UN-Habitat, the Bureau International des Expositions, and the Shanghai Municipal People's Government with the support of the Ministry of

and the launch of Shanghai Urban Space Art Season in 2021, indicate growing platforms and chances for build-by-people practises. It could be possible that more everyday spaces can be identified and released by ordinary people, making more forgotten spaces more accessible and interactable by people. However, authorities' willingness to decentralise city-shaping power and their ability to manage associated problems require further examination.

Stimulating social relationships

'Pushing' or encouraging individuals to go outside their personal circle and be part of the public discourse, there could be more chances that people may develop and strengthen community social networks. When people cooperate with their neighbours in developing and stewarding community common spaces, familiarity and mutual understanding can be established, and social ecology in the community can be developed. For example, in both Cases A and B, SP01 and DM01 became acquainted with their neighbours through daily communications and frequent exchanges regarding the design and development of the gardens. Through a variety of communication and associative activities, individuals became more familiar with one another, learning about one another's characteristics, personalities, habits, and values. As a result, emotionally, residents incrementally formed a stronger social bond based on mutual understanding and affection, resulting in friendship and trusting relationships. Besides, they encountered similarities and developed mutual acceptance and affirmation of one another as a result of their willingness to steward the neighbourhood's public space.

Conversely, trusting relationships will strengthen community cohesion, making a community more resilient when confronting challenges and uncertainties. Interpersonal trust within the neighbourhood has been manifested as mutual assistance in both neighbourhoods. The mutual support was demonstrated by the way Sanlin locals helped one another when a family encountered a daily supply shortage. Residents had expressed their faith in their neighbours, believing that they would come to their aid in an emergency, and everyone believed that it was one's responsibility to assist neighbours whenever possible. In Case A, Sanfendi has subsequently become a community healing park during the city lockdown; residents were welcomed to drop by her garden when people were quarantined in their neighbourhood (fig. 20), while people from other neighbourhoods could view the scenery and make connections through SP01's live broadcast. By leveraging the garden as a healing centre, SP01 anticipated comforting more quarantined persons and restoring social bonds. As the authority was fighting viral transmission and defending people's lives, proactive individuals and trusting social bonds served as a complement, assisting authorities in dealing with challenges.

Additionally, the cohesive and trusting relationship has also been translated as the inspiration for collectively continuously reshaping ambiguous public space. 'Flower in Sanlin' community organisation in Case A and the 'Secret Garden' conversation group in Case B were formed to better communicate ideas and steward spaces. For example, when a tree-cutting program came to Tongji Village, SP01 and her "Secret Garden" friends were able to collective voice their opinions loudly.

Housing and Urban-Rural Development of the People's Republic of China. https://unhabitat.org/shanghai-manual-a-guide-for-sustainable-urban-development-in-the-21st-century-2022-annual-report


Figure. 20. Residents were visiting Sanfendi in Case A during the city lockdown. Source: SP01, May 2022.

While they were unable to save all of the trees in their neighbourhood (fig. 21), they were able to make a voice, protect a few (fig. 22), clean up debris, reshape spaces, and transform some into community common spaces (fig. 23).


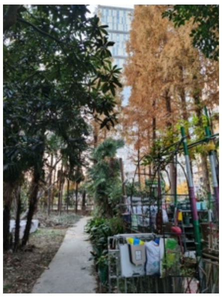

Figure. 21. An original view of spaces around Sanfendi in Case A. Source: author, December 2021.



Figure. 22. (Left, Middle) A view of spaces around Sanfendi in Case A. Source: author, March 2022. **Figure. 23.** (Right) SP01 and families in the neighbourhood were decorating the area where trees had been taken down. Source: SP01, Octorber 2022.

Counter impact: concerns about 'privatisation'

The experiments have shown that if a group of individuals were granted the right to independently develop and manage spaces, the other group would likewise be drawn to and inspired by it. However, when autonomous development flourishes due to a combination of desires and beliefs, the produced spaces may be prone to difficult-to-control departures from the predetermined plan. Individuals may spontaneously claim a space based on their personal preferences and habits, which may not be able to align with the defined order nor satisfy the entire community.

For example, widespread banners in Sanlin Community right following the city lockdown, bearing the message ‘Illegally occupying public space will result in prohibition and removal’ (fig. 24), demonstrated the government's response to numerous informal reclamations of spaces. It could be the outcome of the growth of various informal places in the Sanlin Community during the city lockdown, with build-by-people practices claiming public spaces without obtaining a permit from the authority (fig. 25).

Figure. 24. ‘Illegally occupying public space will result in prohibition and removal’ banners in Sanlin Community. Source: author, July 2022.

Figure. 25. The scenario in Sanlin Community of informally claiming public space everywhere. Source: author, March 2022.

However, any reclamation of public space requires formal approval, so any spaces without authorisation, technically, should be considered illegal. Many Case C operators have regarded the structures, planters, and the claimed space as their private property, which their neighbours can enjoy, and observe, but cannot alter. Also, while the design and arrangement of the area may satisfy the operators, it may not be in accordance with the desires or aesthetic values of other neighbours. Therefore, concerns have been expressed specifically about the privatisation situation by some other residents, who believe that improving the neighbourhood environment should rely on comprehensive plans rather than piecemeal build-by-people experiments, which may change the neighbourhood into a fragmented set of circumstances. Consequently, this scenario may present challenges for the formal management of the neighbourhood, regulations may necessitate defining and justifying which areas are legally permitted for build-by-people trials and what are the criteria for the practises.

