

Journal of Chinese Governance



ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/rgov20

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Ying Wang & Fulong Wu

To cite this article: Ying Wang & Fulong Wu (23 Apr 2025): Micro-regeneration and participatory governance: a local social governance experiment in China, Journal of Chinese Governance, DOI: 10.1080/23812346.2025.2493988

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/23812346.2025.2493988





RESEARCH ARTICLE

3 OPEN ACCESS



Micro-regeneration and participatory governance: a local social governance experiment in China

Ying Wang^a (D) and Fulong Wu^b (D)

^aSchool of Geography and Planning, University of Sheffield, Sheffield, UK; ^bBartlett School of Planning, University College London, London, UK

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the transformation of urban redevelopment practices in China, focusing on participatory micro-regeneration in Qinghe, Beijing. These practices are part of a local social governance experiment aiming to improve living conditions in ageing neighbourhoods and promote social change by cultivating active citizens and governable communities. Drawing on interviews and participant observations in Qinghe, we examine how microregeneration projects were initiated, designed, implemented and maintained in local neighbourhoods. Community participation is a central theme of these projects, promoted by local authorities and experts to advocate social governance innovation. The findings highlight existing neighbourhood politics and multiple forms of agency, suggesting that community participation in Qinghe serves less as a mechanism of empowerment but more as a platform for coordinating diverse interests among different groups of residents, experts, and state officials. Despite facing tensions and contradictions, the state achieves its political goal of social governance experiment. However, the experiment did not achieve its original intention of community reorganisation.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 3 December 2024 Accepted 11 April 2025

KEYWORDS

Micro-regeneration; community participation; social governance; experiment; Qinghe

Introduction

Recent decades have witnessed a strategic transition in urban (re)development and governance. The global financial crisis and subsequent austerity measures indicate that the heyday of entrepreneurial urban (re)development seems to have passed¹. This has triggered a surge in policy experiments to transform the state and negotiate the state-society relationship through public participation and citizen-led collective actions².

Generally in line with this trend, China has also seen significant transitions in its model of urban redevelopment, which, many scholars believe, has moved beyond local entrepreneurialism and into a new stage with diverse socio-political considerations³. One typical manifestation is the emergence of a new approach called

'micro-regeneration'. As the name indicates, micro-regeneration features small or micro-scale interventions in the built environment, such as renovating existing buildings, improving local amenities, and upgrading public spaces. With non-demolition approaches, micro-regeneration aims at generating new urban landscapes while minimising demolition-induced social conflicts and facilitating public participation at the grassroots level.

The emergence of micro-regeneration has attracted growing attention from scholars. Some view it as an alternative to spatialised capital accumulation strategies prioritising economic growth or land profit. Increasing scholarly attention has also been paid to extra-economic objectives. The state seeks to materialise through community participation, city betterment, and developing a 'humanistic' and 'people-oriented' city⁴.

Others, however, find that social agendas and profit motivations are often inseparable in regeneration practices⁵. It is thus not surprising to see that most, if not all, micro-regeneration projects fail to engage local communities genuinely. The participation of social actors is still being criticised for its 'symbolic' or 'rhetorical' features⁶. As some studies have shown, the so-called co-production of urban spaces involves only selected groups of residents to justify the developmental intentions of the state. It strategically avoids stimulating social conflicts or addressing fundamental urban development problems like neighbourhood decay or housing inequality⁷.

In this paper, we expand the discussion around China's new urban redevelopment practices with a case study of the New Qinghe Experiment in Beijing, China. Rather than extracting land values or mediating social conflicts, micro-regeneration in the New Qinghe Experiment reflects the state's proactive attempt to experiment with new approaches to improve neighbourhood governance, aiming to achieve social governance innovation and build a 'people's city'. We examine how this experiment plays out on the ground, focusing on urban redevelopment governance, which has implications for neighbourhood governance through introducing a more participatory form of governance.

This paper draws on our online fieldwork in Qinghe between February and April 2022, due to COVID restrictions and in-person between April and June 2023. Data was collected primarily from interviews and focus groups with key informants involved in or affected by the regeneration process—such as scholars, community planners, social workers, volunteers, and residents from the case neighbourhoods. A total of 21 interviewees were approached. We also gained insights through participant observation of garden-building activities and from secondary data from news reports, policy documents, and social media. Data was triangulated across different sources to comprehensively understand Qinghe's micro-regeneration.

This paper contributes to the literature on China's mode of urban (re)development and its governance, particularly at the micro or neighbourhood scale. While debates on urban governance revolve around growth politics at the *municipal* and *city* levels and its path dependency, this paper draws on the New Qinghe Experiment to show that the local state pursues extra-economic objectives at the *neighbourhood* level through social mobilisation and community participation. Furthermore, this paper contributes to China Studies literature by demonstrating new trends in social governance, which reflect broader changes in state development and evolving state-society

relations. Using Qinghe as a prototypical case⁸, the study illustrates participatory micro-regeneration as a state-crafted arena where diverse actors, some of whom are often marginalised in formal politics, can express their demands. However, rather than enabling community self-governance or promoting community empowerment, we argue that these participatory spaces function as governance tools to demonstrate social governance successes. As such, we move beyond the dichotomy of democracy vs authoritarianism and highlight the contingencies of existing neighbourhood politics and plurality of political agency in urban China.

The rest of this paper is organised as follows. The next section reviews existing studies on governing urban redevelopment in China. Insights are drawn from the governmentality framing that views spatial interventions as a new governmentality to guide community participation and improve neighbourhood governance. A brief introduction to the New Qinghe Experiment follows this. The three sections present a detailed case study of micro-regeneration in Qinghe. They focus on the interactions between different groups of actors involved in Qinghe's micro-regeneration, namely local and grassroots state agencies, local experts, and ordinary residents. The last section discusses the implications of Qinghe's micro-regeneration for China's urban regeneration and governance.

Governing urban regeneration in China

From a state-centred model to evolving state-society relationships

Urban regeneration in China differs significantly from the market-centred model. While a dominant perspective emphasises the role of the state in the redevelopment process⁹, growing research begins to recognise the involvement of social forces and community actors. An increasing number of studies recognise the agency of social actors who have become more proactive in adapting, negotiating, and even pushing back the arrangements of the state¹⁰. Some focus on contentious or insurgent forms of participation, where societal actors engage in collective resistance to dispossession and displacement in large-scale redevelopment projects¹¹. Others explore communicative collaborative or participatory forms. They have detailed the efforts made by the local state to create new spaces or communication channels for dialogue and consensus-building, such as the organisation of consultation meetings, public hearings and collaborative workshops in decision-making¹² and the involvement of community planners, scholar-activists and citizen intellectuals in place-making¹³.

