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Neighbourhood social interaction - implications for the social integration of rural migrants in Shanghai

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Declaration

I, Zheng Wang, certify that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

Against a background of worsening migrant-local relations and the difficulty to socially integrate rural migrants into Chinese cities, the purpose of this thesis is to explore the relationship between migrants and locals at the neighbourhood level using Shanghai as case study. Referring to existing neighbourhood studies from multi-ethnic societies, it is held that neighbourhood factors such as residential diversity and neighbourhood poverty significantly affect the neighbourly relationship between migrant and local residents. The thesis explores the underlying dynamic of intergroup neighbourly relations in urban China based on three questions. What is the current level of intergroup neighbourly relations in Chinese cities? How are intergroup neighbourly relations relevant in respect to the overall migrant-local relationship in China? How are neighbourhood characteristics affecting the intergroup neighbourly relationship in Shanghai? The analysis relies on data collected from a 1420-sized household questionnaire in Shanghai in 2013.

Two key findings can be derived from the results. Firstly, compared to local residents, rural migrants tend to engage more in intergroup neighbouring activities and have a better affective relationship with native neighbours. The reason is because due to marginalisation, rural migrants are in more need of informal support from locals whilst the stigmatization of rural migrants discourages many locals from engaging with migrant neighbours. The second finding shows that neighbourhoods with a higher share of migrant residents tend to have a higher level of intergroup neighbouring activities and more neighbourly trust. This result contrasts most empirical findings from multi-ethnic societies and supports the contact hypothesis that more contact and diversity can lead to a more positive intergroup relationship. Moreover, this outcome confirms that neighbourly relations contribute to the overall migrant-local relationship in urban China.

Publications

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Research background

China's economic transition has attracted more than 245 million migrants to Chinese cities (NBS, 2013) but has also left the majority of migrants struggling to settle into the host society. Especially migrants from rural areas of China are often described as the 'floating' population (Solinger 1999, Goodkind and West, 2002; Liang and Ma, 2004) or economic 'sojourners' (Solinger, 1999; Wu, 2012) in order to highlight their lack of social integration. Rural migrants suffer from inequalities of work conditions, welfare limitations as well as social isolation (Fan, 2002; Wu, 2012; Yue et al., 2010). Especially in major Chinese cities with a long history of migration, the social distance between locals and 'outsiders' is still deeply rooted in the mindsets of its residents (Chen et al., 2011; Cheng and Selden, 1994). The consequences are severe ranging from persisting social tensions between the local and the migrant population, widespread discrimination towards rural migrants (Roberts, 2002; Solinger, 1999; Wang et al., 2015) and difficulties to socially integrate migrants who wish to remain in the host society (Li and Wu, 2013; Zhu and Chen, 2010). Against this background, the topic of the social integration of rural migrants is steadily moving into scholarly focus but also towards the top of the Chinese government's policy agenda (Wang et al., 2008; Migrant Population Commission, 2011; 2012). As part of the attempt to improve the social integration of migrants, scholars are turning their attention towards the social network of migrants which are interpersonal ties with fellow migrants and non-migrants through forms " of kinship, friendship and shared community origin"

(Massey et al., 1993:448). Recent studies on urban China have especially focused on social ties with members of the host society and identified a range of benefits such as better housing opportunities, more tolerance towards migrants and stronger psychological integration (Liu et al., 2013; Nielsen et al., 2006; Nielsen and Smyth, 2011; Yue et al., 2013).

Although studies on the social network of migrants have started to reveal the benefits of social ties with locals, little is known about how these intergroup ties in urban China are formed in the first place and what its underlying dynamics are. One particular aspect that is still largely unexplored is how the neighbourly relations as part of a migrant's social network can contribute to the general migrant-local relationship in Chinese cities. There are only few platforms where intergroup contact between migrants and locals can take place in urban China due to the fluidity of urban relations (Forrest and Yip, 2007) but also labour market segmentation (Fan, 2002) and the hukou system (Chan, 2009) which separate rural migrants and locals in their daily lives. According to the contact hypothesis by Allport (1954) however, an environment where members of different groups can interact in a pleasant, cooperative and equal manner is a key prerequisite for breaking down prejudice and enhancing intergroup trust (Pettigrew, 1998). The residential neighbourhood which provides a sense of social belonging, psychological recreation and a chance to interact with neighbours (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001; Savage et al., 2005) could therefore be one of the few platforms for migrants to create consistent social relations with native residents. Whilst studies acknowledge that social networks are less territorially based (Guest, 2000; Guest and Wierzbicki, 1999; White and Guest, 2003) there is evidence showing that neighbourhoods can serve specialised functions to certain population groups.

Research in multi-ethnic societies have already shown that intergroup neighbourly relations are an important means to reduce prejudice and stigmatisation of ethnic minorities (Laurence, 2011; Stolle et al., 2008). However, despite its relevance for the social integration of marginalised groups, no existing studies on urban China have directly addressed the neighbourly relationship between migrants and locals. Consequently, there are still many unanswered questions including: what is the current level of neighbourly relations between migrant and local residents in Chinese cities? Is there any need to differentiate between intergroup and general neighbourly relations in China where the ethnicity of the urban population is considerably less diverse? What are the underlying dynamics of neighbourly social relations between migrant and native residents? How might the drastic social and physical changes at the grassroots level be related to the level of intergroup neighbourly relations in Chinese cities? This thesis uses the case study of Shanghai in order to answer these questions and examine the current state of neighbourly relations between migrant and indigenous residents in urban China.

1.2 Research objectives

The research objective of this thesis is threefold. Firstly this research aims to provide a full understanding on the role of the neighbourhood as a platform for migrants and locals to create social relations. Existing studies have largely focused on general neighbourly relations without regards as to whether these neighbourly relations are occurring between migrants and locals or whether residents mostly engage with fellow in-group neighbours (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Li et al., 2012; Wu and Logan, 2015; Yip, 2012). Moreover, whilst there are accounts on the neighbourly interactions of urban residents, much less information is available regarding the affective

dimension of neighbourhood relations between migrant and local residents such as mutual trust and reciprocal care. Consequently this research aims to empirically examine the level of both the neighbourly interaction and the affective neighbourly relationship between migrants and locals.

The second aim of this thesis is to understand the underlying dynamics of the intergroup neighbourly relations between migrant and local residents. So far, research suggests that neighbourly relations are declining due to the transition to a market economy, which has allowed urban residents to create social ties outside of the neighbourhood (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Hazelzet and Wissink, 2012). Especially the burgeoning middle class living in commodity housing neighbourhoods, developed through the private market, are less dependent on neighbourly relations as they already possess a diverse social network (Li et al., 2012; Zhu et al., 2012). Whilst existing studies contend that the urbanisation and marketisation of Chinese cities have diversified the social network of urban residents, neighbourhood based factors that have influenced neighbourly relations are still obscure. Socio-spatial changes at the neighbourhood level such as the increasing spatial concentration of poor and migrant residents (Liao and Wong, 2015; Wu, 2008; Wu et al., 2010) and the emergence of migrant enclaves (Chung, 2010) have received much less consideration. Consequently the second purpose of this thesis is to unravel the underlying dynamic of intergroup neighbourly relations and how neighbourhood factors may play a role.

Finally the third objective of this thesis is to extend the concept of intergroup neighbourly relations and its underlying dynamics to the Chinese context. Whilst intergroup theories stem from empirical evidences of multi-ethnic societies (Ihlanfeldt

and Scafidi, 2002; Letki, 2008; Nannestad et al., 2008; Putnam, 2007), it is generally acknowledged that differentiation between social groups can also take place in ethnically homogeneous societies (Malloy et al., 2004; Pettigrew, 1998). However, although it is acknowledged that intergroup relations can be adapted to different types of societies, it has also been noted that its outcome is dependent on the local context (Secor and O'Loughlin, 2005). Some of the tremendous changes in China resemble that of multi-ethnic societies such as the privatisation of housing supply or the concentration of marginalised population groups whilst there are also uniquely Chinese factors such as the shared culture and language between rural migrants and locals or the hukou system. Consequently the case study from urban China can offer more insights into the dynamics of intergroup relations and contribute towards a better understanding of whether different interpretations of intergroup could lead to similar or different outcomes.

1.3 Organisation of the thesis

The thesis is structured into seven chapters. The first three chapters introduce the research background, literature review and research framework, research questions and research methodologies followed by chapter four to six, which form the main body of this thesis. Chapter four examines the current reasons for the poor relationship between migrants and locals and what role neighbourly relations can play to enhance this relationship. Furthermore, it discusses how the diversification of the urban population and socio-spatial changes at the neighbourhood level may be related to the relationship between migrant and indigenous neighbours. Chapter five and six are based on statistical analysis of the Shanghai survey data. Chapter five investigates the underlying dynamics of intergroup neighbouring between migrant and local

residents across Shanghai's neighbourhoods. Chapter six examines the affective

dimension of neighbourly relations between migrant and native residents and how it

may be related to the frequency of neighbourly interactions. Finally, chapter seven

summarises the key findings of this research and discusses its wider theoretical and

policy implications.

Following this introduction chapter, *chapter two* offers the literature review and

theoretical context of this thesis. The chapter reviews existing research surrounding

the topic of neighbourly relations and how they may assist the social integration of

marginalised social groups. Furthermore it examines the existing literature regarding

the underlying dynamics of intergroup relations at the neighbourhood level. Then the

chapter proceeds to reviewing existing studies of neighbourhood social interaction in

urban China. It is understood that the topic of intergroup neighbourly relations is

under-researched and that knowledge of its underlying dynamics are scarce. Finally

based on the existing findings from other studies, chapter two develops a research

framework to study the underlying dynamics of neighbourly relations in Chinese

cities. A crucial aim of this framework is to provide a basis for comparative study that

can be fed back to the general literature and on the other hand to emphasise on the

nuanced interpretation of factors that are specific to the context of urban China.

Chapter three provides specific research questions and their respective hypothesis

based on the research framework developed in chapter two. Furthermore, the chapter

details the specific methods of data collection and data analysis. Data used for this

thesis is based on a range of secondary data as well as original first hand data

collected in Shanghai in 2013 and subsequently analysed using predominantly

quantitative methods although qualitative methods were also utilised to complement research findings.

Chapter four's objective is twofold. Firstly the chapter tries to understand what role neighbourly relationships play in the social network of indigenous and migrant residents and whether intergroup neighbourly relations can help facilitate generalised trust between migrants and locals in Shanghai. It is held that although social networks have diversified considerably in urban China, a fair share of residents still have relations with their out-group neighbours which in turn positively affects their trust towards the out-group in general. The second objective is to explore how individual factors and socio-spatial changes at the neighbourhood are related to the neighbourly relations between migrant and local residents. As part of this objective, the chapter examines the differing need for neighbourly relations and the social distance between migrant and indigenous residents and how they affect intergroup neighbourly relations. Furthermore, it investigates how the emergence of different neighbourhood housing types, deprived neighbourhoods and the residential segregation of rural and local residents can influence intergroup neighbourly relations. This chapter primarily relies on the first hand data collected in Shanghai but also secondary demographic data such as the sixth census and reports published by the migrant population commission of the Chinese government in 2011 and 2012. Finally based on the findings of chapter four, a more detailed relationship between neighbourly relations and social integration of rural migrants is identified.

Chapter five investigates the underlying dynamics of intergroup neighbouring using a multilevel model approach to differentiate between effect of individual level

determinants and neighbourhood level factors including neighbourhood housing type and the percentage of migrant residents in the neighbourhood. The data used for this chapter is again based on the 1420 sample questionnaire collected in Shanghai. The results indicate that hukou status remains a very strong factor affecting the likelihood of intergroup neighbouring whereby migrant residents more likely to interact with locals than the other way around. This is mainly due to the fact that migrants are in more need of local ties in order to overcome the limitations of the hukou system. With regards to neighbourhood factors, the presence of migrant residents is a very significant determinant whereby residents living in neighbourhoods with a higher but balanced presence of migrant residents tend to have more intergroup neighbouring activities. This is due to the higher chances of encounter between migrant and indigenous residents.

Chapter six examines the underlying dynamics of the affective dimension of neighbourly relations between migrant and local residents and specifically explores whether more frequent interactions between migrant and indigenous neighbours leads to a more positive affective relationship. Amongst others the analysis results show that residents in older neighbourhoods tend to have higher levels of trust and amity towards out-group neighbours, due to more frequent neighbouring activities and higher migrant concentration. On the other hand migrant and local residents living in commodity housing neighbourhoods tend to have a very strong affective relationship because of their shared social identity as homeowners and belonging to the same social class.

Chapter seven answers the key research questions of this thesis by drawing on the findings of chapter four, five and six. Furthermore, the chapter discusses how they may be relevant to the wider theoretical understanding on the relationship between neighbourhood and intergroup social interactions. In short, there are similarities and differences between Shanghai's case study and multi-ethnic societies in terms of the underlying dynamic of intergroup neighbourly relations. Stigmatisation and prejudice are negatively related to intergroup relations in both ethnically diverse societies and Shanghai. In contrast the effect of neighbourhood level factors are considerably different since migrants and natives in Shanghai have more in common such as cultural values and a shared national identity for instance. The contribution of the broader theoretical debate will be discussed in the last section whereby the chapter especially highlights the importance of the neighbourhood and how planning practices can contribute to the neighbourly relations of rural migrants.

Chapter Two

Literature review: The importance and determinants of neighbourhood social relations in an urbanising world

2.0 Introduction

There is a longstanding tradition of researching neighbourhood social relations and with city populations across the globe growing both in size and diversity, there has been a revived interest in the importance of social connectedness at the local level (Bécares et al., 2011; Forrest and Kearns, 2001; Laurence, 2011; Letki, 2008; Putnam, 2007; Stolle et al., 2008). Similar to Western multi-ethnic societies, China's rapid urbanisation has also triggered a series of dramatic changes including the influx of rural migrants into Chinese cities and socio-spatial changes at the grassroots level (Fan, 2002; Friedmann, 2006; Logan et al., 2009; Shieh and Friedmann, 2008; Wang and Murie, 2000; Wu, 2004). However, neighbourhood social relations has only recently garnered research attention in urban China and little is known about how it may assist rural migrants to better socially integrate into the host society. Since most empirical studies stem from multi-ethnic societies, the case of urban China can contribute to the existing debate by extending the idea of intergroup relations to migrant and local residents living in Chinese cities.

The purpose of this chapter is to review the theoretical context for the empirical study of neighbourhood social interaction in China. The first part will review existing literature on the importance of neighbourly relations in an urban society where social networks are increasingly non-territorial. The second part develops a research

framework for examining the case of China through reviewing empirical studies in

multi-ethnic societies on the determinants of neighbourhood social relations. The

chapter then moves on to provide an overview of neighbourly relations in urban China

as well as a critique on the existing literature and what knowledge caveats there are

still remaining. Using the theoretical framework developed in part one the following

section will then review the range of changes currently taking place in Chinese cities

including the influx of migrants and neighbourhood level changes such as the

increasing segregation between migrants and locals and the emergence of commodity

housing neighbourhoods. Finally the chapter concludes with the key findings of this

review.

2.1 The importance of neighbourhood social relations in an urbanising society

Before embarking on the review it is important to clarify what this thesis means by

neighbourhood social relations. Neighbourhood social relations are social relations

"between people living in close proximity" whereby "neighbourliness is used

specifically to discuss positive" neighbourly relations (Buonfino and Hilder,

2006:11). The social relations between neighbours can encompass mainly two forms

of relationship namely social interaction (or neighbouring) and the affective

relationship between residents (Mann, 1954; Talen, 1999; Unger and Wandersman,

1985). Neighbouring activities or neighbourly interaction includes activities such as

mutual support or exchanging greetings between neighbours. The second dimension is

the affective relationship between neighbours, which is considered by many as a

central component of an individual's sense of community and includes attributes such

as mutual trust or reciprocal care (Unger and Wandersman, 1985; Buckner, 1988;

Mann, 1954; Nasar and Julian, 1995). The relationship between neighbouring

activities and affective neighbourly relations will be further discussed in chapter six. Henceforth this thesis will use the terms 'affective relationship' and 'affective neighbourly relations' interchangeably to refer to the levels of trust and care between residents. In addition, 'neighbourly interaction' and 'neighbouring activities' will be used to refer to physical activities such as mutual help and greetings between neighbours. The terms 'neighbourly relations' 'neighbourhood relations' and 'neighbourhood social relations' will be adopted as an umbrella term that includes both neighbouring activities and affective neighbourly relationship.

2.1.1 The role of neighbourly relations in an urban society – A social network versus neighbourhood relations debate

In contemporary cities, scholars contend that the social network of an individual encompasses social relations with a variety of individuals ranging from friends, family and kin networks as well as neighbours and take place at various social arenas such as the workplace or the neighbourhood (Amin and Thrift, 2002; Guest, 2000; Höllinger and Haller, 1990; Massey et al., 1993; Wissink and Hazelzet, 2012). The general consensus is that urbanisation has enabled individuals to create social relations across a variety of social network scales and that it is not constrained to the locality anymore (Forrest, 2008; Guest et al., 2008; Wellman and Leighton, 1979; White and Guest, 2003). The theorisation as to how urbanisation has influenced the way in which individuals interact and create social ties dates back to the writings of Toennis (1887) about *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society) whereby Gemeinschaft relates to more close knit localised social ties whilst Gesellschaft is defined through indirect interactions, social norms and formal values. With the rise of American cities, sociologists such as Wirth (1938) noted that 'urbanization as a way

of life' had gradually replaced social bonds and interactions at the neighbourhood level. Instead urban human relationships had become characterised by '*superficiality, anonymity and transitory*' social ties (Wirth, 1938:12). In the same line of arguments, there was a prevalent view for many sociologists that the *community had been lost* due to urbanization (Wellman and Leighton, 1979). Other scholars such as Simmel (1964) also believed that the local neighbourhood lost its role as a primary facilitator of social relations since urbanization had allowed individuals to establish social ties across a range of spaces. However, this community 'lost' view was never much of a welcoming finding and many studies attempted to explore alternative explanations of the relationship between population diversity and social ties (Wellman and Leighton, 1979). One often-cited alternative is the 'community liberated' argument formed by scholars such as Wellman and Leighton (1979). This strand of theory maintains that the increasing diversity of the population coupled with technological advances enabled individuals to form communities that transcend any spatial limitations. With regards to how diversity affected the primary ties of urbanites, Fischer's (1975) subcultural theory of urbanism posits that the more urbanised a place is, the greater is its variety of subcultures. Varieties can be related to a person's education, occupation or specialization found within the city and since larger places provide more services to the economy, they consequently also attract a greater range of people, including migrants, and thus also have a higher level of diversity (White and Guest, 2003). According to Fischer (1975), diversity in the city can in fact increase the amount of social ties, especially those that Fischer describes as *voluntaristic*, where the individual has the freedom to choose whom to associate with. In contrast, *non-voluntaristic* where one is "forced" into social relationship by social and normative obligations, such as kinship, are decreasing in urban areas (White and Guest,

2003:241). What Fischer essentially argues is that in a socially diverse environment the number of voluntaristic ties will increase at the expense of traditional and non-voluntaristic ties, which can include family and kin ties but also social ties with neighbours. More diversity therefore means more frequent social interactions between likeminded people. In other words, in a more diverse society, an individual's social network tend to transcend geographical boundaries and consist mainly of ties with people of similar background (such as ethnicity, profession etc.).

Guest and Wierzbicki (1999) further expanded this voluntaristic view of social ties to the context of social relations at the neighbourhood level. The longitudinal results from Guest and Wierzbicki (1999) suggest that neighbourhood relations are slowly declining whilst social networks outside of the residential neighbourhood are steadily growing. More importantly Guest and Wierzbicki (1999:109) conclude that some groups are more resistant to the decline of neighbouring activities than others and that neighbouring continues to serve as an important function of social life for a sizeable population consisting of a variety of subgroups. Based on their findings, the authors argue for an alternative to the community 'lost' or 'liberated' versions, namely the community 'mediate' argument whereby individuals "*maintain social ties to both the neighbourhood and extraneighbourhood levels*" (Guest and Wierzbicki, 1999:109). Furthermore, their evidence in the US suggests that individuals are more specialised in either neighbourhood based social ties versus non-localised social networks so that there is a clear distinction between *locals* and *cosmopolitans*. This emphasis is shared by the findings from White and Guest (2003) asserting that the community of urban societies are by no means *lost* and has instead *transformed* to a more segmented and less interconnected social network.

With regards to the position of the neighbourhood in an urbanised world, most of the studies seem to agree that the neighbourhood is no longer the main or the only platform where social interactions and relations can take place (Fischer, 1975; Guest, 2000, 2000; Guest and Wierzbicki, 1999; Wellman and Leighton, 1979). Instead, neighbourhood researchers contend that neighbourly relations have become similar to a niche market that is more important to certain social groups and serves specific functions (van Eijk, 2012; Forrest, 2008; Guest and Wierzbick,i 1999; Kearns and Forrest, 2000; Kearns and Parkinson, 2001; White and Guest, 2003). The following two sections will try to identify its importance in an increasingly more urbanised world and how it can benefit minority groups such immigrants and ethnic minorities in moving forward in the urban society.

2.1.2 Neighbourhood social relations as a sense of belonging, social identity and practical help

A core reason why neighbourhood still remains an important platform according to Logan and Spitze (1994:453) is because *"spatial proximity makes it convenient to spend time with other in the neighbourhood and creates common interest"*. Furthermore, residents living in the same area also share common resources such as local shopping streets or schools and are also exposed to the same conditions such as crime rate. With so many common denominators, neighbourhood social interaction remains an important part of people's daily lives (Logan and Spitze, 1994). This is view is also shared by Forrest (2008) although he adds that the importance of the neighbourhood and neighbourly relations vary depending on the social group the

individual belongs to. Kearns and Parkinson (2001) have provided a very helpful

summary of the key functions of the neighbourhood at three different spatial scales:

Table 2.1 The different levels of neighbourhood

Scale	Predominant function	Mechanism(s)
Home area	Psycho-social benefits (for example, identity; belonging)	Familiarity Community
Locality	Residential activities Social status and position	Planning Service provision Housing market
Urban district or region	Landscape of social and economic opportunities	Employment connections Leisure interests Social networks

Source: Kearns and Parkinson (2001:2104)

The smallest scale, which the authors describe as a five to ten minutes of walk, is the

'*home area*' and its strongest function is the provision of psycho-social benefits such

as quality of the environment and creating relations with neighbours (Kearns and

Parkinson, 2001:2103). It is also at this spatial scale of the neighbourhood where

individuals feel the strongest attachment and belonging towards space as well as have

the greatest likelihood to interact with co-residents. The neighbourhood at this level is

thus often perceived as part of one's own social identity (Kearns and Parkinson,

2001). This view is also articulated by Savage et al. (2005:12) who believe that the

residence constitutes a *fixed* nature of individuals and thus also affect in how they

perceive themselves. Furthermore, in an increasingly more transient and 'turbulent'

world one's residence allows people to feel a sense of 'being at home' (Savage et al.,

2005:12). This fixed and 'homely' environment therefore provides fertile ground for

social interactions to take place and fosters affective relations based on mutual trust

and care. Aside from the socio-psychological benefits, neighbourly relations also

come along with a lot of practical benefits. For instance, neighbouring activities could serve as a source of information or a source of support ranging from small everyday helps such as taking care of the neighbour's children to more important matters such as helping out in emergencies (Warren, 1986). As these examples have shown, neighbouring can include a range of activities, some of which contribute towards one's social identity whilst others might carry more practical value.

From the above review it is possible to conclude that most neighbourhood social relations take place at the *'home area'* level. Relations at this level are comparatively more personal and consistent. This thesis recognises that there are various levels and definitions of neighbourhood but for the purpose of this study the 'home area' will be used to demarcate the boundaries of neighbourly relations. Nevertheless it is important to note that the definition of the 'home area' to be within a walking distance of 5-10 minutes is not a strict demarcation of neighbourhood boundaries but rather general tendencies (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001).

In addition to serving as an anchor point for one's social identity and the practical and psychosocial benefits, many studies further contend that the neighbourhood is of special significance for marginalised groups such as migrants and ethnic minorities as a form of self-help but more importantly as a means to integrate into the society. Scholars have explored the role of neighbourly relations as a form of social capital (Letki, 2008; Middleton et al., 2005; Putnam, 2007) and as a type of weak ties (Henning and Lieberg, 1996; Vervoort, 2012). By referring to the theories of weak ties and social capital, the following section will outline how neighbourly relations

can be beneficial to the integration of minority groups such as migrants and ethnic minorities.

2.1.3 Intergroup neighbourly relations as a facilitator of migrant integration – Insights from the weak ties and social capital theories

The previous sections have highlighted the importance of neighbourly relations as a means of acquiring a sense of belonging and social identity, which in theory can apply to anyone and is not restricted to any specific social group. However, many scholars believe that neighbourly relations can be of particular benefit for marginalised groups in assisting them to achieve better outcomes in the urban society (Guest et al., 2008; Gundelach and Freitag, 2014; Henning and Lieberg, 1996; Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi, 2002; Li et al., 2005; Putnam, 2007; Stolle et al., 2008). Neighbourly relations in this sense serve as a bridge that helps marginalised groups to connect with members of the mainstream society, which in turn can benefit minority groups in social and economic terms (Henning and Lieberg, 1996; Li et al., 2005). Such arguments often rely on two popular sociological concepts namely the *weak ties* concept by Granovetter (1973) and the *social capital* theory popularized by scholars such as Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2001). Both theories in essence argue that there are various types of social relations that serve different functions whereby social relations with people belonging to the majority group can be of particular benefit to marginalised groups, such as migrants.

Neighbourhood relations as a form of weak ties

Granovetter's (1973) influential work on *weak ties* contends that family or kin ties and weak ties have a differing influence on an individual. Weak ties per definition of

Granovetter (1973) are a person's indirect relationship, through a common friend for instance and they can be more helpful in further advancing both socially and economically as opposed to strong family, friends and kin ties. Given the concept's flexible nature, weak ties can be interpreted in terms of social classes or other classifications of social groups. In migration studies weak ties is interpreted as social ties between migrants and members of the host society (Vervoort, 2012; Kanas et al., 2011). In the neighbourhood context, the study of Henning and Lieberg (1996) argues that neighbourly relations are a form of weak ties. The reason is because compared to strong ties with family and kin, neighbourly relations are considerably less intimate and shorter in duration. However, despite the 'weak' nature of neighbourly relations Henning and Lieberg (1996) found in their study that the level of weak ties in a neighbourhood, such as meeting and helping out neighbours or number of familiar neighbours, was three times higher compared to strong ties. One benefit according to Henning and Lieberg (1996) is that individuals consider weak ties as a facilitator of sense of belonging and security. However, what is even more intriguing is that weak ties help mediate the relationship between various strong tie groups and has implications for the cohesion of the wider society. According to Greenbaum (1982) weak ties, often occur between people with different interests and experiences and consequently function as bridges between different strong tie groups. More recent research has departed slightly from the original concept of Granovetter's weak ties and adopted a different interpretation of the relationship between weak ties and the neighbourhood. The study by Vervoort (2012) focused on the social integration of migrant residents and interpreted the weak ties concept as social contacts between migrants and native Dutch people. In relation to the role of neighbours, Vervoort (2012) found that migrants living in more ethnically mixed neighbourhoods have

fewer friendship ties with locals compared to migrants living in areas dominated by Dutch residents. From this perspective it is possible to state that neighbourly relations can become an important way for migrants to acquire social ties with natives and therefore increase their integration chances. For example Kanas et al. (2011) found that migrants possessing social ties with German natives are more likely to find better employment compared those who do not have any weak social ties with indigenous Germans.

Neighbourly relations as a form of social capital

Similar to the weak ties concept, the social capital theory also emphasises on the importance of neighbourly relations. Much of the social capital discourse here follows the works of Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2001) although the latter appears to have grasped an even greater attention from scholars and policy makers. There are many definitions of social capital, which by account is a nebulous concept itself (Chan et al., 2006:292), however for the purpose of this thesis a short and straightforward definition by Putnam will be sufficient. Social capital can be defined as "social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness" and suggests that similar to economic and human capital, social networks with other individuals can also create value (Putnam, 2007:137). There are of course many more aspects to social capital than just neighbourly relations (i.e. membership in formal organisation etc.), however neighbours can be a powerful source of local social capital that have beneficial externalities to the community (Putnam, 2007:138).

The interpretation of neighbourly relations in social capital studies slightly differs from the weak tie approach adopted by Henning and Lieberg (1996). Whilst Henning

and Lieberg (1996) contend that neighbourly relations in itself is a form of weak tie, many social capital studies would argue that neighbourly relations need to further be differentiated between *bonding* and *bridging*. Traditional studies of neighbourhood social relations often emphasize the connectedness amongst neighbours (Kearns and Parkinson 2001; Forrest and Yip 2007) and point to the importance of family and friendship ties in the neighbourhood (Logan and Spitze, 1994). From their point of view, social relations amongst neighbours are perceived as a homogeneous type of social tie and contacts with neighbours are assigned the same level of importance.

In contrast, social capital studies would further question as to *who is interacting with whom*. The logic behind this question is that social ties with different kinds of people can serve different functions. Both the *bonding* and *bridging* social capital therefore are of particular relevance to this thesis (some studies also argue for the existence of *bracing* social capital that connects individuals to associations and political organisations, see for instance Rydin and Holman, 2004). *Bonding social capital* occurs amongst homogenous populations, whereby homogenous is defined depending on the context of the study. For example, the distinction of homogenous and heterogeneous can be applied to people of different ethnicities (Letki, 2008; Putnam, 2007) or to immigrants and local citizens (Nannestad et al., 2008). The underlying logic is that bonding capital occurs *within* a social group. *Bridging social capital* in comparison stands for social capital *between* different social groups and is generally associated with overall social cohesion (Nannestad et al., 2008; Middleton et al., 2005; Patulny and Morris, 2012). According to Putnam (2001: 23) bonding social capital often helps individuals to *get by* whilst it is ultimately bridging social capital that enables individuals to *get ahead*. The potential benefits of bridging social capital

range from better economic achievement (Glaeser et al., 2002; Knack and Keefer, 1997), better health outcomes (Kawachi et al., 2008; Kim et al., 2006) to better integration chances for migrants (Cheong et al., 2007; Nannestad et al., 2008). In contrast, the downside of bonding social capital is that while it can provide useful resources to particular groups it may at the same time limit other groups and individuals to access such resources (Leonard, 2004). In addition, there are also extreme cases such as the Al Qaeda or the Ku Klux Klan that despite of very high levels of bonding social capital can only be described as having wholly negative impacts to the society (Putnam, 2007). Consequently, scholars argue the best possible outcome would be to have a high level of bridging social capital which can contribute towards a more sustainable development of the society (Nannestad et al., 2008; Putnam, 2001, 2007).

Returning to the relationship between social capital and neighbourly relations, some studies adopted the bonding and bridging classification to neighbourly relations in order to study how it can contribute to the integration of ethnic minorities and migrants (Putnam, 2007; Letki, 2008). Since marginalised groups such as ethnic minorities and migrants have lower social and spatial mobility, they tend to be more reliant of localised social ties with neighbours (Lee et al., 1991; Logan and Spitze, 1994). Therefore the question as to whether minority residents are interacting with in-group or rather out-group neighbours becomes highly relevant. In both Putnam's (2007) and Letki's (2008) studies bonding neighbourly relations referred to the social relations between residents of the same ethnic group whereas bridging neighbourly relations were defined as relations between residents belonging to different ethnic groups. Both studies posit that more bridging neighbourly relations lead to a better

integration for migrants and can facilitate tolerance of native residents towards ethnic minorities and immigrants (Letki, 2008; Putnam, 2007). In contrast, higher levels of bonding neighbourly relations suggested that there were more potential conflict between different ethnicities. This notion that intergroup neighbourly relations can also contribute to the general relationship between different social groups bears great similarity to the weak ties argument that weak ties can also mediate between the differences and interests of various strong tie groups (Greenbaum, 1982). The essence of both theories in this case is that intergroup neighbourly relations not only carry individual benefits such as economic gain and social integration but also positively affects the overall relationship between for instance ethnic minority or migrants groups and the mainstream social group.

Discussion of section 2.1

Overall section 2.1 tried to firstly discuss how much neighbourly relations still matter in an urbanising world by referring to the works of Fischer (1975); Wellman and Leighton (1979); White and Guest (2003) and Wirth (1938). The thesis acknowledges that the neighbourhood has lost its position as the primary platform for interpersonal relationships and that the social network of individuals is not bound to the locality any longer. However, the review of neighbourhood studies also indicates that neighbourly relations continue to play an important role in the social networks of urban residents. One key reason is because by sharing the same residential neighbourhood and being in close proximity, neighbours are exposed to the same environment and therefore have many shared experiences which in turn may foster their shared sense of social belonging and sense of community (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001). Moreover, the relatively fixed nature of one's residence also means that many residents would

consider their residential neighbourhood as part of their social identity and tend to associate feelings of home and belonging with the neighbourhood (Savage et al., 2005). The proximity to residents also allows neighbours to create common interests and the exchange of practical help such as lending tools or helping to watch over someone's children (Logan and Spitze, 1994; Warren, 1986). Despite these reasons it is also acknowledged that not all residents would engage with their neighbours and that neighbourly relations has become a niche market that serves specific functions which are of more importance to certain social groups than others. One of these specialised functions is to benefit marginalised groups who tend to be more dependent on localised ties (Lee et al., 1991; Letki, 2008; Logan and Spitze, 1994; Putnam, 2007; Vervoort, 2012). Based on the theories of weak ties and bridging social capital, research contends that neighbourly relations with residents belonging to the mainstream society can help ethnic minorities and migrants to *get ahead* in the urban society (Putnam, 2001). Benefits of intergroup social relations range from better employment opportunities, sound health but also better chances of social integration as intergroup relations can lead to stronger feelings of trust and tolerance between the minority and the majority group (Cheong et al., 2007; Kanas et al., 2011; Kawachi et al., 2008). The key similarity of both the weak tie and social capital concept is that more intergroup neighbourly relations can be a crucial source of support for minority groups to integrate into the mainstream society and to contribute to a more cohesive society overall (Putnam, 2001). The concept of bridging relations therefore becomes an important function for contemporary neighbourly relations.

Having established the benefits of intergroup neighbourly relations, it is now necessary to explore some of its underlying dynamics. The following four sections

will try to identify some of the main determinants of intergroup neighbourly relations

by referring to existing empirical studies conducted in multi-ethnic societies.

2.2 Social distance between minority and majority groups as a determinant of intergroup neighbourly relations

One of the key determinants of intergroup neighbourly relations in multi-ethnic

societies has been the social distance between individuals (Alesina and La Ferrara,

2002; McPherson et al., 2001). According to Putnam (2007:159), individuals are more

likely to feel closer to one another if their social distance is small. Social distance in

this sense refers to a person's perceived difference between one's own social identity

and the social identity of others. The more similarities people can find from each

other the shorter the social distance (McPherson et al., 2001). In multi-ethnic

societies, the ethnicity or migrant status therefore become significant anchor points of

an individual's social identity (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2002; Vertovec, 2004). The

perception that neighbours belong to a different social group can therefore impede on

the willingness of mainstream society members to engage with out-group neighbours.

The findings from Guest et al. (2008) indicate that White residents in Seattle tend to

have less social interaction with neighbours in areas where they perceive most of their

neighbours to be 'different' in terms of ethnicity. However, even amongst migrants

the trust and willingness to interact with local neighbours differs significantly. The

study by Kazemipur (2012) found that Western migrants from America or Europe are

more likely to interact and trust their Canadian neighbours compared migrants from

non-Western countries. According to Kazemipur (2012:111) since neighbourly

interactions depend on the willingness of both parties and would usually require

members of the host party to make the start, this suggests that Canadian residents are

more willing to interact with Western migrants compared to non-Western migrants. Indeed, this further shows that shared characteristics (such as the proficiency in speaking English) and common interests may shorten the social distance between locals and migrants whilst stark differences in cultural values and different languages widen the distance. Perception towards certain ethnic groups also play a significant role as the study by Vervoort (2012:908) found that native Dutch residents express more negative sentiments towards Morrocans and Antilleans, which in turn also decreased the probability of these ethnic groups to have social relations with indigenous residents. Migrant groups which have fewer out-group social ties due to stigma and discrimination would instead turn to their fellow in-group members as a means of self-help but also as a way to fend off out-group discrimination and increase in-group solidarity (Musterd, 2003; Portes and Zhou, 1992; van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998). Stigmatisation also appear to impede on the likelihood to trust others as Alesina and La Ferrara (2002) contend that in America, black residents in particular are much less likely to trust others compared to non-blacks (which include both white residents and other ethnic minorities). The reason according to Alesina and La Ferrara (2002:231) could be because historically the black ethnicity group has been subjected to more discrimination.

Some studies suggest that there are mediating factors that reduce the perceived social distance between minority and majority groups. For migrants being proficient in the language of the host society can be very helpful (Vervoort, 2012) as well as the length of residency whereby those who have stayed longer in the host society tend to have more intergroup relations (Aleksynska, 2011; Ray and Preston, 2009). With regards to ethnic minorities higher socio-economic status plays a significant mediating role. The

findings from Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi, (2002) show that intergroup contact between black and white residents would only positively affect white residents if they perceive their black neighbours as having an equal or higher socio-economic status. In contrast, intergroup contact has a positive effect on the attitude of black residents towards their white residents regardless of the socio-economic status of their white neighbours. What these findings seem to suggest is that the social distance between minority groups and the majority group can be reduced by acquiring characteristics similar to those of the majority group such as language proficiency, cultural values and similar socio-economic status. In order to be accepted by the host society, minority group members need to be perceived as having similar characteristics as the majority group.