Conclusion and outlooks

In Shanghai, the focus on building a 'People's City' has sparked a variety of studies on 'build-for-people' plans and regulations, yet there has been limited attention given to understanding the values and aspirations driving 'build-by-people' initiatives. The preceding discussions not only unveil diverse forms of 'build-by-people' practises, but also elaborate that its rationales are intertwined with the publicness of public space. The complex interrelationship demonstrates an individual's capability in contributing publicness of community public spaces, but also reminding with the potential counter-impact. These dynamics have been elaborated in pushing individuals to be part of the public discourse, contributing to forgotten spaces, stimulating trusting relationships, and the concerns about privatisation. Simultaneously, a pattern can be observed and discerned that 'build-by-people' trials are shifting from the 'elite class' driven (Zheng & Zheng, 2022), to proactive informal and DIY activities. All of these coexisting circumstances have generated and promoted a reconfiguration of the publicness discourse in shaping cities.

Through the case studies, the following indications have been generated to supplement the publicness discourse in shaping contemporary cities. First, pushing or encouraging oneself to step outside their own network circle and be willing to participate in public conversation is critical when discussing publicness discourse in the Chinese context. Echoing and sparking people's desires and beliefs may effectively inspire them to take action, participate in public activities, and develop social relationships. Second, individual contributions may be supplemental to where the authority has overlooked, thereby releasing spaces for community common uses. It also convinced the authority of the significance of "build-by-people" trials, which might lead to additional space and opportunities for residents to take part in city-shaping activities. Third, by working collaboratively to develop community public spaces, it may be possible to foster strong, trustworthy social relationships, which can subsequently be transformed into forms of mutual assistance when confronted with Covid. Last but not least, the namely DIY tactic and informal trial have essentially indicated the 'public-isation' (Carmona, 2022) and privatisation processes. Sanfendi in Case A is essentially publicly inaccessible, but opening it up and bringing it properly into community common space where people can access and use it, even though it remains privately owned, is potentially and essentially a public gain to the community. Contrarily, Case C might represent the opposite situation; even though those areas are now cleaner and more organised than they were before, they are still essentially using public space for private purposes, such as farming and planting, which other residents are not allowed to appropriate.

The discussion on individual effort with public space publicness in the context of Shanghai's ongoing practices still leaves two questions needing further examination. The first is how to maximise the benefits of 'build-by-people' practises in a sustainable manner as opposed to remaining as randomly, sporadically and self-entertaining. Interviewees expressed their concerns regarding the scarcity of the cases under study and some additional one-off projects that might have been constrained by funding sources and other limitations. Besides, many studies have argued that even though public participation prosperous recently, it still remains mostly consultation rather than being included in the formal decision-making scheme in the Chinese context (Samara, 2015). Ultimately, publicness discourse should not be viewed as a normative ideal that depends on public authority or private actors in today's unpredictable and contentious cities, but rather as an ongoing, open process that may be shaped by a variety of actors with different beliefs and desires. Therefore, how to sustainably drive comprehensive efforts remains a challenge, since limiting 'build-by-people' practice to self-entertaining and sporadic would be a loss of publicness discourse in city-shaping efforts.

The second question is how to encourage more 'public-isation' processes while preventing the expansion of the privatisation situation. Case A has indeed transformed her private front yard into a community common space, like Carmona (2022) suggests that, 'public-isation processes have the potential to offer real benefits to society'. However, the good design strategies like using the fence to define the boundary of the garden, making it visible and accessible to passers-by, and way of management in Case A, don't necessarily fit into other cases in specific contexts. Therefore, what remains to be further studied is how to harness the context-specific resources to develop mechanisms that encourage more 'public-isation' practices in response to specific situations. Simultaneously, the case studies have revealed that some circumstances could lead to a stricter type of privatisation. Even though some informal trials may diversify the public space and satisfy the needs of some, there are still things that need to be regulated in order to fulfil the expectations of the broader public. What needs to be investigated further is how to create a flexible scheme that can be adapted in reaction to different conditions, in which 'build-by-people' trials are encouraged but must adhere to a certain regulation in a context-based manner in order to avoid the consequences of privatisation.

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Residents' sense of belonging in (gated) communities in urban China

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Communities or neighborhoods are specific places in the research field of place identity that links between environment and psychology to address the sense of belonging as one of crucial human needs. This article explores the community identity in Chinese urban communities to investigate differences between sense of communities, and community satisfaction. Since 1980s, gated communities (*Xiaoqu*) are the dominant form of residential development in urban China and sometimes have the same boundary as the community (*Shequ*). Thus, this article sheds light on different understanding of gated communities in and outside of China. It is approached via deductive research to assess four specific hypotheses based on the concepts of communities, neighborhoods and gated communities. Four gated communities from Suzhou Industrial Park in China are used as study sites, where primary data was collected and then analyzed *via* multiple linear regression model and logistic regression model. Interestingly, the finding shows that having an active homeowners' committee, which is considered as a socio-political force, is negatively associated with a sense of community. In addition, representation is positively associated with community identity in general. The findings imply that property management fees play an important role in residents' community identity. In addition, the finding also supports that sense of community is a social rather than a physical construction.

Keywords: Social cohesion, gated communities, community identity, sense of communities,

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Introduction

"A small convenient store over there has been operating for 15 years, a good guy taking care of his parents pays the rent on time. One day the property management company asked the shop owner to leave. Hundreds of homeowners protested in front, so the store could stay." (Appendix 3: survey memos)

Scientifically, a sense of belonging is one of the crucial human needs and can be defined as "the experience of personal involvement in a system or environment so that persons feel themselves to be an integral part of that system or environment" (Hagerty et al. 1992, p. 172; Liang 2022). Although it is debated whether the social construction or the physical settings is more important for the sense of belonging (STEDMAN 2003; Kyle and Chick 2007; La Grange and Ming 2001), it is well accepted that the place plays an eminent role that has been coined as the place identity encompassing dwelling, terms such as sense of place, place attachment, place dependence are used in order to specify how emotions are interpreted (Kyle and Chick 2007). Several previous studies deal with sense of communities emphasize personal feelings and attitudes (Chavis and Wandersman 1990; Prezza et al. 2001; Perkins and Long 2002; Long and Perkins 2003; Pretty et al. 2003; Williams et al. 2010; Xu et al. 2010; McMillan 2011; Da et al. 2022; Nowell and Boyd 2011; Francis et al. 2012; Talò et al. 2014; Mahmoudi Farahani 2016; Jabareen and Zilberman 2017; Zhang and Zhang 2017; Ross et al. 2019)and others contribute to conceptualizing community sentiment, attachment and community satisfaction (Riger and Lavrakas 1981; Hummon 1992; Woldoff 2002; Brown et al. 2003; Clark et al. 2017; Lu et al. 2018; Li et al. 2019; Zhu 2020; Brown 1993; Lu et al. 2019). For instance, Hummon, D. (1992) differentiated community satisfaction emphasizing evaluating physical elements of community, community attachment, which measures emotional investment in communities, and community identity that focuses on the extent of locality at an individual level.