Nevertheless, the Chinese state and its apparatus are neither unified nor static, actively adapting to citizen pressures¹⁴. Existing observations show that China's multilevel state system is fragmented, with its officials often holding divergent and sometimes conflicting interests¹⁵. While grassroots state agencies are generally more concerned about execution and upward accountability, higher-level authorities have diverse concerns, such as maintaining social stability and regime legitimacy¹⁶, improving policy implementation and governance effectiveness¹⁷, co-opting social organisation and expanding infrastructure power¹⁸, collecting local information and addressing citizen demands¹⁹, and ensuring public trust and strengthening the relationship between the party-state and the society²⁰. This makes them more open to policy experiments, such as innovative approaches to promoting participatory regeneration.

The emerging plurality of actors in the governance of urban regeneration reflects evolving relationships between the state (which is often fragmented) and the society (where citizens are becoming more active in expressing their diverse demands) in China. Increasing research begins to recognise the blurring boundaries between state and society. This is particularly true at the neighbourhood level and everyday politics, where control mechanisms and claims-making converge through face-to-face interactions²¹. Growing research acknowledges the coexistence of social pluralism and state control in everyday life²². On the one hand, the increasing capacity of bottom-up forces to articulate their interests has been widely acknowledged, particularly when these interests are expressed in territorial forms, such as those tied to specific urban regeneration projects²³ or related to the management of neighbourhood properties²⁴. On the other hand, scholars argue that civic engagement does not necessarily challenge the state in urban China. Instead, it helps address local needs, improves accountability, and enhances citizen satisfaction²⁵.

To explain the dialectic relationships between state centrality and social participation, much Anglophone scholarship has modified existing state-centred frameworks, mainly variations of authoritarianism. Terms such as consultative authoritarianism ²⁶, bargained authoritarianism²⁷, and deliberative authoritarianism²⁸ have been proposed to describe recent changes in state institutions and governance structures. However, as Shue and Thornton²⁹ highlight, this approach often draws on pre-determined frameworks and interprets governance changes as aligned with or deviating from preset models. This can reduce complex governance changes to 'grand design' or structural adjustments within the state, further framing them 'against the backdrop of overly drawn distinctions between democratic and non-democratic *regime types'* (p.2). One possible consequence is a narrow framing of governing practices and an underestimation of the nuanced, gradual, mundane and locally embedded forms of political agency and negotiation strategies present in actually existing politics in China. To address this gap, we gain some insights from the governmentality framing, to which we now turn.

Negotiating state centrality and social agency within the governmentality framework

The governmentality framework provides an alternative perspective on interpreting governance changes³⁰. Rather than viewing the state-society relationship as inherently competitive or conflicting, Foucauldian scholars acknowledge the coexistence of different power forms that are not mutually exclusive³¹. Governance changes are interpreted not as a *transfer* of power from the state to society (focused on changes in governing structures) but as a *transformation* in how power is exercised to structure the 'field of possible action' of oneself and others (emphasising shifts in governing practices)³².

Fostering participation is increasingly used as a strategy to fulfil state objectives ³³. In this sense, within a governmentality framing, social agency coexists with state centrality and can become a way for the state to steer individuals toward its strategic goals.

Such governing techniques have made their way to urban China in recent years. A good example is the Community Building campaign (shequ jianshe)³⁴. The building of 'communities' (shequ), as Bray³⁵ argues, seeks to cultivate ethnically informed and morally responsible citizens who can manage their own affairs in response to the reform of the socialist work unit. Likewise, Tomba³⁶ suggests that the state establishes political boundaries for community participation within which the urban middle class are socially engineered to govern community issues by themselves.

A large body of literature suggests the continuality and evolution of community governance approaches in China³⁷. The drivers of changes in grassroots governance often come from the attempts to ameliorate, resolve or pre-empt (social) conflict or address local problems³⁸, improve policy-making, policy implementation and governance efficiency³⁹, extend state's infrastructural power and improve governing capacity⁴⁰, and ensure public trust and enhance regime legitimacy⁴¹. Social experiments may also come from local leaders' personal aspirations⁴². Successful experiments would improve officials' profiles and promotion prospects and create a legacy⁴³.

A common means of implementation includes co-opting various social groups through participatory and collaborative governance models⁴⁴. This is demonstrated by the rise of 'community planners' in urban regeneration. It embodies a form of 'technologies of expertise' since this position, as empirical research suggests, is primarily held by planners, designers, or researchers instead of open to ordinary citizens⁴⁵. The involvement of community planners contributes to a Chinese model of 'co-production' where the state acts through community planners to avoid direct confrontation with residents⁴⁶. Therefore, although many scholars recognise the significance of community planners in the transformation of China's state-centred model of urban regeneration, there is still ongoing debate about how socially progressive this approach truly is⁴⁷.

Governmentality provides a valuable scaffolding for understanding how China's emerging practices of micro-regeneration are designed, delivered, and governed in the blurry fields between the state and society. While much has been written about the 'grand design' of the Chinese way of governing the changing society on the regime or structural levels, relatively little is known about actual existing politics and multiple forms of political agencies in everyday life. Key questions include how the 'Chinese way of governing' plays out on the ground through hybrid governing approaches and how these approaches are received by the 'governed' and effectively shape their behaviours. Here, we focus on the diverse range of the 'governed,' including various societal actors and grassroots state officials. We examine how they react to the practices from higher levels of the state to 'put them into action.' The focus on governing practices and reactions to these practices enables us to explain why certain subjects are rendered governable while others become less 'governable' and resist, challenge, internalise or ignore governors' attempts to regulate their conduct, as manifested in the development of the New Qinghe Experiment.

The New Qinghe Experiment: an overview

The research draws on grounded observations of the New Qinghe Experiment, particularly its micro-regeneration projects. Located in northwest Beijing, Qinghe covers 9.37 square kilometres in the rural-urban fringe, mainly outside the 5th ring road (Figure 1). Since the 1990s, the region has undergone rapid urbanisation, serving as a microcosm of China's great urban transition. 'All problems in China's reform and social change', as the designer of the New Qinghe Experiment commented, 'can be tracked in Qinghe,' such as neighbourhood decay, social disintegration, civic disengagement and the under-provision of infrastructure and social services⁴⁸. Some, if not all, of them, are seen as reflections of 'system failures' of existing modes of neighbourhood governance in urban China⁴⁹.

Initiated in 2014, the New Qinghe Experiment is a state-funded, expert-led governance experiment. Rather than directly addressing urban problems, it reflects a proactive effort of the local state to advance 'social governance innovation' and materialise the concepts of 'people's city'. Discursively, 'social governance innovation' intends to build what President Xi Jinping⁵⁰ termed as a 'community of social governance' (shehui zhili gongtongti) where every member shall be responsible for and share the benefits of 'governing.' In practice, it explores new approaches to incorporate the 'social' into the state-centred governance models, thereby strengthening the governing capacities of the state and mitigating tensions between citizen participation and party leadership⁵¹.