Finally, it is also important to note that different ethnicities and social groups tend to have different neighbourhood interaction patterns, as some might be more reliant on neighbourly relations due to their socio-economic standing. For example Lee et al. (1991) found that marginalised minority groups such as black residents tend to have more localised social networks compared to white residents who are more socially mobile and less locally involved. Furthermore, Ray and Preston (2009) found that compared to natives, migrant residents in Canadian cities are more involved in mundane forms of neighbourly assistance, which in turn strengthen their social belonging to the neighbourhood.

The review in this section suggests that underlying the discourse of intergroup neighbourly relations and minority groups is the potential stigma attached to them which in turn increases the social distance between the majority group and minority

groups. The willingness of locals to interact with ethnic minority groups in large depends on the severity of the prejudice attached to a certain ethnic group (Vervoort, 2012; Kazemipur, 2012). More shared characteristics such as common language and perceived socio-economic status between a minority and a majority group reduce prejudice and lead to a shorter social distance (Kazeimpur, 2012; Ihlanfeldth and Scafidi, 2002) whilst more differences between migrants and locals result in the opposite (Guest et al., 2008; Vervoort, 2012). In this sense, it is possible to state that the varying degree and quality of intergroup neighbourly relations does not depend on the willingness of migrants to interact with locals. Instead the outcome depends more on the perception of indigenous residents towards certain minority groups. The reason why certain migrant or ethnicity groups tend to have better and more neighbourly relations and social ties in general with natives is because those group tend to have a better 'public image' compared to some other minority groups (Alesina and la Ferrara, 2002; Kazeimpur, 2012). Those who are perceived to be very different therefore experience higher levels of discrimination. In this sense, negative sentiments directed towards certain minority groups can also force them to isolate themselves from the mainstream society and to turn towards in-group members (Musterd, 2003; Portes and Zhou, 1992; van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998).

2.3 Neighbourhood relations and the role of contextual factors

Individual factors play an important role in shaping the intergroup neighbourly relations of residents but much research has also been dedicated to the potential effect of contextual factors. The reasons for emphasising on local level determinants are because many individuals spend a significant amount of time in the neighbourhood and are psychologically attached to the locality (Kearns and Parkinson, 2000).

Consequently compared to the regional or national contexts for instance, individuals are more responsive to local level characteristics and changes (Gundelach and Freitag, 2014). So far three contextual factors have been found to be significantly associated with how residents interact with their out-group neighbours, namely the concentration of minority groups in a neighbourhood, the poverty rate of an area and the predominant housing type in a neighbourhood.

2.4 The effect of residential diversity and migrant enclaves on intergroup neighbourhood relations

Many studies have asserted that the concentration of minority groups within a neighbourhood can significantly affect the neighbourly relationship between minority and majority group residents (Guest et al., 2008; Gundelach and Freitag, 2014; Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi, 2002; Letki, 2008; Putnam, 2007; Savelkoul et al., 2011; Stolle et al., 2008; Twigg et al., 2010; Vervoort, 2012). The notion that the degree of diversity can affect residents' likelihood to interact with out-group neighbours and the perception of trustworthiness towards each other is closely connected with the assertion of social distance mentioned above. The assumption is that living in an environment where residents feel fellow in-group neighbours surround them will have a different effect on their neighbourly relations as compared to living in an area where residents feel their neighbours belong to a different social group. However, before delving into the literature on how residential diversity can affect intergroup relations, it is firstly necessary to provide a short discussion on the various meanings of the concept of diversity.

2.4.1 Meaning(s) of the diversity concept

The concept of diversity has been interpreted in various ways by existing studies, which include researching how diverse a neighbourhood is in terms of the social economic compositions of its residents (Blokland and Eijk, 2010; Freeman, 2009) and more importantly the belonging to a different ethnicity (Gesthuizen et al., 2009; Meer and Tolsma, 2014). Whilst the former refers largely to a wider literature on the social mix of different social classes, diversity based on ethnicity is of greater relevance to this thesis. The nature of ethnic diversity has changed from a two-dimensional to a multidimensional reality as societies have undergone significant changes (Hou and Wu, 2009). Using the US as an example, diversity a few decades ago was mostly considered as the rising proportion of Black residents in relation to the number of White residents. However, according to Alba et al. (2000), the large inflow of non-European immigrants has fundamentally altered the way ethnic diversity should be interpreted. Societies no longer consist of one majority and one minority group but rather the numbers of different minority groups are rising whilst the population of the majority is decreasing (Hou and Wu, 2009). A review of empirical studies, which have examined the impact of ethnic diversity in a neighbourhood, reveals that diversity is currently measured in two main approaches (Gijsberts et al., 2012:530). The first approach of measuring residential diversity is by examining the ethnic composition of residents (Laurence, 2011; Stolle et al., 2008) whilst the second approach measures the concentration of a particular ethnic group (Vervoort, 2012). The ethnic composition of a neighbourhood relates to the number of ethnic minority groups in a neighbourhood whereas ethnic concentration measures the number of one ethnic minority group in a neighbourhood in relation to the majority group. Some studies such as Becares et al. (2011) and Hou and Wu (2009) have also measured both indicators in order to explore how both indicators differentiate in terms of their impact

on intergroup relations. Studies from both measurement approaches contend that majority group residents may be less likely to engage in intergroup relations due to the large number of residents who are 'different' from themselves (Guest et al. 2008; Laurence, 2011; Stolle et al., 2008). In addition to the perceived diversity problem, studies measuring the ethnic concentration of a neighbourhood further argue that intergroup relations may also be reduced due to the overrepresentation of one particular ethnic group (Vervoort, 2012). This argument is often based on the migrant enclave literature (Johnston et al., 2002; Kempen and Özüekren, 1998) and residential segregation literature (Massey and Denton, 1988, 1989), which suggest that neighbourhoods with a very high presence of one particular minority group can reduce the *exposure* to the majority group of the society. In other words neighbourhoods with a large presence of one minority group also increase the likelihood that minority members would interact within their own group and have fewer opportunities to interact with majority group members.

In the Chinese context, the urban society is largely made up of native residents and rural migrants, although gradually the number of urban migrants is increasing. Compared to the multi-ethnic societies found in Europe and America, urban China is still considerably less diverse and therefore a measure of the residential composition would not differ too much from a measure of residential concentration. Consequently, this thesis measures residential diversity in urban China based on the level of concentration of migrant residents within a neighbourhood. Nevertheless, strictly speaking neighbourhoods with a considerably higher proportion of migrant residents (e.g. migrant enclaves) cannot be considered as more diverse since it is relatively homogeneous and consist mainly of migrants. However, the effect of migrant

concentration on intergroup relations may nonetheless follow the same underlying logic as ethnic diversity. Residents belonging to the host society may retract from intergroup relations in an environment where they feel a different social group outnumbers them as suggested by studies such as Guest et al. (2008).

There exists no consensus about whether this '*diversity*' effect is positive or negative but in in general, three mechanisms have been observed namely the contact, conflict and constrict hypothesis which will be discussed in more detail below.

2.4.2 Contact theory

The contact hypothesis firstly introduced by Allport (1954) asserts that 'pleasant and co-operative contact' with members of an out-group, which is associated with negative stigma, can reduce negative attitudes towards those specific out-group members with whom the individual has interaction. Hewstone and Brown (1986) defined such 'pleasant and cooperative contacts' as contacts with friends, or friends who are also colleagues working towards mutual goals. Moreover, the contact hypothesis also implies that such positive contact with people belonging to a negatively stereotyped out-group can enhance attitudes towards the entire out-group. Gaertner et al. (1996) suggest that the contact hypothesis advocated by Allport (1954) can lead to positive attitude changes by reducing the perceived gap between in-groups and out- groups and subsequently transforming the 'us' and the 'them' into a 'we'. Over the years there has been a considerable amount of studies undertaken to test the contact hypothesis mostly focusing on interracial conflict within the context of White and African American relationships in the USA although in recent decades it has also diversified into other countries and target groups (Ellison and Powers, 1994; see

Pettigrew, 1998 for a review of researches applying the contact hypothesis). Testing

the hypothesis across a range of environments such as schools, workplace and

housing estates, most evidence to date indicate that more intergroup contact between

ethnic minorities and native residents lead to better relations and stronger intergroup

trust (Ellison and Powers, 1994; McKay and Pittam, 1993; Pettigrew, 1997; Wagner

et al., 1989). Some studies also extended this hypothesis towards migration issues in

China and found that more friendship ties between rural migrants and natives improve

their general perception towards each other's social group (Nielsen et al., 2006;

Nielsen and Smyth, 2011). In regards to the effect of area diversity, the study from

Stein et al. (2000) has explored the relation between the geographical context

(percentage of Hispanics at the county level), the frequency of interaction between

Whites and Hispanics and the policy attitude of Whites on the question whether they

are happy with the influx of Hispanic immigrants to the US. Their results show that

having a higher level of Hispanic residents in a county is associated with more

frequent interaction, due to the availability of Hispanics. Secondly, those who live in

counties with more Hispanic residents are also more supportive towards immigration

policies. However, some studies also assert that whilst the overall effect of

neighbourhood diversity is negative, intergroup social interactions can mediate the

negative effect of diversity and render native residents who interact with their

minority neighbours more tolerant towards diversity (Laurence, 2011; Laurence and

Bentley, 2015; Stolle et al., 2008). In contrast, those who live in a diverse

neighbourhood and do not engage in intergroup neighbourly relations have less trust

and tolerance towards out-group neighbours (Laurence 2011; Stolle et al. 2008).

2.4.3 Conflict theory

The alternative hypothesis to the contact hypothesis suggests the direct opposite in terms of the relationship between intergroup members. The conflict theory assumes that the contact of an in-group member with an out-group member can further worsen their attitude towards each other and even deteriorate the attitude towards the entire out-group (Putnam, 2007). In addition, this hypothesis indicates that inter-group contact strengthens an individual's bonding social capital with in-group members and further weakens their bridging social capital. In the context of the neighbourhood, residential diversity therefore leads to a deterioration of out-group solidarity and foster in-group social ties. Residents would feel being outnumbered by neighbours who are different from them and naturally isolate themselves from out-group neighbours (Putnam, 2007; McPherson et al., 2001). Moreover, contention over local resources and political power are often cited reasons whereby local residents particularly regard ethnic minorities as threats (Laurence, 2011). In the context of multi-ethnic societies, native residents would also associate the influx of ethnic minority residents with the divergence of morals and values (Gundelach and Freitag, 2014:1238). The conflict theory has been tested in the context of residential diversity on many occasions. Most results indicate that increased ethnic minority presence within a residential area can impede on the bridging social capital of its residents (Aizlewood and Pendakur, 2005; Vervoort et al., 2010; Guest et al., 2008; Berger et al., 2004; Shon, 2012). For instance, Guest et al. (2008) found in their community survey in Seattle that ethnic heterogeneity is among the key community characteristics that deteriorates White residents' view towards their neighbourhood relationships with regards to harmony, trust and helpfulness. Moreover, Guest et al. (2008) reveal that ethnic heterogeneity also negatively affects the neighbourhood attachment of White residents. Another study by Gundelach and Freitag (2014) shows

that in the German city of Konstanz, ethnic diversity in a neighbourhood negatively

affects the trust level between native and migrant residents. However, it is important

to note that in their study, Gundelach and Freitag (2014) only found that natives are

affected by the neighbourhood diversity whilst migrant residents appear to be

unaffected.

2.4.4 Constrict theory

In recent years, there is a novel approach explaining the relationship between ethnic

heterogeneity and social capital, firstly argued by Putnam (2007) who found that there

could be a third way of how ethnic concentrations can affect intergroup neighbourly

relations. According to Putnam (2007), despite hundreds of studies on the in-group

and out-group relationship, virtually none of them have ever considered the

possibility that for instance low out-group contact can also be correlated to low in-

group contact. Putnam's survey found that in areas where there is a low level of out-

group contact, in-group contacts are also very low. This third possibility has been

coined by Putnam as the constrict theory whereby residents in high diversity

neighbourhood start to 'hunker down'. In other words, residents living in more

diverse neighbourhoods tend to socially isolate themselves from all their neighbours

and completely retract from local social life. Putnam's hypothesis has also been tested

in various European cases. For example, Savelkoul et al. (2011) tested the constrict

theory at the national, regional and local level. Their cross-national study reveals that

at the national level, the evidence contradicts the constrict theory as ethnic diversity

appear to have a positive impact on the informal social capital formation of

individuals. Measuring ethnic diversity at the regional level, however, their findings

suggest that ethnic diversity is not significantly correlated with informal social capital

in general but indeed negatively affects the informal social meetings of individuals. Due to lack of contextual data at the neighbourhood scale, Savelkoul et al. (2011) could not find any significant association. Nevertheless, evidence at the local scale has been found in other studies such as Letki (2008) who argues that low intergroup neighbourly relations is largely due to other contextual determinants of the neighbourhood such as the deprivation rate rather than ethnic diversity.

Overall there exists no consensus whether residential diversity is positively or negatively related to intergroup neighbourly relations. Nonetheless it is important to remember that the outcomes may also depend on the wider economic and political context. The level of ethnic concentration in an area or put in other words the extent of ethnic segregation can vary greatly depending on the socio-economic and political context of the country. For instance the US is experiencing very intense levels of ethnic concentration (such as the existence of black ghettos) and basic needs such as healthcare and housing are more rigidly tied to an individual's employment status (Musterd and Deurloo, 2002:502). In comparison, the degree of segregation is considerably less in European countries such as the Netherlands where the welfare state is also much stronger. Arguments such as contention over limited resources are therefore less accentuated in European countries and the perception of diversity of European residents must also be considerably less extreme compared to residents in the US. In the Netherlands for instance the findings of Musterd and Deurloo, (2002:502) suggest that the ethnic population "is certainly not establishing ethnic ghettos" but "rather, the spatial integration appears to be ongoing." The dynamics of intergroup relations between such different contexts are therefore likely to be

different. It may not be so surprising that there exist little consensus on the effect of diversity on intergroup relations when considering these wider contextual differences.

2.4.5 Immigrant and ethnic enclaves as an extreme form of minority concentration

One extreme form of minority concentration that has garnered great scholarly attention are immigrant and ethnic enclaves (Johnston et al., 2002). Immigrant enclaves often emerge in areas with higher levels of crime and poor housing (Karn, 1991:63). The reasons why immigrant enclaves emerge and why new migrants continue to gravitate towards such neighbourhoods are grounded in motives associated with financial constraints and mutual help amongst migrants (Logan et al., 2002). For instance, migrants tend to live in immigrant enclaves because of more affordable housing cost and feelings of cultural security but also fears of discrimination from members of the host society. Thus, according to Logan et al. (2002:300), immigrant enclaves tend to serve as transitional platforms for newly-arrived migrants who will eventually seek residence in areas with better infrastructure; an explanation that is in line with the theory of spatial assimilation. Although transitional in their nature, immigrant enclaves serve as a very important first stop for migrants to establish their social network in the host society. By living in a close-knit community consisting mostly of in-group members, studies have found a range of advantages and disadvantages that are related with close-knit social ties between migrants living in enclaves.

In terms of advantages, social ties and mutual support between in-group members help to overcome discrimination and disadvantages (Portes and Zhou, 1992). Secondly, being part of immigrant enclaves, allows its members to overcome isolation

while the overall existence of the cluster itself can be defended in an organized manner (ibid). Thirdly, in terms of entrepreneurship, networks amongst the cluster members produces a competitive edge within the group and newly arrived migrants can also acquire the knowledge necessary to start their own business someday (Portes and Zhou, 1992). This is in line with the 'enclave economy' argument which states that ethnic clusters can support migrants to better mobilize in-group resources and also provide long-term advantages to their socio-economic status (Light et al., 1994; Portes, 1987). These advantages of in-group social ties are crucial for newly arrived migrants to get accustomed to their new environment.

Whilst migrant enclaves provide immediate support to migrants, many studies indicate that extreme concentrations of migrants are likely to impede on their long-term development in the host society. Several studies showed that high levels of in-group social networking may lead to social exclusion from the host or mainstream society which in turn could considerably limit access to employment opportunities (Kandylis et al., 2012; Logan et al., 2002). Moreover, living in highly segregated areas may also impede on the individual's participation in civil society due to restricted contact with relevant individuals and institutions (van Kempen and Oezuekren, 1998). In terms of education, segregation can also render children with foreign backgrounds having less chances of better educational prospects compared to children living outside of segregated areas (Qadeer and Kumar, 2006:13). Additionally, children living in such areas have significantly fewer chances to become fluent in the majority language (van Kempen and Oezukren, 1998). Most importantly, however is that migrant enclaves can create a negative image for the host society, due to inadequate or superficial understanding. This image could cause current and future

members of such clusters to be perceived with a negative stigma, which is further strengthened through the media (Johnston et al., 2002). Furthermore, living in migrant enclaves might lead to a lack of empathy for those who live in another area (van Kempen and Oezukren, 1998). In addition, the work from Drever (2004) has shown that in Germany immigrants living in ethnic neighbourhoods feel more isolated from the main German society. Survey results from Galster et al. (1999) also suggest that higher levels of exposure to one's own immigrant group can lead to lower chances of employment and higher levels of poverty.

Overall the review of migrant enclaves seem to suggest that migrant enclaves emerge due to issues of financial affordability, necessity to fend off discrimination from the majority group and as a means for self-support in the host society (Logan et al., 2002; Portes and Zhou, 1992; Light et al., 1994). Therefore migrant enclaves are highly important especially for newly arrived migrants whose objective is to survive in the host society rather than immediately trying to integrate and advance their socio-economic standing. However, whilst in-group relations in migrant enclaves can help migrants to *get by* in the host society, staying in such an environment can become a hindrance to their long-term integration and prevent them from *getting ahead* (Drever, 2004; Galster et al., 1999; van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998). Although this might appear to be a yes or no choice where migrants have to sacrifice one option for the other the answer is in fact very straightforward. To repeat the finding from Logan et al. (2002) again, migrant enclaves are only transitional stops for migrants who will eventually move out to neighbourhoods with better housing conditions and higher levels of indigenous residents. In this sense whilst it is true that living long-term in migrant enclaves may hinder intergroup neighbourly relations they nevertheless serve

other important functions and must therefore be protected from excessive

redevelopment initiatives by the government.

2.5 Area poverty and the competition for limited resources as a determinant of

intergroup neighbourly relations

The effect of residential diversity has also been dismissed by studies, which assert

that low levels of intergroup relations in more diverse neighbourhoods can be

explained by area poverty (Laurence, 2011; Li et al., 2005; Letki, 2008). The

argument is that socio-economic disadvantage and poverty can lead to heightened

levels of mistrust and social isolation amongst residents (Laurence, 2011). Cases from

the UK and other European cities have shown that neighbourhood poverty largely

explains the lack of trust between residents as opposed to residential ethnic

heterogeneity (Laurence, 2011; Li et al*.,* 2005; Letki, 2008). The explanation is

similar to the conflict theory logic and contends that residents in poor areas tend to

compete for the neighbourhood's limited resources whereby especially ethnic

minority groups are perceived as threats to host society members (Laurence, 2011).

However even from this perspective, ethnic minorities could still be considered as

unwelcome outsiders who further worsen the contention over limited resources thus

leading to the social alienation between in-group and out-group neighbours. In

contrast to the debate surrounding the effect of ethnic diversity in an area, the findings

on the effect of neighbourhood poverty are all very similar and point towards a

negative relationship between neighbourhood deprivation and lack of intergroup

neighbourly relations (Laurence, 2011; Letki, 2008; Li et al., 2005; Putnam, 2007;

Bécares et al., 2011; Twigg et al., 2010).

2.6 Neighbourhood housing types and neighbourly relations

Another significant neighbourhood attribute that has often been associated with the neighbourly relations of residents is the housing type of the neighbourhood. Most of the studies focus on the design attributes of neighbourhoods such as the provision of communal space and spaces of encounter (King, 2013; Bramley et al., 2009; Wilkerson et al., 2012; Bramley and Power, 2009; Wood et al., 2008; Hanibuchi et al., 2012; Glaeser and Sacerdote, 2000; Kusenbach, 2008; McCarthy and Saegert, 1978; Petermann, 2014). In addition, some studies assert that the predominant housing form of neighbourhood can also represent the socio-economic class of residents and willingness to engage in local social activities (Forrest et al., 2002; La Grange, 2011; Talen, 1999).

The key argument made by studies researching the relationship between neighbourhood housing types and neighbourly relations is that certain spatial layouts and designs can enhance the probability of residents encountering each other and therefore increase the chance for them to interact with each other (Bramley et al., 2009; Glaeser and Sacerdote, 2000; Petermann, 2014). The focus is more on the interaction side of neighbourly relations whereas less is known about their affective relationship with each other. However, there exist no consensus as to which housing type offers the best spaces for encounter. For instance, the findings from Bramley et al. (2009) show that households living in terraced housing and properties with gardens are more likely to have neighbourly interactions. According to Bramley et al. (2009) this is because gardens are 'semi-private' outdoor spaces and thus more conducive to neighbourly interactions. Furthermore, terraced housing are more comfortable and create more chances for people to bump to each other or talk across the fence

compared to high rise flats which limit the opportunities of interaction. Overall the finding of Bramley et al. (2009) suggest that high storey apartments are less conducive to neighbourly interactions compared low-rise houses which have a higher level of public green space and gardens. On the other hand the findings of Glaeser and Sacerdote (2000) imply that large apartment blocks and moderately sized apartment buildings are positively associated with frequent social interactions between neighbours. The reason is because residents living in apartment blocks are physically closer to each other compared to detached housing residents. Furthermore, due to shared public facilities (such as elevator) and spaces, there are more opportunities for apartment residents to meet each other. This correlation between building structure and social connectedness of neighbours suggests that in many cases large building complexes often use the public spaces of their building blocks as a substitute for community institutions such as churches. Similar to Glaeser and Sacerdote, (2000) the study by Petermann (2014) also found that the social interaction between local and non-German neighbours is higher in residential neighbourhoods with a larger number of apartment complexes. In comparison, neighbourhoods with more single-family houses have less interethnic contact, even taking into account the level of concentration of foreign residents in the locality. This is due to the provision of transitional zones in larger building complexes that enable more interethnic contacts.

Whilst arguments seem to divert regarding which building type and density is more conducive to neighbourly interactions, they all agree on the fact that more communal or 'transitory' spaces can increase the likelihood of social interactions. However, many studies also point to the difficulty of separating causal and selection effects, whereby selection effects are the outcome of different kinds of people and social

groups choosing to live in different types of places due to different lifestyle preferences (Bramley et al., 2009). For instance Talen (1999) points to the issue of self-selection as individuals could potentially 'buy in' to a neighbourhood with characteristics they prefer. Under this assumption, likeminded people could choose to live in the same locality for their shared preference of housing type. This shared preference points to some similarities of people's socio-economic standing that in turn could be correlated with their willingness to interact with neighbours. In this case, physical qualities of the neighbourhood act as so-called 'intermediate' variables that have a catalytic effect on neighbourly interactions (Talen, 1999:1372). This notion of self-selection may be especially relevant for neighbourhood social interactions. Marginalised residents are more likely to live in poorer neighbourhoods due to affordability but at the same time tend to need more localised relations as a form of self-support. This however, can create the false impression that poorer housing quality leads to better social interactions. Instead it is more likely that residents are dependent on neighbourly relations due to their lower social mobility and socio-economic status. On the other hand this could also apply to affluent and middle class households who often choose to live in high quality apartments, such as the case of Chinese cities. Since they are already very well socially connected into the urban society, their social networks are often outside of the neighbourhood (Zhu et al., 2012) and this again may create the false impression that high quality housing automatically lead to low levels of neighbouring activities. Therefore according to Talen (1999) housing could very well play an intermediate role and act as a proxy variable for the socio-economic standing of households. Some experiences from Hong Kong further suggest that in addition to the actual socio-economic status of residents, the social class of the neighbourhood may also influence neighbourly relations. The intertwining effects of

social class and neighbourhood type are best illustrated by the study of La Grange (2011) which compared three neighbourhoods in Hong Kong where one was an up-market middle neighbourhood and the other two were working class estates. La Grange (2011) found that compared to the two working class neighbourhoods, attraction to the neighbourhood and social organisation were highest amongst residents in the middle class neighbourhood whilst they scored the lowest in terms of neighbouring activities. Despite the low neighbourly interaction rate, residents still retained a fair level of psychological sense of community, which includes their affective relationship with neighbours. Middle class residents therefore regarded their neighbourhood more as an instrument for acquiring personal comfort rather than for social interaction although a certain level of trust between residents still exists.

Overall the literature on the relationship between housing type and neighbourly interactions suggest that whilst the physical layout can influence the interaction patterns between residents, issues of self-selection may play a more significant part. The difference in socio-economic standing allows affluent middle class residents to buy into neighbourhoods that suit their preferences whilst lower social class residents have fewer choices. Belonging to a different social class also decides the likelihood to interact with neighbours, as more affluent residents are less dependent on neighbourhood interactions compared to residents living in working class estates for instance. However, it is also important to note that despite low levels of neighbouring activities, residents in middle class neighbourhoods may still consider their neighbours as trustworthy. The reason could be the shared sense of identity by living in the same middle class neighbourhood.

2.7 A theoretical framework for researching intergroup neighbourly relations in urban China

The review up to this point has covered literature surrounding the importance of neighbourly relations in general and the underlying dynamics of intergroup neighbourly relations. Empirical evidences are mostly based on case studies from multi-ethnic societies. So far the literature indicates that despite the fact that residents have a more diverse and less territorially bound social networks, neighbourly relations still play an important role (Forrest and Kearns, 2001; Kearns and Parkinson, 2001; Savage et al., 2005). Especially minority groups can benefit from relations at the neighbourhood level as an opportunity to create social ties with members of the host society, which in turn may improve their socio-economic standing and sense of belonging (Letki, 2008; Putnam, 2007; Vervoort, 2012). A theoretical framework for researching the underlying dynamics of intergroup neighbourly relations is also emerging through the review of a range of studies. At the individual level, the social distance between residents appears to be a significant determinant whereby those who consider their neighbours as similar to themselves are also more likely to have a positive relationship with them. Some ethnic minorities and migrants in this sense tend to have fewer social relations with local neighbours due to their perceived social stigma. There are also some mediating factors such as length of residency, proficiency of the local language and perceived socio-economic standing that can decrease the social distance between the minority and the majority group residents. However, ultimately what decides the chances of minority groups to acquire out-group neighbourly relations is the willingness of locals, which in turn depends on how locals perceive certain minority groups in general. At the neighbourhood level, the ethnic composition of an area plays a significant role in determining intergroup neighbourly

relations whereby the majority of studies state that more diverse neighbourhoods tend

to have poorer intergroup neighbourly relations (Bécares et al., 2011; Gundelach and

Freitag, 2014; Putnam, 2007; Twigg et al., 2010). Nevertheless, proponents of the

contact hypothesis show that although more diverse areas may have lower levels of

intergroup neighbourly trust, more intergroup contacts in the form of neighbourly

interactions can mediate this negative effect (Laurence, 2011; Laurence and Bentley,

2015; Stolle et al., 2008). In comparison, studies mostly agree on the negative effect

of neighbourhood deprivation on intergroup neighbourly relations (Gundelach and

Freitag, 2012; Laurence, 2011; Letki, 2008; Stolle et al., 2008). Contention over

limited local resources appears to be the main cause why intergroup trust is lower in

poor areas whereby ethnic minority residents are the key target for distrust and social

isolation, as they are perceived to be a threat to native residents (Laurence, 2011).

Finally the neighbourhood housing type is also considered by many as an important

determinant of intergroup neighbourly relations whereby many emphasise on the

physical features of the neighbourhood (Bramley et al., 2009; Glaeser and Sacerdote,

2000; Petermann, 2014). More importantly however, some studies believe that the

neighbourhood housing type should be regarded as an intermediate indicator of the

social class of residents (Forrest et al., 2002; La Grange, 2011; Talen, 1999).

Residents in middle class neighbourhoods tend to interact less with their neighbours

but still retain a sense of community while residents in working class neighbourhoods

interact more with their neighbours as a means of self-support.

Based on this theoretical understanding of intergroup neighbourly relations, the

following sections of this review proceed to discuss the current knowledge on

neighbourly relations in Chinese cities and how this theoretical framework can be applied to the context of urban China.

2.8 Neighbourhood social relations in Chinese cities

Unlike in Western literature, the topic of neighbourhood has only gained policy and scholarly interest in recent years. There are many reasons as to why neighbourhood social relations have become such an important topic in urban China recently. Much like the rapid urbanization of Western societies in the early 1920s, China has also undergone a massive expansion of its cities in the past decades. Consequently the question has been raised as to whether the neighbourhood itself and social relations at this level still matter to contemporary urban citizens. The general consensus amongst scholars is that the social network of Chinese city dwellers are increasingly less territorially bound (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Hazelzet and Wissink, 2012; Li et al., 2012; Zhu et al., 2012). Some studies assert that the urbanization of China has rendered social relationships of ordinary Chinese citizens more transient but also allowed them to create less territorially bound social networks (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Hazelet and Wissink, 2012). The findings documented by studies so far seem to agree with the general community transformed debate that relations are diversifying and that neighbourly relations are gradually being replaced by a non-territorial social network (Wellman and Leighton, 1979; White and Guest, 2003).

Numerous scholars agree that neighbourhood life and its social activities have dramatically changed since the transition from a socialist to a market-led economy (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Hazelet and Wissink, 2012; Li et al., 2012). The end of the collective consumption led by the state also heralded a new era of market-oriented

production of housing, epitomized by gated commodity housing estates. This shift

ended the stability of neighbourhoods established under the Maoist system, where

most schools, government departments, factories and large portions of urban

employment were organized into a system built around the state and work-units, also

known as *danwei* (Chan, 1993). Under the work-unit system, neighbourhoods were

developed into self-sufficient units combining workplace, residence and social life.

These work-unit communities can be considered as mini-societies themselves (Wu

and He, 2005) and appeared in the form of one or more gated compounds that are

guarded from non-members (Wang and Murie, 2000; Lu, 2006). Several studies

imply that the geographical proximity of work, housing, and social facilities within

work-units led to neighbourhood-based lifestyles and intensive social interactions

during the communist era. One of the earlier accounts of Chinese neighbourly

relations was conducted by Whyte and Parish (1984) and showed that in the 1970s

when work-units had not been privatized yet, neighbourhood social relations were far

more common in Chinese cities than in Western cities. By living and working

together for many years, neighbours developed mutual trust and friendships (Whyte

and Parish, 1984; Li, 1993). Furthermore, in the 1970s, transport facilities were still

limited and phones not widespread so relations with people living in the proximity

were of far greater importance than nowadays. In 1978 social ties mostly existed

inside the neighbourhood as numbers show that around 95 percent of urban workers

were living in neighbourhoods managed by work-units (Lü and Perry, 1997; Lu,

2006). This strongly local-based social network was still reported in the beginnings of

the 1980s (Yang, 1994) but a decade later many scholars have started to notice the

gradual decline of neighbourhood level social relationships. Chan (1993) noted that

labour market reforms separated the link between working and housing as they

necessitated work-units to employ temporal staffs that consequently were not entitled to living in work-unit housing. The opening of the Chinese economy and a range of housing reforms further accelerated the separation of work and housing and increased the residential mobility of people. Coupled with changes to a more urban lifestyle, the intense social relations between neighbours started to decline (Hazelet and Wissink, 2012).

The intensive social networks in work-unit and traditional courtyard housing neighbourhoods were gradually replaced by high-rise commodity building blocks, where residents are socially more isolated from fellow residents. Indeed, more recent findings from Wu and He (2005) show that redevelopment of traditional neighbourhoods would often result in the disintegration of existing social networks, which are especially important to poorer residents. Moreover, Forrest and Yip (2007) also found that whilst neighbourhood level social ties remain high in older and physically more dilapidated neighbourhoods, new areas consisting of commodity housing have much lower levels of neighbouring activities. According to Forrest and Yip (2007) social relations between individuals would become weaker and more fluid and less territorialized as the Chinese urban society further intensifies its commodification process. In contrast, authors such as Hazelzet and Wissink (2012) assert that although social relations may have weakened at the local level, they need to be interpreted as part of the overall system of social network, which according to Hazelzet and Wissink (2012) are now simply more dispersed. Individuals are now keener to maintain their existing friendships rather than creating new ones and for newcomers such as migrants, establishing social ties amongst themselves is easier than creating social bonds with neighbours or locals.

However, whilst social relations between neighbours may have declined since the early days, some studies suggest that the importance of the neighbourhood has not weakened but simply shifted. The neighbourhood changed from an arena that provided most of a person's social networks to a place that offers comfort, security as well as social standing (Breitung, 2012; Li et al., 2012; Yip, 2012; Zhu et al., 2012). The study from Zhu et al. (2012) found that although residents in commodity housing estates have little interaction with their neighbours, they are still very attached to their neighbourhood. The reason is because commodity residents place great value on their neighbourhood's provision of comfort, sense of security and exclusivity (Zhu et al., 2012). In comparison residents in older and poorer neighbourhoods (such as work-unit estates and traditional courtyard neighbourhoods) also feel attached to their locality but mainly because of their social relations with fellow neighbours (Forrest and Yip, 2007). Similarly, Yip (2012) and Breitung (2012) also contend that residents in privately developed gated neighbourhoods still feel a strong sense of community and attachment to the neighbourhood due to its exclusivity and the shared sense of social class. Whilst gating mainly serves as a means for governing work-units and older neighbourhoods, for newly developed commodity housing estates it also serves to underline its residents' financial capabilities and social status (Li et al., 2012). According to Li et al. (2012) commodity housing estates in urban China primarily target the '*nouveau riche*' and the emerging middle class consisting of professional and managerial workers. Consequently, most of the privately developed neighbourhoods also provide many communal facilities such landscaped gardens and in more and more upmarket developments also swimming pools, tennis courts and childcare facilities (Li et al., 2012:238). The presence of many communal facilities,

which in theory increases the probability for residents to encounter and interact with each other as argued by studies like Glaeser and Sacerdote (2000) and Petermann (2014), however, does not lead to higher interaction level between commodity housing residents. This may suggest that the housing design plays a lesser role compared to the social networking preferences of the middle class in urban China.

Another growing strand of research that is of relevance to this thesis are studies that specifically focus on the social ties between migrants and natives in urban China and examine the positive effects of such social ties on the integration of rural migrants. Most studies so far agree that friendship ties between migrants and locals are scarce in Chinese cities but those who possess intergroup ties also benefit from them (Nielsen et al., 2006; Nielsen and Smyth, 2011; Liu et al., 2013; Yue et al., 2013). For instance Nielsen et al. (2006) found that having migrant friends can improve the overall attitude and tolerance of native residents towards the migrant population. The opposite is also true as the research by Nielsen and Smyth (2011) shows that having local friends can significantly enhance migrant respondents' perception towards the indigenous population in general. In contrast non-friendship based contact between migrants and locals, such as during work or occasional encounters in public spaces, do not improve intergroup attitudes (Nielsen and Smyth, 2011:478). The reason for this is because according to the contact hypothesis, only pleasant and equal intergroup contact such as friendships are able to reduce the sense of distrust and social distance between migrants and natives whilst fleeting encounters cannot (Nielsen et al., 2006; Nielsen and Smyth, 2011). In addition to improving the overall relationship between migrants and locals, Yue et al. (2013) found that intergroup friendship ties also help migrants to psychologically integrate into the host society whilst it has a considerably

weaker effect on the socio-economic integration of migrants. Yue et al. (2013:1720) speculate that friendship ties created at the workplace or the neighbourhood could be the main factor that enhances the acculturation and psychological belonging to the host society although no empirical evidence was provided. Finally, the study by Liu et al. (2013) argue that intergroup friendship ties can also improve the housing opportunities of migrants as migrants with more native friends are also more likely to be living in formal and better housing.

2.8.1 A critique on the existing literature on urban China

There exist two strands of research on urban China that are related to the social relations of migrants and are therefore relevant to this thesis. The first strand is concerned with the decline of the neighbourhood and social relations between neighbours whereas the second strand specifically examines the social relationship between migrants and locals and its potential benefits. Although both research strands have provided a considerable amount of understanding regarding the social networks of migrants there are still some significant knowledge caveats.

Firstly with regards to existing neighbourhood research, the key findings of the Chinese literature so far suggest that neighbourhood level social activities are declining due to the shift from a work-unit centred system to a market and consumption oriented urban lifestyle. Under the communist regime, housing was only a part of the work-unit and social life was mostly confined within the neighbourhood compound (Hazelzet and Wissink, 2012; Whyte and Parish, 1984). Similar to the 'community transformed' argument (Wellman and Leighton, 1979; White and Guest, 2003) the urbanisation of Chinese cities has *liberated* city dwellers from the state

controlled work-housing system and transformed their social network, allowing for more social ties outside of the neighbourhood to occur. Whilst residents in older and poorer neighbourhoods still maintain their neighbourly relations, middle class neighbourhood residents are diversifying their social network and retracting from their local social life but still maintain a high sense of attachment to the neighbourhood (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Li et al., 2012). The separation of work and housing means that people no longer need to have good or intensive relationships with their neighbours in order to maintain or advance in their career development. The study from Wu and He (2005) provides evidence that the on-going redevelopments of older areas into high-density commodity neighbourhoods further undermine existing local ties. As mentioned before, the findings of existing studies seem to support the view that the urbanization has *'liberated'* Chinese communities from its local based social ties and where individuals are now able to freely choose their social connections (Wellman and Leighton, 1979).