In this article, community identity is studied to explore differences between residents' sense of communities and community satisfaction. In addition, the community concept is examined to address different cultural understanding of communities. In particular, the residents' sense of communities and community satisfaction is examined in Chinese urban communities. Urban communities in China may be rather different from other countries as 80 percent of them are gated communities due to the rapid urbanization started in the end of 1970s (Wang and Pojani 2020). Many homeowners' also renting out their property, which more and more tenants are willing to rent rather than buy apartments due to increasing housing prices in major cities (Yang and Zhang 2023). Besides the difference of gated communities in scales, gated communities in urban China commonly also include shops, convenient stores, real estate agencies and sometimes homeowners stand up for commercial tenants by protesting the property management company as highlighted by the opening quotation.

This article tests four hypotheses. Hypothesis 1 tests the correlation between having an active homeowners' committee and residents' sense of communities. Hypothesis 2 explores the dependent relationship between whether having an active homeowners' committee or not and the satisfaction of neighborhoods. Hypothesis 3 tests the dependency of correlation between the residential representation in gated communities and the sense of communities. Hypothesis 4 tests whether the level of residential representation is correlated with the satisfaction of neighborhoods. In 2022, on-site survey questionnaires in Suzhou Industrial Park (SIP) in Suzhou were conducted to test the hypotheses and the data was analyzed with the multiple linear regression model and the logistic regression model. For regression analysis previously known predictors: age, income and having children or not are taken into acount. In section 2, concepts of communities, neighborhoods and gated communities are reviewed. Section 3 introduces four gated communities as the study sites in SIP. Section 4 specifies data collection, variables and analytical methods, and section 5 demonstrates the results in the order of hypotheses, which are then discussed in section 6.

Theoretical background

(Gated) communities

The concept of community was introduced by identifying the extent of agreement among groups as "community consists of persons in social interaction within a geographical area and having one or more additional common ties" (Hillery, Jr., George A 1955, p. 111). In this early community definition, it was pointed out that the concept of community is mainly applicable to rural area, which implies that there is no community in urban area because of large numbers of the social units and their heterogeneity. However, later it was specifically demonstrated that there is a social significance of urban residential groups that are universal due to the community formed via independent personal decision on residences, which was termed as a natural community (Suttles 1972). Furthermore, it was suggested that neighbourhoods are not the same as communities but still contribute to community networks (Suttles 1972; Wellman and Leighton 1979).

Gated community are rather special places within urban areas. Low (2001) explained that the fear of increased crime and safety issues in open communities motivates residents to move into gated communities in the United State. For South Africa, Landman (2004) differentiates between security villages and enclosed neighborhoods, which are the result of residents fencing up their existing communities to protect themselves from crime. In addition, gated communities can be considered as a type of neighborhood organizing that are organized by upper class to tackle neighborhood problems that mainly focusing on insufficient neighborhood services (Fisher 1985). Within gated communities, neighborhood maintenance is the main action that is usually addressed via elected representatives (Fisher 1985). Table 1 shows the comparison of neighborhood maintenance and two other types of neighborhoods organizing that shows gated communities are exclusively for wealthy people. Proponents addresses equity distribution of public space shed lights on societal consequence of gated communities such as social segregation between rich and poor that affects citizen participation (Mantey 2017; Kostenwein 2021; Landman 2004; Webster 2002; Caldeira 1996; Roitman and Recio 2020). For instance, Landman (2004) claims that enclosed neighborhoods are privatized public spaces because they are segregating residents in various ways. In addition, some emphasize the efficiency of gated communities as a way of delivering public goods. For instance, Webster (2001) applied the club realm theory that emphasizes efficiency of public goods delivery that gated communities or proprietary communities could avoid free-riders' problems. Webster (2002) argues that gated communities are spatial organizations of club realms, where some forms of property rights are protected by property management companies through property management fees over neighborhood attributes and services. Overall, arguments of efficiency and equity are supplementary, and efficiency is the reason for public sectors to support gated communities that returns as public revenue. However, the restricted access to gated communities questions the equal distribution of public space.

Dimensions	**Social work**	**Political activism**	**Neighborhood maintenance**
Concept of neighborhoods	Connectedness	Political power base	Status

Targeted neighborhood attributes	Tax/Public services	The extent of local network mobility and residential exertion of influence on government affairs	Built environment and infrastructures
Motivations	Socially disorganized and conflicted	Powerlessness/excluded from government policies	Insufficient service that threats property values
Organized group	Working & lower class	Working & lower class	Upper or middle class
Role of organizer	Professional social workers	Political mobilizer and educator	Elected spokesman
Goals	Improving social relations	Political empowerment	Improve property values

Table 1: A comparison of three neighborhood organizing modes. Source: own elaboration based on (Fisher 1985; Kearns and Parkinson 2001; Galster 2001)

(Gated) communities in China: property rights and "homeowners' committee"

In China, residents' committee have been created during the planned economy between 1949 and 1990s to organize the residential area called *Shequ (Wang and Zhu 2007)*. Tomba (2014) states that neighbourhoods (residential area) in China is not the same as the neighbourhoods in English, that could mean *Shequ or Xiaoqu* (gated communities). *Shequ* (organized by residents' committee) was created in 1950s for mobilizing government-led campaign, although *Danwei* (state-owned work unit) was more important for residential area since it provided housing (Tomba 2014). According to the Organizational Law of City Residents' committee, anyone not only homeowners but also tenants regarding to the homeownership, who is over 18 years old that lives in the area can have a right to elect and to be elected as a representative (The National People's Congress of P.R.C. 1990). Since the economic reform in 1980s, *Shequ* remained that is equivalent to the meaning of community in English, but it tends to have only minor relevance in large cities (Tomba 2014)because many wealthier urbanites rather prefers to live in *gated communities*, that are a dominant form of residential areas in urban China (Tomba 2014; Wu 2005).