The key objective of the New Qinghe Experiment is to carve out new spaces for 'social governance innovation' in everyday life. Various participatory platforms, such as the Deliberative Council (yishi weiyuanhui) or the community planner system, were established to reshape state-society relations. Working through these new political spaces, the local state intends to co-produce neighbourhood space and co-improve community life with its members, thereby translating the abstract ideas of 'social

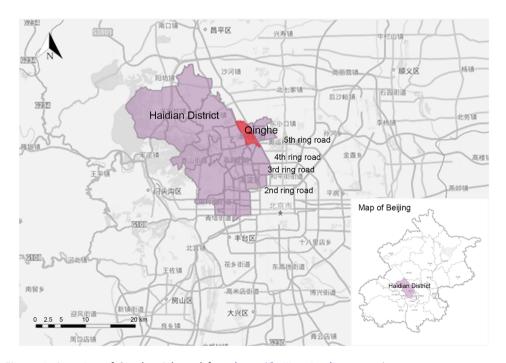


Figure 1. Location of Qinghe. Adapted from https://beijing.tianditu.gov.cn/.

governance' and 'people-oriented development' into concrete practices. Societal actors, such as local experts, community volunteers, and ordinary residents, are encouraged to organise, participate in and contribute to community development. They participate in general discussions on current community problems and plans, such as parking management, infrastructure upgrading and community service for the elderly. They are also involved in specific debates about implementation details and fund allocation. Their discussions and suggestions help shape the agenda for subsequent micro-regeneration projects.

Therefore, Qinghe's micro-regeneration reflects, at least in part, the state's effort to invigorate community engagement and promote collaborative governance in urban neighbourhoods. These efforts are implemented in the neighbourhood's micro, mundane, and quotidian corners, such as a small neglected green space or an abandoned activity room. The investment in reshaping and upgrading these spaces and facilities is relatively modest compared to other community renewal projects, ranging from tens to hundreds of thousands of RMB. It is challenging to achieve a corresponding return on investment. As such, Qinghe's micro-regeneration fundamentally differs from micro or neighbourhood regeneration projects described in prior research. It is neither concerned with the pursuit of growth or development—even in a disguised form⁵². Nor does it emerge as a passive response to social pressures from demolition and displacement⁵³. Rather, it is a proactive form of experimental governance aimed at localising national political mandate and responding, at least partly, to everyday social needs that have not been fully satisfied by existing modes of neighbourhood governance. In this process, the local state employs multiple governing techniques to mobilise various actors, including local experts, community members, volunteers, and its front-line workers responsible for implementing policy innovations.

The New Qinghe Experiment: Negotiating the multilevel state

The New Qinghe Experiment is among many of China's recent local governance innovations pursuing strategic goals beyond economic growth. While much has been written about local governance innovations as localised responses to shifting national political mandates⁵⁴, there is still limited understanding of how these responses are translated from abstract policy into concrete practice on the ground—or why they sometimes fail to materialise. A key question remains: who are the main actors within (or beyond) the state structure responsible for initiating, executing, and evaluating these governance innovations? This question carries significant theoretical and practical implications in the context of China's fragmented authoritarianism, where the interests of multilevel state actors and officials are often fluid and not always aligned⁵⁵.

This section disaggregates the 'state' role in the New Qinghe Experiment, focusing mainly on its local and grassroots forms. When referring to the 'local,' we mean district governments at the district level and street offices at the sub-district level. According to the Organisation Law, they occupy the lowest positions in China's administrative hierarchy in urban areas.⁵⁶ Most district government staff and leaders of the street office are civil servants (qongwuyuan). In contrast, others typically hold established posts within public institutions (shiye bianzhi). All are public employees responsible for planning, administering, and managing local public administration. They are often appointed by higher-level governments, and their job performance is closely monitored by their superiors⁵⁷.

When discussing 'grassroots state agency,' we refer to residents' committees, legally defined as 'grassroots autonomous organisations for residents' self-management, self-education, and self-service'58. This distinction separates them from the 'local state' at the district and sub-district levels. As nominally self-governing bodies, the chairman and vice-chairman of residents' committees are elected by eligible residents within their jurisdiction and act as key actors in implementing administrative directives, handling community affairs, and maintaining territorial orders of the party-state.

Although the actual effects of this autonomy remain debated⁵⁹, members of the residents' committee belong to an administrative system separate from that of state officials at local and higher levels. They are not classified as civil servants, nor do they work in public institutions; instead, they are a special group whose salaries and benefits are fully funded by higher-level government budgets. Based on our observations in Beijing and other Chinese cities, outstanding performance within the residents' committees does not necessarily lead to career advancement. Except in rare cases, they must pass additional exams to obtain posts within public institutions—a prerequisite for moving up within the government system. This distinction has significant implications for governance experiments, particularly when different state levels are involved, as they are governed, mobilised, and regulated through various techniques.

In the New Qinghe Experiment, local and grassroots state agencies play significant roles. Initially launched by the Haidian District Government, the experiment was designed as a collaborative effort between local experts and the Qinghe Street Office. They selected several neighbourhoods within Qinghe to pilot new community participation and micro-regeneration approaches. A key element throughout the process has been the performance-based personnel management system, which serves as a critical link between the upper levels of government (acting as the director of the experiment) and grassroots state agencies (functioning as the implementors). This system aims to ensure alignment and accountability as the experiment unfolds.

Existing research has demonstrated how the performance-based personnel management system contributes to an upward accountability regime that governs local officials with both hard rules and soft strategies. On the one hand, the opportunity to 'climb up' the career ladder within this system provides strong political incentives for local state officials, motivating them to meet or even exceed the targets set by their superiors. This has further given rise to a 'promotion tournament', where local state officials are driven to outperform their peers through hard work and entrepreneurial initiatives⁶⁰. However, recent performance evaluations are no longer solely economic indicators, especially at the neighbourhood level. Social stability and satisfaction are essential aspects.

The 'promotion tournament' is particularly evident in policy sectors closely linked to promotion opportunities⁶¹—such as the New Qinghe Experiment as a social governance experiment. In Qinghe, local officials moved beyond simply meeting targets. They ventured into new areas where they 'must first identify a problem, come up with a new policy, and, most importantly, market this policy by convincing other

departments and the general public to participate' - a governing technique that shares many similarities with the Foucauldian approach to invigorate the 'powers of the self' 62. Consequently, local state officials, such as those from the Qinghe Street Office, are transformed into 'policy entrepreneurs' whose motivation for social governance innovation stems from a strong sense of self-mobilisation that is deeply embedded in their promotion system.