This explanation for the decline of Chinese neighbourhood level social activities, although plausible, seems to be oversimplified. This thesis agrees with existing studies that neighbourly relations are not the primary source of an urban citizen's social network anymore. However, I further argue that existing studies on urban China have failed to explore the specialised functions of neighbourly relations. The key aspect that has been ignored in the research of neighbourhood social relations is the importance of neighbourly relations for minority groups in urban China. The emphasis of existing studies have been how much people still interact with their neighbours in general but no study to date has actually delved further into *whom people are creating neighbourly relations with at the neighbourhood level*. This

however, has very important implications for the migrant population in urban China. The rapid urbanisation of China has attracted millions of rural migrants into its cities, who struggle to integrate into the urban society due to the hukou system (Chan, 2009). The difficulties of integration that rural migrants are facing in urban China have often been likened with the situation of ethnic minorities and immigrants in multi-ethnic societies (Roberts, 2002). Similar to minority groups in multi-ethnic societies, rural migrants struggle to find better employment (Fan, 2002), better housing (Wu, 2004) and also face discrimination and stigmatisation (Chen et al., 2011; Cheng and Selden, 1994; Solinger, 1999).

The role of intergroup relations therefore can be very important in assisting rural migrants to better socially integrate into the host society. Indeed, the second strand of research on the social network of migrants provides empirical evidence to support this argument. Studies show that migrants who have friendship ties with natives tend to have better housing opportunities (Liu et al., 2013) are psychologically more integrated into the urban society (Yue et al., 2013) and also have better overall attitudes towards each other (Nielsen et al., 2006; Nielsen and Smyth, 2011). However, the main shortcoming of these existing studies is that they mostly concentrate on the positive benefits of intergroup social ties but pay less attention as to how social ties between migrants and locals are formed in the first place. Little is known about whether these social relations stem from the work place, schools or other social arenas. Whilst in multi-ethnic societies, the neighbourhood is recognised as an important channel for migrants to establish relations with natives, there are no studies exploring this particular role of the neighbourhood in urban China. Even more importantly, existing migrant network studies on urban China have only considered

individual characteristics as the determinants of a migrant's social network (Nielsen et al., 2006; Nielsen and Smyth, 2011; Liu et al., 2013; Yue et al., 2013). However, they have failed to explore how socio-spatial changes at the neighbourhood level may be related to the formation of their social relations with indigenous residents. For instance, the influx of millions of rural migrants to Chinese cities has drastically changed the formerly homogeneous residential composition of urban neighbourhoods. Recent studies indicate that the residential distribution of rural migrants is highly uneven due to residential segregation (Li and Wu, 2008). Moreover, increasingly more migrant enclaves are emerging in large cities such as Shanghai (Liao and Wong, 2015). The concentration of poor residents in certain types of areas such as dilapidated inner city neighbourhoods is also taking place (He et al., 2010; Wu et al., 2010). As established earlier, these neighbourhood level changes have a significant impact on the intergroup neighbourly relations in multi-ethnic societies (Gundelach and Freitag, 2014; Kempen and Oezukren, 1998; Laurence, 2011; Putnam, 2007; Vervoort, 2012). There is little knowledge so far as to how these changes at the grassroots level has affected the neighbourly relations of residents in Chinese cities.

In consideration of these knowledge caveats, the next section sets out to review the existing urban China literature in order to explore what potential factors may be related to the intergroup neighbourhood relationship between migrant and native residents. The first priority is to investigate which social groups tend to be more involved locally and the second objective is to find out whether in addition to personal socio-economic status, contextual characteristics may also affecting the neighbouring patterns of people living in Chinese cities. Based on the existing literature review above it is held that the neighbourhood social relations in Chinese

cities may be significantly influenced by the increasing diversity of the population, housing type of neighbourhoods as well as the residential composition in a neighbourhood. If these assumptions are found to be valid then the findings could potentially highlight the importance of the neighbourhood as a means to facilitate intergroup relations in urban China. Furthermore, based on the study findings, there could be important implications for existing integration policies, which mainly focus on the abolishment of hukou status and the equalisation of income. By determining the importance of the neighbourhood it may be possible to move beyond these measures, which are indispensable but perhaps not entirely sufficient in improving the lives of rural migrants. Consequently, the following sections will review the neighbourhood changes in urban China and speculate how they influence the intergroup neighbourly relations between migrants and locals in Chinese cities.

2.9 The urban rural divide in Chinese cities and the impact on neighbourly relations

Diversity in Western societies is often measured through the share of ethnic minorities or the share of international migrants (Putnam, 2007; Laurence, 2011). However, social diversity to date has not appeared much on the radar of Chinese urban studies and much less so with regards to neighbourhood level social relations. Given that the urban population in China is largely ethnically less diverse, it is necessary to elaborate how diversity can be conceptualised in urban China. Although the concept of diversity originates from a multi-ethnic environment, the rationale may be transferable to ethnically less diverse societies as well. The underlying logic of ethnic diversity and intergroup relations assumes that individuals would refrain from interacting and trusting those who they consider as different from themselves

(McPherson et al., 2001). This strong differentiation between 'us' versus 'them' also applies to the migrant-local relationship in urban China (Malloy et al., 2004). Studies show that migrants and locals consider each other as out-group members due to the sense of superiority of urban hukou holders and strong sense of native place identity (tongxiang) of migrants as well as prejudices that further widen the social distance between migrants and locals (Nielsen et al., 2006; Nielsen and Smyth, 2011; Malloy et al., 2004). Both migrants and locals do not consider each other as in-group members whereby migrants are regarded as 'outsiders'. Extending this logic to the neighbourhood level diversity could be interpreted as the share of migrants in a neighbourhood.

There is a growing acknowledgement that the composition of social networks differs between native residents and rural migrants. Studies posit that urban native residents have been liberated from the confines of the work-unit based neighbourhoods and have more freedom to choose their associates (Hazelet and Wissink, 2012; Li et al., 2012; Liu et al., 2012). Social networks of urban natives are now very diverse and connect them to a variety of people including colleagues, former classmates, family and kin ties but also neighbours. Given the abundance of social networks many native residents are keener to retain their existing friendship and kin ties rather than trying to create new social relations (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Hazelet and Wissink, 2012). In comparison migrants have a significantly smaller and less diverse social network as indigenous citizens (Yue et al., 2013; Liu et al., 2013). The study from Yue et al. (2013) found that the majority of migrant's social connections are with fellow migrants, whilst social ties with indigenous citizens are few and restricted. This lack of social connections, especially with native residents, is partly the reason why many

refer to rural migrants as a floating population (Yue et al., 2010) or economic sojourner (Solinger, 1999; Wu 2012). Such labelling of rural migrants create the impression that they are not interested in social relations with the host society and often stay for the purpose of earning money only. However, according to Wu (2012) the reality may be quite different. Although compared to indigenous residents migrants have the least amount of attachment to their neighbourhood and also rarely participate in social events within the neighbourhood, their willingness to stay in the locality is nonetheless very high (Wu, 2012). Wu (2012:565) explains that this outcome may be due to the peculiar institutional arrangement in China: "…even with a strong desire to stay, the current institution of household registration (hukou) constrains them from building up social capital and neighbourhood attachment in these places". Indeed, a recent study reveals that rural migrants tend to have more neighbourly relations than native residents indicating that rural migrants are by no means floating or unwilling to create social relations (Wu and Logan, 2015). There is evidence suggesting that unwillingness to create social ties with natives is not the reason why rural migrants have few social connections with locals. Research shows that migrants born after 1980 (second generation migrants) are more willing to stay in the city and have a greater need for an urban lifestyle compared to migrants born before the 1980s, who are less willing to stay in the city (Liu et al., 2012; Yue et al., 2010). The strong intention of new generation migrants to lead an urban lifestyle in the host society also indicates that they are eager to create social ties with their native neighbours (Liu et al., 2012; Yue et al., 2010). However, despite the stronger intention to stay and to create more local relations, Liu et al. (2012) found that new generation migrants living in Guangzhou's migrant enclaves have similarly few social ties with locals as old-generation migrants. Although the special nature of the migrant

enclave and its local village residents form part of the reason for this outcome (this will be discussed in the next section), the finding also indicates that the unwillingness of locals is a more significant cause for the lack of intergroup relations.

In comparison to rural migrants (who hold an agricultural hukou), migrants from other cities who possess an urban hukou status may not have as many difficulties to connect with locals. Urban migrants can be considered as a cohort of 'elite' migrants (Fan, 2002b), whose migration is often channelled through formal processes of job relocation or official hukou alternation. Furthermore, urban migrants tend to be better educated and employed in better jobs (Wu and Wang, 2014). They also share similar preferences and value systems with members of the host society and differ greatly to rural migrants in terms of their lifestyle and career aspirations. Most importantly, compared to rural migrants urban migrants have fewer limitations in terms of welfare entitlements as they are more likely to sign labour contracts and participate in social insurance schemes compared to rural migrants (Cheng et al., 2014). Although so far no study has specifically targeted the social networks of urban migrants, the assumption is that they have better chances at creating neighbourly relations with locals since urban migrants are not subjected to stigmatisation.

2.10 Domestic migration and intergroup relations in other national and historical contexts

Although the rural to urban migration currently taking place in China is perhaps one of the largest domestic migration flows documented so far, rural to urban migration is by no means only occurring in China. Large scale domestic rural to urban migration often takes place in developing countries that are undergoing processes of

urbanisation and the restructuring from an agricultural based to an industrial based economy (Dang et al., 1997; Fan and Stark, 2008; Fields, 1975; Lipton, 1980; Stark, 1982). Studies on the various aspects of internal migration can be found in a range of developing countries in Latin America, Africa and South-east Asia. Moreover, from a historical perspective, large scale rural to urban migration also occurred in Europe during the industrialisation of its cities. Consequently, the purpose of this section is to take into account studies that have explored domestic migrants in developing countries and to identify findings that can be useful for studying the Chinese case.

1.1 Domestic migration in other national contexts

One key finding of this review is that many of the domestic migration studies in developing countries focus on the economic implications of rural to urban migration (Dang et al., 1997; Lipton, 1980) and its underlying dynamics (Fan and Stark, 2008; Fields, 1975; Stark, 1982). On the other hand, there is considerably less research on the social integration of rural migrants and more specifically their social networks.

One of the few accounts on the social life of rural migrants is the study by Englund (2002) on rural migrants living in Lilongwe, the capital city of Malawi. Englund (2002) showed that rural migrants are strongly attached to their original village and consider their place of origin as their ultimate home and place where they belong. The considerably lower urbanisation rate of Lilongwe in comparison to other cities in the region such as Salisbury means that most of the rural residents remained in the countryside. Comparatively fewer rural migrants lived in the capital city Lilongwe and the main reason for staying in the city is to earn sufficient money to sustain and improve their home in the countryside. Commitments to the hometown village and the

eventual return are obvious facts to these rural migrants. Social integration and a sense of belonging is therefore not a primary issue for rural migrants living in Lilongwe as their concern is more about acquiring sufficient economic capital (Englund, 2002). Social connections with the place of origin are maintained through frequent visits and investment into their village such as buying plots of land or building a house. Similar findings were also presented by Gugler (2002) in sub-Saharan Africa as first and second generation rural migrants continue to have strong social connections with their rural origin. According to Gugler (2002) only few would stay in the city permanently with many opting to return to their place of origin due to their sense of place identity and strong social connections with their family and kin ties in the countryside.

Another study by Erman (1998) on the social relations of rural migrants in Ankara indicates that social relations are very strong amongst rural migrants, which in turn strengthens their rural identity and association with their place of origin. In-group social interactions are not limited to fellow migrants from the same place of origin but incorporate social ties with migrants from different regions. Rural migrants often use the term '*hemsehri*' to describe their migrant community and also use it as a means to differentiate themselves (us) from native urban residents (them) with whom they do not interact as much. The migrant community is particularly important for low-income migrants whose livelihood depend on the mutual support network of rural migrants. On the other hand poorer rural migrants often feel a large social distance between themselves and urbanites mainly due to their poor financial situation, which renders an urban lifestyle (e.g. eating out, cinema, fashion etc.) impossible (Erman, 1998:549). The neighbourhood plays a particularly important role to the social

network and integration of rural migrants as female migrants, bound by patriarchal
Muslim traditions, are confined to their residential neighbourhood and interact mainly
with family and neighbours (Erman, 1998:550). Male migrants on the other hand have
the freedom to explore outside of the neighbourhood and get in contact with a greater
diversity of city residents. Living in a migrant enclave (*gecekondu*) therefore becomes
a hindrance to the intergroup relations of rural migrants, especially for women, as
being less exposed to native neighbours reduces chances to make local friends. A
negative image of rural migrants also appears to hinder intergroup relations as some
affluent rural migrants try to reject their rural origin in order to better assimilate into
the urban society (ibid). However, not all affluent rural migrants reject and avoid their
migrant background and community. The study is based on interviews with middle
class migrants who have moved to better neighbourhoods but still insist that the
hemsehri makes up the major part of their social network (Erman, 1998:545). At the
same time middle class migrants are not averse to interacting with native urban
residents indicating that the spatial assimilation of rural migrants in Ankara can lead
to a better social integration whilst not deteriorating existing rural networks.

This review section reveals many similarities between China's rural migrants and
rural migrants from other national context but the review has also unearthed some
differences. One key similarity between internal migrants from China and other
developing countries is that decisions to migrate and to remain in the city are largely
based on the economic incentives. Rural migrants in developing countries such
Lilongwe greatly resembles first general rural migrants in China who were born
before the 1980s and moved to Chinese cities for earning money. Furthermore, the
study on rural migrants in Ankara also shows that discrimination towards rural

residents is a key factor that prevents rural migrants from integrating into the society and creating social ties with local residents. Moreover, accounts from rural migrants living in the gecekondu in Turkey indicate that the disadvantage of living in migrant enclaves, including reliance on in-group ties and isolation from members of the majority group, prevails both in the China and in other societies. Turkish rural migrants, especially from the younger generation, also have a strong wish to be 'urbanised' and lead an urban lifestyle although their socio-economic status prevents them from doing so. Recent trends in China indicate that especially new generation migrants born after the 1980s also wish to live in the city partly because they have no agricultural skills but also because they are used to living an urban lifestyle (Yue et al., 2010). The degree of urbanisation and economic superiority of urban areas compared to rural regions may be a strong determining factor of willingness to stay and integrate into the society. Evidences from sub Saharan Africa and Lilongwe indicate that rural migrants consider their rural hometown as the desired place to stay whilst the city only serves as a source of income. This may be due to the fact that African cities are still in the early stages of urbanisation and therefore the boundaries and differences between some most of its cities are less contrasting as compared to China or the Turkish case for instance.

There are also some key differences between the experience from China and other developing countries. The first difference between urban China and other developing countries pertains to the different focus of migration studies. Whilst in China there is an emerging concern regarding the social integration and intergroup relations of rural migrants, studies on rural to urban migration in most countries with numbers of domestic migrants are more concerned with other themes. Most of the studies focus

on the push and pull factors that lead to migration as well return migration as well as the underlying dynamics of acquiring employment in the host society (Dang et al., 1997; Lipton, 1980; Fan and Stark, 2008; Fields, 1975; Stark, 1982). This is of course understandable as different national contexts may call for different research approaches and the degree of urbanisation and economic development of a developing country may also play a role. With China being in a more advanced stage of urbanisation and economic development, problems of social integration and intergroup relations have also gradually moved more into scholarly focus. In this sense, the scholarly focus of multi-ethnic societies where intergroup relations, residential diversity and issues of social trust may be more relevant to the focus of this thesis.

Secondly, although establishing social relations with urban natives form part of the wish of some rural migrants to integrate into the urban society, it is nevertheless not the key priority. Rural migrants in economically less developed countries such as Lilongwe indicate that the decision to stay and integrate into urban society is largely based on economic reasons. Social integration is therefore still of lesser importance and also explains why intergroup relations have rarely been discussed by studies on other developing contexts. For Chinese rural migrants however, social ties with locals do not simply form part of their 'urban' lifestyle but rather is of essential importance to their socio-economic well-being in the city. In contrast to rural migrants in other countries, the rural urban dichotomy in China is further exacerbated by the hukou system, which has established an unequal distribution of resources. Restrictive policies similar to the hukou system do not exist or have been abandoned in countries during their transition to the market economy. For instance, during the 1980s the

Vietnamese government stopped the provision of subsidy goods based on the type of household registration residents had (Dang et al., 1997).

1.2 Rural to urban migration in a historical context

There are great similarities between China's current domestic migration and the rural to urban migration flow that occurred in European cities during the age of urbanisation and industrialisation. Unfortunately, there are only few accounts of rural migrants living in European cities during the age of industrialisation and urbanisation. One of the few studies focusing on this topic is the work by Moch (2003) whose findings show many similarities to the on-going urbanisation in China. A comparison of European cities in 1800 and in 1900 reveals that the number of towns with over 100,000 residents rose from 23 to 135 a century later (Moch, 2003:126). The reasons for the rapid growth of cities was very similar to China's namely the abundance of manufacturing jobs in urban areas coupled with the lack of development and employment in the rural hinterland. Manufacturing cities such as Manchester in Great Britain, and the Ruhr Valley in northwest Germany began mushrooming and attracting large numbers of rural migrants who mostly came from the same region. The numbers of interregional or international migrants (such as Irish workers in Manchester or Polish labourers in the Ruhr valley) were considerably lower (Moch, 2003:127). One key difference here however, is that the circular migration of European rural migrants was much more temporal and seasonal. Skilled workers would move from town to town to sell their services whilst unskilled labour would move to cities during economic booms and return to the countryside during economic downtimes.

In comparison to rural migrants, international migrants in European cities during the height of industrial age were much more likely to remain the host society (Lucassen, 2006). Polish migrants working in the Ruhr area for instance, Germany were mainly employed in heavy industry and initially only intended to stay for a short period of time before return to the Polish-speaking parts of Prussia. However, after several years, it became apparent to the Polish migrants that living in Western Europe was better than their region of origin due to better labour conditions and pays. Being part of the then Prussian empire meant that Polish workers did not have any restrictions that prevented them from staying in Ruhr and other Western parts of Prussia. Neighbourhoods with high concentration of Polish workers began to emerge as many of the employers built special housing for its foreign workers in an attempt to both garner loyalty for the company but also to segregate migrant workers along ethnic lines in order to prevent solidary feelings amongst the working class (Lucassen, 2006:31). The concentration of Polish residents would often reach 20-30 per cent of certain towns although the degree of segregation at the neighbourhood level is unclear. Similarly to rural migrants in China however, Polish migrants also suffered from stigmatisation and discrimination. There is little information regarding the social networks of Polish migrants but the fact that mixed marriages between Polish and the local residents very rarely occurred signals the inability and perhaps unwillingness to integrate into the host society. Moreover, Polish migrants tend to have very strong connections with their place of origin through personal networks, frequent travelling and investments into their place of origin such as purchasing a property.

The brief review of migration in Europe during the industrial age shows some striking similarities between rural migrants in China and migrants in Western Europe. Firstly,

rural migration started to proliferate in an age of urbanisation where cities needed large amounts of human labour to sustain their industrial and economic growth. Migrants mostly came to the city in order to earn a livelihood to support their family in the countryside and had little intention of staying for the long term. This phenomenon is still widespread amongst rural migrants in developing countries nowadays such as first generation rural migrants in China whose main objective is to earn money in the city (Yue et al., 2010). In comparison to early European rural migrants, the resemblance of Polish migrant workers is greater with younger generations of rural migrant workers in Chinese cities. Both groups prefer to stay in the host society due to better working conditions and the unwillingness to return to a less developed area. Similarly, their housing conditions greatly resemble as Polish migrants were also housed in dormitory settlements and were largely segregated from the host society (Lucassen, 2006). Rural migrants living Guangzhou and Shenzhen also experience such conditions as they primarily congregate in migrant enclaves due to issues of affordability (Liu et al., 2012). These factors may have contributed to the fact that Polish migrants struggled greatly to integrate into the host society of Prussia, although the Polish ethnicity may have also prevented them from further assimilating into the German society. This finding may be of particular relevance to the Chinese case since migrant enclaves also exist in Chinese cities. Moreover, the review of rural migrants living in Turkey and Lilongwe also show that the spatial distribution of migrant residents can affect their likelihood to have social relations with native residents. All the findings in this section signal that the living environment and characteristics of the residential environment may play a significant role in the integration of rural migrants.

2.11 Neighbourhood changes in urban China and its potential implications for neighbourly relations between migrant and local residents

Studies to date have focused on individual characteristics such as one's hukou system or changing social networking preferences to explain the decline of neighbourly relations (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Hazelzet and Wissink, 2012; Liu et al., 2012; Pow, 2007; Zhu et al., 2012). However, as the earlier review on the relationship between neighbourhood factors and interethnic relations has revealed, variations and changes at the grassroots level can also significantly influence the social interaction pattern of residents. Similar to the development in multi-ethnic societies, it is also possible to observe social and physical changes to the neighbourhoods in Chinese cities. In general three key aspects of neighbourhood change are important to this discussion. Firstly, studies suggest that the residential distribution of migrants is uneven whereby a disproportional number of migrants live in migrant enclaves (Liao and Wong, 2015; Wu, 2004, 2008). The second phenomenon is the concentration of poor and low-income residents in certain types of neighbourhoods whereby again migrants make up a large share of residents living in deprived neighbourhood (Wu et al., 2010; He et al., 2010). Finally since the transition to a market economy, commodity neighbourhoods developed through the private real estate market are also emerging (Pow, 2007; Zhu et al., 2012). Consequently this section will give a brief introduction to the changes occurring at the neighbourhood level in Chinese cities and speculate how they may be related to the neighbourly relations between migrant and indigenous residents.

2.11.1 Residential segregation of migrants and the emergence of migrant enclaves

At current, there is very little empirical data about urban neighbourhoods in terms of the number of migrant residents and how this can affect the neighbouring patterns of

residents. There are however, some studies positing that residential segregation based on socio-economic status is taking in urban China (Li and Wu, 2008; Liao and Wong, 2015; Wu, 2002).

In China, residential segregation is based primarily on tenure and Li and Wu (2008:404) noted that in post-reform China "most communities are characterised by homogeneous tenure and heterogeneous population". There is also evidence pointing to a residential divide between local and non-local hukou holders although this segregation is much less accentuated compared to ethnic minorities in Western societies (Li and Wu, 2008). The findings so far suggest that migrants mainly congregate towards rented housing forms found in older and much more dilapidated neighbourhoods whilst in newer commodity housing migrants residents constitute a much smaller share of the local populace (Wu, 2004; Li and Wu, 2008). However, in China residential segregation was not always based on individual attributes. In pre-reform China, the urban structure was determined by different land uses rather than social stratification (Li and Wu, 2008:406). The factor that really decided where people lived and what neighbourhood amenities they had, was the type of workplace one belonged to rather than their personal attributes. The city population during this period largely consisted of indigenous residents and with very few rural migrants (Hazelzet and Wissink, 2012; Whyte and Parish, 1984). Since the implementation of a range of housing reforms, which focused on shifting the housing provision away from the work-unit based system, residential segregation was no longer institutionally based but instead determined by socio-economic status (Li and Wu, 2008:407). What followed was the immense uptake of the private housing sector consisting of bourgeoning middle class residents whilst low-income households were still living in

dilapidated public housing quarters and at the urban fringe of the cities. Especially migrants who came to the cities found it particularly hard to find accommodation (Wu, 2002). Since migrants do not possess a local urban hukou, they are consequently restrained from accessing affordable housing in the city (Wu, 2004). The only other affordable option for migrants is to turn to the rental market where low cost is one of the most important criteria for a large share of migrants. The findings from migrant studies (Tian, 2008; Wu et al., 2013) indicate that despite the large presence of migrants living Chinese cities, they are by no means distributed equally throughout all types of neighbourhoods. In fact in cities such as Guangzhou, migrant housing are concentrated in migrant enclaves known as *chengzhongcun* (urban villages hereafter) whilst migrants in Shanghai or Nanjing live more dispersed including work unit and traditional neighbourhoods (Wu et al., 2013:1920). The housing survey conducted in Shanghai and Beijing by Wu (2004) suggests that most migrants are accommodated in the rental sector including work-unit housing, dormitories as well as courtyard neighbourhoods built before 1949. New commodity housing neighbourhoods however, remain largely unattainable for migrants due to financial constraints as well as mortgage limitations. This suggests that although migrants now constitute a sizeable share of the urban population, they mostly concentrate in low-income areas and are much less represented in homeownership based housing areas.

Given these stark variations in the residential distribution of migrant residents, there are reasons to assume that intergroup neighbourly relations may vary considerably depending the share of migrant residents. The contact, conflict and constrict theories from multi-ethnic societies can therefore also be tested in urban China to examine whether areas with more migrants residents fare better or worse than more

homogeneous neighbourhoods in terms of intergroup relations. Considering that rural

migrants have far more in common with native urban residents as compared to

different ethnicities, such as a shared national identity, common cultural values and

no language barriers, the outcome of this research may also be different. The

possibility that higher diversity can lead to more intergroup contact between migrant

and indigenous neighbours, which in turn foster intergroup tolerance may be higher in

urban China. Some research results already suggest that the contact hypothesis is

more applicable to the Chinese case as Nielsen et al. (2006) and Nielsen and Smyth

(2011) found that having migrant friends significantly improves the overall perception

of locals towards the migrant population whilst the opposite also holds true.

2.11.2 Urban villages as migrant enclaves and their impact on intergroup neighbourly relations

The emergence of migrants enclaves in Chinese cities which often take the form of

urban villages has also been researched by many studies (Song et al., 2008; Liu et al.,

2010; Hao et al., 2011). Urban villages were originally rural farming areas that

became encroached by urban developments (see Chung, 2010 for an overview of

urban villages). The surrounding farmlands of urban villages were all converted into

urban land use thus depriving the local villagers of their source of income.

Consequently urban villagers, who owned the urban villages as a collective, turned to

constructing more housing units and to rent them out to mostly rural migrants in order

to compensate for their loss of farmland. Additionally, the government provided many

forms of compensation including alternative housing, one-off cash compensations as

well as offering local villagers local urban hukou status (Wu et al., 2013). Similar to

migrant enclaves in Western societies, urban villages are also mainly inhabited by

rural migrants, which can make up to 80 per cent of the residential population whilst the other 20 per cent are mostly local villagers (Li and Wu, 2013; Liao and Wong, 2015).

In recent times some have examined the social network of migrants living in urban villages (Liu et al., 2012; Wissink et al., 2013). Liu et al. (2012:196) reveal that migrants (both old- and new generation) living in migrant enclaves are still restricted to contacts with fellow migrants within and outside of their neighbourhood whilst relations with local neighbours are sparse and superficial. Similarly Wissink et al. (2013) found that rural migrants in urban villages have lower income and are more dependent on in-group social ties whilst having few out-group relations. These findings are largely in accordance with multi-ethnic studies, which posit that migrants living in migrant enclaves rely more on in-group ties whilst relations with members of the majority group are scarce (van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998). Table 2.2 lists some of the similarities between urban villages and migrant enclaves in Western societies in terms of their advantage and disadvantages to its migrant residents. Although research from urban villages suggests that the neighbourly relations between rural migrants and locals are scarce, it is important to note that these findings are restricted to rural migrants in urban villages only and may not apply to migrants living in other types of neighbourhoods. Similar to migrant enclaves, urban villages should be considered as a more transitional form of migrant residence that primarily houses the newly arrived migrants who are financially more constrained. Those who attain a better economic status are likely to move to other types of neighbourhoods such as work-units or commodity housing estates (Wissink et al., 2013). Moreover, the truncated neighbourly relations between locals and migrants in urban villages may also be due

to the complex tenant and landlord relationship between local villagers and migrants.

Local villagers are the landlords in urban villages and enjoy a significantly better

socio-economic standing compared to rural migrants. The study by Chung (2010)

reveals that the demand and supply relationship is a main reason why interactions

between migrants and local villagers remain stagnant and superficial. Furthermore,

although both live in the same neighbourhood, local villagers are mostly segregated

from their migrant tenants and prefer to interact with their in-group neighbours (Li

and Wu, 2013). Therefore local villagers cannot be considered the same as the urban

natives in Chinese cities but as a more special group of native residents. Consequently

although urban villages reflect one dimension of the migrant-local neighbourly

relationship in Chinese cities, it is important to state they are not representative of the

overall neighbourhood relations between migrants and locals.

Table 2.2 Advantages and disadvantages of living in migrant enclaves and their
applicability to urban villages in China

Advantages	Disadvantages	Urban villages in China
Offering low-cost housing which is more affordable especially for newly arrived migrants (Logan et al., 2002)	Higher crime rate and the quality of housing is also lower than the average of the city (Logan et al., 2002)	Urban villages also form an important source of housing for rural migrants (Wu, 2004). The quality of housing is substandard but surveys show that migrant residents are generally happy with their residence and stating that financial affordability is the key reason for living in urban villages (Li and Wu, 2013; Song et al., 2008)
Development and nurturing of ethnic social ties through which members can gain mutual benefits and support (Portes and Zhou, 1992). Allows its residents to overcome isolation	High levels of in-group social networking may lead to the social exclusion from the mainstream society (Kandylis et al., 2012)	Rural migrants tend to have more in-group ties in urban villages whilst having few relations with native neighbours, who are mostly local villagers (Liu et al., 2012; Wissink et al., 2013). The tenant/landlord

(Kempen and Oezuekren, 1998:1636)		relationship and the stark economic difference between local villagers and rural migrants are often cited as the cause for this truncated neighbourly relationship (Li and Wu, 2013; Chung, 2010).
Defending the overall existence of the group in an organised manner (van Kempen and Oezuekren, 1998)	Migrant enclaves can create a negative image for the host society which affects its current and future members of the cluster (Johnston et al., 2002)	Urban villages are generally perceived as hotspots for crime and the cause of many urban problems by the government as well as the native population (Chung, 2010; Wu et al., 2013)
Creating a competitive edge for ethnic entrepreneurs, i.e.: enclave economy (Light et al., 1994)	Higher exposure to one's own immigrant group can lead to lower chances of employment (Galster et al., 1999:123)	Enclave economies also exist in urban villages providing employment and income to certain migrant groups from Hubei for example (Liu et al., 2014; Li and Wu, 2013). Research shows that most migrants in urban village employed (Song et al., 2008).

2.11.3 The concentration of poverty in Chinese urban neighbourhoods

In addition to the uneven residential distribution of migrant residents, studies also found that poverty and low-income residents are concentration in dilapidated neighbourhoods in Chinese cities (He et al., 2010; Wu et al., 2010). The rise of poverty stricken neighbourhoods started to occur since the economic restructuring and institutional reforms since the late 1980s whereby many state owned and collectively owned enterprises where shut down and large numbers of state enterprise employees were laid off (He et al., 2010). However, what is important to note here is that compared to the high poverty areas found in Western societies, impoverished neighbourhoods in urban China are much less extreme in terms of deprivation and the mechanism driving is poverty neighbourhoods is also different (Wu et al., 2010). The

population of poverty neighbourhoods are largely made up of rural migrants and the urban poor, which consists of laid-off state workers (Wu et al., 2010). At first glance this population composition may suggest that many native urban residents with low income are in direct competition with rural migrants for low or unskilled jobs (Roberts, 2001, 2002). However, despite this potential for competition more recent research contend that the spatial mobility of rural migrants are significantly higher compared to the urban poor and is largely determined by the location of employment (Li and Zhu, 2015). From another perspective this implies that before rural migrants move to a new neighbourhoods they would have already acquired the job rather than moving first and then looking for new employment. This may indicate that although rural migrants are competing with the urban poor for limited jobs it is not necessarily with the urban poor living in the same locality. Moreover, considering that rural migrants are dependent on local social relations (Wu and Logan, 2015), it is more likely that the neighbourly relationship between rural migrants and indigenous residents living in poverty neighbourhoods is less negative than anticipated. Of course this assumption will need to be validated through the data analysis of this thesis.

2.11.4 Neighbourhood housing types and intergroup neighbourly relations in urban China

The review in section 2.5 regarding housing types and how it may affect the neighbourly interactions of residents revealed that firstly certain physical elements of the neighbourhood could affect the frequency of interaction between neighbours. The consensus is that transitional spaces which enable encounters between residents also lead to higher neighbouring activities although there is no agreement which specific housing type allows more chances of encounter. More importantly the issue of self-

selection may play a more important role as people with similar preferences may congregate in the same housing types (Talen, 1999). This intermediate effect of neighbourhood type could be especially relevant to the case of Chinese cities where the emergence of commodity neighbourhoods has allowed more affluent residents to move out of their older neighbourhoods into commodity housing where security and privacy play a more dominant role (Zhu et al., 2012). As studies have noted neighbourly interaction remains fairly high in older neighbourhoods such as work-unit neighbourhoods where residents are still accustomed to interacting with neighbours (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Li et al., 2012). Commodity housing settlements on the other hand have significantly lower levels of neighbouring activities (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Li et al., 2012). The reason for this is because the burgeoning middle class who is the primary target group of new commodity housing developments, prefer a stronger sense of privacy and security over frequent neighbourly relations (Zhu et al., 2012). Despite the lower tendency to interact with neighbours however, research shows that residents of commodity housing neighbourhoods share a very strong social identity of fellow homeowners who can afford to live in the same area (Pow, 2007). This sense of shared identity is further strengthened by the governance structure of commodity neighbourhoods, which gives more decision power to the residents through housing associations (Yip, 2012). Consequently, as Li et al. (2012) argued, scarce neighbourly activities do not necessarily point towards a poor neighbourly relationship amongst its residents. Instead, according to Li et al. (2012:239) "in the new commodity-housing estates, gates and boundaries not only serve to enhance security but also help to differentiate the insiders from the outsiders, and cultivate a sense of accomplishment and belonging among the new homeowners."

In contrast, older and more dilapidated neighbourhoods such as traditional courtyards and work-unit estates tend to have higher level of neighbourly relations and have a higher share of long-term residents (Forrest and Yip, 2007:60). One of the key reasons as to why residents in older neighbourhoods have higher levels of neighbourly interactions is because of the work-unit system, which was abolished since China's transition (Forrest and Yip, 2007). During the socialist era, housing was provided by work-units through the construction of work-unit settlements and the incorporation of some courtyard neighbourhoods (Hazelet and Wissink, 2012). Under the work-unit system, residents lived at the same neighbourhood as their fellow work-unit colleagues and therefore personal life and working life were very closely connected (Hazelet and Wissink, 2012). Earlier research by Whyte and Parish (1984) noted that social life was largely taking place in the neighbourhood. With the abolishment of the work unit system neighbourly relations also changed although residents in these older neighbourhoods still retain their high level of neighbourly interactions and the strong sense of community. However, this is also likely to change as according to Forrest and Yip (2007:62) "the links between neighbours as friends and neighbours as work associates face considerable transformation as these local networks are disrupted with greater residential and social mobility". The increasing heterogeneity of these areas through the influx of migrants may further reduce the existing level of neighbourhood relations (Forrest and Yip, 2007:63). There are already some signs of the decline of neighbourhood sentiments in older neighbourhoods, especially in traditional courtyards. Wu (2012) found that long-term native residents have the intention to leave their old neighbourhoods citing reasons such as the moving away of many fellow neighbours and different habits as their migrant neighbours (Wu, 2012:564).

The review of the changes of Chinese cities reveals that there are several factors that need to be taken into consideration when researching the intergroup neighbourly relations between migrants and locals in urban China. Firstly through the large influx of rural migrants and the existing hukou system, the social distance between native and migrant residents has also increased. Stigmatisation and discrimination towards rural migrants further worsen the migrant-local relationship, which in turn may also indicate that few native residents are willing to interact with and trust their migrant neighbours. In contrast, due to the constrained socio-economic standing of rural migrants and the formal limitations of the hukou system, it is likely that rural migrants are keener to establish neighbourly relations especially with local neighbours as a way to obtain informal support in the host society. In addition to the social identity of residents, neighbourhood level factors may also play an important role in the neighbourly relations between migrants and locals. The residential segregation of migrants and affluent locals has resulted in an uneven distribution of migrant residents. The level of intergroup neighbourly relations may vary between neighbourhoods with a higher share of migrants and areas with a lower percentage of migrant residents. The assumption here is that neighbourhoods with higher number of migrant residents may have more positive intergroup neighbourly relations. Despite the social distance between migrants and locals and issues of stigmatisation it is important to consider the numerous shared characteristics between migrants and locals as well. Compared to ethnic minorities in Western societies, migrants and locals have far more in common such as language, cultural values and a shared national identity. The higher migrant presence in some neighbourhoods may increase the chance of encounter between migrant and indigenous residents. In light of these

commonalities intergroup contact may help migrant and local residents to remove existing prejudices and create a relationship built on mutual care and tolerance. Furthermore, the negative effect of neighbourhood poverty on intergroup neighbourly relations that has often been found in multi-ethnic studies (Letki, 2008; Laurence, 2011) may be less accentuated in China due to the fact that most migrants are already employed before moving to poor areas. Finally, the neighbourhood housing type may be a very important determinant of neighbourly relations whereby residents in commodity housing neighbourhoods could have a particularly strong affective relationship with their neighbours due to the shared sense of social class and pride as homeowners. Residents in older neighbourhoods on the other hand may be more involved in neighbouring activities due to their need for more localised forms of support.