According to the Ordinance of Property Management (The State of Council of P.R.C. June 2003), homeowners select and appoint a property management enterprise in accordance with the property service contract. The contract includes repairing, maintaining and managing the housing, supporting facilities and equipment, and safeguarding environmental sanitation and related order activities in the property management area. In addition, within the zoning of property management areas (*Xiaoqu*), which are defined by the common facilities and equipment, the scale of buildings and community buildings, a homeowners' committee should be established and homeowners' assembly should be held (The State of Council of P.R.C. June 2003; Fan 1997). Nowadays most residential areas in Chinese cities are gated communities, which was accelerated during the COVID-19 pandemic (Liu et al. 2021; Li et al. 2021). For instance, Li et al. (2021) argue that gated communities received better images from homebuyers and residents, leading to rising housing prices in gated communities during to the COVID-19 pandemic, despite lack of evidence on the effect of gated communities on COVID-19 control. Even more, relocation communities are gated via government-led property management companies, although there might be a huge gap between property management fees for relocated and commercial homeowners (Jin 2022).

All homeowners with entitled property rights are members of the homeowners' assemblies (*Yezhudahui*), which elect the homeowners' committees (*Yezhuweiyuanhui*) consisting of five to eleven homeowners (The State of Council of P.R.C. December 2009, June 2003). One of the main responsibility of the homeowners' assembly is to draft homeowners' conventions or management regulations, which make agreements on the use, maintenance and management of the property, the common interests of the homeowners, the obligations to be fulfilled by the homeowners, and the responsibilities to be held by the homeowners for violation of the convention in accordance with law (The State of Council of P.R.C. June 2003, December 2009). Another responsibility is to select and monitor property management companies (The State of Council of P.R.C. December 2009). According to the Ordinance of the Property Management Fee, property management companies can charge for maintenance of housing, facilities, cleaning and order (National Development and Reform Commission; Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of P.R.C. 1/1/2004). Furthermore, the homeowners' committee has two ways of recruiting property management companies: the lump sum system, where property management companies take the risks of revenue and budget, and the remuneration system, where homeowners take these risks (National Development and Reform Commission; Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development of P.R.C. 1/1/2004). Most communities in Shanghai adopt the lump sum system due to the reduced workload of homeowners and the remuneration system requires also stronger responsibility of the homeowners (Xuhui District Justice Department of Shanghai 2020). Since property management companies play significant roles on gated communities, they also are organized on a voluntary basis at national level and local level (China property management Institute 2022; Suzhou Property management Association n.d.).

The research focus of gated communities in terms of efficiency emphasizes the property rights of homeowners. For instance, Yip (2020) demonstrated recent development in the social force led by homeowners to form cross-neighborhood networks in mega-cities in China as social movements to protect property rights from property developers and property management companies. Thus, networks formed across different neighborhoods show the strength of empowered homeowners. However, Cai et al. (2021; Perry 2008) examine the determinants of residents' consciousness of property rights to address the efficacy of homeowners' association and find out socio-economic characteristics of residents are the reason for low efficacy of homeowners' association.

In the equity discussion within Chinese context, the homeowners' committee in gated communities may be crucial in order to result in positive equity distribution of public goods. On the one hand, the discussion of equity distribution can resemble that in other countries, which features negative social consequence on people who are outside of gated communities. Furthermore, Wu (2005) states that the gated community homogenize people with similar social status in a place. On the other hand, Yip and Forrest (2002; Pow 2007; He 2015; Read 2003) state that the homeowners' committee in large gated communities with often several thousands of people might represent a democratic process, which bypasses the hegemonic control of state governments by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Although the level of CPP control on the transition of the housing system from previous work-unit based housing to gated communities remains opaque, it is clear that the former was based on hierarchical social relations and the latter promotes community building (Wu 2005). The homeowners' committees and homeowners' assemblies play essential roles in this democratizing process, but it is also common in many gated communities, that property management companies take over as main acting organizations (Lin 1998; Wang and Clarke 2021). Overall, the distinction between communities and gated communities is blurred and the social consequence of gated communities in China is based on the extent of awareness of property rights.

Hypotheses

The hypothesis is based on two elements of (gated) communities in China. Firstly, the existence of homeowners' assembly and homeowners' committees as a sign of strong property right awareness. Secondly, homeowners in gated communities have the responsibility for neighborhood maintenance that protects their property rights. The hypotheses test these two elements indicated by residential representation in property decision making and having active homeowners' committee or not. Then, it examines whether they are correlated to community identities. Community identity in this article mainly focuses on residents' sense of communities and community satisfaction. Four hypotheses are proposed as below:

1. Having an active homeowners' committee or not and the sense of communities are dependent.
2. Having an active homeowners' committee or not and neighborhood satisfaction are dependent.
3. The residential representation and the sense of communities are dependent.
4. The residential representation and neighborhood satisfaction in gated communities is dependent.