On the other hand, cadre assessment rules established by upper-level governments direct behaviours of local governors⁶³. To achieve better assessment scores, local state officials must rigorously implement administrative directives issued by higher-level authorities, thereby enforcing upper-level policy preferences. In the New Qinghe Experiment, for example, public trust and satisfaction with the government have become crucial objectives for local governments. One of the main performance evaluation criteria is the number of complaints received through the 12,345 public service hotline⁶⁴. A higher volume of complaints leads to a lower ranking for the street office in its monthly performance review, resulting in potential criticism or even disciplinary actions against its leaders.

Therefore, to increase public satisfaction and reduce the number of complaints, the Qinghe Street Office explored new approaches for engaging with residents and collecting their opinions, particularly those with strong views about local development and neighbourhood governance. Experimental participatory platforms such as the Deliberative Council played crucial roles in bridging the gap between residents and local officials. These informal participatory platforms offer alternatives to formal communication channels, such as the 12,345 public service hotlines. They provide residents with new opportunities to voice their opinions and influence neighbourhood development without resorting to more insurgent forms of participation that could negatively affect local officials' performance evaluations or promotion prospects⁶⁵. As our interviews indicate, local officials see these experimental platforms as a 'soft landing' for public complaints (Interview with an NGO member, 23 May 2023).

However, neither self-mobilisation nor cadre assessment rules fully explain the dynamics at the grassroots level. As widely observed in sampled neighbourhoods in Qinghe, many grassroots state agencies show little enthusiasm for local governance innovations, in stark contrast to their superiors at the district level. Worse still, in one residents' committee, we observed that its members lacked engagement with the governance experiment. The chairman, in particular, often procrastinated or avoided attending regular Deliberative Council meetings to 'avoid directly engaging with or confronting residents' (Interview with a resident committee member, 24 May 2023).

Why does this occur, particularly in Beijing, where centralisation and top-down directives are among the strongest in urban China? Our analysis suggests that the 'promotion tournament' and cadre performance assessments fail to offer sufficient political incentives to motivate grassroots state agencies to pursue governance innovation. Institutional inertia alone does not fully explain their reluctance or even resistance to such innovation. Instead, we argue that the dynamic relationships between punishment and reward (including promotion opportunities), as perceived by different levels of state agencies, is the key to understanding variegated attitudes and practices towards governance innovation.

Specifically, most members of the residents' committees are not public employees and have limited opportunities for career advancement through target fulfilment or the 'promotion tournament.' For them, implementing governance innovation and organising community participation are tasks beyond their routine administrative duties. While completing these tasks may position them more favourably with higher-level authorities and, in some cases, earn them material rewards, failure to do so can result in more severe consequences. As a member of the NGO that organises Deliberative Council explains.

The chairman of the residents' committee is reluctant to hold Deliberative Council meetings. He seems to believe that if these meetings didn't take place, the 'troublesome' residents wouldn't be an issue in the first place! [...] If a meeting was held and residents raised concerns, he felt obligated to address them, which created significant pressure. Worse, if these concerns were not adequately resolved, the 'troublesome' residents were more likely to file complaints or escalate the issues to higher authorities, such as through the 12345 hotlines—something we all want to avoid. (Interview with an NGO member, 23 May 2023)

This reflects the institutional tensions between local and grassroots state agencies, which have been primarily underestimated in existing research on central-local relations in China⁶⁶. It also underscores the Janus faces of social criteria, such as the number of formal complaints received through the public service hotlines. These have emerged as a new approach to assess local governance and steer local officials' behaviours. While serving as crucial motivators for local officials to initiate governance experiments and improve performance scores, these criteria also contribute to passive or resistant behaviours among grassroots state agencies. For these agencies, acting as 'faithful implementers' of governance experiments rarely leads to promotion opportunities. This makes blame avoidance their primary concern, leading to a strong tendency to inaction⁶⁷. As one chairman of the residents' committee admitted, 'it is less about seeking merit, but more about avoiding mistakes.' (Interview 7 April 2022).

Designing the New Qinghe Experiment

The localisation of the New Qinghe Experiment involves not only negotiation within the state structure but also significant mobilisation beyond formal state institutions. This section focuses on a specific social group—experts—and their role in designing and implementing the New Qinghe Experiment. The deep involvement of experts transformed the New Qinghe Experiment into an expert-led, experimental approach to urban (re)development⁶⁸.

The role of experts—such as scholar-activists, planning professionals and citizen intellectuals—has recently attracted increasing attention from scholars and policymakers⁶⁹. In urban China, the state remains a dominant force in shaping relationships with emerging social actors, and this institutional context influences the role of experts⁷⁰. Existing research suggests that 'technologies of expertise' in China's urban governance often manifest through co-option. Social actors—such as NGOs, community planners, and experts in general—are recognised and absorbed by the local state due to their specialised knowledge, skills, experience and resources. This allows experts to function as a 'flanking mechanism' for the local state, helping to achieve political objectives and govern the rapidly changing society while sidestepping direct engagement with residents and potential conflicts⁷¹.

Our observations reinforce existing research findings, highlighting the political logic underlying the involvement of experts and the use of specialised knowledge. The community participation and micro-renewal projects in Qinghe were initiated by the local state from the outset. Driven by a strong desire for policy innovation, local state officials launched these projects to align with the state's call for the 'modernisation of national governance capacity,' especially in the context of new urban development phases requiring innovative approaches (Interview with an expert involved in the design of the New Qinghe Experiment, 4 April 2022). Under the pressures of governance innovation, Haidian District Government collaborated with scholars from Tsinghua University and planning professionals from a local planning institute. Together, the state, the university, and the planning institute formed a collaborative partnership to design and implement the New Qinghe Experiment.⁷²

This 'government-expert' partnership was indispensable in the New Qinghe Experiment. On the one hand, experts have helped the state achieve its strategic goal of 'governance innovation.' They draw on their knowledge and expertise to identify local problems and propose possible solutions and action plans. An example is the comprehensive 'neighbourhood assessment' (jiequ tijian) conducted by the expert team. Leveraging their status as a third party independent from the state, the team conducted extensive public participation and consultation activities, such as surveys, consultations, focus groups, online forums and community cultural events. These activities saw active engagement from residents expressing concerns about current issues and aspirations for their neighbourhood's future (Interview with a resident, 4 April 2022). Residents' opinions were systematically gathered and synthesised by the experts into a detailed list of community assets and challenges, and were shared with the government. This process connected residents' needs with government and market resources, fostering more inclusive and participatory neighbourhood planning. More importantly, as external 'integrators' or 'coordinators', the experts could cross traditional administrative boundaries within the government and facilitate more coordinated initiatives, such as the advocacy for the Qinghe Greenway across multiple neighbourhoods.73

On the other hand, the local state endorsed experts to enter the community and conduct experiments. Drawing on their expertise, scholars and planning professionals employ experimental methods to address complex issues. For example, they established Deliberative Councils to combat civic disengagement and introduced a community planner system to address social conflicts during neighbourhood regeneration. For the sociologists, sampled neighbourhoods in Qinghe became a 'testing ground' for their practice-oriented research, where they attempted to 'explore methods to align sociological research with community building and governance in China during the new era'⁷⁴. At the same time, planning professionals advanced the design and implementation of micro-regeneration projects in Qinghe. These projects promoted new planning and design concepts, such as participatory community planning,

sustainable development, and biodiversity design (Interview with a community planner, 9 Feb 2022).