2.12 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to review the existing literature on the importance of neighbourly social relations and its specialised role to support minority groups to socially integrate into the mainstream society. Furthermore, the objective was to understand the underlying dynamics of intergroup neighbourly relations and how contextual factors may be related. The second purpose of this chapter was to review existing studies concerned with neighbourly relations in urban China where there are still some important knowledge caveats regarding the neighbourly relations between rural migrants and native urban citizens. This chapter also sought to establish a theoretical framework to research the current trend and underlying dynamics of intergroup neighbourly relations in urban China. As part of this objective the chapter has reviewed studies concerned with the demographic and social changes of China's

urban population as well as the social and physical changes at the grassroots level and how they could influence intergroup relations.

With regards to the existing literature on neighbourly relations in general, there are several important findings. Firstly, neighbourly relations in general have lost its role as the primary source of social networks due to urbanisation (Wellman and Leighton, 1979). Social networks have now transformed and urban residents are diversifying their social ties and creating social bonds outside of the neighbourhood although a certain level of neighbourly relations still remain (White and Guest, 2003). Despite the loss of importance of neighbourly relations, many studies still posit that the neighbourhood remains important to certain social groups and serves some specialised functions. Firstly, neighbourhoods help foster a stronger sense of security and belonging to the neighbourhood and to the local community (Kearns and Forrest, 2000; Kearns and Parkinson, 2001). More importantly neighbourly ties between different social groups can also enhance the social integration of marginalised groups by firstly removing preconceived stigma and foster a stronger sense of trust (Putnam, 2007; Vervoort, 2012; Gundelach and Freitag, 2014; Stolle et al., 2008). In addition, bridging social relations between neighbourhoods also help individuals to *get ahead* in the society both in economic and social terms rather than simply *getting by* (Putnam 2001). These benefits of intergroup neighbourly relations are also backed up by existing theories of weak ties (Granovetter, 1973) and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2001).

The review of neighbourly relations study in urban China so far come to similar conclusions as Western research namely that neighbourly relations have lost its

importance in Chinese cities due to the urbanisation processes (Li et al., 2012; Zhu et al., 2012). Although it is undeniable that urbanisation has led to the decrease of neighbourly relations in general, the current understanding on neighbourly relations in China is still incomplete. The explanation that urban residents have simply replaced neighbourly relations with a city-wide social network (Hazelet and Wissink, 2012; Zhu et al., 2012) and that social relations in general are becoming more transient (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Li et al., 2012) is over-simplified and potentially misleading. Current neighbourly relation studies seem to have accepted that neighbourly relations are dispensable to urban residents and will eventually cease to exist especially once older neighbourhoods have been redeveloped. Few studies have questioned whether neighbourly relations are still relevant because they serve some specialised functions to certain population groups. This is in contrast to multi-ethnic societies where many studies have acknowledged the importance of intergroup neighbourly ties. Although most residents in Chinese cities belong to the Han ethnicity, the hukou status and existing prejudices have led to a strong differentiation between rural migrants and natives in terms of their social identity (Malloy et al., 2004; Nielsen et al., 2006; Nielsen and Smyth, 2011). Similar to ethnic minorities and immigrants, rural migrants also struggle to integrate into the city and are more reliant on local social relations as an informal way of self-support (Wu and Logan, 2015). In light of these current difficulties, more understanding on intergroup neighbourly relations and its potential benefits to migrants can therefore be highly relevant for urban China. However, the concept of intergroup neighbourly relations is largely unexplored in China and even less is known about its underlying factors. Consequently this thesis will try to shed some light onto the social relations between migrant and indigenous residents in urban China by researching social ties at the neighbourhood level.

The literature review concerning the underlying dynamics of interethnic ties offered some important insights and helped form the theoretical framework as to what factors influence the neighbourly relations between rural migrants and indigenous residents. In addition to individual determinants, contextual factors play a very important role in affecting the social relationship of ethnic minorities and migrants with the majority group of the society. The first contextual factor is the share of minority group residents living in the neighbourhood whereby most studies found that more diverse areas tend to have lower levels of interethnic social interaction (Putnam, 2007; Vervoort, 2012; Stolle et al., 2008; Li et al., 2005). The reason for this outcome is because individuals tend to isolate themselves from people whose social identity they consider as different from themselves and ethnicity in this sense forms a major criteria of one's social identity. Although the population in Chinese cities consists mostly of Han Chinese, research suggests that urban natives and migrant residents both feel that they have a different social identity as each other (Malloy et al., 2004; Nielsen et al., 2006). Based on this knowledge there are also grounds to assume that the residential segregation in urban China (Li and Wu, 2006; 2008), which has resulted in an uneven residential distribution of migrants in Chinese cities (Liao and Wong, 2015; Wu, 2008) is significantly related to the intergroup neighbourly relationship between rural migrants and native residents. Especially the emergence of migrant enclaves in China's urban villages and other low-income neighbourhoods may also be associated with intergroup neighbourly relations. Evidence from multi-ethnic societies suggest that migrants living in enclaves are less likely to interact with members of the host society because of overreliance on in-group ties (van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998; Logan et al., 2002).

In addition to migrant presence, the poverty rate of a neighbourhood may also be an important determinant as existing studies found that residents living in more deprived areas tend to isolate themselves from their out-group neighbours as competition over limited resources lowers their sense of trust and tolerance towards each other. Poverty stricken neighbourhoods are also emerging in urban China (Wu et al., 2010; He et al., 2010) but as Wu et al. (2010) have noted, the poverty in Chinese urban neighbourhoods is much less extreme compared to Western societies and the mechanism of their formation also differs significantly. Therefore it remains to be seen whether neighbourhood poverty will have similarly negative influences on intergroup neighbourly relations in China.

Finally, diverse neighbourhood housing types may also be an important determinant of intergroup neighbourly relations between rural migrants and indigenous residents. Research so far suggests that different housing types influence the frequency and pattern of neighbourly activities amongst its residents although there is no clear consensus as to which housing type is more facilitative of neighbourly relations (Bramley et al., 2009; Petermann, 2014). Another reason why housing type may play an important role is because of self-selection whereby individuals with similar preferences may congregate in the same neighbourhood types (Talen, 1999). This argument may particularly apply to the Chinese context where the rise of the commodity-housing neighbourhood has allowed a group of more affluent residents to move out of older and dilapidated areas and pursue their preference for more privacy and security (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Zhu et al., 2012). However, there is also evidence indicating that residents in commodity housing share a strong social identity

has house owners and thus also highly trust fellow neighbours whilst feeling distrustful towards non residents (Pow, 2007). All these finding point to a potential association between intergroup neighbourly relations and the diverse housing types in urban China.

Overall the review of existing literature in multi-ethnic societies and urban China suggest that there are many similarities such as discrimination towards minority groups, segregation of ethnic minorities in the West and the uneven residential distribution of migrants in urban China as well as the existence of deprived neighbourhoods. However, whilst the phenomena are very similar between multi-ethnic societies and urban China, there also are very distinctive differences in terms of their formation. In light of these differences it is assumed that the effects of the neighbourhood characteristics may also differ considerably in the Chinese context. The findings of this chapter can contribute to a better understanding of migrant-local relations at the neighbourhood level and also clarify whether neighbourhoods still matter in urban China. Additionally, by differentiating between rural migrants and locals, this study has extended the debate surrounding intergroup relations and diversity into the context of urban China where the urban population's ethnicity is less diverse.

Before moving to the data dissemination in chapters four, five and six, chapter three will firstly introduce the research framework of this study and also provide information regarding the research methods and data collection of this thesis.

Chapter Three

Research framework and methodology

3.1 Research framework

The previous chapter has reviewed existing theoretical paradigms regarding social interaction at the neighbourhood level. The purpose of this chapter is to put forward a research design to analyse the neighbourhood social interaction between migrants and locals and how it can be relevant to the social integration of migrants in urban China.

3.1.1 Researching neighbourhood social interaction between migrants and locals in China

Neighbourly social interaction can be broadly categorised into two types. The first category is neighbouring activities and relates to overt forms of neighbouring such as exchanging greetings or mutual support (Mann, 1954). The second type of neighbourly relations is the affective relationship between residents, which includes mutual trust or how familiar residents are with their neighbours (Mann, 1954; Unger and Wandersman, 1985). Preferences of neighbouring activities can vary from person to person and therefore there is no set standard of whether frequent neighbouring is better than infrequent neighbouring, although a certain level of neighbouring activities is considered as conducive to neighbourhood interaction (Mann, 1954; Unger and Wandersman, 1985). On the other hand, there is general consensus that a stronger affective relationship between neighbours is positive as it represents the psychological sense of community of residents and how well they feel in the locality (Buckner, 1988; Mann, 1954; Talen, 1999; Unger and Wandersman, 1985). This thesis will

focus on both neighbouring and the affectively relations between neighbours. Furthermore, neighbourhood social interaction is conceptualised as an important form of intergroup contact between migrants and locals (see figure 3.1) that is conducive towards the social integration of rural migrants (Stolle et al., 2008; Cheong et al., 2007). Consequently, the relevance of intergroup neighbouring and affective neighbourly relations to the social integration of rural migrants in China will be discussed in detail in chapter four.

3.1.2 Researching the dynamics of neighbourhood social interaction between rural migrants and locals

The focus of this thesis is the neighbourhood social interaction between migrants and locals and therefore studying its underlying dynamics is of great importance. This thesis agrees with existing studies that the social interaction between in-group and out-group neighbours can be influenced by both individual and neighbourhood level characteristics (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2002; Guest et al., 2008; Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi, 2002; Laurence, 2011; Letki, 2008; Stolle et al., 2008). At the individual level, the social distance between individuals is an important determinant whereby in the Chinese case it is assumed that the social distance between rural hukou migrants and native urban residents is the highest. Other individual level factors such as length of residency, income and education levels will also be considered as existing neighbouring studies contend that they are significantly related with the likelihood of residents to interact with neighbours (Buonfino and Hilder, 2006; Li et al., 2012).

In addition to individual level determinants, it is held that neighbourhood level characteristics are significantly related to the intergroup neighbourly relations of

residents. Since changes at the neighbourhood level can be directly perceived and experienced by residents it is believed that individuals are more responsive to local level characteristics as compared to the regional or national contexts (Gundelach and Freitag, 2014). The diversity of an area in terms of number of migrant residents can therefore become an important factor influencing the willingness of residents to engage with out-group neighbours. Furthermore, the socio-economic based residential segregation in China indicates that affluent neighbourhood residents are likely to have a different neighbourly relationship with out-group residents as compared to residents living in older and more deprived settlements. Based on this logic, this thesis will explore three key neighbourhood attributes in Shanghai namely the share of migrant residents in an area, the poverty rate of a neighbourhood and the housing type of a neighbourhood. Figure 3.1 shows a chart outlining intergroup neighbourhood social interaction may be related to individual and neighbourhood characteristics. From figure 3.1 it is possible to see that neighbourhood social interaction is classified into neighbouring activities and affective neighbourly relations. The assumption is that at the individual level, factors such as the individual's income or age may be significant predictors. The hukou status of individuals here is also considered as a proxy for differentiating between population sub-groups namely rural migrants, urban migrants, rural natives and urban natives (more information regarding this will be discussed in chapter five). Furthermore, it is assumed that more neighbouring activities can improve the affective relationship between migrant and indigenous neighbours (this will be tested in chapter six). At the neighbourhood level, it is also assumed that some neighbourhood level predictors are related to individual level characteristics.
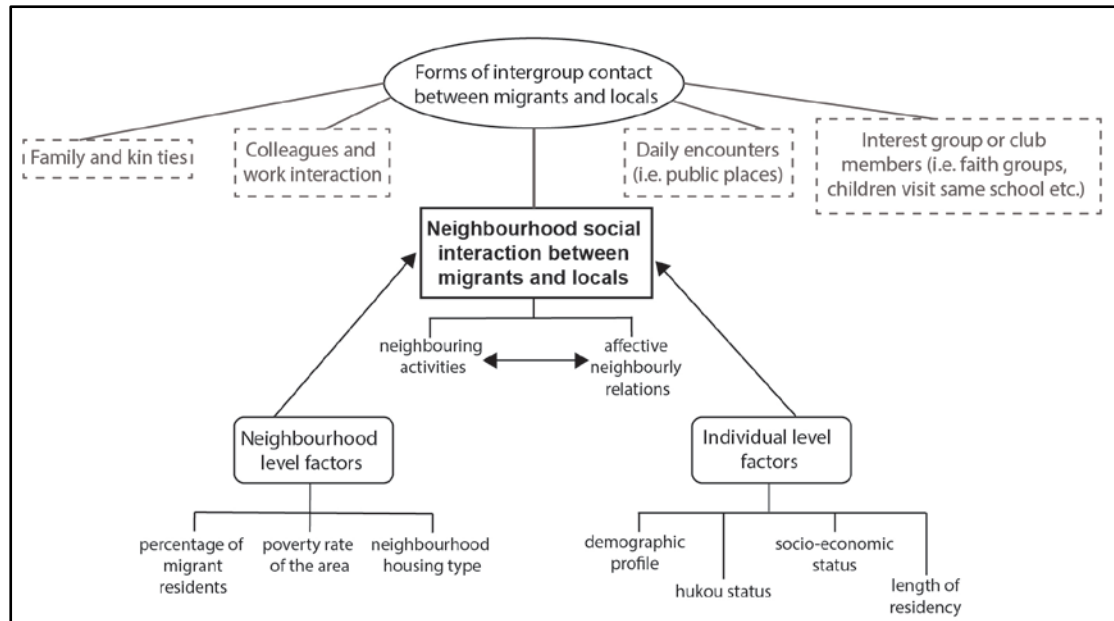
Figure 3.1 Research framework

3.1.3 General procedure of analysis

The study is divided into two parts. The first part analyses how neighbourly social relations have changed since the rapid urbanisation of Chinese cities and its current importance in the wider social network of urban residents. Furthermore, using the case study of Shanghai, chapter four examines the importance of neighbourhood social interaction against other forms of intergroup contact such as workplace relations (see figure 3.1). The chapter also assesses how neighbouring and the affective neighbourly relation help to facilitate more intergroup tolerance. Finally, it discusses how the social distance between migrants and locals and socio-spatial changes at the neighbourhood level are related to the neighbourly relations between migrant and native residents. The second part analyses the underlying dynamics of intergroup neighbourly relations whereby chapter five focuses on neighbourly interactions and chapter six explores the determinants of the affective relationship between migrant and local neighbours.

3.2 Research questions and hypothesis

The core aim of this research is to identify the underlying dynamics of the neighbourhood level social interaction between migrant and indigenous residents. The key research questions are: What are the current levels of neighbourly interactions and the affective relationship between migrant and local residents and what are its key determinants? Based on the literature review and the research framework, three sets of questions and corresponding hypothesis are presented below:

1) What is the current level of neighbourly relations between migrant and native residents and how does it compare to the neighbourly relations between in-group neighbours? Does the likelihood to engage in intergroup neighbourly relations differ between migrant and indigenous residents?

Hypothesis: Currently the neighbourly relationship between migrant and local neighbours remains truncated and is considerably lower and less positive than the neighbourly relations between in-group neighbours. Especially native residents are less likely to engage in intergroup neighbourly relations with migrant residents due to existing stigmas attached to rural migrants.

2) What are the key determinants of the neighbourly interactions between migrant and native residents? How do neighbourhood characteristics affect the frequency of intergroup neighbouring activities?

Hypothesis: Hukou status is a significant determinant of intergroup neighbouring activities whereby migrant residents are more likely to engage in neighbourly

interactions with local neighbours compared to native residents. Secondly intergroup neighbouring activities occur more frequently in neighbourhoods where the presence of migrant residents is higher as compared to areas with fewer migrant residents.

3) What are the underlying factors of the affective neighbourly relationship between migrants and locals? Specifically, does more frequent intergroup neighbouring lead to a stronger affective relationship between migrant and local residents?

Hypothesis: Residents living in commodity housing neighbourhoods tend to describe their affective relationship to out-group neighbours as more positive compared to residents living in other neighbourhood types. In addition, more frequent intergroup neighbouring activities is significantly associated with more positive affective neighbourly relations.

3.3 Methodology

The research strategy of this study can be divided into three steps. Desk research is conducted as the first step in order to acquire information about migrants living in Shanghai regarding their demographic profiles, socio-economic status and social well-being. Furthermore, this stage also sought to gather more information regarding physical and social changes at the grassroots level in Shanghai including the existing types of neighbourhoods as well as the existence of migrant enclaves amongst others. The second stage of research included a pilot fieldwork trip to Shanghai from April to May 2013 with the key aim of preparing for the household survey conducted during the third stage of the research. The preparation included the gathering of additional information regarding the whole city as well as the situation of migrants living in

Shanghai through collecting statistical materials from local authorities and other sources. Moreover, the field trip encompassed unrecorded conversations as well as ten semi-structured interviews with both migrant and indigenous residents living in a variety of neighbourhood settings in order to refine the research hypothesis and to adapt questionnaire questions from multi-ethnic societies to the Chinese context. For the third stage of research, a randomly sampled questionnaire survey was conducted in Shanghai from July to September 2013. During the survey interviews more qualitative insight was also gained through unrecorded conversations with survey respondents, which helped to develop a more nuanced understanding. In summary, this study relied on a selection of information sources to answer the research questions including official documents, government reports, unrecorded conversations, semi-structured interviews and most importantly a large-scale questionnaire survey.

3.3.1 Case study choice

The city of Shanghai has been chosen as the case study due to its high representativeness. As one of the largest cities and the financial centre of China, Shanghai has a population of 23 million of which almost 40 per cent are migrant residents holding a non-local hukou status (NBS, 2010). The city has 208 sub-districts, with population numbers ranging from 6,000 to 30,000 inhabitants and an administrative area covering approximately 1.3 to 15 square kilometres (NBS, 2010). A typical sub-district would have 20-30 *juweihui* (residential committee, the de facto local governance unit of the government), each *juweihui* consisting of 1000 to maximum 5000 residents (ibid). Most financial and commercial activities such as the financial district of Lujiazui or the new Shanghai Free trade zone are situated within

the inner city. Commercial and business activities are also largely congregated in the inner city ring where residential developments are gradually decreasing and of older age (Wu, 2008). On the other hand, peripheral and suburban areas have a larger share of newly developed residential settlements and manufacturing industries and also inhabit a large share of migrant enclaves in Shanghai (Liao and Wong, 2015). Shanghai serves as an excellent case for studying intergroup social relations, as the city's migrant population is very diverse in terms of socio-economic status and places of origin, coming from both urban and rural areas (Migrant Population Commission, 2012). Moreover, Shanghai is one of the cities where migrants are living in neighbourhoods of different housing types and varying degrees of area poverty and thus helps the exploration of contextual effects. Although Shanghai takes up a very unique position in China given both its financial status and longstanding issues of discrimination towards migrants long before the introduction of the hukou system, I believe that it serves the purpose of this study. Discrimination towards rural citizens is a problem that affects most cities in China and the sense of superiority over rural residents is deeply embedded in the mind-set of many urban citizens in China, regardless of the city's size (Li, 2006; Zhang et al., 2009; Cheng and Selden, 1994). In this sense, rather than being an exception, Shanghai combines many qualities that are comparable to the characteristics of other Chinese cities. Unique historical background of each city may also be related but due to limited resources such tasks will have to be left for future studies.

3.3.2 Secondary data sources

The secondary data used for this research mainly included sources with information regarding the entire city of Shanghai. The primary sources of secondary data are listed below.

Shanghai Statistical Yearbooks 2012-2014 (Shanghai Statistical Bureau, 2012-2014), *Report on China's Migrant Population Development 2011-2012* (reports created by the Department of Services and Management of Migrant Population, National Population and Family Planning Commission of China) were used to provide a general overview of the existing demographic and socio-economic status of residents in Shanghai as well as to gain insight into the current integration situation of rural migrants. The fifth (carried out in year 2000) and sixth population census (carried out in year 2010) of Shanghai were the key source of information on the demographic and socio-economic distribution of residents at the various districts and sub-districts (street office or Jiedao) level. However, given the nature of this study, which mainly focuses on neighbourhood level characteristics, such data is not sufficient. Since only using statistical reports were not enough, this study has also used a range of existing reports in Chinese related to the social integration of migrants. Sources include the following:

Research articles published in Chinese on the existing social integration and '*shiminhua*' of rural migrants (Wang et al., 2008; Gao, 2010; Li and Ren, 2011; Solinger, 1999) and books including *Temporary migrant's living patterns and their social integration in urban China* (Ren, 2012) amongst others were drawn upon in order to gain a better understanding of the current relationship between local residents and rural migrants. I also made use of *online media coverage* on relevant issues

regarding the social relationship between rural migrants and indigenous residents of Shanghai, the general perception and image of rural migrants as well as reports on the current attempts of the Shanghai municipal government to integrate rural migrants.

3.3.3 Primary data source - Questionnaire survey

The purpose of the questionnaire survey was to obtain information regarding the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of Shanghai residents living in a variety of neighbourhoods. It also includes factors that are significantly related to their neighbourhood social interaction pattern, their satisfaction with the neighbourhood they live in etc. The questionnaire consists of three parts: 1) household demographic and socioeconomic attributes; 2) current housing conditions 3) information about the different modes of neighbourly interaction as well as general trust between migrant and local residents (for a more detailed overview, see the Appendix).

The city-wide survey was carried out by a group of professionally trained surveyors and managed by the former survey officer of the Shanghai Statistical Bureau (SSB)'s urban livelihood survey team. The surveyors were also formerly employed by the Shanghai Statistical Bureau and are familiar with the neighbourhood assigned to them. The sampling area was at the *juweihui* (residential committee) level, which is lower than the *jiedao* level (subdistrict) and is naturally defined by building blocks and streets.

In order to generate a sample that reflects the Shanghai population and the spatial differentiations between neighbourhoods such as neighbourhood poverty and migrant

concentration, the survey follows the principle of simple random sampling and adopted a *two-stage sampling strategy* (Kirk, 2011). At the first stage the survey sought to randomly select 35 neighbourhoods based on various criteria including the *location* (inner city, middle ring and outer ring areas of Shanghai), *GDP per person*, *population density* and *percentage of urban hukou residents* at the subdistrict (*Jiedao*) level. For the second stage forty copies of questionnaires were allocated for each selected neighbourhood. Households at the *juweihui* level were selected at a fixed interval from a population size of 1500 house numbers. An additional 10 households were included in the sampling in order to make up for missing cases where households refuse to be interviewed or are unavailable (empty properties for instance). The sampling frame was chosen as 1500 residents for each neighbourhood as this number represents the average number of residents of each *juweihui*. The sampling of households was based on the street number rather than an official resident register. The assumption was that this way the distribution of the sample within the neighbourhood could approximate a random sample of the neighbourhood population. There are two reasons for selecting an address-based approach rather than depending on an official registration list. Firstly, migrant and temporary residents were not included in the official registration list and secondly because in practice an address-based approach ensures a better degree of randomness and representativeness households. Finally the survey required the head of household to be interviewed.
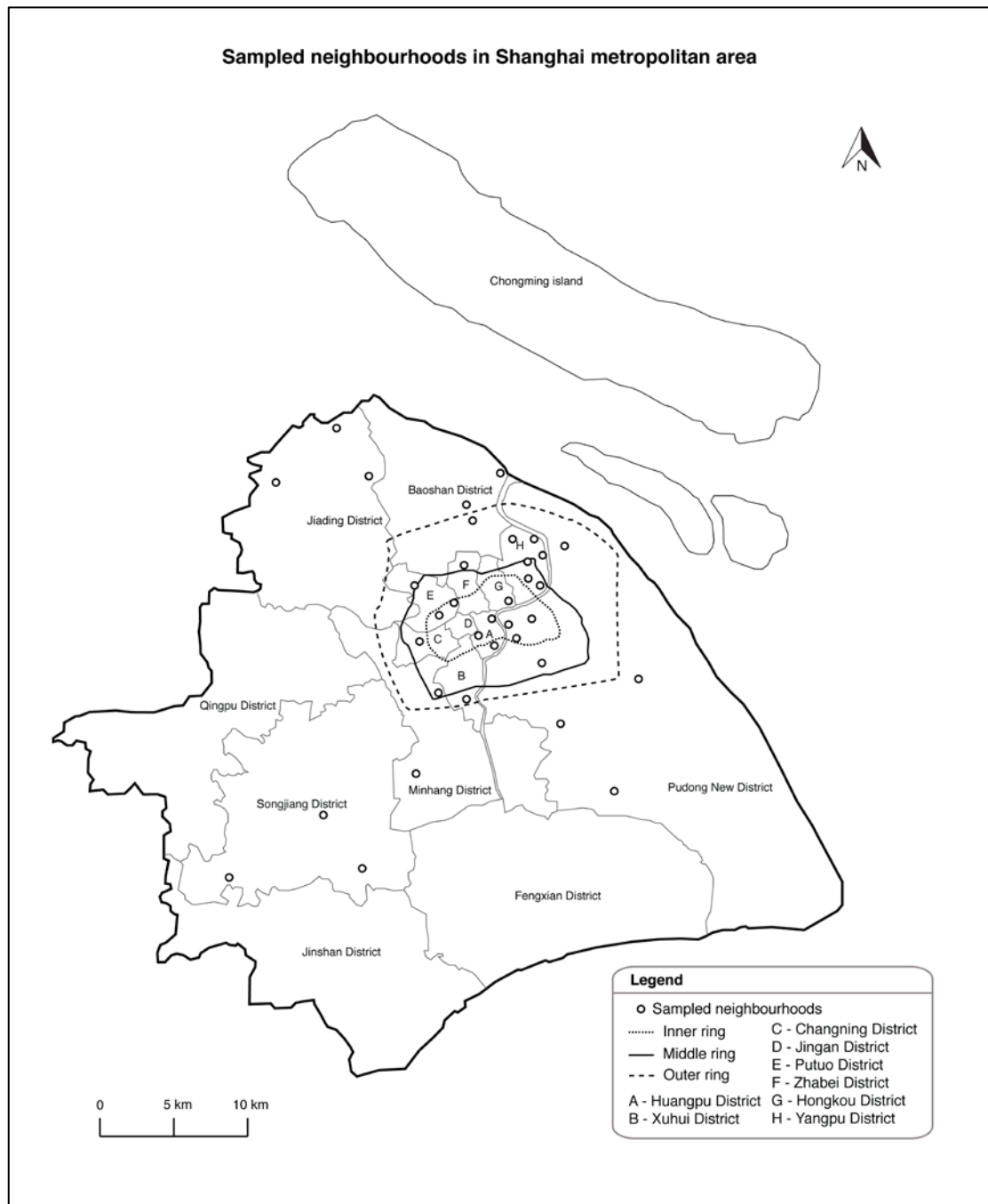
Figure 3.2 Neighbourhoods sampled from the Shanghai metropolitan area

In total, the survey yielded 1420 valid samples distributed across 35 selected

neighbourhoods (see figure 3.2 for their location in Shanghai). The success rate for

this survey was very high (95 per cent) since members of the residential committee

helped introducing the surveyors to selected households. Amongst the sampled

households 1046 are local urban hukou residents, 128 local rural hukou, 86 non-local urban hukou and 158 non-local rural hukou migrants. The reason why the migrant ratio is below the city's average is mainly because many migrant residents were unavailable for the survey due to their irregular work schedule and long working hours, which often resulted in them only being available in the late evenings. Thus surveyors were forced to skip certain migrant households. The lack of migrant respondents was detected right after completing the initial survey. In order to remediate this shortcoming the survey team conducted a supplementary survey specifically targeting migrant respondents. As part of the supplementary migrant survey, surveyors would visit migrants' homes in the previously sampled neighbourhoods during weekends and after dinnertime. Unfortunately, given that the problem was only realised after completing the initial survey, funds were already very limited and only another 100 additional migrant samples were added. However, although the overall ratio of migrant respondents is lower than the Shanghai average I am still confident that there is no systematic lack of any particular migrant group and this is also verified to some extent by comparing the migrant's survey sample with the government's sixth population census conducted in Shanghai (which can be seen in table 3.1). In addition, the data used for the analysis was weighted according to the overall percentage of migrant residents living in the respective *juweihuis*.

Table 3.1 Comparison of survey data and official statistics

	Survey data in 2013	Official statistics
Educational attainment of working age population		
Below elementary	0.64%	1.0% [a]
Elementary	5.26%	9.0% [a]
Junior secondary	33.59%	40.2% [a]
Senior secondary	21.67%	21.5% [a]
College or above	33.33%	28.3% [a]
Income per month	3548.53 Yuan	3654.25 Yuan [b]
Major occupational sectors	***Migrant sample only (N=243)***	***Migrants only***
Commercial and service industry staff	42.58%	31.5% [b]
Production and manufacturing	19.52%	28.7% [b]
Construction	8.10%	4.1% [b]
Transport and Logistics	4.29%	5.5% [b]

Source: [a] Shanghai sixth population census in 2010; [b] Shanghai Statistical Yearbook 2014

3.4 Data analysis

The data analysis of this research is mainly based on quantitative methods following

existing research methods on neighbourhood social interaction and intergroup social

relations, which mostly made use of statistical analysis (Guest et al., 2008; Gundelach

and Freitag, 2014; Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi, 2002; Laurence, 2011; Putnam, 2007;

Vervoort, 2012). Quantitative research methods are primarily used on the micro level

data obtained through the questionnaire survey but basic quantitative means, such

cross tabulation, were also applied to compare the micro level data with macro level

statistics such as the Statistical Yearbooks and the Census data.

A regression analysis method is necessary to understand the independent relationship

between individual and area level predictors and the neighbourly relations between

migrants and locals. More precisely the mixed effects linear regression approach,

which is commonly known as multilevel modelling, was used in this study as the key

statistical tool to analyse the relationship between predictor variables and the

neighbourly relations between migrants and locals. The reason for adopting a multilevel approach rather than simply using an OLS model is primarily because a standard OLS model cannot take into account the hierarchical structure of the survey data (Gelman and Hill, 2006; Raudenbush and Bryk, 2002). Although the survey data was collected using a random selection process, it is nevertheless impossible to disregard the 'natural' hierarchy of the data (Raudenbush and Bryk, 2002). An example of a natural hierarchy could be that children (level 1) are nested within parents (level 2) and therefore the probability that children from the same parents resemble each other more than compared to a random selection is considerably higher. In the case of this study residents (level 1) are nested within the neighbourhood (level 2) and a strong possibility existed that certain population subgroups would congregate in specific neighbourhoods. In terms of income for instance, considering that residential segregation is based on socio-economic status in Shanghai (Li and Wu, 2008) it is therefore assumed that the similarity of the income level is generally higher between residents living in the same residential neighbourhood as compared to a randomly sampled individual. A standard regression model would be unable to take into account this hierarchical structure and therefore produce over-optimistic results and large standard errors (Gelman and Hill, 2006). For this study it is therefore necessary to apply a mixed effects model in order to allow the intercept to vary across different neighbourhoods. The benefits of using the multilevel model approach has also been approved by most studies researching intergroup relations at the neighbourhood level (Gundelach and Freitag, 2014; Laurence, 2011; Letki, 2008; Putnam, 2007; Secor and O'Loughlin, 2005).

The mixed effect linear model (or random intercept model) used in this study can be expressed as the following equation:

$$y_{ij} = \beta_{0ij} + \beta_1 x_{1ij} + \beta_2 x_{2j} + u_j + e_{ij}$$

where y represents the dependent variable such as the frequency of intergroup neighbouring activities. i denotes that variable varies between individual (level 1) and j denotes that variable varies between *juweihui* (level 2) and is constant for all respondents within a given neighbourhood. $\beta_1 x_{1ij}$ are individual predictor variables such as age or income. $\beta_2 x_{2j}$ are neighbourhood level predictors such as the poverty rate of the area or the neighbourhood housing type. u_j is the level-2 residual and e_{ij} is the level-1 residual.

In order to aid the interpretation of statistical analysis results, the study also relied on some qualitative analysis methods. Methods included conversation analysis and observational analysis. Both analysis approaches had the purpose to better understand why certain individual and neighbourhood characteristics were related with the neighbourly relations between migrant and local residents. For instance, through observing specific physical attributes of various neighbourhood types it is possible to establish an understanding on the key differences between older and newer neighbourhoods developed by the government and the private sector such as their underlying ideologies and design objectives. Moreover, through walking through the neighbourhoods of Shanghai it was also possible to firstly observe how residents interact with their neighbours and secondly to gain an understanding about their

neighbourly relations with out-group residents through casual unrecorded conversations.

3.5 Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to explain the research framework of this study and to summarise the methodology used. The key aim of this thesis is to identify the underlying dynamics of the neighbourly relationship between migrant and local residents in urban China. Neighbourly relations is categorised into neighbourly interactions, such as exchanging help, and affective neighbourly relationship such as mutual trust between neighbours. In order to identify the dynamics of neighbourly relations between native and rural migrant residents three key neighbourhood aspects will be researched: 1) the housing type of neighbourhoods 2) the poverty level of neighbourhoods and 3) the share of migrant residents in a neighbourhood. The assumption of this research framework is that it can contribute towards both the understanding on the social relationship between migrant and local residents and the social integration of rural migrants in urban China. Moreover, findings of this research can also be of use to existing theories and be of relevance for other societies.

Empirical analysis will be conducted by making use of a broad range of secondary and primary data sources. Secondary data include the most recent statistical data on current demographic and socio-economic changes to the residents of Shanghai as well as residential patterns and the general social integration of rural migrants. Primary data were acquired through a 1420-sized questionnaire survey, which is of crucial importance to this thesis given that official data at the neighbourhood level is hardly accessible in the Chinese case. This research made use of primarily quantitative

methods, with a special emphasis on multilevel modelling in order to answer the research questions and gain a better understanding on the current neighbourly relations between migrant and local residents. The next chapter will discuss how neighbourly relations in urban China has changed since its transition to a market economy and how much it still matters to urban residents, both locals and migrants. Moreover, chapter four will explore how socio-spatial changes at the neighbourhood level and the increasing migrant population may be related to the neighbourly relationship between migrants and locals using the case of Shanghai. Chapter five will then proceed to identify the underlying dynamics of intergroup neighbourly interactions using the Shanghai household survey whereas chapter six will analyse the determinants of the affective relationship between migrants and locals.

Chapter Four

Intergroup neighbourly relations and urbanisation in Shanghai

4.1 Introduction

The rapid economic growth of Chinese cities has attracted large numbers of rural

migrants who seek better employment and better livelihoods. However, due to the

immense influx of rural migrants and unequal welfare entitlements caused by the

Chinese hukou system, rural migrants are struggling to socially integrate into the host

society (Wang et al., 2002; Li et al., 2007). The worsening social tension between the

migrant and the local population due to discrimination and stigmatisation has been

found to be a key reason why migrants struggle to socially integrate into the city

(Chen et al., 2011; Li and Stanton, 2006; Wang et al., 2010). Gradually the positive

effect of intergroup contact to reduce conflict between different social groups is being

acknowledged (Gundelach and Freitag, 2014; Stolle et al., 2008). Recent studies on

urban China also contend that intergroup contact between migrants and locals can

help improve the attitudes of both groups towards each other and also contribute

towards better social integration of migrants (Nielsen et al., 2006; Nielsen and Smyth,

2011; Yue et al., 2013). However, researches concerning the social networks of urban

residents and in what ways the migrant and native population are interacting with

each other are still relatively scarce. Especially the role of neighbourly relations has

rarely been discussed in the context of intergroup contacts between migrants and

locals in Chinese cities. Although neighbouring activities are losing their importance

for urban citizens (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Hazelzet and Wissink, 2012; Zhu et al.,

2012), this study maintains that neighbourly relations can contribute positively to the

relationship between the migrant and the local population in Chinese cities. Referring

to the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954; Gaertner et al., 1994; Hewstone and Brown,

1986; Nielsen et al., 2006; Nielsen and Smyth, 2011), I argue that neighbourly

relations is an important form of intergroup contact that can assist in reducing the

social distance between the migrant and the local population and help foster

intergroup tolerance. In addition, there is also little understanding regarding the

underlying dynamics of neighbourly relationship between migrant and local residents.

This study contends that social and spatial changes at the neighbourhood level have

considerably influenced the neighbourly relations between migrants and locals.

Consequently there are two key purposes of this chapter. Firstly this chapter aims to

understand what role neighbourly relationships play in the wider context of social

contacts between migrants and locals and explores whether intergroup neighbourly

relations can help reduce the intergroup conflict between migrants and locals in

Shanghai. The second purpose is to discuss the underlying dynamics of intergroup

neighbourly relations and how changes at the neighbourhood level may play a role.

The chapter is structured as follows. The next section discusses the current crisis of

migrant-local relations in urban China and some of its core causes. Then in the first

half of the chapter, it discusses the current social network of migrant and indigenous

residents in urban China and what role the neighbourhood may play as a potential

platform for intergroup contact to take place. Then it proceeds to examine how

migrant-local contact at the neighbourhood level can shape the sense of trust towards

out-group members in general for both migrant and native Shanghai residents. For the

latter half of this chapter, I will discuss the underlying dynamics of the intergroup

neighbourly relationship between migrants and locals in Shanghai and examine both

individual and neigghbourhood level factors.