Study sites

The population of the gated communities in this study considers homeowners as well as tenants since the sense of belonging is vital for all residents. In total, four communities are selected as study sites that can be considered as representative gated communities in the center of well-invested SIP. SIP was developed on farmland in 1994 as a collaboration between the Chinese and Singaporean governments (The State of Council of P.R.C.). It is a typical area where most commercial residential developments are newly built after economic reform in the 1990s. In almost 30 years, there have been significant changes in terms of the living environment from villages to modern high-rise buildings (Figure 1). The area of the *Jinji Lake Street Office* in the center of SIP is no different from other administrative districts in terms of residential land use, although it is called an industrial park (Wu 2001; Suzhou Industrial Park Administrative Committee 2021). The selected gated communities are among the earliest residential developments built in SIP.

The four gated communities are called *Dushigarden* (DSG), *Xinjiahuayuan* (XJG), *Fengqingshui'an* (FQSA) and *Weilaibojue* (WLBJ) and were built between 2001 and 2008 in the central area of SIP (Figure 2). XJG is adjacent to DSG on the west side of Jinji Lake. Figure 1 shows the spatial boundaries of the four sites. The property management area of DSG is drawn according to surrounding street names in the regulation of homeowners' assembly (Dushi garden homeowners' committee 2019). Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain regulations of homeowners' assembly at the other three sites and the shown spatial boundary are taken from *Baidu* Map when their Chinese names were searched. In addition, Figure 1 shows whether the gated communities have an active homeowners' committee or not. At the time of the surveys, DSG had their homeowners' committee for the sixth term of office (a term is four years) (Dushi garden homeowners' committee 2021) and the homeowners' committee of XJG exists for the fifth term of office (Xinjia garden homeowners' committee 2021). However, FQSA does not have a homeowners' committee at the time of the survey anymore (See Appendix 3). During the survey residents stated that WLJB does not have a consistent homeowners' committee, although it is not written in memos. The information on homeowners' committees of gated communities is difficult to obtain and needs to rely on informal sources. Furthermore, Figure 1 also shows the spatial boundaries of *Shequ,* which has the same spatial boundary as *Xiaoqu*. The size of FQSA is more than 150000 m^2 (Suzhou Industrial Park Administrative Committee 2022b), which is about 20 times larger than a regular football field.

Figure 1: Spatial boundaries and the surroundings of study sites. *Source:* spatial boundaries are generated with Google Earth Pro and Baidu map and the photos taken by the author

In 2022, there are about 2286 residents in FQSA and 6800 residents in DSG (Suzhou Industrial Park Administrative Committee 2022a, 2022b). DSG is managed by *Wanyuan* property management companies and currently under Vanke property management company. The property management of XJG descended from *Jianwu* to *Shimao* property management company. XJG and DSG both adopt lump sum systems (Dushi garden homeowners' committee 2018; Xinjia garden homeowners' committee 2022). According to residents, initially

WLBJ was managed by a property management firm belonging to the same property developer at a service fee of 2.95 RMB/m^2 (see Appendix 3). Afterwards, it merged with Vanke property management company with a slight increase in service fees. FQSA has been managed by *Chixia* property management enterprises for 15 years. According to residents, the service fee is low in the area (see Appendix 3).

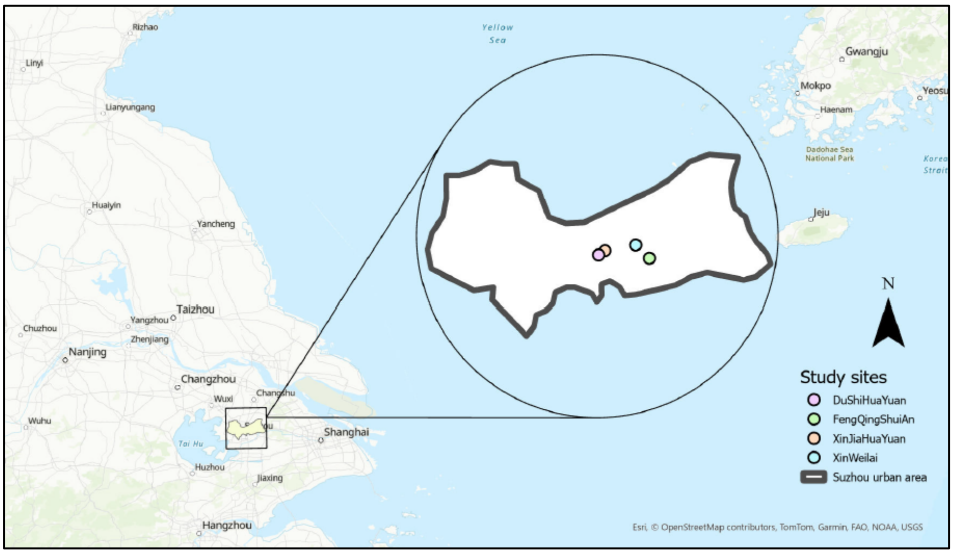

Figure 2: the locations of four study sites

Methods

Data collection instruments

To test the proposed hypotheses, on-site surveys were conducted within the four study sites (Appendix 1). I randomly approached people in public space within the two types of gated communities and 342 surveys were collected (Hirschauer et al. 2022). Data was collected from May to October 2022. I only had entrance access to FQSA, thus the number of collected sample is larger than other neighborhoods (Appendix 2). Most times I could enter the gate in other neighborhoods without being a resident, but sometimes I was stopped by high level property management staffs during conducting the survey. In XJG, I could not continue the survey after collecting twenty questionnaires due to intervention from the property manager(Appendix 3). The survey includes 15 questions ranging from questions on demographic features of residents (1-4,6,7), social characteristics of residents (5, 8,9) and satisfaction of neighborhood physical environments (10-15) that including both quantitative and qualitative variables by using three measurement scales, namely nominal, ordinal and ratio scales (Table 2). The survey question "Please evaluate the extent to which your opinion is reflected in property management decisions," intends to evaluate both decision making process in property management in communities have active homeowners' committees and communities without active homeowners' committee. In addition, the survey questions on evaluations of neighborhood environment are adopted from evaluations of property management companies for charging property management fees (The Construction Department of P.R.C. November 2003; Draft standard). The survey was conducted in Chinese; the English translation is attached in Appendix 1. In addition, memos were taken during the survey, which included residents' comments or my own perception of communities and residents' comments.