On this basis, experts refined, summarised, and packaged experimental approaches and governance models developed by Qinghe. Through project branding and model marketing, the New Qinghe Experiment has been promoted as a key part of place-branding, creating a distinctive image for Qinghe. For example, in 2020, Qinghe was recognised as Beijing's first street-level 'Green Ecological Demonstration Zone,' representing a new development model that is 'low in economic cost' and 'high in social participation,' achievable through 'co-production, green transformation, space activation, and infrastructure upgrades.⁷⁵ Moreover, Qinghe's micro-regeneration became an internationally recognised case. It was awarded by the International Federation of Landscape Architects as one of the best projects in social and community health.⁷⁶ These awards brought fame and attention to Qinghe and substantial material rewards. The expert team pursued new initiatives with these resources, such as developing Qinghe's Green Garden Networks.

As such, experts and the local state have jointly leveraged Qinghe as a platform to articulate various economic and extra-economic ambitions. Successful policy experiments, or at least those packaged as such, have attracted the attention of higher-level governments and global media. This visibility helps local state officials gain recognition and credit and facilitates the promotion and commodification of Qinghe's participatory planning model. During this process, we find that the involvement of experts goes beyond mere 'technologies of expertise,' where the state co-opts experts to support governance and validate policy experiments. More importantly, the techniques, skills, and terminologies developed by the professionals shaped the key details of the regeneration plans and influenced how the governance experiment is framed and presented, thereby affecting both the immediate outcomes of the experiment and its longer-term development.

The differences in how the New Qinghe Experiment is framed conceptually are notable here. Although the experiment emphasises community participation as a core theme, its presentation in design competitions and award applications shifts to focus on green place-making. This framing aligns better with funding schemes and carries substantial persuasive power to convince the reviewers. Such a 'mission drift' reveals underlying tensions in the policy experiment. New evaluation criteria—cadre assessments or award selection standards—continue to shape how policy experiments are designed, conducted, and presented. This is evident in how scholars and planning professionals have integrated concepts like 'green,' 'sustainability,' and 'biodiversity' into Qinghe's participatory micro-regeneration efforts. However, as we will illustrate in the next section, residents do not always recognise these concepts. Instead, they reflect the experts' visions and focus on measurable impacts. In this sense, the New Qinghe Experiment aligns with the broader trend of participatory experimental urbanism, risking transforming into activities that are 'impact-measured, risk-managed, performance-monitored, and, ultimately, profited upon'77.

Participation in the New Qinghe Experiment

Participation has been a central theme throughout the whole process of the New Qinghe Experiment, mobilised both as an experimental method of urban regeneration,

a self-governance technique, and a vision to re-organise the rapidly changing society⁷⁸. Qinghe's micro-regeneration is a spatial process of renovating the neighbourhood and a social process of (re-)organising the community. In this section, we examine how community participation is experimented in Qinghe's micro-regeneration projects, focusing on how residents are enrolled in place-making (especially as these place-making activities are framed within various place-branding terminologies) and whether such processes contribute to the transformation of community subjectivities.

Firstly, the New Qinghe Experiment, with participation as its key theme, created new political spaces for actors usually marginalised in neighbourhood governance. In sampled neighbourhoods, participation opportunities such as consultation meetings, online discussions, resident surveys, design workshops, and stakeholder meetings were created. These platforms invite different groups of residents to share their ideas and opinions on community life and neighbourhood development. Based on this broad feedback, experts and resident representatives summarise and refine the residents' input, forming concrete intentions for community development and neighbourhood regeneration.

Nevertheless, broader participation has also brought divergent views, making consensus-building difficult and transforming regeneration into a lengthy and costly process. An example is the community canteen project experimented in a sampled neighbourhood. The intention was to provide dining for elderly residents with limited mobility. Although residents voted to prioritise this project, disagreements arose over provider choice, location, and pricing. For instance, some residents preferred a contracted local restaurant, while others favoured a community-run setup, though safety regulations and property rights posed further challenges. This difficulty in reaching a consensus caused significant delays, eventually leading to the project's cancellation. Such failure, as one community planner noted, may stem from 'too much democracy, as any resident opposition can halt the whole progress' (Interview, 23 April 2022).

This experience prompted experts and community planners to rethink participation strategies. The community planner reflected on the canteen project, 'this has become a lesson for us when proposing future projects'. Consequently, experts and residents' committees have taken on a greater role in structuring participation, emphasising projects that are manageable and free from significant contention. The focus here is not on social control but political visibility (xianshidu). As the planner elaborated, 'the government expects their investments [in micro-regeneration] to produce projects that can be completed within a set timeframe. Failure to do so will affect future funding and, more importantly, decrease the interest of higher-level leaders in grassroots experiments' (Interview, 23 April 2022).

Community participation in Qinghe thus displays features distinct from participatory approaches seen in past state-led urban regeneration models where citizen involvement was often symbolic or mandated in preset ways⁷⁹. Here, residents can influence, at least partly, aspects of the regeneration agenda, such as voicing objections to proposed canteen sites or plans. This shows some flexibility outside the ways the state and its agencies pre-described. However, state power remains integral, shaping individual actions indirectly through flexible regulatory measures that establish frameworks and boundaries of regeneration efforts, such as setting time frames, visions, and objectives for specific projects. A key measure through which the state exercises its regulatory power is 'projectification' - creating an exercise. Through projectifying governance experiments, the state and its social partners transform governance innovation from an open-ended experimental process into a time-limited problem-solving exercise. The outcomes of these exercises are closely tied to evaluations of local governance, thereby connecting to the cadre assessment and promotion tournament systems discussed earlier.

Secondly, the experts meticulously designed new mechanisms for community participation in sampled neighbourhoods. These included electing resident representatives to form the Deliberative Council, training community planners, and guiding resident-volunteer teams to manage the daily upkeep of micro-regeneration projects after completion. The experts aimed to institutionalise these participation mechanisms to supplement and enhance the existing grassroots governance system, ultimately fostering new community subjectivities where residents identify and address local issues⁸⁰.