4.2 Conflicts between locals and rural migrants and the positive effect of bridging social relations in Chinese cities

Intergroup conflict is a widespread phenomenon in contemporary cities and, in the

case of multi-ethnic societies, social tensions between different ethnic groups are one

of the most difficult problems (Gesthuizen et al., 2009; Nannestad et al., 2008;

Putnam, 2007). Research contends that conflicts are born from the social distance

between different groups or ethnicities (Tajfel, 1982; Alba and Nee, 2003; McPherson

et al., 2001; Putnam, 2007). Factors such as shared preferences as well as the

perceived similarity of social identity usually lead to a short social distance between

individuals (McPherson et al., 2001). In contrast, when somebody else's social

identity is considered to be different from oneself, their perceived social distance

increases and in turn leads to the decline of feelings of trust and reciprocity

(McPherson et al., 2001:416). Factors that affect a person's perception of social

identity can be very diverse and changes over time. In multi-ethnic societies for

instance, race and ethnicity is a great deciding factor (Putnam, 2007; Alba and Nee,

2003).

In the Chinese context, the social identity of Chinese citizens is deeply rooted in their

place of origin whereby people from rural regions are mostly discriminated against

due to their perceived inferiority (Roberts, 1997; Malloy et al., 2004). A core cause

for the stigmatisation of rural residents can be traced back to the Chinese

government's strong emphasis on economic growth favouring urban areas over the

rural hinterland during its socialist area (Chan, 2009). In addition, the introduction of the hukou registration system also placed further limits to rural migrants who have started to move to the cities since the 1980s. In order to discourage rural to urban migration, the government denied rural migrants many welfare entitlements such as health care and prohibiting their children from visiting the same schools as the local children (Chan, 2009). Moreover, many city governments including Shanghai also implemented numerous policies such as higher utility rates for migrants or additional administrative fees for seeking employment in the city (Li et al., 2006:7). The institutional favouritism of urban residents have led to the general belief that urban hukou holders are more privileged and 'better' than rural hukou holders (Cheng and Selden, 1994). Despite many rounds of hukou reforms to remove the initial inequality between locals and migrants (Liu, 2005), the sense of superiority of holding an urban registration has remained in the mind of many average urban Chinese citizen. The failed attempts to remove rural stigmatisation through hukou reforms seem to suggest that the problem of stigmatisation and discrimination has moved beyond simple hukou categorisation and unequal rights. In recent years the terms 'rural migrant' or 'floating population' are often considered as representatives of low education, poor hygiene and poor behaviour as well as poverty in general (Whyte, 2010; Chen et al., 2011). Moreover, local natives also believe that the influx of rural migrants has resulted in the increase of crime rates and other negative outcomes in Chinese cities (Solinger, 1999). The negative stereotypes of crime, poverty and low education level are further exacerbated by media coverage, with frequent reports of rural migrants conducting robberies, theft as well as prostitution (Nielsen and Smyth, 2008; Whyte, 2010). Since an increasingly larger share of migrants live in migrant enclaves and are segregated from the mainstream society (Liao and Wong, 2015; Li and Wu, 2008),

many local residents only know rural migrants through indirect information channels such as mass media reports. The stigmatisation of rural migrants also has a negative impact on the social identity of individuals as research suggest that both rural migrants and urban residents consider themselves as different from each other (Malloy et al., 2004).

Stereotypical views towards rural migrants is increasingly being recognised as a serious urban problem in Chinese cities and research concerned with how intergroup contact can mitigate such problems are gradually emerging (Nielsen et al., 2006; Nielsen and Smyth, 2011). Studies mostly refer to Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis as a theoretical basis to support claims about the positive impact of intergroup contacts (Nielsen et al., 2006; Nielsen and Smyth, 2011). In its simplest form the contact hypothesis states that frequent contact in a pleasant and cooperative environment between members belonging to different social groups can mitigate intergroup prejudice and ameliorate the image of the entire out-group (Hewstone and Brown, 1986). The key precondition for intergroup contact to have a positive effect is that interactions need to take place in an equal and cooperative context (Nielsen et al. 2006; Pettigrew, 1998). The underlying logic is that social contact between different groups firstly allows individuals to learn about out-group members in a direct and personal way and secondly leads to a change in behaviour towards out-group members (Pettigrew, 1998). Such positive interactions between in- and out-group members then enable individuals to set aside existing stereotypical assumptions and to reappraise their view towards out-group members as well as to reconsider the social boundaries between the '*us*' and the '*them*' (Nielsen et al. 2006; Pettigrew, 1998). There are many studies confirming the positive effects of intergroup contacts in a

variety of settings such as schools, workplaces, army but also the neighbourhood (for a review of these studies see Pettigrew, 1998). In the Chinese context the evidences so far show that migrant-local social sties are still relatively scarce (Liu et al., 2013; Nielsen et al., 2006; Nielsen and Smyth, 2011; Yue et al., 2013). However, despite its scarcity research also indicates that having a migrant friend considerably improves a local resident's overall perception towards the migrant population (Nielsen et al., 2006). Similarly migrants who have urban native friends also have significantly better out-group attitudes compared to those who have no friendship ties with locals (Nielsen and Smyth, 2011). The reason why friendship ties have such a positive impact on out-group attitudes is because they are a pleasant and equal form of social interaction as compared to (sometimes hierarchical) work relations or random daily encounters for instance (Nielsen and Smyth, 2011). In addition to improved out-group attitudes, social ties with native residents also positively affect the acculturation and psychological integration of rural migrants in China although its influence on economic integration is far less significant (Yue et al., 2013). Studies to date have started to acknowledge the positive effects of migrant-local ties in fostering out-group perceptions and reducing stigmatisation of rural migrants, but there is little research regarding the sources of the existing migrant-social ties. Especially the role of neighbourly relations in the improvement of intergroup relationships remains unclear.

Part I The role of neighbourly ties in fostering migrant-local relations

4.3 Social networks, intergroup contacts and the role of the neighbourhood in China

The way in which city residents interact with each other and the constitution of their social network has changed considerably since China's transition to a market economy. Recent research indicates that neighbourly relations are losing their importance as the urbanisation and market transition in China has widened the arena in which social relations take place for both migrants and locals (Hazelet and Wissink, 2012). Social networks are becoming increasingly more transient and fluid whilst neighbourly relations, which formed the key source of social ties during the communist era, are declining (Forrest and Yip, 2007). The separation of workplace and residential life coupled with higher mobility has allowed urban residents to form social relations across the city whilst becoming less reliant on local ties (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Hazelet and Wissink, 2012). Moreover, with the emergence of commodity housing neighbourhoods, many middle class residents now reside in gated communities where interactions between neighbours have become relatively rare (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Breitung, 2012; Yip, 2012; Zhu et al., 2012). As a result the sources of social ties of both rural migrants and native residents have also changed. Both social groups mainly rely on their social network with fellow in-group members. Surveys in Shanghai reveal that the social network of rural migrants mainly consist of kin ties and social connections with other migrants (Jin et al., 2012; Liu et al., 2012; Xu and Palmer, 2011; Migrant Population Commission, 2011). Similarly urban locals also largely rely on kin ties as well as non-kin ties such as friends and work colleagues (Lai, 2001; Migrant Population Commission, 2012). Nonetheless recent evidence also indicates that against the common perception that rural migrants are 'floating' in the city, they still maintain a considerable level of neighbourly relations (Wu and Logan, 2015). Despite the decline of the neighbourhood as an arena for social interaction, Wu and Logan (2015) found that neighbourly relations still play a

role in the social network of rural migrants. Moreover, although interactions between neighbours are scarce amongst middle class residents, research also shows that their levels of trust and sense of community towards neighbours remain considerably high due to the shared social identity (Pow, 2007; Yip, 2012). For locals, a mixture of stigmatization and sense of superiority over rural migrants whilst for rural migrants the fear of being discriminated form the key inhibitors for more intergroup social contacts (Cheng and Selden, 1994; Solinger, 1999; Roberts, 2002; Migrant Population Commission, 2011).

Despite the scarcity of migrant-local ties as mentioned earlier there is still evidence suggesting that some rural migrants have social ties with locals, although it is not known in what arena these migrant-local interactions are taking place and what role neighbourly relations may play. Despite the positive effects of friendship ties the same studies also contend that such ties are scarce and is only one category of intergroup contact (Nielsen et al., 2006; Nielsen and Smyth, 2011). In this case, the question still remains what other forms of intergroup contacts are available to migrants and locals to interact with each other. Recent interviews with rural migrants indicate that meaningful encounters in public spaces that could lead to deeper interactions between migrants and locals are scarce (Yang, 2013). Temporal encounters of this kind are too fluid to allow migrants and locals to interact with each other in a stable and continuous manner and would not meet the 'pleasant and cooperative' environment criteria of the contact hypothesis. Other environments where intergroup contact are likely to occur according to contact hypothesis scholars (Pettigrew, 1998) are places such as schools, workplaces, the residential neighbourhood and even the army. Given that most rural migrants move to Shanghai

to work in the industrial or service sector (SSB, 2014), the army as a place for intergroup contact can therefore be ruled out for the majority of the migrant population. Schools, which not only offer migrant and local children the opportunity to interact but also their parents (Pettigrew, 1998), are also an unlikely arena for migrants and locals to interact. This is because the current hukou regulations and its subsequent replacement system in Shanghai prohibit children of rural migrants from visiting the same schools as indigenous children (Kwong, 2004). Moreover, many migrant households would also leave their children at their place of origin (Chang et al., 2011). Instead, the work place and the residential neighbourhood are more likely platforms for intergroup contact to take place (Yue et al., 2013). However, the labour market segmentation that affect many rural migrants (Fan, 2002; SSB, 2014) indicate that work place based connections may not be available to all rural migrants. Whilst many migrants are segregated from local Shanghai people such as schools and work places, the residential segregation in Shanghai is considerably less accentuated (Li and Wu, 2008). Instead the various rounds of housing reforms have changed the residential patterns of both native Shanghai residents and rural migrants and large shares of both groups are still living in the same localities (Wu, 2008).More recent evidence, however, indicate that the concentration of rural migrants in migrant enclaves is intensifying (Liao and Wong, 2015). Nevertheless, compared to the segregation in other arenas, the neighbourhood still remains one of the few platforms where migrants and locals have the opportunity to encounter each other and interact in an equal and pleasant manner.

The survey in Shanghai supports some of the speculations regarding the social network of rural migrants and locals. Firstly, the evidence confirms that both migrants

and locals still largely rely on friendship ties with in-group members (see table 4.1).

More than 95 per cent of local hukou respondents stated that their main source of

friends are from Shanghai whilst only 10 per cent of rural migrants reported that the

majority of their friends are local Shanghai residents.

Table 4.1 The place of origin of the majority of friends by hukou status (weighted, in %)

| Hukou status | *Where are most of your friends from?* | | | |
	Migrants from same city/township	Migrants from same province	Migrants from different province	Local Shanghai
Local urban	2.52	1.01	1.20	95.13
Rural migrant	61.86	16.74	10.47	10.55

Although our survey did not ask how many out-group friends local and rural migrants

had, it did question respondents about where in Shanghai their friends live in order to

understand how much importance the neighbourhood plays in creating intergroup

friendships. Table 4.2 shows where most of the friends of respondents are living in

Shanghai. Most of the friends of respondents live outside of the neighbourhood

whereby rural migrants have an even more territorially dispersed social network as

only 19 per cent of migrants state that the majority of their friends live in the same

neighbourhood (see table 4.2). In comparison almost a third of native residents state

that the majority of their friends are also their fellow neighbours, indicating that

localised social relations still represent a key source of social network for a sizeable

share of native Shanghai residents.

Table 4.2 The residence of the majority of friends by hukou status (weighted, in %)

	Where do most of your friends live?			
Hukou status	Same neighbourhood	Same district	Different district in Shanghai	Outside Shanghai
Local urban	31.38	21.12	45.04	2.47
Rural migrant	18.97	30.46	30.58	19.99

Although intergroup friendship ties may be scarce at the neighbourhood level, this does not mean that migrants and local do not interact with each. The results from the household survey in Shanghai show that a fair number of residents are engaged in intergroup neighbourly relations (see table 4.3 and table 4.4). In terms of neighbouring activities, more than 30 per cent of residents report that they frequently or sometimes exchange support with out-group neighbours and more than half of residents state that they frequently or occasionally exchange greetings with out-group neighbours. In comparison, only around 13 per cent of respondents say that they exchange visits with out-group neighbours. Considering that visiting someone's home is a more intimate form of neighbourly interaction only practised amongst friends and relatives, this may also mean that almost 13 per cent of residents would consider some of their out-group neighbours as closer friends.

Table 4.3 Interactions with out-group neighbours (weighted, in %)

Neighbourly visits	Never or seldom	87.04
	Frequently or sometimes	12.96
Neighbourly support	Never or seldom	69.63
	Frequently or sometimes	30.37
Neighbourly greetings	Never or seldom	45.31
	Frequently or sometimes	54.69

In respect to the affective neighbourly relationship between migrant and native residents table 4.4 shows that more than half of residents feel neutral towards their out-group neighbours whilst a smaller share between 10-20 per cent of residents consider their out-group relations as negative. In comparison, more than a quarter of residents would consider their out-group neighbours as trustworthy and that their relationship is based on mutual care and familiarity. Additionally, more than 35 per cent of residents would describe their out-group neighbours as friendly.

Table 4.4 Affective relationships with out-group neighbours (weighted, in %)

Degree of neighbourly friendliness (1 lowest, 5 highest	1 and 2	9.56
	3	55.29
	4 and 5	35.15
Degree of neighbourly care (1 lowest, 5 highest)	1 and 2	23.19
	3	52.11
	4 and 5	24.70
Degree of neighbourly trust (1 lowest, 5 highest)	1 and 2	10.26
	3	64.50
	4 and 5	25.24
Degree of familiarity (1 lowest, 5 highest)	1 and 2	20.80
	3	51.87
	4 and 5	27.33

Overall the survey results by no means suggest that migrant-local neighbourly relations are overwhelmingly positive but the evidence also indicates that still a fair share of migrant and indigenous residents are practising them. In the following section I will further explore whether those who report more positive out-group neighbourly relations also have a stronger sense of intergroup trust in general.

4.4 Intergroup neighbourly relations and migrant-local trust in Shanghai

This section examines the current social trust between migrants and locals and how intergroup neighbourly relations may affect it. The level of social trust towards in-group members was also included as a benchmark for comparison.

With respect to social trust in Shanghai, figure 4.1 shows that the in-group trust of migrants and locals are considerably higher than out-group trust between migrants and locals. Figure 4.1 shows that more than 77 per cent of respondents chose either agree or highly agree to the statement that most fellow in-group members living in Shanghai are trustworthy. On the other hand only around 48 per cent answered with either agree or highly agree to the statement that most out-group members living in Shanghai are trustworthy. Overall there were only few respondents who were distrusting others however, compared to in-group trust, a much larger share of respondents feel that out-group members are neither very trustworthy nor particularly untrustworthy. This may suggest that many residents determine the trustworthiness of out-group members on a case-by-case basis. It is also worthwhile to note that both in- and out-group social trust is considerably high in Shanghai compared multi-ethnic societies which have significantly more distrustful citizens (Delhey and Newton, 2005).
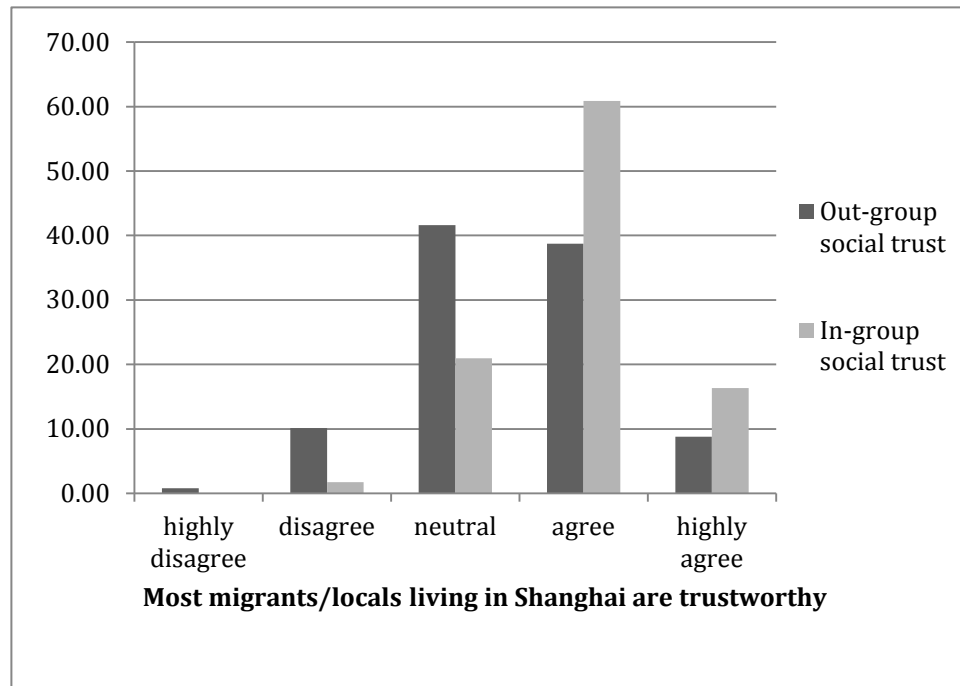
Figure 4.1: In-group and out-group social trust in Shanghai's neighbourhoods

Figure 4.2 and figure 4.3 display the level of in-group social trust and out-group social trust of local and migrant residents. There are two interesting findings. Firstly, in comparison to rural migrants, local residents are much more likely to trust fellow Shanghai residents as more than 80 per cent of urban Shanghai residents consider the majority of native Shanghai residents are trustworthy (see figure 4.2). Only around 63 per cent of rural migrants on the other hand would agree that most of the migrants living in Shanghai are trustworthy. Secondly, in contrast to indigenous residents, rural migrants tend to have higher trust in Shanghai locals as nearly 70 per cent of rural migrant residents consider the majority of native Shanghai citizens as trustworthy whilst less than three per cent would consider them as untrustworthy (see figure 4.3). In comparison only 42.82 per cent of native Shanghai residents would agree that most migrants in Shanghai are trustworthy whilst almost 45 per cent neither trust nor distrust them. These results may suggest that rural migrants in Shanghai tend to have more trust in indigenous Shanghai residents than other migrants. This may be because

a fair share of rural migrants do not feel that most of the other migrants in Shanghai are fellow in-group members. Given that the migrant population is highly diverse, rural migrants may only consider migrants who come from the same rural town or region as fellow in-group members whilst others are still perceived as out-group members. Another implication of these results is that for a fair share of native residents it is still difficult to trust the migrant population largely due to the existing stigma or discrimination. The question now is whether increased levels of neighbourly interactions and a more positive affective relationship between migrants and local neighbours may help in reducing the level of discrimination and stigmatisation and therefore increase intergroup social trust.
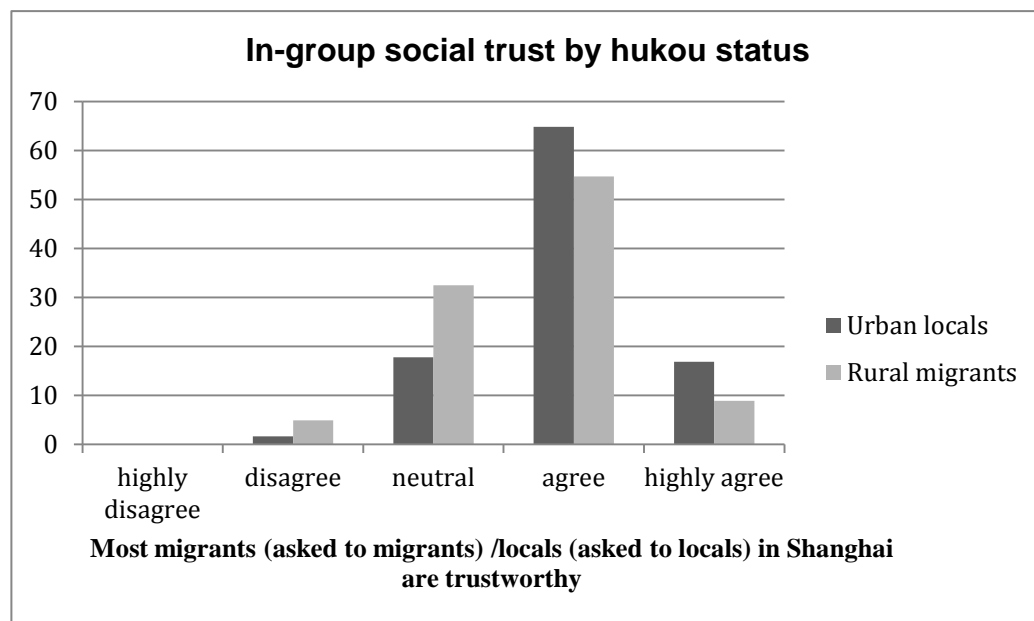
Figure 4.2: In-group social trust by hukou status

Out-group social trust by hukou status
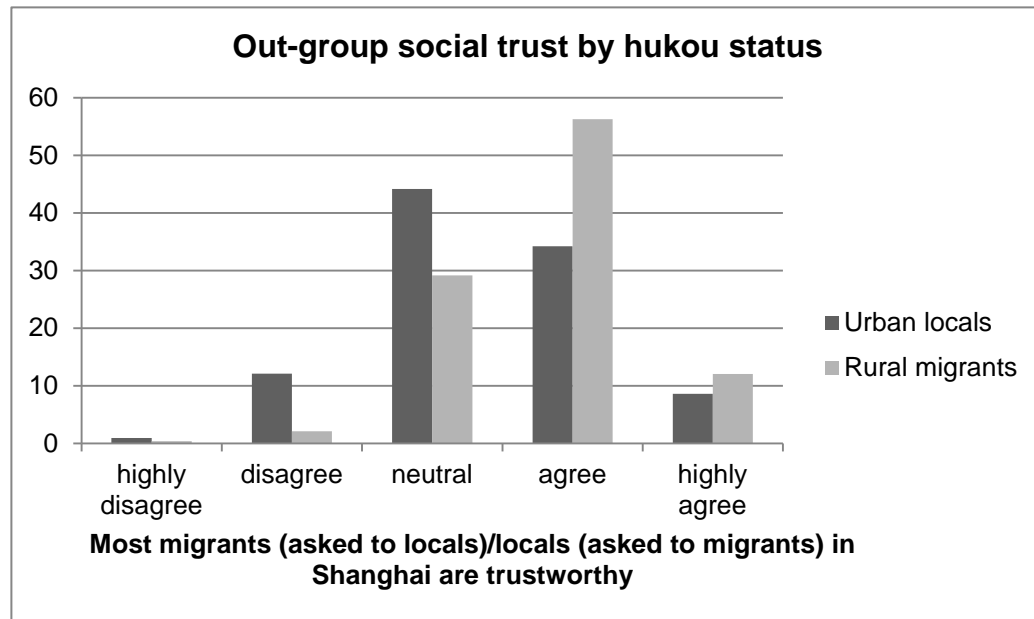
Figure 4.3: Out-group social trust by hukou status

4.4.1 Neighbourly interactions and intergroup social trust

The cross tabulation results of intergroup neighbouring activities and the social trust between migrants and locals can be observed in tables 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7. Referring to table 4.5, it is possible to see that the vast majority of residents who visit their out-group neighbours also feel that the entire out-group in general is trustworthy. Moreover, as seen in table 4.6 the number of residents who consider out-group members in general are untrustworthy is also significantly lower amongst those who frequently exchange support with out-group neighbours. Whilst visiting and exchanging support with neighbours represent fairly strong interactions, even short interactions such as exchanging greetings with out-group members are also associated with higher intergroup social trust. Table 4.7 reveals that almost 70 per cent of respondents who frequently exchange greetings with out-group neighbours would also perceive out-group members in general as more trustworthy whilst only five per cent would still distrust out-group members in general. Furthermore, the three different types of neighbouring activities appear to be interrelated since the majority of those

who exchange support, greetings and visit each other's home are also more trustful towards out-group members. The reason could be that exchanging greetings reinforces other forms of neighbourly interactions as greeting each other may lead to more frequent and intimate forms of neighbouring activities whilst those who already have closer neighbourly ties are also more likely to exchange greetings.

Table 4.5 Migrant-local social trust by intergroup neighbourly visits (weighted, in %, N=1391)

	Migrants/native residents living in Shanghai are generally trustworthy	
	Disagree or highly disagree	*Agree or highly agree*
Frequency of intergroup visits		
Never	11.70	42.25
Seldom	10.16	51.46
Sometimes	9.66	56.22
Frequent	7.86	81.02

Table 4.6 Migrant-local social trust by intergroup neighbourly support (weighted, in %, N=1391)

	Migrants/native residents living in Shanghai are generally trustworthy	
	Disagree or highly disagree	*Agree or highly agree*
Frequency of intergroup support		
Never	10.46	41.54
Seldom	13.75	42.65
Sometimes	7.09	59.86
Frequent	2.33	53.15

Table 4.7 Migrant-local social trust by intergroup neighbourly greetings
(weighted, in %, N=1391)

	Migrants/native residents living in Shanghai are generally trustworthy	
	Disagree or highly disagree	*Agree or highly agree*
Frequency of neighbourly greetings		
Never	10.33	43.25
Seldom	14.83	38.97
Sometimes	9.94	48.25
Frequent	5.07	68.20

4.4.2 Affective neighbourly relations and intergroup social trust

The cross tabulation results of the affective neighbourly relations and social trust

between migrants and locals can be found in tables 4.8, 4.9, 4.10 and 4.11. The cross

tabulation results of neighbourly friendliness, care, trust and familiarity with social

trust reveal a positive pattern between affective neighbourly relations and perceptions

of social trust towards out-group members. Firstly, most residents who report a

positive relationship with their out-group neighbours also consider the majority of

out-group members in general as trustworthy. For instance almost 65 per cent of

residents who rated their neighbourly relationship with out-group residents as very

friendly also stated that they perceive the out-group in general as trustworthy (see

table 4.8). In contrast, the share of residents who consider out-group members as

distrustful is considerably higher amongst residents who rated their relations with out-

group neighbours as neutral or unfriendly. Similarly, from tables 4.9 and 4.10 it is

possible to observe that a majority of those who report that they care and are familiar

with their out-group neighbours also have a higher level of trust towards out-group

members in general. Finally, table 4.11 shows the results of the cross tabulation

between the degree of neighbourly trust and social towards out-group members in

general. In accordance with the other indicators, a large proportion of those who feel

trustful towards their out-group neighbours (58.79 per cent who chose four and 64.89

per cent who chose five) also consider out-group members as trustworthy. In addition,

the table also reveals that more than half of respondents who stated that they do not

trust their out-group neighbours (52.68 per cent who chose five) would still perceive

out-group members as trustworthy. The reason for this outcome may be that some

respondents distrust their neighbours in general due to little involvement in the

neighbourhood or poor experiences with out-group neighbours whilst having very

positive perceptions towards out-group members in general.

Table 4.8 Migrant-local social trust by affective neighbourly relations (weighted, in %, N=1391)

	Migrants/native residents living in Shanghai are generally trustworthy	
	Disagree or highly disagree	*Agree or highly agree*
*Degree neighbourly **friendliness** (1 lowest, 5 highest)*		
1	13.08	39.12
2	13.83	36.59
3	12.31	41.18
4	9.15	58.79
5	3.84	64.89

Table 4.9 Migrant-local social trust by affective neighbourly relations (weighted, in %, N=1391)

	Migrants/native residents living in Shanghai are generally trustworthy	
	Disagree or highly disagree	*Agree or highly agree*
*Degree neighbourly **care** (1 lowest, 5 highest)*		
1	22.61	33.90
2	16.47	36.19
3	9.56	46.76
4	8.71	57.38
5	3.15	72.24

Table 4.10 Migrant-local social trust by affective neighbourly relations (weighted, in %, N=1391)

	Migrants/native residents living in Shanghai are generally trustworthy	
	Disagree or highly disagree	*Agree or highly agree*
Degree of **familiarity** *(1 lowest, 5 highest)*		
1	19.79	46.44
2	15.56	35.25
3	9.01	45.31
4	11.64	57.62
5	4.28	67.97

Table 4.11 Migrant-local social trust by affective neighbourly relations (weighted, in %, N=1391)

	Migrants/native residents living in Shanghai are generally trustworthy	
	Disagree or highly disagree	*Agree or highly agree*
Degree neighbourly **trust** *(1 lowest, 5 highest)*		
1	7.03	52.68
2	18.72	28.20
3	11.25	44.10
4	8.83	59.93
5	1.81	75.17

Overall the cross tabulation results imply that whilst infrequent or negative neighbourly relations may not necessarily lead to lower overall trust between migrants and locals, those who have positive intergroup neighbourly relations are considerably more likely to perceive the entire out-group as more trustworthy.

There are several findings from the analysis of neighbourly relations and social trust between migrants and locals. Firstly, neighbouring activities and affective neighbourly feelings such as mutual care and trust appear to be positively related and this findings will be dealt with in more detail in chapter six. Furthermore, the current

results signal that those who frequently interact and have a positive affective relationship with out-group neighbours also appear to be more trusting towards out-group members in general. Since there is a lack of platforms for intergroup contact, the results signal that good neighbourly relations may be a significant determinant for strong migrant-local trust. Of course the basic statistical method used in this chapter is not sufficient to prove a causal relationship and there is a great probability that high social trust towards out-group members in general leads to higher levels of intergroup neighbourly relations. However, as mentioned in the previous section, most rural migrants and locals are segregated from each other and there is little chance for intergroup contact to occur in other arenas such as schools, army and public spaces. Moreover, the labour market segmentation in urban China also means that the work place may not serve as an arena for intergroup contact to all rural migrants. Considering all the possible channels where intergroup contact may occur, it is therefore sensible to assume that it is a two-way relationship between migrant-local trust and intergroup neighbourly relations in Shanghai.

Although the analysis results indicate that neighbourly relations is a significant determinant of the current migrant-local relations, by no means does this study suggest that neighbourhood is the only platform where intergroup contact is taking place. Instead the cross tabulation results also point towards the importance of other forms of intergroup contact as some migrant and local respondents who rarely engage in out-group neighbourly interaction and have negative or neutral feelings towards out-group neighbours still consider the majority of out-group members as positive. These outcomes signal that aside from neighbourly relations factors such as friendship ties, social ties with colleagues also play an important role.

Part II Underlying dynamics of intergroup neighbourly relations

Having established that neighbourly relations may play an important role in fostering the migrant-local relationship in Shanghai, the second part of this chapter moves on to discuss which underlying dynamics can affect the intergroup neighbourly relations in Shanghai.

4.5 The influence of social distance and need for local support on intergroup neighbourly relations

The motivation for engaging in neighbourly relations with out-group residents can differ considerably depending on whether the individual is an indigenous Shanghai resident or a non-local resident. Whilst for migrant residents intergroup neighbourly relations and neighbourly relations in general may be more of a necessity due to their marginalised status, local residents may decide to engage with migrant neighbours based on their preference. Necessity in this sense refers to the need for out-group neighbourly relations as a means to further integrate into the urban society and applies to the migrant population, both rural and urban migrants. In light of the various hukou limitations placed upon rural migrants, neighbourly relations are therefore an important source of their informal support network (Wu and Logan 2015). Recent studies also show that migrants actively seek to establish social connections with locals in order to overcome their institutional limitations (Yue et al., 2013; Liu et al., 2013). With regards to urban migrants, who hold a non-agricultural (urban) hukou from another city, recent studies emphasise that urban migrants have fewer obstacles in the city as they are better educated and tend to be employed in better jobs (Wu and Wang, 2014). Despite the assumed economic and social superiority of urban migrants

over rural migrants, so far there is no evidence showing that urban migrants are any different from rural migrants with respect to feelings of belonging to the host society. Urban migrants may also consider themselves as city residents but fundamentally they recognise that they are not the same as locals or in this case Shanghainese. Instead, urban migrants may still share the social identity of being non-locals and therefore to some degree regard themselves as outsiders. In comparison, native residents are far less dependent on out-group ties with their migrant neighbours. Their well-developed social network in the city with fellow natives and kin and family ties already provide the necessary means for them to survive in the city (recall results in table 4.1). Furthermore, the stark difference in socio-economic status between migrants and locals (Fan, 2002) also means that there is little benefit that locals can receive from interacting with them. However, more importantly the existing prejudices towards migrants (Cheng and Selden, 1994; Chen et al., 2011) also significantly impede on the willingness of locals to interact with their migrant neighbours. Although interaction may improve intergroup perceptions, it must be acknowledge that poor perceptions towards migrants may also hinder Shanghai residents from engaging with their migrant neighbours.