Independent and dependent variables

The hypotheses examine the correlation between sense of communities and neighborhood satisfaction and between representation and having an active homeowners' committee or not. Here, the sense of communities and satisfactions of neighborhood environment are the dependent variable and residential representation, and having an active homeowners' committee or not are treated as independent variables. Previous studies on community identity found that that age, having children or not, duration of residence, neighborhoods, education, self-perceived socio-economic status, and immigrant status are (Brown 1993; Williams et al. 2010; Da et al. 2022; Li et al. 2019). Furthermore, duration of residence could be a spurious variable between age and sense of communities and homeownership (Williams et al. 2010). However, gender, social relation and homeownership seem to be not related to community satisfaction and sense of communities as shown via multiple regression analysis (Li et al. 2019). Thus, age, income and having children or not are included in the analysis as control variables among survey questions for testing the hypotheses above.

Variables			
Quantitative		Qualitative	
Level of measurements			
Interval	Ratio	Nominal	Ordinal
• Age-group • Duration of residence • Income-group • Having children or not		• Gender • Housing tenure • Having children or not	• Age-group • Duration of residence • Income-group • Social relations • Representation • Sense of belonging • Satisfaction of common parts of housing, facilities, cleaning services, green maintenance, public order maintenance

Table 2: Data types and their level of measurements

Data analytical methods

Previous studies on sense of communities used principle component analysis, descriptive statistics, inferential statistics including logistic and hierarchical regression analyses (Williams et al. 2010; Da et al. 2022). R language is widely used for correlational analysis (Arkes 2019; Bolin 2023; Westfall and Arias 2020; Fein et al. 2022). The dependent variables (sense of communities and neighborhood satisfaction) are used as quantitative variables for regression analysis. The values of sense of community are coded as a numeric variable: no feeling yet (1), okay (2), rather strong (3), quite strong (4), very strong (5). Six aspects of neighborhoods are merged into a new variable, neighborhood satisfaction, which are converted into dummy variables (0 represent unsatisfied and 1 means satisfied), where 248 samples including missing data are used. Having a homeowners' committee or not is a categorical variable with two dichotomous values in hypothesis 1 and a dummy variable in hypothesis 2. The values of representation in the survey questions range from one to nine, which are re-coded into three numeric values: -1 for formally 1 to 4, 0 for formally 5, and 1 for formally 6 to 9 for hypotheses 3 and 4. The main purpose of regression analysis is for prediction, which is less applied than as an explanatory tool in social science (Arkes 2019; Bolin 2023). Firstly, the non-nested regression model is used to compare if socio-demographic features have significant roles in community identity, where Model 1 represents control variables in gated communities and Model 2 includes two aspects of gated communities along with the control variables for all hypotheses testing.

Findings

Hypothesis 1: having an active homeowners' committee or not and the sense of communities are dependent.

Sense of communities		
	Model 1	**Model 2**
	Estimated coefficient	Estimated coefficient
Intercept	2.30***	2.37***
	(0.23)	(0.23)
Age	0.05	0.05
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Income	-0.02	-0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Having children or not	0.09	0.05
	(0.12)	0.12
Having active homeowners' committee or not		-0.33**
		0.12
Adjusted R2	0	0.02
F-test	1.33	2.94*
ANOVA Sig. F-test		7.70**
N=331, standard error in parentheses, ***P<0.001, **P<0.01, *P<0.05		

Table 3: Nested linear regression analysis of sense of communities

The null hypothesis is the coefficient of relationship between having homeowners' committee and sense of communities is zero. Table 3 shows the result of testing hypothesis 1. Models 1 and 2 are used to control previous known variables to test whether a correlation between having active homeowners' committee and sense of communities is significant. There are three independent variables in Model 1 and none of their coefficients are significant. In addition, F-test of the Model 1 shows that the Model 1 is not significant comparing to intercept model without any independent variables. The result shows that the probability of correlation value is zero is very low(P<0.01). Thus, it means that the coefficient value of having active homeowners' committee or not is a significant predictor of sense of communities. Thus, the null hypothesis can be rejected, which means that it is very likely the correlation is not random. The probability of a linear relation is nearly zero (adjusted R square=0.02), thus the model may not be a good prediction model. Nonetheless, the result of ANOVA shows that the Model 2 is significant (P<0.01), it means that the Model 2 is a better model than the intercept model after controlling previous known variables.

Hypothesis 2: having an active homeowners' committee or not and neighborhood satisfaction are dependent.

Neighbourhood satisfaction		
Predictors	Model 1	Model 2
	Estimated coefficient	Estimated coefficient
Intercept	-2.35*	-2.12
	(1.12)	(1.12)
Age	-0.01	0.02
	(0.18)	(0.18)
Income	-0.07	-0.05
	(0.14)	(0.14)
With children (No children as reference)	0.23	0.06
	(0.65)	(0.66)
Having active homeowners' committee (Not active homeowners' committee as reference)		-1.24
		(0.77)
Degrees of freedom	238	237
Residual deviance	132.78	129.34
AIC	140.78	139.34
N=242, standard error in parentheses, ***P<0.001, **P<0.01, *P<0.05		

Table 4: Logistic regression analysis of neighborhood satisfaction and having active homeowners' committee or not

The null hypothesis is that the correlation between having an active homeowners' committee or not and neighborhood satisfaction is a coincidence, where it assumes that coefficient is zero. Table 4 shows the result of testing hypothesis 2 using a logistic regression model. Model 1 shows correlation between previously known variables and neighborhood satisfaction. The independent variable of having children has been added to Models as a categorical variable, where no child's value is considered as reference and the same applies to the independent variable of having an active homeowners' committee. None of coefficient values of predictors are significant in Model 1. Model 2 the probability that zero coefficient values of having an active homeowners' committee is so high that the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. It means it is possible that the correlation between them is random.