However, many tensions emerged when these mechanisms played out on the ground, challenging the idea of 'community self-governance'. First, we observed mixed attitudes from grassroots state agencies towards the new participatory mechanisms. While some welcomed the new participatory channels, others were indifferent to or resisted such governance changes. For example, as discussed earlier, the chairman of the residents' committee in one sampled neighbourhood viewed the newly elected Deliberative Council as a 'source of community conflict' (Interview with an NGO member, 23 May 2023). This perspective led to passive resistance toward the Council's activities. In response, the expert team played a crucial role. They established a professional NGO for coordination. The NGO used its third-party status to build closer ties with residents and listen to their concerns. It also introduced standardised procedures into the operations of the Deliberative Council, such as rules for speaking times and meeting protocols, to minimise conflicts. Additionally, the NGO facilitated communication between the sub-district and grassroots levels, ensuring that policy directives were effectively conveyed.

Tensions also arose from the mismatch between residents' popular demands and the innovative concepts and aesthetic principles advocated by experts. For example, in one sampled neighbourhood, the expert-led community planner team introduced biodiversity as the guiding principle of micro-regeneration (Interview with a community planner, 18 May 2023). They organised design workshops with volunteers and residents to co-create a blueprint for a new community garden. The garden featured several experts' ideas, including insect boxes, small ponds for observing insects and microorganisms, and garden paths made from natural materials like pine needles and fallen leaves to facilitate rainwater collection and recycling. However, the principles of biodiversity and sustainability became significant points of contention, notably when the garden aged and maintenance deteriorated. During our repeated visits to the neighbourhood, many residents expressed frustration over the increase in insects, which they found bothersome. Additionally, the soft paths frequently became muddy and unusable after heavy rain, making it difficult for people to access the garden. These everyday inconveniences led many residents to voice dissatisfaction with how these design concepts were

implemented. Some even suggested that a more straightforward and less 'bio-diverse' approach, like paving the ground with cement and planting two rows of flowers, would have been more friendly to the residents (interview with local residents, 27 May 2023).

Another key tension within the community concerns whether the New Qinghe Experiment has catalysed a sense of 'community' and commitment to collective responsibility or has merely created a collection of individual subjectivities and participatory behaviours driven by personal interests. In our observations, organising participatory activities and design workshops provided short-term incentives for cultivating a sense of community, as many respondents recalled feeling joy and excitement during the events, with one participant even commenting that it was 'the first time I felt at home and part of a community since moving to this neighbourhood' (Interview with a resident, April 24, 2022).

However, as the activities concluded, the micro-moral relations among residents gradually faded over time. Social interactions and emotional bonds reverted to their usual patterns, with most neighbourly relationships limited to polite greetings rather than evolving into a strong motivation for self-governance. As one interviewee put it, 'We've known the neighbours upstairs and downstairs for years, but you can't really interfere in their affairs, can you?' (Interview with a resident, May 27, 2023). This dynamic is further reflected in the community garden after the regeneration. A few residents appropriated sections of the garden for their own use, an action widely recognised as inappropriate. Yet most respondents felt they were unable to intervene, with many expressing sentiments such as, 'It's wrong, but as neighbours, you can do nothing to stop them' (Interview with a resident, May 26, 2023). This underscores the difficulty in translating the short-term mobilisation of participation into a long-lasting sense of community responsibility and self-regulation.

As such, expert-designed participatory regeneration in the New Qinghe Experiment can be partially understood as an experiment of community reorganisation through invigorating community participation. It encourages and guides residents' involvement in public affairs, such as micro-regeneration projects, within state-structured frameworks. However, due to the projectified nature of the governance experiment, the impact of such policy interventions on the 'self' tends to be limited. Focusing on specific, time-bound projects means the effects on residents' self-mobilisation and community responsibility are often temporary. The experiment's structured approach, driven by clear project milestones and evaluation criteria, may not fully address or alter the deeply ingrained patterns of community perception and interaction. As a result, the New Qinghe Experiment has yet to cultivate a self-governing community characterised by mutual obligation and collective responsibilities. While potentially effective in the short term, the participatory initiatives struggle to foster long-lasting communal bonds and self-regulation. This highlights a broader challenge in translating temporary participatory engagement into enduring community transformation and self-governance.

Conclusion and discussion

China's urban redevelopment and governance models have experienced profound transformations in recent years. Many scholars argue that the rationale for redevelopment has now extended beyond local entrepreneurialism to encompass a broader range of socio-political considerations, such as people-oriented development, community engagement, environmental sustainability, and governance innovation. However, at the neighbourhood level, governance continues to cope with challenges from market-oriented reform. Social experiments aim to solve social conflicts and enhance governance capacities. Some are out of the personal aspiration of officials or professionals. Participatory innovation should be understood in this context. This paper examines these emerging patterns through the case study of micro-regeneration in Qinghe, Beijing. This case is part of a local social governance experiment called the New Qinghe Experiment. The experiment epitomises the local state's proactive attempt to explore novel approaches to improve neighbourhood and urban governance. It emphasises new approaches to community participation in urban regeneration, aiming to address social and spatial challenges in an evolving urban context. While the case is specific to the local context and political environment, the findings highlight the state's efforts to govern the grassroots society through more collaborative governance with the society. It has implications for other contexts where the state-society relationship is transformed beyond neoliberalism.

This paper details how Qinghe's micro-regeneration evolved from a 'social governance innovation' concept into tangible 'participatory community regeneration' projects and actions. This serves as an useful empirical entry point into China's governance changes because micro-regeneration reflects the recent shift in state politics of urban redevelopment and the formation of new relations between the state and the society. Through the lens of governmentality, we gain critical insights into the practices of power that shape this local governance change. The state works through its grassroots agencies, negotiates intrastate tensions, introduces experts, forms 'government-expert partnerships', and organises community participatory activities and mechanisms. These techniques collectively serve as tools for realising the state's objectives of social governance innovation. These new practices contribute to a more plural and negotiable process of neighbourhood governance, thus going beyond a simple dichotomy of democratic and authoritarian governance.

Drawing on an in-depth analysis of micro-regeneration in Qinghe, this paper details a new practice of urban regeneration and presents a new approach to advance neighbourhood governance. While existing research either marginalises local communities (i.e. non-participation) or describes its role as symbolic (i.e. tokenistic participation) in urban development and governance changes, this paper shows how 'community participation' has been proactively embraced by the local state as a tool to promote micro-regeneration as social governance innovation. In this context, 'community participation' serves not only as a method for implementing micro-regeneration but also as a measurable outcome leveraged by the local state and its partners to drive governance changes, demonstrating their political achievements and social impacts. Within the carefully designed spaces for participation, diverse actors emerge as visible agents capable of expressing and pursuing their own demands. This is particularly relevant for social actors typically marginalised in neighbourhood development and are less inclined towards formal political participation. Their variegated ways of navigating state directions reveal a degree of agency, which can impact how the governance innovation plays out on the ground. For example, we find that existing promotion systems have not provided grassroots state agencies with sufficient incentives to

pursue governance innovation, unlike their local or higher-level superiors. Meanwhile, the 'technologies of expertise' reflect experts' personal visions and ambitions, which sometimes clash with residents' demands and perceptions. In addition, residents struggle to overcome the barriers of an atomised society and have yet to foster 'community subjectivities' through project-based participation and collective action.