The results in figures 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6 show that in comparison to native residents, the share of rural and urban migrants who often interact with their local neighbours is much higher. For instance, more than half of urban and rural migrants report that they frequently or sometimes help or receive support from their local neighbours whereas less than 30 per cent of native residents exchange support with their migrant neighbours. Since indigenous residents already have close relations with other local neighbours, their need for neighbourly support from migrant residents is thus

considerably lower, which may explain the outcome in figure 4.5. However, even

greeting out-group neighbours, an arguably less energy intensive form of

neighbouring activity, is considerably lower amongst native residents. Figure 4.6

shows that only half of native residents would exchange greetings with migrant

residents signalling that locals may purposely avoid migrant neighbours.
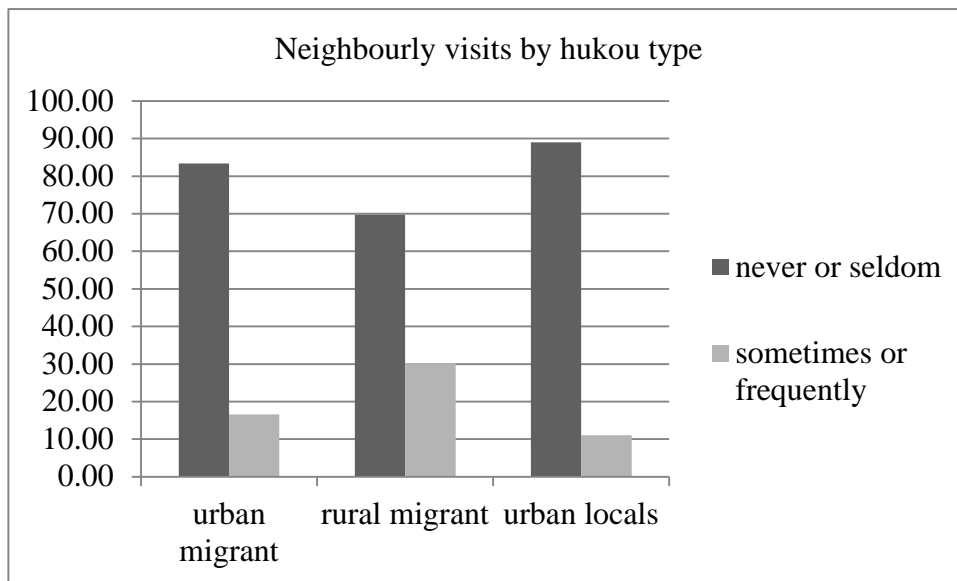
Figure 4.4 Out-group neighbourly visits hukou type
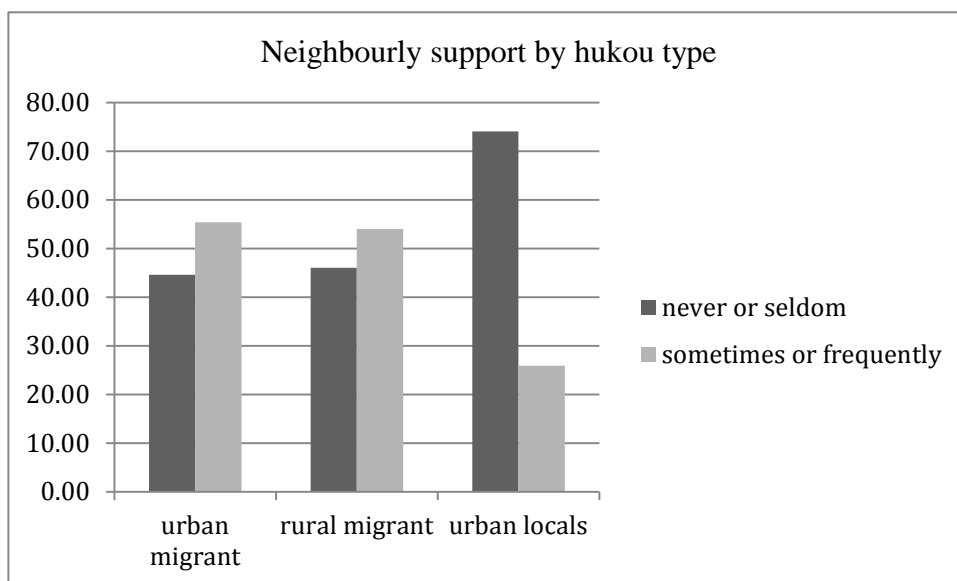
Figure 4.5 Out-group neighbourly support by hukou type
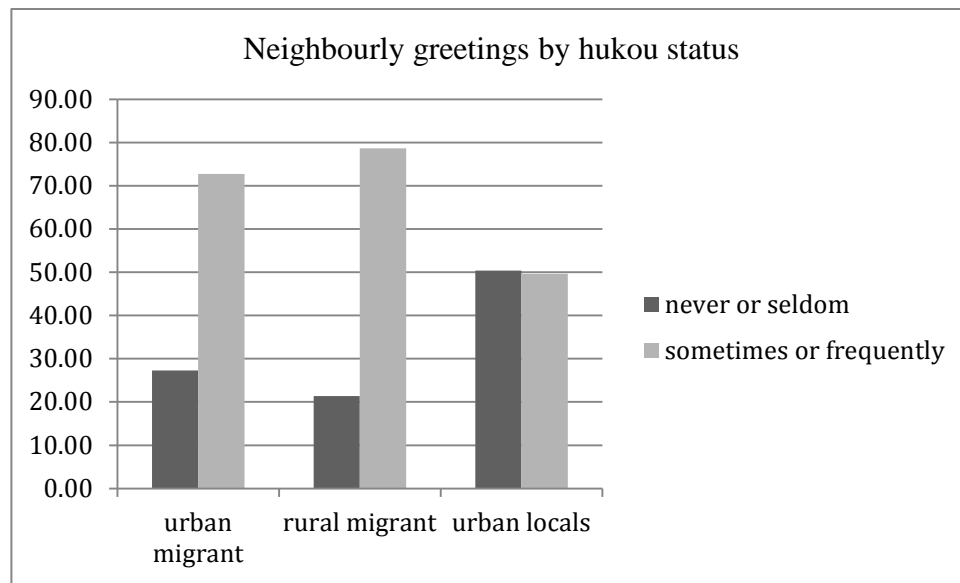
Figure 4.6 Neighbourly greetings with locals by migrant hukou type

Similarly to neighbouring activities, there is also a stark difference in the affective relations between migrant and local residents. A large share of urban and rural migrant residents would describe their relationship with local neighbours as positive whereas the portion of locals who report the same is comparatively lower. For example, more than half of urban and rural migrants would consider their neighbourly relationship as friendly but in comparison only around 30 per cent locals would say the same about migrant residents (see figure 4.7). Additionally, whilst the number of migrant residents who think that their relationship with locals are not based on mutual care is less than five per cent, the number of indigenous residents who think the same almost reaches 30 per cent (see figure 4.8). Similarly, in terms of mutual trust and familiarity, there are consistently fewer locals than migrant residents who express positive feelings towards out-group neighbours (see figure 4.9 and 4.10). The outcomes here may also signal that prejudice towards migrants has negatively affected the affective relationship of locals towards migrant residents. Stigmas such as

affinity to crime and poor education may discourage locals from interacting with

migrant residents and the subsequent lack of information regarding migrants gives

birth to feelings of neighbourly distrust and alienation. Conversely, for migrant

residents, due to their need for local support they may actively seek to interact with

their native neighbours. Through frequent neighbourly interactions such as

exchanging greetings or mutual support, migrant residents have been able to improve

their affective relations with indigenous neighbours.
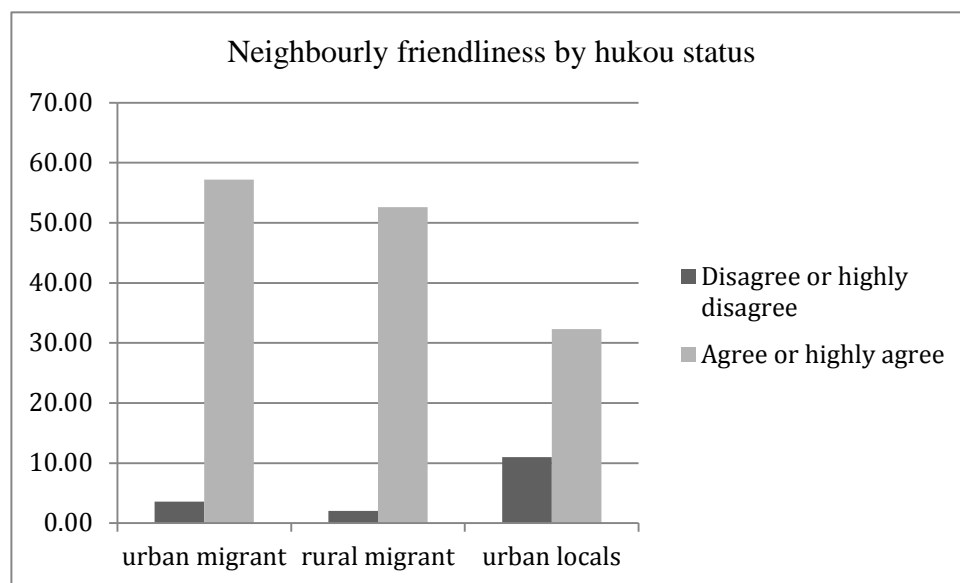
Figure 4.7 Out-group neighbourly friendliness by hukou type
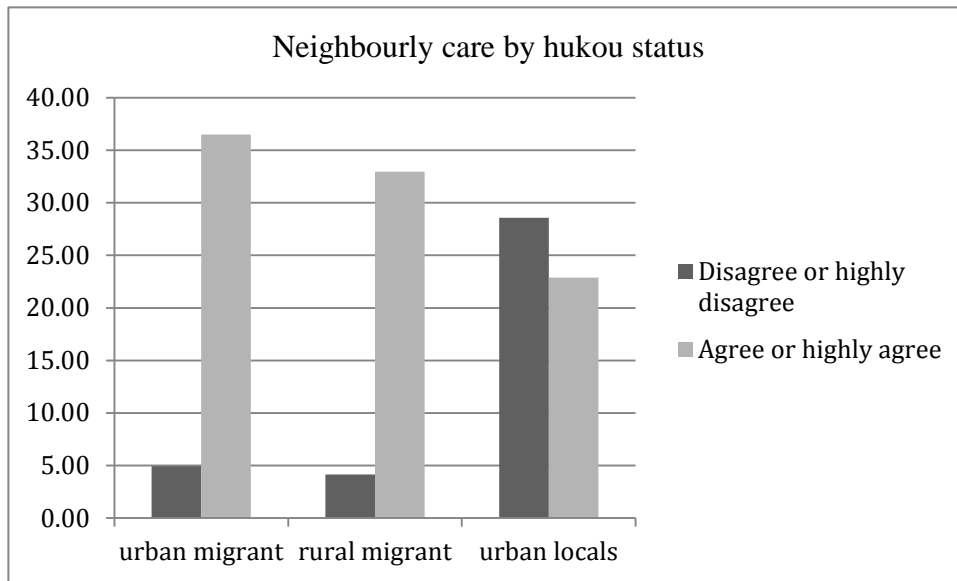
Figure 4.8 Out-group neighbourly care by hukou type
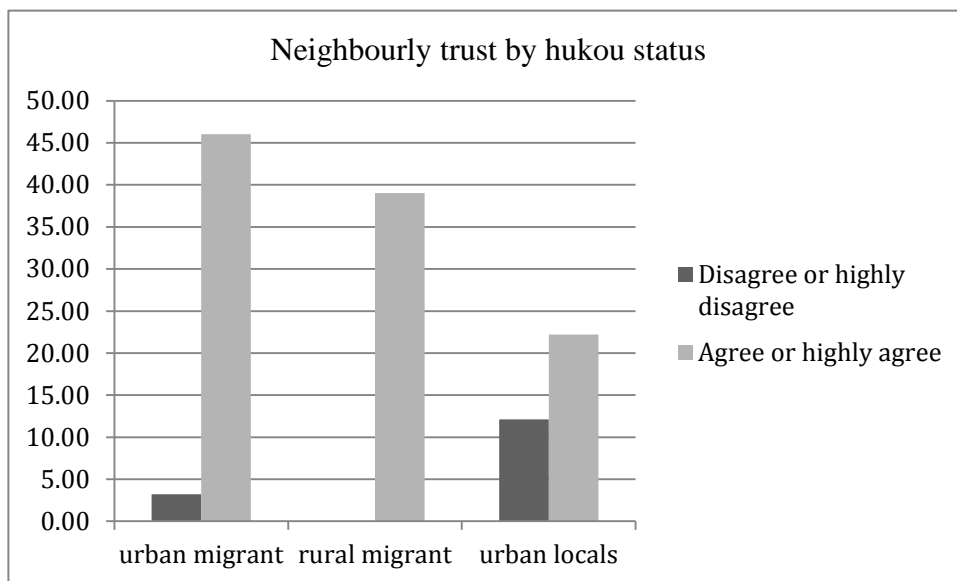
Figure 4.9 Out-group neighbourly trust by hukou type

Familiarity between out-group neighbours by hukou status
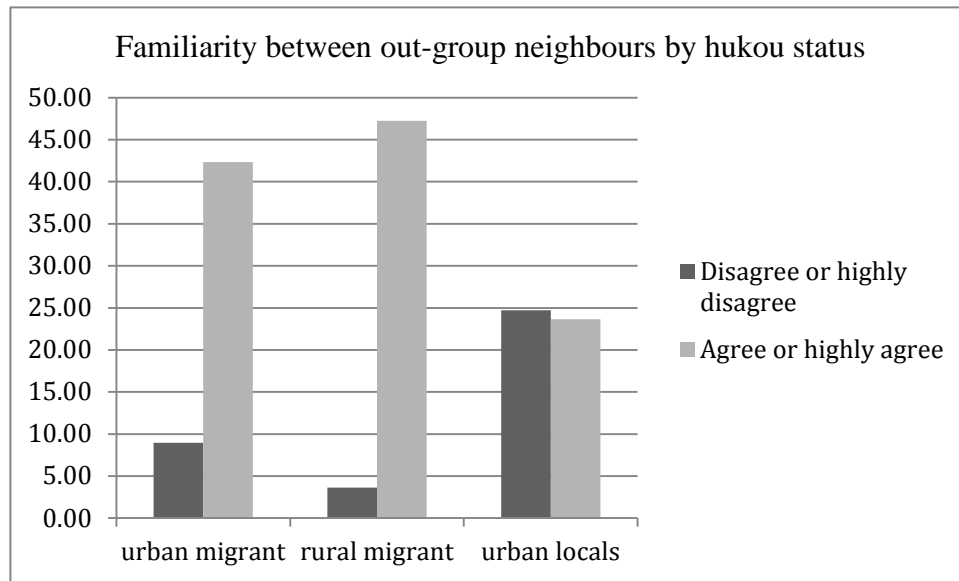
Figure 4.10 Out-group neighbourly familiarity by hukou type

4.6 The neighbourhood context as an important determinant of intergroup social relations

So far most neighbourhood studies on urban China have looked at the individual level determinants of neighbourly relations such as homeownership, demographic profile and socio-economic status (Yip, 2012; Li et al., 2012; Wu and Logan, 2015). However, in regards to intergroup neighbourly relations, factors at the neighbourhood level may be even more important. Recent studies show that the tremendous changes to the residential distribution of urban citizens and the built environment in Shanghai and other larger Chinese cities bear many similarities to multi-ethnic societies. For instance, there are evidences pointing towards the concentration of poverty in certain neighbourhoods in Shanghai (Wu et al., 2010; He et al., 2010) and an uneven residential distribution of migrant residents as well as the emergence of migrant enclaves (Li and Wu, 2008; Liao and Wong, 2015; Wu, 2008). Furthermore, with the privatisation of the housing market, Shanghai has seen a tremendous increase of newly developed commodity housing estates, which are privately governed gated

neighbourhoods (Li et al., 2012; Zhu et al., 2012). These privately developed

neighbourhoods are far more superior compared to older settlements in terms of

physical quality, living space as well as provision of recreational spaces (Pow, 2007;

Zhu et al., 2012). More importantly, the growing availability of commodity

neighbourhoods has allowed more affluent residents to move out from older

neighbourhoods and subsequently led to residential segregation mainly based on

tenure and socio-economic status (Li and Wu, 2008). The purpose of this section is to

discuss how these urban transformations in Shanghai have influenced the way in

which migrant and local residents interact with each other at the neighbourhood level.

I will specifically focus on three aspects namely neighbourhood poverty, the

increasing population diversity of neighbourhoods and the different housing types

found in Shanghai.

4.6.1 The effect of neighbourhood poverty on neighbourly relations between migrants and locals

There is a longstanding view that an area's poverty can have negative influences on

an individual's social relations (Johnston et al., 2005; Becares et al., 2011; Laurence,

2011). The explanation for the negative relationship between poverty and poor

intergroup neighbourly relations is mainly based on contention over limited resources.

Since poorer areas also suffer from a restricted amount of public facilities, its

residents tend to perceive other neighbours as contenders for these limited resources

(Laurence, 2011; Putnam, 2007). Especially minority residents are considered as

outsiders who want to take over the resources of the locality (Laurence, 2011).

Studies which support this argument contend that ethnic diversity is a secondary

reason for causing distrust (Laurence, 2011; Laurence and Bentley, 2015; Stolle et al., 2008).

Increasingly, large cities such as Shanghai are also experiencing a concentration of poverty in certain neighbourhoods (Wu et al., 2010; He et al., 2010), which in turn may also have an impact on the neighbourly relations between migrant and indigenous residents. Old dilapidated neighbourhoods, run-down workers' estates and urban villages form the majority of Shanghai's deprived neighbourhoods (Wu et al., 2010). Such areas suffer from the decline of basic infrastructures such as schools, hospitals and shops. As a result, poor neighbourhoods experienced a gradual exodus of its affluent residents (Wang and Murie, 2000). Residents who live in the poorer neighbourhoods mostly consist of those who could not afford to purchase a private property. The majority of residents of poor areas can be divided into two large social groups in Shanghai namely laid-off workers who are Shanghai natives as well as rural migrants. However, whilst rural migrants and the indigenous poor make up the two main population groups, their reason for living in deprived neighbourhoods is very different, which in turn may influence their neighbourly relations with each other. The native Shanghai residents in low-income neighbourhoods mostly consist of laid-off workers from large state-led industries and enterprises. They are often considered as one of the greatest losers of China's transition to a market economy and are now considered as the new urban poor (Wu et al., 2010). In comparison, rural migrants only turn to the cheap rental market to find affordable accommodation because they are excluded from the public housing system (Li and Wu, 2006). Moreover, rural migrants employed in the rising service sector also prefer to live in these inner city poor neighbourhoods as they are in proximity to their workplace. The key difference

between these two groups is that whilst urban natives are trapped in the locality due to lack of employment and money, rural migrants are mostly employed and are spatially more mobile. A recent survey indicates that the spatial mobility of rural migrants is considerably higher than their native counterparts and that the largest motivation for rural migrants to move residential location is related to work (Li and Zhu, 2015). The higher spatial mobility and slightly better financial status of rural migrants may indicate that in the Chinese case there is less competition between locals and migrants for local resources. The cross tabulation results between an area's number of Minimum Living Standard Support (MLSS) recipients and neighbourly relations indicators provide some further support to this assumption. The rate of MLSS is used here as a proxy indicator of neighbourhood poverty since there is no official data on the deprivation rate of neighbourhoods in China (Wu et al., 2010).

Table 4.12 shows that the level of neighbourly care between migrant and indigenous residents does not significantly differ between areas with varying degrees of minimum support recipients. Almost in all neighbourhoods around 25 per cent of residents state that they care a lot for their out-group neighbours indicating that the poverty rate of an area is not an important factor for intergroup neighbourly relations. However, it is noteworthy that in areas that have the highest numbers of MLSS recipient, the share of residents who do not or only have little care towards their out-group neighbours is considerably lower compared to neighbourhoods with fewer MLSS recipients.

Table 4.12 Intergroup care by neighbourhood poverty (weighted, in %)

	1-5 MLSS recipients	6-10 MLSS recipients	11-15 MLSS recipients	16-30 MLSS recipients	>30 MLSS recipients
1 and 2	18.62	27.07	12.79	33.60	3.39
4 and 5	26.69	20.38	31.85	24.29	25.42

In addition to neighbourly care, table 4.13 shows that the poverty rate of a neighbourhood is not related to the frequency of intergroup neighbourly support. There exist no clear pattern between the rate of MLSS recipients in an area and the frequency of intergroup neighbourly support, as the number of residents living in high MLSS rate areas who frequently help their out-group neighbours is similar to areas with a lower number of MLSS recipients.

Table 4.13 Intergroup support by neighbourhood poverty (weighted, in %)

	1-5 MLSS recipients	6-10 MLSS recipients	11-15 MLSS recipients	16-30 MLSS recipients	>30 MLSS recipients
Never or seldom	68.37	77.55	57.12	67.54	60.34
Frequent or sometimes	31.63	22.45	42.88	32.46	39.66

What the results so far seem to confirm is that residents living in poorer neighbourhoods do not differ from residents living in less deprived areas in terms of intergroup neighbourly relations. The idea of competition for limited resources may be less applicable to the situation of migrant residents (Laurence, 2011). The reason why migrants live in poor neighbourhoods is not only because of lack of finances but rather because of the limited choices available to them. Although they may not be affluent enough to rent from commodity housing neighbourhoods, rural migrants in inner city poor neighbourhoods are still mostly employed and thus have a stable source of income (Wu et al., 2010). Competing for local resources therefore appears

less likely. In addition, deprived neighbourhoods in multi-ethnic societies have

existed for generations (van Ham et al., 2014; Hedman et al., 2015) whereas the

concentration poverty in Chinese cities is a much more recent phenomenon emerged

since the 1980s (Wu et al., 2010; He et al., 2010). Consequently, local residents may

also be less 'trapped' in the locality compared to residents living in Western deprived

neighbourhood and are therefore less likely to perceive their migrant neighbours as a

form of threat to their livelihood. Instead, considering their lower socio-economic

status, residents in poor neighbourhoods may rely on neighbourly relations as a form

of self-support. One migrant resident living in an inner city low-income

neighbourhood explains that mutual support with native residents often help them

achieve certain goals that would otherwise be more difficult: "Yes, I have many

friends who are native Shanghai citizens in the neighbourhood. They have also been

very helpful to me, for instance, last week I went to apply for a job and my Shanghai

neighbour acted as my guarantor. This helped me save 3000 Yuan which would have

been necessary if there was no guarantor". Migrants in poor neighbourhoods thus

have an even stronger need to interact and establish a good relationship with their

native neighbours as a means to overcome obstacles in the host society.

4.6.2 Neighbourhood housing type and its impact on migrant-local neighbourly relations

The by far most researched aspect of neighbourhood characteristic in urban China is

the housing type of the area. However, unlike neighbourhood form and housing type

studies in Western societies (Bramley et al., 2009; Bramley and Power, 2009; Guest

et al., 2006; Petermann, 2014), which test the influence of the physical space on

neighbouring activities, the focus of urban China studies is different. The argument

instead is more concerned about how different housing types have come to represent different socio-economic status, different modes of neighbourhood governance as well as different lifestyles existent in the different forms of neighbourhood types. In this sense, the actual housing design and urban form of the neighbourhood play only a peripheral role. Recent research also confirm that homeownership has become a stronger determinant of one's socio-economic standing than simply individual income (Song and Xie, 2014). Therefore it would be reasonable to speculate that the neighbourhood housing type has become an anchor stone for urban residents to define their own social class and identity.

An overview of the neighbourhood typology found in Shanghai and other major Chinese cities can be observed in table 4.14. Broadly speaking there are four main types of neighbourhoods namely traditional courtyards, work-unit settlements, urban villages and commodity housing neighbourhoods (Gaubatz, 1999; Li et al., 2012). In addition, the large-scale redevelopment of urban areas has led to the emergence of a new type of neighbourhood namely the relocation settlement. Residents in relocation neighbourhoods were originally living in old inner-city or dilapidated neighbourhoods but moved due to the redevelopment of their neighbourhood (Wu and He, 2005). As compensation, residents would receive housing subsidies from the government to purchase a property within the relocation settlement. Although both residents in relocation settlements and commodity housing estates are mostly homeowners, research show that they are not the same. According to Li et al. (2012:249) feelings of neighbourhood attachment due to homeownership pride is stronger amongst commodity housing residents compared to homeowners who received housing subsidies. This may also indicate that residents in relocation neighbourhoods have a

weak sense of shared social identity and do not associate themselves with the middle

class as compared to commodity housing residents. Furthermore, it is important to

note that these neighbourhood housing types are mutually exclusive as for instance

one neighbourhood would only consist of traditional courtyards. Similarly even if a

residents has bought a property in a relocation housing neighbourhood, it cannot be

considered as a commodity housing neighbourhood due to differences of quality for

instance.

Table 4.14 Neighbourhood typology in Shanghai and other major Chinese cities

	Building era	**Key residents**	**Governance type**	**Housing conditions**	**Neighbourly relations**
Traditional courtyards	Built before the communist party came to power in 1949 (Hua, 2000)	Primarily native and elderly residents and migrants, low-income local residents who cannot afford to purchase a commodity housing; some locals moved to commodity neighbourhoods and rent out their apartments to migrants	Governed publicly by the local *juweihui* who take care of maintenance and community activities etc.	2-3 storey buildings made of brick and wood (Gaubatz, 1999); very compact design, many shared and outdoor facilities (kitchen; wash basin; toilet) serious issues of overcrowding	Long tradition of neighbouring and strong neighbourly sentiments amongst long-term residents (Forrest and Yip, 2007); Local residents have difficulties coping with the large influx of migrant residents (Wu, 2012); many shared spaces increase neighbourly encounters
Work units	Built during the socialist era (between 1949 and the 1980s) until the transition to market economy (Li et al., 2012)	Mostly native residents who were allocated housing by their respective state owned work units. Some migrants residents who rent from those who bought the property and moved out to commodity housing neighbourhoods	Publicly governed by the *juweihui*	5-6 storey buildings with in-house toilet and kitchen; housing qualities vary but mostly of a lower quality and considerably less living space than commodity neighbourhoods	Consistent level of neighbouring activities; being fellow workers of the state or state owned work units increase neighbourly sentiments (Forrest and Yip, 2007)
Urban villages	Emerged due to the large influx of rural migrants since the 1980s and the urban expansions (Tian, 2008)	Overwhelming share of rural migrants (up to 85 per cent; see Liao and Wong, 2015); Owned collectively by local villagers who rent out properties to migrants as the main source of income (Tian, 2008)	Informal settlement but officially governed by the village collective	Mostly self-built housing of poor physical quality; serious issues of overcrowding; distance between housing often fail health and safety regulations (Wang et al., 2009)	Strong neighbourly relations between in-group members but little interaction between local villagers and migrants (Liu et al., 2012); the landlord tenant relationship creates complex and difficult relations

Table 4.14 continued					
	Building era	***Key residents***	***Governance type***	***Housing conditions***	***Neighbourly relations***
Commodity housing	Built since the 1980s and proliferated since the millennia following housing reforms (Zhu et al., 2012)	Catering to the nouveau riche and middle class residents who mainly consist of native residents (Li and Wu, 2008); share of rural migrants is relatively small due to the high price;	Privately governed by the housing association and maintenance is carried out by private housing management company	Large housing estates consisting of high rise buildings; heavily guarded gated estates with private amenities (i.e. swimming pools and community gardens); emphasis on privacy and comfort (Li et al., 2012)	Low levels of neighbourly interactions (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Zhu et al., 2012) but residents share a strong sense of common identity (i.e. middle class residents) but have prejudices towards non-residents, especially rural migrants (Pow, 2009)
Relocation housing	Built since the 1980s when inner city redevelopments needed residents to relocate	Residents formerly lived in old neighbourhoods (such as traditional courtyards) and were offered replacement housing or housing subsidies following redevelopments; migrant residents who rent from native residents	Privately governed by the housing association and housing management company	Qualities of relocation settlements vary depending on the developer; some have similar housing conditions as commodity estates but most have lower qualities	Consistent level of neighbourly relations; most residents come from traditional courtyards and have the habit of neighbouring;

Each housing type has their distinctive features and intergroup neighbourly relations may vary across each category but the more specific variations will be discussed in chapter five. This chapter instead focuses on the difference between commodity housing neighbourhoods and the other housing type in terms of neighbourly relations. Commodity neighbourhoods developed through the private housing sector picked up pace in the 1980s in Shanghai (Wu, 2002; Zhu, 2002). The pent-up and growing

demand for housing and the potential profits for developers led to an explosive

increase in the construction of commodity housing (Zhu, 2002). Unlike during the

work-unit era, housing was now developed with only residential living in mind as the

economic reforms have separated living and working (Hazelet and Wissink, 2012). In

addition to high rise residential buildings, smaller pockets of villa development were

also constructed to meet the needs of the top earners of urban China (Shen and Wu,

2013). The key target groups of these commodity neighbourhoods are the *nouveau*

riche and the rising middle class who are willing to pay higher prices in return for

privacy, sense of exclusivity and comfort (Zhu et al., 2012). In other words individual

housing preference now plays a crucial role in shaping the private led housing market

and the characteristics of commodity neighbourhoods (Shen and Wu, 2013).

According to Li and Wu (2008) one's socio-economic status largely decides the

available housing options. For affluent residents, housing choice is largely influenced

by personal preference whilst for low-income and disadvantaged social groups

housing choice is mainly decided by constraints both financially and institutionally.

Residential segregation based on socio-economic status therefore also influences the

perception of residents towards the neighbourhood and their neighbours. Residents

living in commodity neighbourhoods tend to share a stronger identity of being fellow

members to an exclusive private 'club', which in turn strengthen their social identity

as being members of the middle or affluent class in China (Breitung, 2012; Yip,

2012). Housing advertisements of private developers that emphasise on the

exclusivity as well as the civilised and urban lifestyle of commodity neighbourhoods

further reinforce the middle class identity (Pow, 2007). With the shared sense of

identity and considering the preference for privacy, neighbourly interaction therefore

becomes relatively obsolete in commodity housing neighbourhoods. Indeed research

indicates that neighbouring activities are scarce in commodity housing

neighbourhoods (Forrest and Yip, 2007) but studies on the other hand also confirm

that the sense of community is quite strong in these privately owned communities

(Yip, 2012; Breitung, 2012). In contrast, the shared sense of identity in older and low-

income neighbourhoods is considerably weaker, with many long-term residents

expressing that their neighbourhood has become more diverse due to the influx of

migrants (Wu, 2012). However, despite the lack of shared identity, neighbouring

studies contend that older neighbourhoods such as traditional courtyards and work-

units tend to have higher levels of neighbouring activities (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Wu

and He, 2005). Neighbourly interactions continues to exist because of the

longstanding tradition of interacting with neighbours but more importantly because its

residents are more dependent on localised support due to their socio-economic status.

Frequent interactions in turn reinforce their positive sentiments towards neighbours.

The cross tabulation results between intergroup neighbouring activities and

neighbourhood type confirm these assumptions and to some extent even exceed

expectations. Results in table 4.15 reveal that residents living in commodity housing

neighbourhoods are fairly similar to residents in other neighbourhood types in terms

of their intergroup neighbouring frequencies. In fact, in terms of exchanging greetings

and mutual support, commodity-housing residents are the most frequent. Whilst

around 45 per cent of residents would greet their out-group neighbours in traditional

courtyards and work-unit estates, almost 70 per cent of commodity neighbourhood

residents frequently or sometimes exchange greetings with out-group neighbours. The

average share of residents frequently exchanging support with out-group neighbours

is around 30 per cent across most neighbourhoods whilst in commodity estates more

than 37 per cent of residents state that they help or receive help from out-group neighbours. These results differ from the findings of earlier studies where older neighbourhoods have significantly higher level of neighbouring activities compared to commodity estates (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Zhu et al., 2012). There are two potential explanations. First, in contrast to this study earlier research only measured the general level of neighbouring activities (i.e. without differentiating between in-group and out-group). Consequently it is possible that the relationship between older neighbourhoods and the frequency of neighbouring activities were interpreted in an overly positive manner. Table 4.16 confirms this explanation, as the number of residents who frequently interact with in-group neighbours is significantly higher in older neighbourhoods. The difference of neighbouring frequency with in-group and out-group neighbours is especially stark in traditional courtyards (31.41 per cent out-group support and 72.44 per cent in-group support) and urban villages (31.86 per cent out-group support and 78.43 per cent in-group support) whilst it is the least different in commodity housing neighbourhoods (37.95 per cent out-group support and 67.43 per cent in-group support).

The second reason for these results could be that whilst residents in older neighbourhoods would require more frequent interaction with out-group neighbours to establish a trusting relationship, it is the opposite in commodity estates. The shared sense of class has already created a basic trusting relationship between commodity residents and therefore there are fewer mental obstacles (i.e. prejudice and stigma) that prevent them from interacting with out-group neighbours.

Table 4.15 Interactions with out-group neighbours by neighbourhood housing type (weighted, in %)

		Courtyard housing	Work unit housing	Relocation housing	Urban villages	Commodity housing
Neighbourly visits						
	Seldom and never	82.04	91.43	88.09	82.84	86.41
	Sometimes and frequently	17.96	8.57	11.91	17.16	13.59
Neighbourly support						
	Seldom and never	68.59	77.94	71.82	68.14	62.05
	Sometimes and frequently	31.41	22.06	28.18	31.86	37.95
Neighbourly greetings						
	Seldom and never	54.48	54.41	49.20	45.59	31.79
	Sometimes and frequently	45.52	45.59	50.80	54.41	68.21

Table 4.16 Interactions with in-group neighbours by neighbourhood housing type (weighted, in %)

		Courtyard housing	Work unit housing	Relocation housing	Urban villages	Commodity housing
Neighbourly visits						
	Seldom and never	44.87	61.27	54.77	47.55	61.54
	Sometimes and frequently	55.13	38.97	45.23	52.94	38.46
Neighbourly support						
	Seldom and never	27.56	33.09	27.78	22.06	32.56
	Sometimes and frequently	72.44	66.91	72.22	78.43	67.43
Neighbourly greetings						
	Seldom and never	12.18	15.18	7.14	11.27	15.13
	Sometimes and frequently	87.82	84.82	92.86	88.73	84.87

The second explanation is also supported by results in table 4.17, which show that attributes such as mutual care, trust and the degree of familiarity are considerably higher in commodity estates as compared to all the other neighbourhoods. For example, 23.79 per cent of urban village residents and 20.33 per cent of relocation housing residents state that their relationship with out-group neighbours is based on mutual care whereas more than 30 per cent of commodity housing residents report a strong sense of mutual care with their out-group neighbours. Furthermore, the level of mutual trust between out-group neighbours is rated high to fairly high amongst almost 18 per cent of traditional courtyard residents and around 22 per cent amongst work-unit residents whilst more than 33 per cent of commodity housing residents report similarly high out-group trust levels. Overall, the results show that the number of residents with positive out-group ties is almost double in commodity neighbourhoods compared to traditional courtyards and relocation estates. Although high residential turnover and perceptions of negative change in neighbourhoods are also potential factors, the strong delineation between Shanghai natives and migrants may be the core reason why out-group relations in old and low-income neighbourhoods are considerably lower than commodity neighbourhoods. The in-group affective neighbourly relations shown in table 4.18 also support this argument as the number of residents in older estates who have positive in-group neighbourly relations is significantly higher compared to out-group relations. Almost 60 per cent of residents in traditional courtyards and relocation estates think that fellow in-group neighbours are trustworthy, which marks a 40 per cent gap between in-group and out-group neighbourly trust. This gap between in-group and out-group is considerably smaller in commodity neighbourhoods indicating that the shared social class is more important than hukou status amongst residents. Commodity housing residents may be more

inclined to differentiate between residents and non-residents rather than migrants and

locals. Finally it is also important to consider that migrants who can afford to buy into

a commodity housing neighbourhood are already better integrated into the host

society and therefore have fewer obstacles to interact with their native neighbours.

Table 4.17 Affective relationships between migrant and local neighbours by neighbourhood type (weighted, in %)

		Traditional courtyard	Work-unit	Urban villages	Relocation housing	Commodity housing
Friendly to each other						
	1 and 2	6.67	10.06	6.62	14.10	8.59
	4 and 5	32.40	34.66	30.08	34.20	39.77
Care for each other						
	1 and 2	28.06	31.73	8.67	31.72	15.24
	4 and 5	18.21	24.64	23.79	20.33	30.12
Trust each other						
	1 and 2	6.21	19.26	7.10	11.03	3.83
	4 and 5	17.58	22.45	28.28	17.86	33.37
Familiar with each other						
	1 and 2	25.96	29.29	9.29	25.76	13.56
	4 and 5	17.43	21.50	33.86	20.55	36.80

Table 4.18 Affective relationships between in-group neighbours by neighbourhood type (weighted, in %)

	Traditional courtyard	Work-unit	Urban villages	Relocation housing	Commodity housing

Friendly to each other					
	1 and 2	1.65	1.11	7.81	1.45	10.43
	4 and 5	71.02	70.12	61.86	70.56	57.99
Care for each other					
	1 and 2	7.11	6.71	6.60	8.35	15.28
	4 and 5	58.04	59.05	54.23	58.11	43.72
Trust each other					
	1 and 2	1.21	2.26	3.01	3.28	13.58
	4 and 5	51.76	52.84	43.44	54.78	42.06
Familiar with each other					
	1 and 2	5.21	6.52	5.82	7.24	14.96
	4 and 5	51.73	53.04	49.79	55.83	40.59

4.6.3 Migrant concentration and intergroup neighbourly relations in Shanghai

The population composition of a neighbourhood, often measured through the share of

minority groups, is another significant determinant of intergroup social relations

according to existing research (Vervoort, 2012; Putnam, 2007). Theoretically the

effect of neighbourhood diversity is still contested but the overwhelming evidence so

far indicate that higher presence of ethnic minorities or out-group members causes the

decrease of neighbourly social interaction (Bécares et al., 2011; Laurence, 2011;

Putnam, 2007; Vervoort, 2012). Although Shanghai has only a very small share of

citizens of another ethnicity which amounts to less than 0.1 per cent (Zhang, 2004),

the concentration of migrant residents in Chinese cities has been perceived as similar

to the congregation of ethnic minorities in multi-ethnic societies (Liao and Wong,

2015). The spatial concentration of migrants and the emergence of migrant enclaves

are very closely related with China's housing reform and economic transition. In

Shanghai, high neighbourhood deprivation and higher share of migrant residents often

coincide (Wu et al., 2010; He et al., 2010). This is not surprising when considering

existing cases in Western societies (Laurence, 2011; Becares et al., 2011).

Nevertheless, the residential segregation based on hukou status is not as severe

compared to the ethnic segregation in Western societies (Li and Wu, 2008). Instead

residential segregation is largely income based although this also means that most

rural migrants cannot afford to live in newly developed commodity-housing

neighbourhoods (Li and Wu, 2008).

It is important to note that the emergence of migrant enclaves took place under a

much larger spatial rearrangement context that also involved the residential

resettlement of Shanghai natives. Shanghai's change of residential patterns was

triggered due to the transition from a plan to a market-led system and its subsequent

town development programs. The combination of satellite town programs, residential

resettlement, new housing developments and central city regeneration schemes led to

an outwards movement of residents from the city's central area to the immediate

suburb districts surrounding the core districts. Core districts of Shanghai saw a

considerable loss of local residents, which ranged from 15 to 20 per cent (Wu, 2008).

The previously fragmented land use of central districts was transformed to

commercial land use and combined with the rising housing price of the city core and

relocation policies led to an influx of residents to peripheral districts (Wu, 2004).

Inner suburbs such as Minhang, Baoshan, Pudong as well as peripheries of the central

city including Putuo, Xuhui and Yangpu saw a considerable increase of both

indigenous and migrant residents (Wu, 2004; Shen and Wu, 2013). Additionally,

suburbanisation and the relocation of manufacturing industries to the outer suburbs further spurred the outwards residential movement of both migrants and locals to outer suburban districts such as Songjiang and Qingpu, which have seen a large increase of local and urban residents (Shen and Wu, 2013; Liao and Wong 2015; Wu, 2004). These ring areas can be regarded as the urban to rural transitional areas (*chengxiang jiehebu*) and resemble the concept of peri-urban areas as they act as the intermediary between agricultural land-use in the outer suburbs and the urban land-use of the inner city (Wu, 2004:206). The most recent evidence from the 2010 census in Shanghai reveals that the number of migrant residents has increased throughout Shanghai and even in the inner city areas (NBS 2010). This is largely because of the explosive increase of migrants from 3.06 million to 8.96 million migrants between 2000 and 2010, which accounted for around 90 per cent of population growth in Shanghai during the same period (Liao and Wong, 2015:114). However, despite the large influx of migrants, research indicate that instead of evenly mixed neighbourhoods, some areas are dominated by migrant residents and that this dominance has only increased since the last decade (Liao and Wong, 2015:121).

In terms of why migrants congregate in certain areas, research contends that a mixture of accessibility to housing and employment location play the key roles (Wu, 2004; Liao and Wong, 2015). The primary reason for migrants to congregate in the peri-urban districts is employment since the ratio of employment to local population is significantly higher compared to the core districts (Wu, 2001; 2008). Large industrial facilities such as shipyards and chemical factories coupled with high-tech development zones and science parks form a key source of employment. Additionally, the service sector in many of the suburban towns are less developed than the inner

city and attract migrants to establish small businesses whilst facing less competition with local businesses (Wu, 2008). Given the abundance of employment opportunities it is understandable that migrants would choose to live in close proximity to their work place. In addition, fast and direct transport links to central Shanghai and relative proximity to employment opportunities in the inner city also render inner suburbs the primary residential choice for most migrants. Another important factor is the relatively inexpensive housing price and the significantly larger living space per capita in the inner suburban areas compared to the central city (Wu, 2001). Housing price is not only cheap due to the lower land and housing values in inner city suburbs. Due to its location in the urban-rural transitional zone, many former villagers have lost their farmland and were instead given an urban Shanghai hukou (Tian, 2008). In order to fill the income gap from the loss of farmland, many former villagers turned to expanding their residential property in order to rent it out to the influx of rural migrants. Over time this had led to the emergence of so-called urban villages (*chengzhongcun*), which have a very high percentage of rural migrant residents (Tian, 2008). It must be noted however, that in contrast to urban villages in Guangzhou and Shenzhen where they form the key part of migrant accommodation (Du and Li, 2010), migrants in Shanghai are far less dependent on urban villages as a housing sources (Wang et al., 2012; Liao and Wong, 2015). In addition to cheap private housing, many state enterprises also offer dormitories for migrants working in the manufacturing industry.