Hypothesis 3: the residential representation and the sense of communities are dependent.

Sense of communities		
	Model 1	**Model 2**
	Estimated coefficient	Estimated coefficient
Intercept	2.37***	2.28***
	(0.17)	(0.15)
Age	0.06	0.03

	(0.03)	(0.03)
Income	-0.07	-0.01
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Having children or not	0.1	0.02
	(0.12)	0.11
Representation		0.54***
		0.06
Adjusted R2	0	0.2
F-test	1.9	21.63***
ANOVA Sig F-test		79.57***
N=334, standard error in parentheses, ***P<0.001, **P<0.01, *P<0.05		

Table 5: nested linear repression analysis of sense of communities and representation

The null hypothesis is the coefficient of relationship between representation and sense of communities is zero. Table 5 shows the result of testing hypothesis 3. Models 1 and 2 are used to control previously known variables to test the correlation between representation and sense of communities. There are three independent variables in Model 1 and none of their coefficients are significant. The different coefficient values of predictors between Model 1 in hypothesis 1 and hypothesis 3 may be due to the different sample size. In addition, F-test of the Model 1 states that it is not significant compared to intercept models without any independent variables. The result shows that the probability of zero correlation value between representation and sense of communities is very low (P<0.001). Thus, it means the coefficient value of representation is a significant predictor of sense of communities. The probability of the relation that is linear is closer to 0 (adjusted R square=0.2). In addition, comparing Model 1 and 2 shows that having the independent variable of representation is better than intercept model (P(t value=79.57)<0.001). Thus, the null hypothesis can be rejected, which means that the correlation is not random.

Hypothesis 4: the residential representation and neighborhood are dependent.

Neighbourhood satisfaction		
Predictors	Model 1	Model 2
	Estimated coefficient	Estimated coefficient
Intercept	-2.35*	-4**
	(1.12)	(1.34)
Age	-0.01	0.02
	(0.18)	(0.2)
Income	-0.07	-0.03
	(0.14)	(0.16)
With children	0.23	0
	(0.65)	(0.74)
Representation		3.08***
		(0.75)

Degrees of freedom	238	237
Residual deviance	132.78	93.59
AIC	140.78	103.59
N=242, standard error in parentheses, ***P<0.001, **P<0.01, *P<0.05		

Table 6: Logistic regression analysis of neighborhood satisfaction and representation

The null hypothesis is that the correlation between representation and neighborhood satisfaction is a coincidence. Table 6 shows the result of testing hypothesis 4. Model 1 shows correlation between previously known variables and neighborhood satisfaction, that none of coefficient values is significant. Model 2 shows the probability of coefficient value of representation is zero is as low as 0.001 that the null hypothesis can be rejected, which means the correlation between representation and neighborhood satisfaction is not random.

Discussion

The result of sense of communities in hypothesis 1 shows that having an active homeowners' committee is negatively correlated to sense of communities. The finding of neighborhood satisfaction in hypotheses 2 shows that having an active homeowners' committee is not a significant predictor. Thus, having an active homeowners' committee is correlated to the sense of communities, but not to neighborhood satisfaction. Hypothesis 3 shows that representation is positively associated with sense of communities. The result of hypotheses 4 indicates that residential representation is positively correlated to neighborhood satisfaction. Thus, residential representation is correlated to community identity. The adjusted R-square values for hypotheses 1 and 3 are nearly zero and 20 percent, respectively. It is important for predicting linearity and it is noteworthy that residential representation and neighborhood satisfaction might have a linear relationship in consideration of the nature of human behavioral studies (Frost n.d.). There are two limitations of this paper. Firstly, the survey question about representation was vague and the statistical analysis cannot give further insight into the nature of representation. Secondly, tenants were included in the survey, however, it is possible that they do not have much influence over property decision making directly. Overall, the finding suggests that gated communities are correlated to residents' community identity.

Setting up homeowners' committees is required in policies; thus, all gated communities should have one initially. The homeowners' committees of DSG and XJG are already in their sixth and fifth terms of office, but FQSA does not have a homeowners' committee at the time of survey (Appendix 1). In another gated community in SIP the homeowners' committee was disbanded during its fourth term of in 2021 (Homeowners' committee of Dajun phase I 2021). This explains why some communities do not have homeowners' committees (Wang and Clarke 2021). Residents may not be motivated to actively participate in the homeowners' committee if they are satisfied with the property management fees. Consequently, the policies of increasing community identity in gated communities should take property management fees into account.

Regarding to community identity discussion, the finding on sense of communities is related to having an active homeowners' committee, but not with representation may align with the argument that sense of communities is more of social construction (Kyle and Chick 2007). Furthermore, the finding on significant correlation between sense of communities and representation is supported by a previous study: Lu et al. (2019) studied residents' satisfaction of private governance in gated communities in Wenzhou city, in which residents show more preference and satisfaction with property management companies rather than homeowners' committee or government agencies. Probably, the satisfaction of property management companies focuses on assessing the entire gated communities, and satisfaction with property management fees emphasizes individual level satisfaction. In addition, residents in market-led gated communities, where homeowners purchased housing via private market, have higher socio-economic status than other modes of gated communities, (Lu et al. 2019). All the cases in this study are equivalent to such market-led gated communities, which is also the focus of examining sense of communities and community satisfaction. In addition, the finding may contradict a previous study in Poland: Mantey (2017) states that fencing off by gated communities shows negative impacts on sense of communities. However, it should be noted that the community in Poland probably consists of more 60 percent gated communities in the case study sites, but the community in China probably is the same boundary as a gated community. Thus, the seemingly contradictive findings can be explained by the different relations between gated communities and communities.