However, we argue that the emergence of participatory spaces and social agencies does not represent community self-governance. Rather, it plays out as new governing techniques within the field structured by the state and its partners (including experts), shedding light on new urban governance directions and approaches in China. In this approach, the local state guides participation by setting broad objectives and boundaries through indirect measures like projectification and place branding. This flexible model allows for more responsive involvement within state-directed frameworks, departing from previous participatory models where residents had little influence or limited choices 81. In this way, the local state acts as a 'director' behind the scenes, shaping the vision of the governance experiment and influencing the process through a blend of expert knowledge, regulatory frameworks, and public involvement while still retaining control over the outcome.

Therefore, rather than viewing community participation as an idealised goal of social empowerment, we contend that it is more accurately understood as a means for different actors to achieve their own objectives, albeit within the framework established by the local state. Residents, experts, and state officials all use the notion of 'participation' to further their respective agendas. Residents express their demands through participation but may not develop lasting self-governance capacities; experts test and promote their professional ideas through experiments; and the state facilitates the participation mechanism to achieve governance innovation and political goals. In this sense, community participation serves less as a genuine mechanism to empower residents but more as a platform for coordinating diverse interests, subject to varying degrees of state regulation and guidance. We highlight that research on social governance in China shall focus on how neighbourhood spaces are politically constructed and experienced through the engagement of multiple social and political actors whose practices are shaped by varying degrees of state regulation and guidance. By examining the plurality of political agency and actually existing neighbourhood politics, this paper underscores the need for a nuanced understanding of how participatory processes are shaped by and contribute to state ambitions. Participation does not arise from the dynamics of multi-party elections. Neighbourhood politics involve agencies comprising multiple actors in China. While the experiment is innovative in its attempt to motivate and co-opt social actors, the policy implication suggests that social innovation is constrained by the political economy and may not fulfil its original intention. It underscores the limitations of experimental governance. Local policymakers' experiments are influenced by national political mandates.

Notes

- 1. Peck, "Entrepreneurial Urbanism."
- Thompson, "Whatever Happened to Municipal Radicalism?"; Roth, Russell, and Thompson, "Politicising Proximity."

- 3. Wu, Zhang, and Liu, "Beyond Growth Machine Politics."
- 4. Wang, Zhang, and Wu, "Micro-Regeneration"; Wu, Zhang, and Liu, "Beyond Growth Machine Politics"; Zhang and Zhang, "Regenerating Shanghai through Urban Spatial Design?"; Zhu, "Micro-Regeneration in Shanghai and the Public-Isation of Space"; Wang, Wu, and Zhang, "Participatory Micro-Regeneration."
- 5. Teo, "Socially Engaged Municipal Statecraft in Urban China?."
- 6. Wang, Zhang, and Wu, "Governing Urban Redevelopment"; Zhu, "Public Space and Its Publicness in People-Oriented Urban Regeneration: A Case Study of Shanghai"; Xu and Lin, "Participatory Urban Redevelopment in Chinese Cities amid Accelerated Urbanization: Symbolic Urban Governance in Globalizing Shanghai."
- 7. Zhu, "Public Space and Its Publicness in People-Oriented Urban Regeneration"; Wang, Wu, and Zhang, "Participatory Micro-Regeneration"; Zhang and Zhang, "Regenerating Shanghai through Urban Spatial Design?.
- 8. Brenner, "Stereotypes, Archetypes, and Prototypes."
- 9. Wu and Zhang, "Rethinking China's Urban Governance."
- 10. Logan, "People and Plans in Urbanising China."
- 11. Shih, "Rethinking Displacement in Peri-Urban Transformation in China"; Shin, "The Right to the City and Critical Reflections on China's Property Rights Activism"; Cao, "Participatory Governance in China."
- 12. Li et al., "Collaborative Workshop and Community Participation"; Xian and Gu, "The Making of Social Injustice and Changing Governance Approaches in Urban Regeneration."
- 13. Mai, Xu, and Liu, "Cultivating an Alternative Subjectivity Beyond Neoliberalism"; Zhao, Liu, and Wang, "Co-Production' as an Alternative in Post-Political China?"
- 14. Lin, "A Model of Big Data-Based Governance."
- 15. Mertha, "Fragmented Authoritarianism 2.0."
- 16. Wu, "Planning Centrality, Market Instruments"; Lee and Zhang, "The Power of Instability."
- 17. Ahlers, Heberer, and Schubert, "Whither Local Governance in Contemporary China?"; Almén, "Participatory Innovations under Authoritarianism."
- 18. Cai and He, "Governing Homeowner Associations in China's Gated Communities"; Hsu and Hasmath, "The Local Corporatist State and NGO Relations in China."
- 19. Hsu and Chou, "Cellularized Civil Society"; Teets, "Let Many Civil Societies Bloom."
- 20. Zeng and Qiao, "Communities Built on Political Trust"; Cai, Liu, and Jiang, "Bringing the Party Back into the Community"; Li and Ergenc, "Party-Led Public Participation in Neighborhood Governance."
- 21. Woodman, "Local Politics, Local Citizenship?"
- 22. Spires, "Contingent Symbiosis and Civil Society in an Authoritarian State"; Teets, "Let Many Civil Societies Bloom"; Shin and Zhu, "Environmental Civil Society Organizations and the State in China"; Zhong, "Coordinated Co-Governance and Grassroots Innovation."
- 23. Shih, "Rethinking Displacement in Peri-Urban Transformation in China"; Shin, "The Right to the City and Critical Reflections on China's Property Rights Activism"; Cao, "Participatory Governance in China."
- 24. Cai and Sheng, "Homeowners' Activism in Beijing"; Yip, "Housing Activism in Urban China."
- 25. Almén, "Participatory Innovations under Authoritarianism"; Liu et al., "Do Citizen Participation Programs Help Citizens Feel Satisfied with Urban Redevelopment Policy in China?"; Zhan et al., "How to Enhance Villagers' Willingness to Participate in Grassroots Governance through Political Efficacy?"
- 26. Teets, "Let Many Civil Societies Bloom."
- 27. Lee and Zhang, "The Power of Instability."
- 28. He and Warren, "Authoritarian Deliberation."
- 29. Shue and Thornton, "Introduction."
- 30. Foucault, Security, Territory, Population.
- 31. Rose, Powers of Freedom.
- 32. Lemke, "Foucault, Governmentality, and Critique," 53.
- 33. Foucault, "Governmentality," 244.