In respect as to how this unequal distribution of migrant residents may affect their neighbourly relations with native residents, the fundamental question is still whether more diverse areas and therefore higher exposure to out-group members will either

deter or encourage a better relationship. As existing studies have already noted, the reason why diversity may negatively affect intergroup perceptions boils down two problems. Firstly, since poor areas often have more diverse residents the assumption is that competition over limited resources may especially affect the perception towards minority groups or 'outsiders' (Laurence, 2011; Laurence and Bentley, 2015; Putnam, 2007). The second main argument of conflict hypothesis supporters is that individuals are naturally averted to others who are perceived as different (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2002) and thus residents living in diverse areas are more likely to have poor intergroup relations with their neighbours (Vervoort, 2012; Putnam, 2007).

With respect to the first assumption, the discussion of the underlying dynamics of Shanghai's migrant settlement pattern points towards a more symbiotic relationship between locals and migrants. Since most of the migrants are tenants renting from private Shanghai landlords of urban villages, peri-urban neighbourhoods and deprived inner city settlements, it is fair to say that a sizeable share of locals depend on migrants as a main source of income. More importantly, I argue that there is no direct competition between locals and migrants for employment in the locality. The reason for this is because the housing choice of migrant is often influenced by their employment, meaning that migrants would *first acquire a job* and *then make their housing choice*. In addition, considering that many migrants employed in the service sector are commuting long distances to their workplace (Mahadevia et al., 2012) and that migrants working in the manufacturing industry live in dormitories, there is little evidence that point towards a competition for employment between locals and migrants. Given that rural migrants are largely excluded from other welfare entitlements there are few resources left that locals need to compete for. Based on this

knowledge it is therefore fairly straightforward to dismiss the contention over limited

arguments more a large share of migrants in Shanghai.

With regards to the second argument that individuals are naturally averted to people

different from oneself, whilst there is evidence suggesting that rural migrants and

locals consider each other as different (Malloy et al., 2004; Nielsen et al., 2006), it

must be noted that they share far more in common than different ethnic groups.

Despite differences in socio-economic status, certain territorial customs and dialects,

rural migrants and Shanghai residents still share many common values such as

national identity, holidays and language. Therefore it is easier for rural migrants to get

used to the host society as compared to international migrants living in Western

societies. Additionally, the differentiation between locals and migrants in Shanghai is

largely caused by institutional discrimination and general prejudice (Chen et al., 2011;

Cheng and Selden, 1994). Consequently, the assumption is that more personal

interaction can help break down such biased views, on the condition that residents are

willing to interact with out-group neighbours despite possible prejudices. In this

sense, higher exposure to migrant residents should help improve intergroup relations

as it increases the exposure to migrants which in turn increases the chance for

interaction.

In order to explore these arguments further, again cross tabulations are used to reveal

how migrant density of an area may be related to intergroup neighbourly relations.

Prior to this, it may be useful to put the migrant density of neighbourhoods into the

urban context of Shanghai. Although this may not apply to all cases but areas with a

lower share of migrants tend to be commodity neighbourhoods, due to their high

housing costs, and work-unit neighbourhoods, as they are mainly accessible to state or state owned employees. Higher migrant concentration areas on the hand are more likely to be urban villages (especially areas with more than 50 per cent of migrant residents), relocation settlements and traditional courtyards located in the inner city.

The survey results in table 4.19 confirm the above assumptions, as the share of residents who frequently or occasionally interact with out-group neighbours is considerably larger in high migrant density areas as compared to low migrant density neighbourhoods. For instance, the number of residents who frequently visit their out-group neighbours is almost three times as high in neighbourhoods with a 50 to 76 per cent migrant concentration as in areas where migrants only make up zero to 10 per cent of the local populace. Similarly, the rate of residents who report that they never or rarely interact with out-group neighbours is also lower in high migrant density neighbourhoods. Whilst more than 70 per cent of residents in 0-10 or 10-25 per cent migrant concentration areas report that they rarely or never exchange support with out-group neighbours, the share drops to 56 per cent in neighbourhoods where migrants make up 50 to 76 per cent of the local population. Table 4.20 further reveals that in-group neighbourly interactions are also higher in neighbourhoods where the local populace is composed of one major social group whereby high migrant areas tend to have even higher levels of in-group neighbouring activities. Overall the findings show that higher levels of migrant concentration increases intergroup interaction therefore suggesting that a higher exposure to out-group neighbours can increase the likelihood of intergroup neighbouring activities. Secondly, it also reveals that out-group and in-group neighbourly interactions do not seem to impede on each other as residents living in high migrant concentration areas interact more with both

in-group and out-group neighbours. On the other hand, residents of low migrant

density estates are more likely to interact with in-group neighbours owing to the lower

chances of encountering migrant neighbours.

Table 4.19 Interactions with *out-group* neighbours by migrant density (weighted, in %)

		0-10%	10-25%	25-50%	50-76%
Neighbourly visits					
	Seldom and never	89.45	93.32	85.04	70.29
	Sometimes and frequently	10.54	6.68	14.96	29.71
Neighbourly support					
	Seldom and never	72.79	76.50	66.61	56.52
	Sometimes and frequently	27.21	23.50	33.39	43.48
Neighbourly greetings					
	Seldom and never	51.02	52.54	42.88	25.36
	Sometimes and frequently	48.98	47.47	57.12	74.63

Table 4.20 Interactions with *in-group* neighbours by migrant density (weighted, in %)

		0-10%	10-25%	25-50%	50-76%
Neighbourly visits					
	Seldom and never	44.90	66.36	65.16	14.49
	Sometimes and	55.44	33.64	34.86	85.51

	frequently				
Neighbourly support					
	Seldom and never	20.75	37.33	33.76	10.14
	Sometimes and frequently	79.26	62.68	66.24	90.58
Neighbourly greetings					
	Seldom and never	9.18	15.43	15.51	4.35
	Sometimes and frequently	90.82	84.56	84.49	96.38

So far the evidence suggest that high migrant density leads to more frequent migrant-local neighbourly interactions however, results in table 4.21 show that the relationship between migrant concentration and affective neighbourly relationships is less straightforward. Whilst the number of residents who report that they have a strong relationship with out-group neighbours is the highest in 50-76 percent migrant concentration areas, it is second highest in 0-10 per cent neighbourhoods, closely followed by neighbourhoods with 25-50 per cent of migrants. Almost half of residents in 50-76 per cent migrant density areas report that they are familiar with their out-group neighbours, whereas in 0-10 per cent migrant density neighbourhoods more than 30 per cent of residents state the same. Similarly, neighbourhoods with 25-50 per cent of migrant residents have more than 28 per cent of residents who are familiar with their out-group neighbours. Overall, these outcomes may indicate that neighbourly interactions help foster stronger affective relationships towards out-group neighbours in migrant dominated areas. Interaction on the other hand is not important in facilitating affective neighbourly relations in local dominated neighbourhoods. The reason for this may be more related to the housing type of these areas rather than the actual density. Recall that most low migrant density areas tend to be commodity

neighbourhoods where residents have a strong affective relationship with their

neighbours regardless of neighbourly interactions.

Table 4.21 Affective relationships between out-group neighbours by migrant concentration (weighted, in %)

		0-10%	10-25%	25-50%	50-76%
Friendly to each other					
	1 and 2	4.06	11.76	7.80	19.88
	4 and 5	47.08	30.42	35.01	27.77
Care for each other					
	1 and 2	12.72	32.37	24.29	8.73
	4 and 5	29.62	17.94	26.69	29.92
Trust each other					
	1 and 2	4.36	11.41	14.64	1.45
	4 and 5	28.47	17.94	26.25	39.57
Familiar with each other					
	1 and 2	14.76	29.09	21.55	0.97
	4 and 5	30.28	17.15	28.63	49.80

Overall, the survey findings suggest that higher presence of migrant residents can

increase the interaction rate and improve the affective relationship between migrant

and indigenous neighbours. This outcome signals that given the right environment,

native Shanghai residents are not averted from interacting and establishing bonds with

migrant neighbours. It would also reject the prevalent assumption that local residents

in more diverse areas tend to distrust out-group neighbours due to competitive

sentiments and a natural aversion to people different from them. Nevertheless it is

important to avoid an overly positive interpretation of these results. Although in

relative terms higher migrant presence is conducive to intergroup relations, the overall

share of residents who have a good neighbourly relationship with out-group

neighbours is still relatively low. This may be related to the extreme concentration of

migrants, in urban villages for instance, where migrants struggle to create neighbourly

ties with local villagers due to their landlord tenant relationship (Chung 2010). The

sentiments of long-term residents in older neighbourhoods are also preventing higher levels of neighbourly interactions, as they cannot fully adapt to the influx of migrants residents (Wu 2012). On the other end of the spectrum, neighbourhoods with very few migrant residents tend to have strong affective relations with out-group neighbours as well but due to their financial costs and exclusionary nature, such areas are not beneficial for the majority of rural migrants.

4.7 Conclusion

The urban society of China is now facing a great challenge to socially integrate the growing number of rural migrants in its cities and to reduce the mounting prejudices and discrimination of native urban citizens towards rural migrants. In this sense, socially integrating rural migrants into the host society in part depend on how well migrants and locals perceive each other. Intergroup ties with native residents allow migrants to feel psychologically integrated to the city (Yue et al., 2013) and assist them in finding better housing opportunities (Liu et al., 2013). Additionally, recent evidences suggest that friendship ties between migrants and locals improve the general perception towards each other's population group (Nielsen et al., 2006; Nielsen and Smyth, 2011). Research into the positive effects of migrant-local ties are increasing but considerably less is known about how intergroup ties are formed in the first place and what role neighbourly relations may play. The purpose of this chapter was to firstly understand how intergroup neighbourly relations as a form of social network can help improve the relationship between migrants and locals in Shanghai. Secondly this chapter aimed to discuss some of the underlying dynamics of intergroup neighbourly relations by examining recent social and spatial changes at the grassroots

level and how an individual's social identity can affect one's willingness to interact with out-group members.

With regards to the first purpose of this chapter, scholars contend that following the transition to a market economy in China, the social ties of urban residents are becoming less locally embedded (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Hazelzet and Wissink, 2012). However, despite diversifying social networks for both migrants and locals, the channels through which intergroup contact can occur are still limited. Due to labour market segmentation (Fan, 2002; Roberts, 2002) and hukou restrictions, which prevent rural migrants from using the same resources as locals and thus reducing the arenas where they can interaction (such as schools), intergroup contact remains truncated. Occasional and brief encounters during some of their daily routines, such as shopping or visiting public places (Yang, 2013), help little to establish a consistent basis for intergroup contact to take place. Due to the lack of intergroup contact, indirect channels of information such as out-dated prejudices and negative media coverage have come to shape the impressions of indigenous Shanghai residents towards migrants (Chen et al., 2011). The consequence is that rural migrants are being labelled as a 'class of low quality' (*disuzhi renqun*) (see for instance Pow, 2007) and stands for low education, poverty, poor manners and crime. In light of the lack of interaction places and existing stereotypes, the neighbourhood thus becomes one of the few remaining and important platforms where migrants and locals can interact in a more intimate and consistent manner. By sharing the same living environment and encountering each other on a daily basis I argued that the neighbourhood has the potential to meet the criteria of an 'equal' and 'cooperative' environment for positive intergroup contact to emerge (Hewstone and Brown, 1986; Pettigrew, 1998).

Before discussing the findings of this study it is important to point out its shortcomings. The cross tabulation method used in this study is very basic and therefore in statistical terms it is not possible to state that there is a causal effect between neighbourly relations and migrant-local relations. However, bearing in mind the limited channels through which migrants and locals can interact, it is fair to say that logically there is little to argue against a positive contribution of neighbourly relations towards migrant-local ties in urban China. Moreover, endogeneity may also be a problem since this study relies on cross sectional data and cannot rule out that those who distrust out-group members specifically choose to live in more homogeneous areas. Nevertheless, I believe that it is rather unlikely that preferences towards a specific population group are a serious determinant of one's residential choice in urban China. Considering issues of affordability and housing choice limitations for migrants (Wu, 2008; Li and Wu, 2008), both migrants and a large share of locals would still choose their neighbourhood based on the issue of financial cost. Nonetheless in order to better understand the dynamics of neighbourly relations and general out-group perceptions future studies will need to make use of longitudinal data sets.

Bearing in mind these potential caveats, this chapter contributes to the ongoing research in urban China on the relationship between rural migrants and locals. It sheds light on how intergroup contact is taking place at the neighbourhood level and how this contact can affect the overall levels of intergroup trust. There are two key findings of this study. Firstly, there are still a fair number of residents who engage in intergroup neighbourly relations whereby in comparison to native residents, even

more rural migrants interact with their local neighbours and express that their

neighbourly relations are based on mutual care and trust. The second finding is that

those who frequently engage in neighbouring activities and have positive neighbourly

relations towards their out-group neighbours are also more likely to have more trust

towards out-group members in general. Despite the seemingly optimistic results it is

important to bear in mind that the number of those engaged in intergroup neighbourly

relations itself is not very high. The strongest sentiment of locals towards migrants

still appears to be neutral. The fear is that this feeling of neutrality could be swayed

into a sense of apathy towards the seemingly unrelated 'others' and less willingness to

establish social connections with migrants. On a theoretical level this chapter

contributes to the longstanding discourse on how the local scale can contribute to the

integration of migrants and extends the evidence base to the context of urban China

(Forrest and Kearns, 2001; Laurence, 2011; Letki, 2008; Musterd, 2003). The

findings provide empirical evidence that underline the importance of the

neighbourhood as a place of relaxation and providing the chance of meaningful and

consistent interactions to take place but also to shape the social identities of oneself

and of others (Kearns and Parkinson, 2000). Furthermore, the case study from

Shanghai support the contact hypothesis and confirms that interaction in a pleasant

and cooperative environment can break down prejudices and forge more tolerant

attitudes towards out-group members (Allport, 1954; Hewstone and Brown, 1986;

Pettigrew, 1998).

In relation to the chapter's second purpose, which is to discuss how individual factors

and socio-spatial changes at the neighbourhood level have affected neighbourly

relations between migrants and natives, there are several interesting findings. Firstly,

the motivation to engage in intergroup neighbourly relations differs considerably between migrants and locals. Whilst in-group ties with fellow migrants can help migrants to survive in the city, in order to better integrate and improve their livelihood in the city, out-group ties with natives are also needed (Yue et al., 2013; Liu et al., 2013). Therefore the understanding that social ties with indigenous residents are necessary to advance further in the host society is an important motivator for migrants to interact with their native neighbours. Especially for rural migrants who are denied many formal supports from the government, informal ties become an indispensable form of self-help. Consequently for migrants one of their key drivers to interact with local neighbours can be attributed to their need for survival in the host society. For indigenous residents on the other hand, there is no imminent need to interact with migrant neighbours as they already receive support from their fellow native neighbours. Compared to migrants, locals already have a well-developed social network and therefore their motivation to interact with migrants is not driven by a need for survival. This may be the reason why rural migrants are significantly more willing to interact with local neighbours. Instead, the willingness and likelihood of locals to interact with migrant neighbours may be driven by other factors.

Some of these factors may be related to the characteristics of the neighbourhood residents live in. Many studies in multi-ethnic societies have stressed the importance of neighbourhood factors in influencing the social interaction pattern of residents (Bécares et al., 2011; Laurence, 2011; Laurence and Bentley, 2015; Petermann, 2014; Putnam, 2007; Talen, 1999). Amongst others, the poverty rate (Laurence, 2011; Bécares et al., 2011), housing type (Talen, 1999; Petermann, 2014) and the residential composition (Putnam, 2007; Stolle et al., 2008; Vervoort, 2012) of neighbourhoods

have been stated as important determinants. Since the transition from a socialist to a market led economy similar neighbourhood typologies have also started to emerge in major Chinese cities such as Shanghai where low-income residents are congregating, migrant dominated neighbourhoods are emerging and housing types are diversifying. However, despite the seemingly similar urban changes, their effects on the intergroup neighbourly relations of residents are not the same as these changes at the grassroots level are driven by a dynamic specific to China's socio-political environment. For instance, there is no evidence from the survey indicating that residents in poorer neighbourhoods are more isolated from their out-group neighbours as compared to more affluent areas. The reason for this is related to the fact that migrants are in no competitive relationship with locals since migrants are mostly employed and therefore do not endanger the chances of natives to find local employment. Furthermore, since the hukou system excludes migrants from welfare entitlements there is also no possibility for migrants to compete for local public facilities with indigenous neighbours. The institutional limitations placed on migrants and their labour oriented residential pattern thus remove most reasons for migrants to compete against locals at least at the neighbourhood level.

In relation to the effect of neighbourhood housing types, studies in multi-ethnic societies focus on the physical design attributes of different housing estates that might influence the interaction pattern between neighbours (Bramley et al., 2009; Petermann, 2014; Talen, 1999). However, in the case of urban China more emphasis is given to how different types of housing estates represent different social classes, which in turn have different lifestyle preferences and patterns of interaction. Neighbourhood such as traditional courtyards built during the pre-communist era and

work-unit estates built during the socialist era have a long tradition of strong

neighbourly relations (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Wu and He, 2005). In comparison,

residents in commodity estates built through the private market are found to care less

about neighbourly relations (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Zhu et al., 2012). However, with

regards to intergroup neighbourly relations, residents living in commodity housing

estates have the most frequent interaction and positive affective relations with out-

group neighbours. The strong perception of belonging to the middle class (Yip, 2012;

Breitung, 2012) and living within a 'civilised' community (Pow, 2007) have replaced

the local versus non-local definition of one's own social identity. This shared sense of

class belonging has therefore created a tolerant and trusting relationship between

neighbours and also removed any mental barriers of neighbourly interactions such as

the stigma attached to migrants. However, although commodity neighbourhoods

appear to be the most conducive to intergroup relations due to its financial exclusivity

only a minority of rural migrants can afford to live in such an estate.

Finally, in contrast to many studies in multi-ethnic societies where more diverse areas

tend to have more negative intergroup relations (Laurence, 2011; Putnam, 2007;

Vervoort, 2012), this study concludes that neighbourhoods with more migrant

residents in fact lead to better intergroup neighbourly relations. Especially in poorer

neighbourhoods in multi-ethnic societies ethnic minorities are often perceived as

competitors for local resources and therefore the target of distrust (Laurence, 2011;

Putnam, 2007). Moreover, due to language barriers, different ethnic groups may be

'forced' to interact with in-group members in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods

(Musterd and Ostendorf, 2009). However, these potential obstacles of intergroup

neighbourly relations are mostly absent in the Chinese context. Rural migrants and

native residents share many common values such as the same Han ethnicity,

language, a national identity and many national traditions and cultural values.

Therefore, compared to multi-ethnic societies, rural migrants and indigenous

Shanghai residents still have more in common. More importantly since rural migrants

are excluded from the urban welfare system and because they are already employed,

there remain few resources that migrants need to compete with locals for. Instead,

many locals living in both urban villages but also neighbourhoods in the peri-urban

area of Shanghai rely on migrants as tenants whilst large shares of migrants depend

on locals as employers. In this sense, rather than a competitive relationship, in the

case of Shanghai, migrant and indigenous neighbours may be engaged in a more

mutually supportive relationship. The survey results confirm these explanations as

more diverse areas also house higher shares of residents who frequently interact with

out-group neighbours and feel higher levels of trust and familiarity towards them.

Overall the second part of this chapter contends with existing studies that the

neighbourhood context is an important determinant of intergroup relations (Forrest

and Kearns, 2001; Guest et al., 2006; Laurence and Bentley, 2015; Putnam, 2007)

although some of the evidence found in Shanghai contests the dominant assumption

that higher concentration of migrants and poverty worsens intergroup relations.

Contention over limited resources and a natural aversion to people of a different

social identity have been stated as the primary cause in multi-ethnic societies

(Putnam, 2007; Laurence, 2011). However, given the absence of a competition over

resources in urban China and the various commonalities between rural migrants and

locals, higher migrant presence in Shanghai leads to better intergroup relations. This

chapter contributes to the existing debate by providing a discussion based on

empirical data on how diversity can positively influence the neighbourly relations between migrants and locals in Shanghai. In general, the findings of this chapter suggest that the positive relationship between neighbourhood diversity and intergroup neighbourly relations need to be understood within the wider socio-economic and political climate of China. The absence of competition between rural migrant and native neighbours that has enabled the positive relationship between diversity and intergroup relations comes at the price of completely excluding rural migrants from the welfare system. Therefore, if these wider structural conditions were to change it would be difficult to say whether neighbourhood diversity would still be able to positively influence the neighbourly relationship between migrants and locals to such an extent. Consequently, I agree with the argument that migrant-local relations can hardly be solved by simplistic social engineering and the tinkering of the residential composition of neighbourhoods (Musterd, 2003; Musterd and Deurloo, 2002). Although neighbourhood policies can significantly contribute to migrant-local relations by providing the opportunities for more consistent and personal interactions, they need to be combined with institutional changes that foster the socio-economic equality between migrants and locals. These could include the provision of welfare entitlements to rural migrants but also the increase of public amenities in deprived neighbourhoods in order to reduce the need to compete for limited resources.

The next chapter will go into more detail and address the underlying dynamics of intergroup neighbouring and how the context of the neighbourhoods may play a role.

Chapter Five

Dynamics of intergroup neighbouring activities between migrants and locals in Shanghai

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examined how existing theories of intergroup relations can be conceptualised in the context of urban China and how individual level and neighbourhood level factors could be related to intergroup neighbourly relations. Despite the understanding how certain factors such as area diversity or hukou status are conceptually related to intergroup neighbouring activities, it remains unclear whether these factors have an independent effect on migrant-local social ties at the neighbourhood level. The purpose of this chapter is thus to analyse the independent effect of both individual level and neighbourhood level determinants of intergroup neighbouring activities between locals and migrants in Shanghai. Furthermore, it aims to explore whether there is any need to differentiate between general neighbourly interactions and intergroup neighbouring activities in China's urban society which is less ethnically diverse. Therefore, this study endeavours to answer two research questions: Are local hukou and non-local hukou residents equally willing to interact with their out-group neighbours? Is there any significant difference between the determinants of intergroup and general neighbouring?

The chapter will be structured as follows: the next section will briefly review the potential factors that can influence the intergroup neighbouring activities of residents in Shanghai. What follows will be a description of the research method and the survey

data and then the findings will be reported. The final part will discuss the context of

the findings and how they can contribute to the understanding of migrant integration.

5.2 An overview of the dynamics of intergroup neighbouring

5.2.1 Individual level factors

In the Chinese context existing neighbouring studies found that the hukou status of an

individual is a major determinant of neighbouring whereby rural migrants tend to

have more neighbourly interactions compared to native residents (Wu and Logan,

2015). Being excluded from any welfare entitlements, rural migrants are marginalised

and have few social ties with natives (Liu et al., 2013), and are thus more reliant on

localised forms of social ties. Stigmatization, which increases social distance between

locals and migrants, is often stated as the key reason why rural migrants struggle

acquire native acquaintances and friendship (Chen et al., 2011; Yue et al., 2013).

Many native residents often associate migrants from rural areas with poor education

as well as poverty and criminal behaviour (Li and Wu, 2013a; Chen et al., 2011).

From this perspective it is possible to state that the rural hukou is not only connected

with institutional limitations but also with a negative stigma, which bears great

similarity with for instance belonging to the black ethnicity in America (Alesina and

La Ferrara, 2002). In this sense, the rural hukou can also be considered as a proxy

indicator for the perceived social distance between migrants and locals.

In addition to hukou status, neighbouring studies in urban China also identified other

individual level characteristics that are significantly related with the frequency of

general neighbouring activities and their findings are in accordance with most

neighbouring literature from the West (Buonfino and Hilder, 2006;Guest and

Wierzbicki, 1999). For example Li et al. (2012:250) found that in Guangzhou a

resident's length of residency is positively associated with neighbourly interactions

whilst education is a negative predictor. Similarly, Forrest and Yip (2007) also

suggest that residents who have lived more than ten years in the locality tend to have

more neighbourly relations. The reason is because their long residency has given them

a stronger sense of belonging to the locality (Guest and Wierzbicki, 1999).

Furthermore, Li et al. (2012) argues that higher socio-economic status in general

would lead to less frequent neighbourly interactions. The qualitative research by

Hazelzet and Wissink, (2012) further confirm that residents with a higher level socio-

economic status tend to be less involved in the neighbourhood.

5.2.2 Neighbourhood level factors

In addition to individual level determinants, research in urban China also indicates

that neighbourhood factors are related to the neighbouring patterns of residents.

Forrest and Yip (2007) found that the frequency of neighbourly interactions is high in

older and more established neighbourhoods such as traditional courtyard homes and

work-unit housing. In comparison, neighbouring activities decrease considerably in

newly built commodity housing (Forrest and Yip, 2007). Whilst residents in older

neighbourhoods tend to interact more with their neighbours because they are more

accustomed to a neighbourhood based social life, which was omnipresent in the work-

unit era of China (Hazelzet and Wissink, 2012). Additionally, residents living older

neighbourhoods also tend to be poorer (Wu et al., 2010) and therefore rely more on

localised social networks. Comparatively, recent findings indicate that residents living

in commodity housing are less keen on interacting with their neighbours but instead

regard their neighbourhood as a source for privacy and security (Zhu et al., 2012) but also as a sign of social status (Pow, 2007). The housing type of neighbourhoods therefore can be considered as an intermediate factor that reflects the social class of residents and their associated social interaction patterns and lifestyle preferences. This argument is very similar to what Talen (1999) refers to as the residential self selection issue. The logic of residential self-selection is the same as the one proposed by transport researchers where residents with specific travelling preferences and socio-economic status tend to live in the same type of neighbourhood (Cao et al., 2006; Mokhtarian and Cao, 2008). In the same vein of argument, residents with similar lifestyle preferences and social class tend to congregate in the same locality due to their shared preference for a particular housing type (Talen, 1999). Consequently, it is highly likely that more affluent residents who already have a very diverse and broad social network may prefer to live in a neighbourhood where neighbourly interactions are less frequent.

In multi-ethnic societies the residential diversity of an area often measured through the share of minority residents is a major determinant of intergroup neighbouring (Gundelach and Freitag, 2014; Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi, 2002; Stolle et al., 2008; Twigg et al., 2010). There exist no general consensus on whether residential diversity leads to more intergroup neighbourly interactions but most empirical studies agree with the conflict hypothesis, as their results indicate that higher levels of ethnic diversity in an area can reduce intergroup neighbourly interactions (Guest et al., 2008; Laurence and Bentley, 2015; Putnam, 2007). In urban China there is no empirical evidence showing the impact of residential diversity, but it is clear that some neighbourhoods have higher numbers of migrants residents compared to others (Liao and Wong, 2015; Li

and Wu, 2008; Wu, 2008). Therefore, the presence of migrant residents will be considered as an important neighbourhood level determinant in this study. In addition, neighbourhood poverty is also considered an important determinant whereby again ethnic minorities living in deprived areas are especially isolated from neighbourly contacts with native residents (Laurence, 2011; Letki, 2008). The reason is because ethnic minorities are often considered as a threat by locals who fear that minority neighbours may compete with them for the limited resources of the neighbourhood (Laurence, 2011). In Chinese cities poverty has also been found to concentrate in certain neighbourhoods whereby rural migrants and redundant state workers make up its two major population groups (Wu et al., 2010). Given the unanimous argument that poorer areas tend to have less intergroup neighbourly interactions, the analysis of this chapter will also include the poverty rate of neighbourhoods as a key neighbourhood factor.

Based on the brief review above this study hypothesises the following.

i) Currently the social relationship between migrant and local neighbours remains truncated, whereby in comparison to migrants, native residents are more likely to retract from social interactions with migrant neighbours.

ii) Neighbourhood characteristics play a significant role in determining the frequency of intergroup neighbouring activities whereby residents living in areas with a higher migrant presence is positively associated with higher neighbouring frequencies.

iii) The poverty rate of an area does not have a negative impact on the neighbourly interactions between migrants and locals.

5.3 Research method

5.3.1 Working definition of neighbouring and migrant status

In line with previous neighbourhood interaction studies, neighbouring here consists of three sub-variables: visiting, helping or receiving help and greeting neighbours (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Letki, 2008). The survey asked migrant respondents how often they had neighbourly interaction with local Shanghai residents whilst native Shanghai respondents were asked how often they interacted with non-local residents. The three neighbouring questions were asked in the following form and respondents could choose from four answers: (1) frequently (2) sometimes (3) seldom (4) never.

1) How often does your family visit *local native Shanghai* neighbours (asked to migrants) / *non-local* neighbours (asked to natives)?

2) How often does your family help or receive help from *local native Shanghai* neighbours (asked to migrants) / *non-local* neighbours (asked to natives)?

3) How often does your family exchange greetings with *local native Shanghai* neighbours (asked to migrants) / *non-local* neighbours (asked to natives)?

With regards to how out-group is conceptualised, migrant residents were asked about their relationships with local Shanghai residents (*bendiren*) whilst local Shanghai residents were asked about their relationships with non-local residents (*waidiren*).

This definition of out-group was chosen because it is currently one of the most commonly used definitions of one's own social identity.

5.3.2 Independent neighbourhood level variables

Table 5.1 presents the list of independent variables. This study uses three contextual variables at the neighbourhood level, which were all obtained from the respective local *juweihui* (residential committee), the de-facto government institution at the grassroots level. The percentage of migrant residents at the *juweihui* level is included as a continuous variable to represent migrant density. The housing type of the neighbourhood is included as a categorical variable in order to account for the differing lifestyles of residents living in older areas, such as traditional courtyard housing and newer neighbourhoods, developed under the market economy as proposed by Forrest and Yip (2007). It is important to note that the housing type stated for each neighbourhood represents the only type of housing within the estate. For instance a courtyard-housing neighbourhood type in this study means that courtyard housing constitutes the only housing type within the neighbourhood rather than just the housing type the respondent lives in. The reason for this is because in Chinese cities all residential neighbourhoods are homogeneous in terms of their housing type and delineated with clear neighbourhood boundaries. Due to the lack of official data on poverty, to measure neighbourhood poverty, this study follows Wu et al.'s (2010) approach and uses the number of Minimum Living Standard Support (MLSS) recipients within the *juweihui*. The MLSS recipient indicator is included as a continuous variable and was standardized to account for the variance of population between neighbourhoods. Additionally, considering that non-local hukou holders do not receive any MLSS support from the government, we included the neighbourhood

type of urban villages (*chengzhongcun*) to reflect the extent of migrant poverty to a certain degree. The study of Wu et al. (2010:140) also shows that urban village belong to the lowest social stratum in terms of poverty and primarily consist of rural migrants.

5.3.3 Independent individual level variables

The analysis includes demographic and socio-economic variables such age, income and number of family members to account for individual effects on neighbouring. All independent variables have been standardised. Furthermore, factors of neighbourhood life such as length of residency as well as tenure were used as control variables as these indicators have been found to be significant determinants of neighbouring (Li et al., 2012). This study used hukou status as a key individual determinant in order to explore the difference between locals and non-locals in terms of their propensity to interact with out-group neighbours. There are four categories of hukou status: local non-agricultural (native urban), local agricultural (native rural), non-local agricultural (rural migrant) and non-local non-agricultural (urban migrant). In contrast to previous migrant studies, this research takes into account the heterogeneity of migrants living in large Chinese cities as migrants holding the urban hukou from another city may greatly differ from migrants coming from rural areas in terms of socio-economic status and access to resources. This is also the reason for including several interaction terms to account for the various differences between local natives, urban and rural migrants. Firstly I included income as an interaction term in order to into account the socio-economic difference between locals and migrants. Moreover, area poverty and migrant density were also added as interaction terms since previous studies suggest that migrants are more likely to be living in poor areas (Li and Wu, 2008) and also

neighbourhoods with many migrant residents. Another advantage of including interaction terms is the reduction of the likelihood of endogeneity. The difference in terms of the socioeconomic status between migrants and locals also gives rise to the assumption that migrants and locals may have different reasons for choosing to interact with their counterparts.

Table 5.1 Independent variables

			Total	%
Individual level	Age	minimum	20	
		maximum	93	
		mean	53.06	
		S.D.	14.91	
	Gender	male	806	56.76
		female	614	43.24
	Education level	Elementary or below	148	10.42
		Junior secondary	489	34.44
		Senior secondary	349	24.58
		College or technical school	243	11.11
		Undergraduate or Master	191	13.45
	Income	0-3000 Yuan	155	10.92
		3000-5000 Yuan	312	21.97
		5000-7000 Yuan	352	24.79
		7000-10,000 Yuan	350	24.65
		>10,000 Yuan	251	17.68
	Underage children	yes	397	27.96
		no	1023	72.04
	Tenure	tenant	356	25.16
		owner	1059	74.84
	Years of residence	minimum	0	
		maximum	80	
		mean	18.1	
		S.D.	16.16	
	Number of family members	minimum	0	
		maximum	6	
		mean	1.75	
		S.D.	1.08	
Neighbourhood level	Percentage of migrant residents	minimum	0	
		maximum	76	
		mean	26.93	
		S.D.	17.37	
	MLSS recipients	minimum	0	
		maximum	80	
		mean	12.35	
		S.D.	15.69	
	Housing type	Courtyard housing	156	11.02
		Work unit	411	29.03
		Urban villages	205	14.48
		Relocation Housing	252	17.80
		Commodity housing	392	27.68

5.3.4 Statistical method

In order to test the independent effect of neighbourhood level factors, this chapter follows previous studies analysing the effect of contextual factors (Gundelach and Freitag, 2014; Laurence, 2011; Secor and O'Loughlin, 2005; Vervoort, 2012) and employs a mixed effects model or also known as multilevel modelling using the Stata 13 statistical program. As mentioned in the methodology chapter the advantage of using a mixed effect model over an OLS model is that the analysis takes into account the variation of the dependent variables across different neighbourhoods (Gelman and Hill, 2006; Raudenbush and Bryk, 2002). More specifically two types of mixed effect regression are used in this chapter. Firstly in order to analyse the intergroup neighbouring activities variable (which is a combination of all three neighbouring activities and therefore an interval variable), the study will use a mixed effects linear regression model (Gelman and Hill, 2006). Secondly a mixed effect ordered logistic regression is used to analyse the determinants of each neighbouring activity variable, which is an ordinal variable (Gelman and Hill, 2006). The reason for using a mixed effect ordered logistic regression is due to the way questions regarding each neighbouring activities were designed. Respondents could choose to answer from four answers (i.e. 1=never, 2=seldom, 3=sometimes, 4=frequently), which are interrelated and are ordered according to their frequency. Therefore, it is more appropriate to use a mixed effect ordered logistic regression model rather than a mixed effect linear regression model. The two analysis packages follow the same logic but whilst linear regression deals with interval dependent variables, the ordered logistic regression is more useful in regressing nominal variables (Gelman and Hill, 2006).

Due to the nature of the model, the sequence of the dependent variables was also reversed from: 4=never, 3=seldom, 2=sometimes, 1=frequently to 1=never, 2=seldom, 3=sometimes, 4=frequently.

5.3.5 Demographic profile of survey respondents

With regards to the demographic profile of the survey respondents, the following tables present some key indicators across different hukou types. Rural Shanghai residents have the lowest education level whereas urban migrants have by far the highest level with more than 40 per cent of urban migrant respondents being university graduates (see table 5.2). This reflects the recent trend of high skilled migration of urban migrants into large cities such as Shanghai (Wu and Wang, 2014). Followed by urban migrants are native urban Shanghai residents where more than 30 per cent have a technical college or university degree. In comparison considerably fewer rural migrants have a high school of university degree and most of rural migrants only hold a junior secondary education level.

Table 5.2 Education level by hukou status (weighted in %)

Education level	Local urban	Local rural	Urban migrant	Rural migrant
Primary school	9.18	21.09	2.33	13.92
Junior secondary	30.4	60.94	17.44	48.73
Senior secondary	27.44	12.5	15.12	20.89
Technical college	19.02	4.69	24.42	10.76
University	13.96	0.78	40.7	5.7

The difference in education level is also reflected in the income level of respondents whereby again more than half of urban migrants have an income level above 7000 Yuan per month (see table 5.3). In comparison all other hukou groups have considerably lower levels of income whereby especially local rural residents have considerably lower incomes, which also confirms earlier research that local villagers

who have lost their agricultural land are more likely to fall into the poverty trap (Wu et al., 2013). Rural migrants on the hand fare significantly better then local villagers and are at a similar income level as urban Shanghai residents.

Table 5.3 Income level by hukou status (weighted in %)

Household income per month (in RMB)	Local urban	Local rural	Urban migrant	Rural migrant
0-3000	10.61	18.75	5.81	8.86
3000-5000	20.75	36.72	16.28	20.89
5000-7000	24.95	21.88	16.28	31.01
7000-10,000	25.05	18.75	29.07	24.68
>10,000	18.64	3.91	32.56	14.56

However, despite similar income levels, a disproportional share of rural migrants rent their properties whilst the majority of both urban and rural Shanghai residents are homeowners (see table 5.4). There may be several reasons why rural migrants are predominantly renters. Firstly, for older rural migrants they still intend to return to their home village at some point, thus preferring to save up money for remittance or purchasing a property in the countryside. Secondly, rural migrants have considerably more difficulties in securing a mortgage in the city due to institutional limitation and their unstable employment. Compared to rural migrants, considerably more urban migrants are homeowners suggesting that there are significant differences between rural and urban migrants. Nonetheless still almost 60 per cent of urban migrants are renters as well despite their high income.