Conclusion

This article addresses the sense of belonging which is a crucial human psychological need that impacts on various aspects of personal performance in communities and neighborhoods. In China, gated communities sometimes have the same boundary as community leading to the hypotheses that two features of gated communities, having an active homeowners' committee and residential representation, are correlated with sense of communities and residents' satisfaction of neighborhood environment. Strikingly, an active homeowners' committee, which is meant to ensure democratic processes within the gated community decreases the sense of communities. This is rationalized by the correlation of representation and property management fees, which play a central part in residents' sense of communities and community satisfaction. Furthermore, this article sheds light on the contextual difference among gated communities between China and other countries and contributes to the study of community identity.

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Appendix 1: survey questions

1. **Please select your gender**	
Female	Male

2. **Please select age groups fits yours**						
18≤ ≤30	31≤ ≤40	41≤ ≤50	51≤ ≤60	61≤ ≤70	71≤ ≤80	≥81

3. **Please select your duration of residence in this community from below**					
≤1 year	1< ≤5 years	5< ≤10 years	10< ≤15 years	15<≤20 years	>20 years

4. **Please select income group that fits your personal income per month (after tax)**					
0	1≤ ≤2400 RMB	2401≤ ≤4800RMB	4801 ≤ ≤7200RMB	7201≤ ≤9600RMB	≥9601 RMB

5. **Please evaluate your social relations within your community from below 5 choices**				
Very bad	Somewhat bad	Cannot say it is either good or bad	Somewhat good	Very good

6. **Pleases select your housing tenure from below**	
Renting	Owning

7. **Please select the number of children in your households**			
0	1kid	2 kids	≥3 kids

8. **Please evaluate the extent to which your opinion is reflected in property management decisions (the higher score, the better evaluation) from below**								
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

9. **Please select the adequate extent of sense of belonging (Feeling through experience of system and environment e.g., comfortableness or community pride) in this community**				
No feeling yet	Okay	Rather strong	Quite strong	Very strong

10. **Please rate the performance of the basic service management** (includes property project information; acceptance inspection procedures; management statute system; property service contract; special maintenance fund system; management service system; file management; emergency response mechanism; staff training and corporate image; customer service management; community culture construction; communication and reporting mechanism**) in your community**
1. Extremely bad 2. Very bad 3. Quite bad 4. Rather bad 5. Okay 6. Rather good 7. Quite good 8. Very good 9. Extremely good
11. **Please rate the performance of the management of common parts of the housing** (includes signage system and maintenance information; use of common parts; exterior condition of the housing; additional outdoor facilities;

decoration; daily inspection, and management) **in your community**
1. Extremely bad 2. Very bad 3. Quite bad 4. Rather bad 5. Okay 6. Rather good 7. Quite good 8. Very good 9. Extremely good
12. **Please rate the performance of the operation, repair and maintenance of common facilities and equipment** (includes management and operation of common facilities and equipment; outdoor common pipelines, pipes, and roads; equipment rooms; power supply system; weak power system; elevator system; water supply and drainage system; lightning protection system; fire protection system) **in your community**
1. Extremely bad 2. Very bad 3. Quite bad 4. Rather bad 5. Okay 6. Rather good 7. Quite good 8. Very good 9. Extremely good
13. **Please rate the performance of cleaning services of your community**
1. Extremely bad 2. Very bad 3. Quite bad 4. Rather bad 5. Okay 6. Rather good 7. Quite good 8. Very good 9. Extremely good
14. **Please rate the performance of greening maintenance and management in your community**
1. Extremely bad 2. Very bad 3. Quite bad 4. Rather bad 5. Okay 6. Rather good 7. Quite good 8. Very good 9. Extremely good
15. **Please rate the performance of public order maintenance** (includes order maintenance; traffic order; fire safety management) **in your community**
1. Extremely bad 2. Very bad 3. Quite bad

4.	Rather bad
5.	Okay
6.	Rather good
7.	Quite good
8.	Very good
9.	Extremely good

Source: adapted from DeepL translator

Appendix 2: sample size

Names of communities	Numbers of participants	Number of homeowners	Homeowners' committee
Dushi garden (DSG)	54	45	Yes
Xinjia garden (XJG)	20	16	Yes
Fengqingshui'an (FQSA)	254	216	No (likely disassembled around 2019)
Weilaibojue (WLBJ)	14	12	Irregular

Appendix 3: memos

Apri.30th	One participant who works in urban planning fields said that FQSA is not so typical, and its homeowners committee has been disbanded in 2019 due to heavy work and too many complaints from residents. (FQSA)
May 2nd	One participant said that property management run by big property development companies are better such as Vanke. And the property management fee is rather cheap. (FQSA)
June	Participant # 334 said that currently it is managed by Vanke property management company, but the people did not change and the manager changes too frequently. Participant #335, Vanke property management in properties that are not developed by them are different from Vanke property management that developed by them. Participant used metaphorical expression comparing the quality of Vanke property management in properties developed by them are like their real sons. In 2007, the property management fee was 2.95, currently is about three. It was not expensive. The original property management company merged with Vanke property management company. (WLBJ)

October	Participant #414 complained that seven hundred thousand have been collected to fix the streets, but it is unclear how the money was spent. A small convenient store over there has been operating for 15 years, a good guy taking care of his parents pays the rent on time. One day the property management company asked the shop owner to leave. Hundreds of homeowners protested in front, so the store could stay. I said I cannot solve actual community problems and I suggested probably communication would be easier if residents personally know homeowners committee members. Then the participant said that homeowners committee members are working together. The property management fees are sixty cents and participants can accept it even if it is higher. (XJG)
October 8th	Only 9 surveys are left to collect. I started at 15:50, approached about ten residents with no success in doing surveys, then guards came and asked me to leave the complex because I do not have permission from the residents' committee. I asked what he would expect the residents' committee to do, guards did not answer, but insisted that I leave. I was already in the complex, so I refused to leave. Then the guards said they would call the police. So, I left. (XJG)

plaNext