- 34. Heberer and Göbel, The Politics of Community Building in Urban China.
- 35. Bray, "Building 'Community"
- 36. Tomba, The Government Next Door.
- 37. Tang, Governing Neighborhoods in Urban China; Tsai, "Evolutionary Governance in China"; Goodman, "Sixty Years of the People's Republic." We would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for reminding us of these points and suggesting explanations for the reasons behind social governance experiments.
- Wu, "Planning Centrality, Market Instruments": Lee and Zhang, "The Power of Instability." 38.
- Ahlers, Heberer, and Schubert, "Whither Local Governance in Contemporary China?"; 39. Almén, "Participatory Innovations under Authoritarianism."
- 40. Cai and He, "Governing Homeowner Associations in China's Gated Communities": Hsu and Hasmath, "The Local Corporatist State and NGO Relations in China."
- 41. Zeng and Qiao, "Communities Built on Political Trust"; Cai, Liu, and Jiang, "Bringing the Party Back into the Community."
- 42. Hurst and Teets, "Conclusion."
- Göbel and Heberer, "The Policy Innovation Imperative." 43.
- Wu et al., "Statecraft at the Frontier of Capitalism"; Wang, Wu, and Zhang, "Participatory 44. Micro-Regeneration"; Zhao, Liu, and Wang, "Co-Production' as an Alternative in Post-Political China?"
- 45. Kochan, "The Prospects and Challenges of Socially Engaged Urban Planning."
- 46. Zhao, Liu, and Wang, "'Co-Production' as an Alternative in Post-Political China?"
- 47. Teo, "Socially Engaged Municipal Statecraft in Urban China?"; Mai, Xu, and Liu, "Cultivating an Alternative Subjectivity Beyond Neoliberalism."
- 48. Li and Wang, New Qinghe Experiment, 55.
- 49. Wang and Clarke, "Four Modes of Neighbourhood Governance."
- 50. Xi, "Report to the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China."
- 51. Snape, "Social Management or Social Governance."
- Zhang and Zhang, "Regenerating Shanghai through Urban Spatial Design?" 52.
- 53. Wang, Zhang, and Wu, "Governing Urban Redevelopment"; Wei, "Tyrannical Participation Approaches in China's Regeneration of Urban Heritage Areas"; Xu and Lin, "Participatory Urban Redevelopment in Chinese Cities amid Accelerated Urbanization."
- 54. Wu, Zhang, and Liu, "Beyond Growth Machine Politics."
- Mertha, "Fragmented Authoritarianism 2.0." 55.
- 56. Organization Law of the People's Republic of China for Local People's Congresses at All Levels and Local People's Governments at All Levels (2022 Amendment) https://www.gov. cn/xinwen/2022-03/12/content_5678642.htm.
- 57. Ang, "Counting Cadres."
- Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, "Organic Law of the Urban 58. Residents Committees of the People's Republic of China (Amended in 2018)."
- 59. Read, "Theoretical Approaches to Neighbourhood Governance."
- 60. Li and Zhou, "Political Turnover and Economic Performance."
- Teets, Hasmath, and Lewis, "The Incentive to Innovate?" 61.
- Göbel and Heberer, "The Policy Innovation Imperative," 303. 62.
- 63. Whiting, "The Cadre Evaluation System at the Grass Roots."
- 64. Beijing Daily. "Optimize the Evaluation System."
- 65. Wang and Liu, "Representation as Responsiveness in China"; Hu and Wu, "Whole-Process People's Democracy' in China."
- 66. See, for example, Chien, "Economic Freedom and Political Control in Post-Mao China"; Wang and Hou, "Breaking the Cycle?"
- 67. Teets, Hasmath, and Lewis, "The Incentive to Innovate?"
- 68. Li, Zheng, and Wang, "Bring Society Back in."
- 69. Teo, "Socially Engaged Municipal Statecraft in Urban China?"; Kochan, "The Prospects and Challenges of Socially Engaged Urban Planning"; Mai, Xu, and Liu, "Cultivating an



Alternative Subjectivity Beyond Neoliberalism"; Wang, Wu, and Zhang, "Participatory Micro-Regeneration."

- 70. Logan, "People and Plans in Urbanising China."
- 71. Zhao, Liu, and Wang, "'Co-Production' as an Alternative in Post-Political China?"; Mai, Xu, and Liu, "Cultivating an Alternative Subjectivity Beyond Neoliberalism."
- 72. https://mp.weixin.gg.com/s/Dfg2Hg5Cx9WO4KbHwFKXxA.
- https://m.thepaper.cn/baijiahao 26728228. 73.
- Li and Wang, New Oinghe Experiment, 62. 74.
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- 76. https://iflaapr.org/2020-aapme-awards-announcement.
- Thompson and Lorne, "Designing a New Civic Economy?" 1939. 77.
- 78. Li and Wang, New Qinghe Experiment.
- Xu and Lin, "Participatory Urban Redevelopment in Chinese Cities amid Accelerated 79. Urbanization"; Li et al., "Informing or Consulting"; Wei, "Tyrannical Participation Approaches in China's Regeneration of Urban Heritage Areas"; Cao, "Participatory Governance in China."
- 80. Wang, Wu, and Zhang, "Participatory Micro-Regeneration."
- Wei, "Tyrannical Participation Approaches in China's Regeneration of Urban Heritage 81. Areas"; Cao, "Participatory Governance in China"; Xu and Lin, "Participatory Urban Redevelopment in Chinese Cities amid Accelerated Urbanization."

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank participants from Qinghe to share their stories. We appreciate the feedback received from participants of the 2024 Workshop on Local Social Change in China where an initial version of this paper was presented and discussed. We also would like to thank the editor and anonymous reviewers for their constructive suggestions made on this research.

Ethical approval

Ethical approval for the study was granted by the University College London Research Ethics Committee (no. 5132/001). Informed consent was obtained from all participants.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

This work was supported by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme [grant agreement no. 832845] (Advanced Grant)—ChinaUrban.

Notes on contributors

Ying Wang is a post-doctoral researcher in the School of Geography and Planning, University of Sheffield. Her research has been concerned with 'governing urbanism' in China. More recent work has been in micro-regeneration, community planning, and neighbourhood governance in urban China.

Fulong Wu is Bartlett Professor of Planning at University College London. His research interests include urban development in China and its social and sustainable challenges. He is the author of Planning for Growth: Urban and Regional Planning in China (Routledge, 2015), Creating Chinese Urbanism: Urban Revolution and Governance Change (UCL Press, 2022), Governing Urban Development in China: Critical Urban Studies (Routledge, 2025) and co-editor of After Suburbia: Urbanization in the 21st Century (Toronto University Press, 2022) and Handbook on China's Urban Environmental Governance (Edward Elgar, 2023).

ORCID

Ying Wang http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8664-6894 Fulong Wu http://orcid.org/0000-0003-4938-6066

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