Table 5.4 Housing tenure by hukou status (weighted in %)

Hukou status	*Homeowner*	*Tenant*
Local urban	83.81	16.19
Local rural	96.09	3.91
Urban migrant	41.86	58.14
Rural migrant	15.48	84.52

In terms of the household composition all groups of residents appear to be fairly similar except for local Shanghai villagers (see table 5.5). Only around 1.5 per cent of residents who hold a local rural hukou live by themselves compared local urban residents and rural migrants where around 9-10 per cent live alone. Urban migrants are by far the most likely to live alone as almost 20 per cent state that they live by themselves. In addition, local villagers tend to live in a very large household as around 23 per cent of rural villagers state that their households consist of more than four family members. Nevertheless, there is also a considerable share of migrant respondents who state that they live with three of four family members suggesting that the traditional assumption that only male migrants come to the cities whilst leaving their family behind in the countryside does not hold true anymore.

Table 5.5 Hukou status by number of family members (weighted in %)

Hukou status	Single household	Two members household	Three members household	Four members household	More than four members
Local urban	8.83	35.29	39.46	8.15	8.27
Local rural	1.53	33.41	32.58	9.42	23.06
Urban migrant	19.55	36.59	23.56	14.22	6.08
Rural migrant	10.85	26.64	36.12	22.14	4.25

In regards to the length of residency of the various population groups (see table 5.6), unsurprisingly native urban and rural Shanghai residents are considerably more likely to have lived longer in the same locality as compared to migrant residents. Table 5.6 shows that almost 70 per cent of urban migrants and around 65 per cent of migrant state that they have only lived less than five years in the neighbourhood. In comparison around 43 per cent of native urban residents state that they have lived in the same neighbourhood for more than 15 years whilst almost 25 per cent have lived between 10-15 years in the same area. However, local villagers are by far the most

likely to be long term residents as more than 80 per cent of them state that they have

lived in the same place for more than 15 years. On the other hand there are also

around 9 per cent of local villagers who state that they have lived less than five years

in the same place. These villagers are likely recipients of government compensation

schemes which have relocated many rural native residents to newly built commodity

housing as their farmland and farm have been acquired for urban developments (Wu

et al., 2013).

Table 5.6 Hukou status by length of residency (weighted, in %)

Hukou status	0-5 years	6-10 years	10-15 years	> 15 years
Local urban	11.21	20.35	24.52	43.93
Local rural	8.90	6.90	1.23	82.97
Urban migrant	68.28	20.02	4.90	6.80
Rural migrant	65.02	20.00	8.18	6.80

Finally table 5.7 reveals that consistent with the high education and income level,

urban migrants are also the most likely to live in commodity housing neighbourhoods

where they tend to be homeowners. With regards to rural migrants, the largest share

of them live in commodity housing neighbourhoods (29.03 per cent) closely followed

by urban villages (27.10 per cent). Despite the high share of migrants living in

commodity housing neighbourhoods it may be misleading to conclude that more rural

migrants are getting more affluent. Instead another reason why that the share of rural

migrants living in commodity housing is because with the gradual removal of urban

villages and traditional courtyard settlements, more migrants are forced to share

housing in commodity neighbourhoods as renters.

Table 5.7 Hukou status by neighbourhood type (weighted, in %)

Hukou status	Courtyard housing	Work unit housing	Relocation housing	Urban villages	Commodity housing
Local urban	12.43	32.89	21.03	4.59	29.06
Local rural	0.00	4.69	1.56	87.50	6.25
Urban migrant	5.81	33.72	16.28	3.49	40.70
Rural migrant	13.55	20.00	10.32	27.10	29.03

The overall demographic profile of the respondents gives the impression that the traditional image of poverty may not fully apply to rural migrants anymore. Firstly rural migrants have a very similar income and education profile to the urban Shanghai population and they also live in similar neighbourhoods. However, the disproportionally high percentage of renters amongst rural migrants implies that they are still 'floating' to some extent owing to a diversity of reasons including preference to save money for sending home or even obstacles to purchase a property in the city. In comparison urban migrants fare significantly better than their rural counterparts confirming the assumption that it is necessary to distinguish between urban and rural migrants.

5.4 Empirical results and findings

5.4.1 Preliminary findings

Before analysing the underlying dynamics of the intergroup neighbouring activities between migrant and indigenous residents, it would be useful to examine the relationship between the three indicators of neighbourly interactions. Table 5.8 present the results of the Spearman correlation between intergroup visits, support and greetings.

Table 5.8 Spearman correlation of intergroup neighbourly visits,
support and greeting

	Visiting	Helping	Greeting
Visiting	1		
Helping	0.5877	1	
Greeting	0.4434	0.6620	1

The results show that all three indicators are strongly related with each other whereby greeting and helping have the strongest correlation. This may suggest that occasional greetings between migrant and local neighbours can be a very useful 'ice breaker' that can remove initial barriers of anonymity and lead to more interactions such as helping out each other. On the other hand the comparatively weakest correlation is between neighbourly visits and greetings (0.44). This is of little surprise considering that not all neighbours an individual greets would also get invited to the individual's home, which is a very personal space and only accessible to highly trusted people. The correlation between mutual visits and support (0.58) however, suggests that frequent support can increase the level of familiarity and trust and potentially lead to visiting each other's home. Overall picture shows that all three indicators are close correlated and one possible interpretation of this results is that weaker forms of neighbouring such as greeting can lead to more neighbourly support which in turn would encourage neighbours to engage in an even more trusting relationship such as visiting one's home.

With regard to the level of in-group and out-group neighbourly interactions table 5.9 shows that in-group neighbourly interactions significantly outweigh out-group neighbouring activities. Whilst only around 12 per cent of residents state that they visit the home of out-group neighbours or invite them to their own, more than 44 per cent state that they frequently or occasionally visit the home of their in-group

neighbours. In terms of mutual support, around 30 per cent of residents frequently or

occasionally exchange help with their out-group neighbours whilst more than 70 per

cent state they help or receive help from in-group neighbours. The difference between

in-group and out-group neighbouring activities appears to be the least for exchanging

greetings amongst neighbours where more than 85 per cent greet their in-group

neighbours whilst almost 55 per cent greet their out-group neighbours. These findings

warrant the need to distinguish between in-group and out-group neighbourly

interactions in Shanghai.

Table 5.9 In-group and out-group neighbourly interactions
(weighted, in %)

		In-group	*Out-group*
Neighbourly visits	Never	19.64	53.05
	Seldom	36.16	33.98
	Sometimes	29.98	11.76
	Frequently	14.23	1.21
Neighbourly support	Never	3.72	21.61
	Seldom	25.69	48.02
	Sometimes	56.12	27.91
	Frequently	14.47	2.45
Neighbourly greetings	Never	1.49	12.57
	Seldom	11.70	32.74
	Sometimes	44.54	40.27
	Frequently	42.27	14.42

5.4.2 Determinants of overall intergroup neighbouring activities

Table 5.10 shows the mixed effects linear regression results of the intergroup

neighbouring activities between migrants and locals in Shanghai. Before analysing the

mixed effects linear model, the study sought to find out whether it is statistically

meaningful to adopt a multilevel model approach and carried out a likelihood ratio

test to compare the estimation between a conventional OLS model and a mixed effect

model (Gelman and Hill, 2006). The likelihood ratio test shows that neighbourhood variance is significant (p<0.001) and that allowing for the neighbourhood level intercept to vary can significantly improve the estimations compared to the OLS model. Consequently this result justifies the usage of a mixed effects model. Moreover, it is useful to note that neighbourhood variables contribute about 28.9 per cent to the variance of the overall model. With regards to the goodness of fit of the model, unfortunately there is no effective goodness of fit measures for mixed effects linear regression to date (Liu et al., 2008; Xu, 2003). As an alternative I provide a relative measure to ascertain the goodness of fit of the models by examining the mixed effects models' AIC (Akaike Information Criteria) and BIC (Bayesian Information Criteria) values. Table I in Appendix 2 compares the AIC and the BIC of all the mixed effect intergroup neighbouring models with its Ordinary Least Squared counterparts in order to show its better model fit. In addition, the tables will provide the R-squared value of the OLS models although this is only an attempt to illustrate how much better the mixed effects models may be performing compared to the OLS models.

Table 5.10 Intergroup neighbouring activities between migrant and native residents (N=1405, weighted)

		Model 1	
		B	S.E.
Constant		3.940***	0.601
Neighbourhood level			
Area poverty		-0.322	0.308
Neighbourhood type	Courtyard housing	0.012	1.057
	Work unit	1.028	0.582
	Relocation housing	0.877	0.662
	Commodity housing	1.018	0.667
	Urban villages (reference)		
Migrant concentration		1.187**	0.376
Individual level			
Age		0.234**	0.076
Hukou status	Rural local hukou	0.234	0.496
	Urban migrant hukou	1.663***	0.225
	Rural migrant hukou	1.401***	0.310
	Urban local hukou (reference)		
Education level		0.073	0.054
Income		0.089	0.083
Occupation	Manager or highly skilled staff	0.209	0.233
	Administrative staff	0.125	0.167
	Service industry staff	0.101	0.225
	Production and logistics	0.152	0.186
	Other occupations	-0.297	0.401
	Retired or unemployed (reference)		
Underage Children	Yes	0.085	0.154
	No (reference)		
Tenure	Tenant	-0.025	0.138
	Owner (reference)		
Years of residence		-0.093	0.084
Household size	Number of family members	0.128*	0.061
Interaction terms			
Hukou and income	Local rural	-0.207	0.284
	Urban migrant	-0.347*	0.151
	Rural migrant	-0.166	0.124
	Local urban hukou (reference)		
Hukou and migrant concentration	Local rural	-0.383	0.339
	Urban migrant	-0.737***	0.202
	Rural migrant	-0.422*	0.188
	Local urban hukou (reference)		
Hukou and area poverty	Local rural	0.121	0.110
	Urban migrant	0.256	0.316
	Rural migrant	0.544*	0.242
	Local urban hukou (reference)		
Within area variance		2.878	0.201
Between area variance		1.171	0.259

Notes: * p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001; significance p<0.001

With regards to the neighbourhood level determinants, migrant concentration is the only significant factor. Furthermore, the level of significance ($p<0.01$) suggests that the presence of migrant residents is an important indicator of intergroup neighbouring whereby higher numbers of migrant residents lead to higher levels of intergroup neighbouring activities. This findings confirms the first hypothesis and implies that in contrast to Western societies where higher levels of out-group member diversity often lead to lower levels of intergroup interactions (see Vervoort, 2012; Laurence, 2011), the Chinese case displays the direct opposite. Furthermore, the interaction between migrant density and hukou status reveals that in comparison to urban local residents migrant residents living in areas with a high migrant presence are significantly less likely to interact with their native residents. This outcome is of little surprise when considering that in areas with a high presence of migrant residents, migrants have the choice to completely rely on their fellow in-group neighbours rather than reach out to their native residents. Previous researches have already shown that the reason why migrants tend to create social ties with natives is mainly driven by a lack of local support network and not because migrants prefer to interact with locals (Chen et al., 2011; Xu and Palmer, 2011). By living in a neighbourhood with a large migrant presence their imminent lack and need for local support has already been catered for by fellow in-group neighbours. This may be particularly true for migrants living in migrant enclaves where the extreme concentration of migrants and heavy dependence on in-group social ties may prevent any interactions with local residents. Earlier research into urban villages also confirm that in migrant enclaves, local and migrant residents tend to have a very distant relationship which is simply based on the supply and demand of accommodation and rarely results in frequent interactions (Chung, 2010). With respect to local residents, the effect of higher migrant presence also

increases the likelihood of native Shanghai residents' neighbouring frequency with migrant residents. This suggests that having more migrant neighbours does not lead local residents retracting from the neighbourhood, thus rejecting both the conflict theory (Vervoort, 2012) and the constrict theory (Putnam, 2007). Most likely having more migrants in the neighbourhood increases the exposure rate to migrant neighbours, which in turn helps overcome existing stigmas and perceived social gap of native urban Shanghai residents. However, again it is important to note that extreme concentration of migrant residents may lead to the reverse.

The area poverty variable is not significant and thereby confirms the third hypothesis but additionally the interaction term of area poverty and hukou status reveals that rural migrants living in poorer neighbourhoods are actually more likely to have neighbourly interactions with their native neighbours ($p<0.05$). This finding is again in contrast with existing studies in Western societies where area deprivation is often found detrimental to interethnic neighbourly relations (Letki, 2008; Laurence, 2011). However, this is not surprising when considering that rural migrants who live in poorer areas to be more marginalised and are therefore reliant on local support networks. Earlier accounts assert that residents of poorer areas tend to have more localised social networks (Logan and Spitze, 1994; Wu and Logan, 2015). More importantly recent evidence shows that rural migrants are already employed before moving their home indicating that there exist no competition jobs between migrants and locals in poor neighbourhoods (Li and Zhu, 2015). Another point worthy of mentioning is that from the multilevel analysis, neighbourhood type is found to be not significantly associated with intergroup neighbouring, which is contrary to earlier research (Forrest and Yip 2007; Wu and He, 2005). I speculate that the

neighbourhood housing type can influence the neighbouring patterns of residents but it cannot affect whom residents are willing to interact with. In other words, residents in traditional courtyards may be more dependent on local ties but they can choose to mostly interact with in-group neighbours.

With regards to individual level predictors, hukou status is a highly significant determinant of intergroup neighbouring whereby both urban ($p<0.001$) and rural migrants ($p<0.001$) are more likely to have bridging neighbourly interactions. This firstly implies that non-locals, regardless of their hukou status, generally tend to reach out to native residents as a means to settle down in a foreign environment. Neighbouring in this sense serves an important purpose of creating social ties in the host society. The fact that urban migrants, who are perceived as financially better off than rural migrants, are equally likely to interact with native residents may suggest that beyond the economic benefits of out-group ties, migrants also benefit from a stronger sense of social belonging to the city by interacting with local residents. Indeed, findings from Yue et al. (2013) also suggests that intergroup contact can contribute to the psychological integration of migrants. In comparison, native residents do not have this need to create social ties with migrants, as they are already members of the host society. The existing stigmas where migrant workers in China are often associated with crime, poor education and other forms of prejudices (Wang et al., 2010) may further deter native residents from out-group interaction. Indeed, one of the key problems facing contemporary urban China is that migrants are still facing difficulties to be fully accepted by their local counterparts. Aside from stigmatization, locals often avoid contact with migrants as many come from rural areas and have very different behaviours and lifestyles. This would also confirm why local hukou

residents are much more likely to have in-group social relations. Additionally, the model shows that older residents are more likely to interact with out-group neighbours, which may be because older residents tend to spent more time locally whilst younger residents may have a less localised social network and rely more on online networking and other means of social interaction. Having more household members is also positively related to intergroup neighbouring (p<0.05) since more family members may also increase the chance encounter of a household with other neighbours. Finally the interaction term between income and hukou status reveals that more affluent urban migrants are less likely to have neighbourly interactions with native residents. The reason for this outcome may be that urban migrants who have a similar background as the native middle class also have a less localised social network and tend to place more importance on privacy in their living environment rather than socialising with neighbours.

5.4.3 The determinants of mutual visit, support and greeting between migrant and local neighbours

The analysis of the overall neighbourly interaction between migrants and locals has already shown its underlying dynamic but it would be useful to conduct separate analysis of each respective category of neighbouring activities. This may be particularly helpful considering that each neighbouring indicator represents a slightly different 'intensity' of neighbouring activities whereby visiting each other may be very intimate whilst greeting each other is a more frequent and less energy intensive practice. Similarly to the mixed effects linear regression, a likelihood ratio test was also conducted for all three mixed effects order logistic regressions and all results show that the neighbourhood variance is significant (p<0.001). This suggests that

adding a level two variance is a statistically sound choice. Table 5.11 shows the

results of the mixed effect ordered logistic regression of three neighbouring activities

namely intergroup visiting (model 2), helping (model 3) and greeting (model 4).

Table 5.11 Mixed effect ordered logistic regression of the three indicators of intergroup neighbouring (weighted)

		Model 2 Visits		Model 3 Support		Model 4 Greeting	
		B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
Neighbourhood level							
Area poverty		0.209	0.208	0.128	0.190	-0.197	0.197
Neighbourhood type	Courtyard housing	0.645	0.611	0.439	0.560	-0.046	0.559
	Work unit	0.682	0.563	0.565	0.500	0.605	0.504
	Relocation housing	0.404	0.575	0.549	0.515	0.794	0.517
	Commodity housing	0.607	0.549	0.769	0.498	0.828	0.502
	Urban villages (reference)						
Migrant concentration		0.749***	0.203	0.427*	0.178	0.649***	0.186
Individual level							
Age		0.192*	0.988	0.144	0.090	0.209*	0.088
Hukou status	Rural local hukou	-0.528	0.571	-0.211	0.476	-0.043	0.455
	Urban migrant	1.128***	0.289	2.012***	0.289	1.344***	0.291
	Rural migrant	1.181***	0.282	1.283***	0.276	1.089***	0.269
	Urban local hukou (reference)						
Education level		0.014	0.067			0.019	0.059
Income		0.012	0.094	0.158	0.084	0.116	0.086
Occupation	Manager or highly skilled staff	0.071	0.230	0.053	0.218	0.300	0.214
	Administrative staff	0.124	0.214	-0.047	0.200	0.089	0.193
	Service industry staff	-0.119	0.231	0.146	0.216	0.247	0.210
	Production and logistics	0.144	0.234	0.157	0.219	0.154	0.216
	Other occupations	-0.206	0.433	-0.153	0.373	-0.241	0.366
	Retired and unemployed (reference)						
Underage Children	Yes	0.011	0.165	-0.091	0.156	0.352*	0.151
	no (reference)						
Tenure	Tenant	-0.046		-0.070	0.194	0.141	0.187
	Owner (reference)						
Years of residence		-0.230*	0.099	-0.044	0.089	-0.27	0.086
Household size	Number of family members	0.176*	0.080	0.173*	0.074	0.002	0.073
Interaction terms							
Hukou and income	Local rural	0.597	0.485	0.001	0.404	-0.200	0.390
	Urban migrant	-0.085	0.182	-0.525**	0.189	-0.302	0.195
	Rural migrant	-0.164	0.148	-0.167	0.136	-0.250	0.134
	Local urban hukou (reference)						
Hukou and migrant concentration	Local rural	-0.045	0.394	0.036	0.343	-0.120	0.323
	Urban migrant	-0.935***	0.249	-0.558*	0.237	-0.517*	0.247
	Rural migrant	-0.578**	0.176	-0.270	0.174	-0.255	0.174
	Local urban hukou (reference)						
Hukou and area poverty	Local rural	0.342*	0.172	-0.027	0.165	-0.016	0.162
	Urban migrant	0.363	0.351	0.169	0.368	0.078	0.355
	Rural migrant	0.374*	0.161	0.212	0.162	0.407*	0.159
	Local urban hukou (reference)						
κ^1		0.762	0.533	-0.631	0.482	1.740	0.488
κ^2		3.102***	0.543	1.961***	0.486	0.389***	0.484
κ^3		5.593***	0.585	5.159***	0.518	2.281***	0.491

Notes: * $p<0.05$; **$p<0.01$; ***$p<0.001$

Unsurprisingly the model results of the three neighbouring activities are very similar to the general neighbourly interaction model. For instance, hukou status remains highly significant for all three models whereby urban and rural migrants are much more likely to visit, exchange help and greet their native neighbours than the other way around. Similarly the effect of residential diversity in the area is also very constant although it is worthwhile to note that comparatively its effect is the weakest in the support model (model 3). The reason for this could be that residents would find it hard to refuse any request for help whilst it is easier to avoid greeting residents or not visiting someone's home. More interestingly however, the interaction term between hukou status and residential diversity also varies between the three forms of neighbouring activities. The significance level for the negative interaction between urban and rural migrants and residential diversity is the strongest in model 2 (visit). This may suggest that especially migrants living in high migrant density areas lack any intimate relationship with their native neighbours. Indeed, previous research already showed that in migrant enclaves such as urban villages migrant and indigenous villagers very seldom interact and it is mostly 'superficial' interactions (Chung, 2010; Liu et al., 2012). Therefore it is rather unlikely that migrant residents would be visiting the home of local villagers or in turn inviting them to visit their own home. This reason may also apply to urban migrants living in urban villages and are similar to rural migrants in terms of their socio-economic standing and suffer from the same poor relationship with local villagers. In addition, the positive effect of age also remains fairly constant although the frequency of intergroup mutual help is not determined by the age of residents. Again the reason could be that the very nature of help is harder to refuse for residents of all age whilst the other two forms of neighbouring is more based on willingness rather than necessity. Similarly the effect

of household size is largely the same across the three indicators although the relationship between household size and neighbourly greetings is not significant. This is understandable since neighbourly greetings are very straightforward and do not require much energy, therefore having more or fewer household members may not significantly influence its outcome.

Aside from the many similarities between the general neighbouring model and the three detailed models, there are also a few determinants only significantly related with one type of neighbouring activity. For instance, in model 2 the interaction term between hukou status and area poverty shows that local villagers living in poorer areas tend to have more frequent neighbourly visits with rural migrants as compared to urban natives living in poorer neighbourhoods. One possible explanation could be that local villagers living in a poorer neighbourhood face similar challenges as rural migrants in terms of discrimination from urban natives. Recall that being a farmer and from the countryside is one of the reasons why native urban residents feel more superior over rural migrants (Chen et al., 2011) and there is a possibility that local villagers are also affected by this negative sentiment. Moreover, given the shared rural background of local villagers and rural migrants and the absence of the landlord versus tenant relationship, it is easier for local villagers to create friendships with rural migrants than with urban Shanghai residents. Furthermore, model 2 also shows that those who have lived longer in the neighbourhood are less likely to visit the homes of their out-group neighbours or invite them to their own residence. This may imply that especially long term residents are unlikely to engage in a more intimate relationship with their out-group neighbours as they already have an established neighbourly network with other long term in-group residents. With regards to model

3, the analysis shows that the interaction term of hukou status and income is significant whereby urban migrants with a higher income are unlikely to exchange support with their native neighbours. This finding indicates that more affluent urban migrants have fewer obstacles in the city compared to poorer urban migrants and therefore they are also in less need for informal support from their native residents. Finally with respect to model 4, the results show that families with underage children are more likely to greet their out-group neighbours. The reason could be that underage children living in the same neighbourhood are less influenced by any stigmatisations and prejudices and would often interact with each other. This interaction between children in turn may also positively affect their households. However, the fact that the variable is only significantly related with greeting out-group neighbours signals that children from local and migrant families are fundamentally still segregated. Whilst greeting each other is a more fleeting and quick way of interacting with neighbours, more intense neighbourly interactions are still scarce. Considering migrant and local children visit different schools (Chan, 2009), the majority group for social connections are therefore still with in-group members. Moreover, it is also possible that parents are still unwilling to expose their children to out-group neighbours in fear of any negative consequences. For local parents, they may avoid any intense interactions with migrant neighbours because of existing prejudices whilst migrant parents fear that their children could be exposed to discrimination. Indeed findings from the US also show that black parents are concerned about their children being exposed to racial discrimination (Hughes and Chen, 1997).

5.5 Conclusion

Neighbourhood social interaction in urban China has garnered considerable attention in recent years due to the need to socially integrate a large number of migrants. Although there exist scholarly research on general neighbourly interactions (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Li et al., 2012; Wu and He, 2005; Wu and Logan, 2015) little is known about the neighbouring activities between indigenous and migrant residents and their underlying dynamics. The previous chapter already established that intergroup neighbouring is lower than in-group neighbouring whereby especially locals tend to have in-group neighbourly relations. This chapter has examined the underlying dynamics of intergroup social interaction between local and migrant residents living in different spatial contexts using the case of Shanghai. Overall the analysis results indicate that intergroup neighbouring activities are low mainly due to two reasons. Firstly, intergroup neighbourly interactions are low in Shanghai for the same reasons as to why general neighbouring activities are low namely because the social networking patterns of residents are changing. Whilst older residents are still used to a neighbourhood based social life and therefore have more interactions with out-group neighbours, younger residents may simply have more social ties outside of the neighbourhood and generally have little social connections locally. Similarly whilst families with more household members or underage children may have more need for localised social support, those who are single or only a partner in the household may rely more on friends from work or former classmates for instance. The significance of these factors all indicate that the general decline of neighbouring activities is also affecting the intergroup neighbourly interactions between migrants and locals.

However, there are also reasons specific only to the level of intergroup neighbouring activities. Whilst the generally low levels of neighbouring can partly explain the low level of intergroup neighbouring activities, it is nonetheless undeniable that in-group neighbouring is still considerably higher. I speculate that one reason specifically relating to intergroup neighbouring is the stigmatization of migrant residents, which renders local residents unwilling to interact specifically with their migrant neighbours. The negative relationship between length of residency and intergroup neighbouring found in the analysis supports this assumption. Most studies internationally and in urban China suggest that the length of residency is a positive driver of general neighbouring (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Guest and Wierzbicki, 1999; Li et al., 2012). However, whilst the length of residency can influence the willingness of residents to interact with neighbours, it does not necessarily affect *whom* residents are willing to interact with. Neighbouring activities may form an important part of the social life of long-term residents but because they already have many friends locally they may be less enthusiastic about making new local acquaintances. This could be further deterred by the many negative stigma attached to rural migrants that are further exacerbated by the media. The same reasoning would also explain why so many traditionally significant determinants of general neighbouring activities such as tenure or neighbourhood housing type are non-responsive to intergroup neighbouring activities. In comparison to general neighbouring, which reflects one's willingness and likelihood to engage with the neighbourhoods and its residents, intergroup neighbouring is more related to one's willingness to interact with a certain group of people. In this sense it is possible to state that intergroup neighbouring is much more dispensable. Recall that in chapter four the analysis results showed that the number of native residents who considered the general rural migrant population as untrustworthy

is considerably higher amongst those who never or rarely interact with their migrant neighbours. This finding may be a sign that whilst neighbouring can positively affect migrant-local relations, the opposite can also take place namely that pre-existing distrust may deter locals from interacting with migrants.

Another reason that is specifically related to intergroup neighbouring activities is the uneven residential distribution of migrants. The data analysis reveals that compared to neighbourhoods with an extremely low or extremely high share of migrants residents, areas with a higher but balanced share of migrant residents seem to have the highest level of intergroup neighbouring. This may indicate that intergroup neighbouring is low simply because of a lack of out-group neighbours to interact with applies to both areas with very low levels of migrant residents and migrant enclaves with extreme concentrations of migrant residents. Indeed, recent evidence shows that the spatial concentration of migrants is intensifying (Liao and Wong, 2015; Wu, 2008) and this congregation of migrants not only hinders native residents from interacting with migrant residents but also renders migrants more dependent on their in-group ties. This is particularly reflected in the model where migrant residents living in high migrant density areas, such as migrant enclaves, are less likely to have neighbourly interacts with native residents. From this perspective it is possible to state that extreme concentration of migrant residents can prevent the neighbourly social interaction between migrant and indigenous residents. However, it is important to note that similar to migrant enclaves in multi-ethnic societies, urban villages in Shanghai and other Chinese cities are highly important to the existence of rural migrants, especially those who have newly arrived to the city, as they provide one of the very few places where migrant residents can afford to live. Consequently although

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intergroup neighbourly interactions may be low, the priority of migrants may be to *get by* first before moving on to *get ahead* in the urban society.

Overall it can be concluded that a more urban lifestyle, the stigmatisation of migrants and lack of out-group residents form the key negative predictors of intergroup neighbouring. On the other hand I believe that what drives intergroup neighbouring is the need for informal support. The analysis results show that migrant residents are more likely to interact with their native neighbours than the other way around. This is mainly due to the fact that migrants are in more need of a diverse social network in order to survive and advance further in the host society, which also explains why migrants living poorer neighbourhoods tend to have more intergroup ties with their native neighbours. Considering the tremendous institutional limitations placed on rural migrants due to the hukou system, native residents form an important source of support and information (Liu et al., 2013; Yue et al., 2013). Migrants are driven by the need to survive and to socially settle down in a foreign society through establishing contacts with locals whereas for indigenous hukou holders not possessing any social ties with migrants will not lead to any losses on their side since they are already a full member of the urban society. To put in simple terms, there are no tangible gains for local residents by having any social ties with migrant residents. Consequently compared to migrants, the reasons why certain indigenous residents interact with their migrant neighbours may be more of a benevolent and voluntary nature, which is why considerably fewer locals are practicing it. Finally the analysis results indicate that neighbourhoods with a more balanced share of both migrant and local residents appear to be most conducive to intergroup neighbouring. The reason for this could be that having more out-group members in the neighbourhood simply

increases the chances residents to encounter each other and therefore facilitate interaction. Moreover, with migrant residents being a significant part of the neighbourhood also suggest that their cooperation is needed in solving local issues. The findings reveal a positive relationship between residential diversity and intergroup neighbouring and seem to suggest that a balanced mix of migrant and native residents is useful for intergroup relations in Shanghai. However, it is important to stress that socially engineering the residential composition of neighbourhoods is not recommended. Enforced ethnic mixing has yet to make a positive impact of the integration of immigrants in the UK or the Netherlands (Musterd, 2003) and it may not necessarily solve the current lack of intergroup relations in Shanghai. What really seem to worsen the relationship between migrant and indigenous residents is the intensifying segregation process in Shanghai and other major cities, which force rural migrants to congregate in certain localities (Li and Wu, 2008; Liao and Wong, 2015; Wu, 2004). Consequently instead of enforcing diversity in neighbourhoods, it may be more beneficial to remove existing housing inequalities placed upon migrants, which are the root cause for the concentration of migrant residents in certain areas (Liao and Wong, 2015; Wu, 2004).

This chapter has contributed to the existing understanding on neighbouring activities in urban China by examining the underlying dynamics of intergroup neighbouring. The findings warrant the need to differentiate between intergroup neighbouring and general neighbouring as the dynamics of intergroup neighbouring is much more related with perceptions towards a particular social group and driven by the need for survival rather than preferences of a particular way of social networking. Overall, the findings of this chapter draw a much darker picture of the social integration of

migrants. Although recent studies suggest that the social network of younger migrants

are much more diversified, the intergroup connection with native residents is still

lacking and suffering from stigmatization and the continuous housing inequality (Wu,

2004). The worsening residential segregation (Li and Wu, 2008; Liao and Wong,

2015) between migrants and locals also contributes to the lack of intergroup contact

between migrants and locals. With regards to comparing the findings of this study to

multi-ethnic societies there are both differences and similarities. Firstly, whilst most

studies of multi-ethnic societies found that neighbourhood deprivation reduces

intergroup contact, the neighbourhood poverty rate in Shanghai remains insignificant

(Bécares et al., 2011; Gundelach and Freitag, 2014; Laurence, 2011). As speculated in

chapter four, the reason for this could be because of rural migrants would have

already found a job before moving to any poor areas (Li and Zhu, 2015; Wu, 2008).

Moreover, rural migrants are unable to compete with native residents for any local

resources since they are already excluded from any welfare entitlements. Another key

difference between Shanghai's findings and results from multi-ethnic societies is that

residential diversity facilitates intergroup neighbouring activities rather than reducing

them. The reason could be that despite the social distance between migrants and

locals, they still have far more in common such as sharing the same national identity

and language as well as cultural values of the Han ethnicity. Finally, it is also possible

to find a key commonality between Western studies and the Shanghai case, namely

that residents in migrant enclaves tend to have less intergroup contact. Immigrants

living in migrant enclaves are more likely to rely on in-group ties as a means for self-

support and protection but also due to financial advantages (Johnston et al., 2002; van

Kempen and Özüekren, 1998; Light et al., 1994). Rural migrants tend to congregate in

urban villages for similar reasons (Chung, 2010; Liu et al., 2014) and as this study has

found rural migrants equally lack interactions with out-group members. However, as Logan et al., (2002) have pointed out migrant enclaves mainly serve as transitional places for migrants to get used to living in the host society and they will eventually move to better places and acquire better social connections in the city. Therefore the objective should not be to demolish these important transitional neighbourhoods but instead to focus on removing the obstacles that prevent rural migrants from moving on to the next step of integration.

Chapter Six

Exploring the affective neighbourly relations between migrant and local residents in Shanghai

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter investigated the underlying dynamics of intergroup social activities between migrant and native neighbours. Although the previous chapter has already shed light onto the social interaction between neighbours, still little is known about the affective dimension of neighbourly relations between migrant and native neighbours in urban China. In contrast to neighbourly interaction, which incorporates physical activities including mutual support or greeting, affective neighbourly relations refer to the level of trust or mutual care between residents and forms an integral part of one's sense of community (Buckner, 1988; Mann, 1954; Nasar and Julian, 1995; Talen, 1999; Unger and Wandersman, 1985). According to existing studies in multi-ethnic societies, relationships based on reciprocal trust and amity between neighbours act as a key remedy in removing social barriers between the majority and minority groups and help foster social cohesion (Putnam, 2001; Cheong et al., 2007; Alesina and La Ferrara, 2002; Henning and Lieberg, 1996). Neighbourly social interaction in this sense plays a more facilitative role as contact between different social groups helps break down prejudice and fosters tolerance and a stronger sense of community between residents (Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi, 2002). Empirical studies in Europe and America have shown that frequent neighbouring can mediate the negative effects of diversity and help improve the trustworthiness of marginalized groups (Gundelach and Freitag, 2014; Laurence, 2011; Li et al., 2005;

Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi, 2002; Stolle et al., 2008). In light of the current social tensions between the native and migrant population in Chinese cities, it is thus also useful to examine the affective relationship between migrant and local residents. More understanding on the connection between neighbourly interaction and affective neighbourly relations between migrants and locals would add another aspect to the importance of neighbourly social ties in assisting rural migrants to socially integrate into the host society. Additionally, this knowledge would also assist in justifying the need for community level interventions and help affirm the neighbourhood's role in fostering the integration of rural migrants in urban China.

Consequently, this chapter sets out to investigate the current affective relationship between migrant and indigenous neighbours and analyses whether more neighbourly interactions such as mutual support and exchanging greetings can improve its outcome. In addition, this study also aims to find out which contextual factors are related to the level of mutual trust and care between out-group neighbours. This chapter will try to answer questions including: How many migrant and native residents would consider their affective relationship with out-group neighbours as positive? How much of this affective relationship is related to the frequency of interactions between neighbours? Which neighbourhood factors can foster more frequent neighbourly interactions between migrant and local residents and thus indirectly improve their affective relationship? The analysis will be again based on the1420 questionnaire data collected from both migrant and indigenous residents across a variety of Shanghai's neighbourhoods. The chapter is structured as follows: The next section will provide a quick review of existing theories on the affective dimension of neighbourhood relations and its underlying dynamics as well as give an

overview of neighbourhood studies in urban China. The third part discusses analysis results of this study and finally the last section offers a discussion on the implications of this study for both existing theories on neighbouring and interpersonal relations as well as further policy measures.

6.2 Previous theorising on the affective dimension of neighbourhood social relations

Neighbourhood social relations have always played an important role in fostering the cohesion between different social groups (Forrest and Kearns, 2001; Putnam, 2001; 2007; Kearns and Parkinson, 2000). Whilst the importance of neighbourhood social relations is widely recognized, it is imperative to note that the concept itself is multidimensional and comprises of different forms of relations, which includes neighbourly interactions, sense of community and place attachment amongst others (Mann, 1954; Talen, 1999; Unger and Wandersman, 1985). The two dimensions of neighbourly relations that are of relevance to this thesis, is neighbouring activities and affective neighbourly relations. The affective relationship between neighbours is often considered as a key component of an individual's sense of community and includes indicators such as mutual trust or reciprocal care (Unger and Wandersman, 1985; Buckner, 1988; Talen, 1999; Nasar and Julian, 1995). For the purpose of this chapter I will be using the terms 'affective relationship' and 'affective neighbourly relations' interchangeably to describe the levels of trust and care between migrant and indigenous residents. The reason for focusing on the affective dimension of neighbourhood interaction is because according to studies a positive affective relationship between neighbours from different social groups is advantageous for breaking down prejudices and assists in forming harmonious communities (Putnam,

2007; Henning and Lieberg, 1996; Twigg et al., 2010). So far studies contend that the two most dominant determinants are the ethnic diversity and the deprivation rate of the area, both negatively affecting the trust between neighbours of different social groups (Putnam, 2007; Stolle et al., 2008; Twigg et al., 2010). Individuals spend a significant amount of time in the neighbourhood and are psychologically attached to the locality (Kearns and Parkinson, 2000), which is also why they are more responsive to local level characteristics and changes compared to the regional or national contexts for instance (Freitag and Gundelach, 2014). Whilst there is no unanimous support, most studies agree in accordance with the *conflict theory* that living in ethnically more diverse increases social distrust amongst individuals (Putnam, 2007; Gundelach and Freitag, 2014; Stolle et al., 2008). Similarly there is a general consensus that neighbourhood deprivation leads to social isolation and poorer levels of trust and emotional connections between individuals (Twigg et al., 2010; Laurence, 2011). For both strands of research, contention over limited resources, which is more likely to occur in poor neighbourhoods, is the largest reason to cause conflict and alienation between the majority and minority groups (Putnam, 2007; Letki, 2008; Laurence, 2011).

A growing body of literature further contends that more frequent neighbourly interactions between minority and local native residents can help alleviate inter-ethnic social relations (Laurence, 2011, Gundelach and Freitag, 2014; Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi, 2002; Stolle et al., 2008). Stolle et al. (2008:61) speculate that it is *diversity without contact* that is most detrimental to one's intergroup relations whilst more frequent interaction helps mediate this effect. Much of the explanations for this outcome are based on the fundamentals of the *contact theory,* which asserts that pleasant and

frequent interactions between different social groups can assist in reducing social tensions and create a stronger sense of shared social identity (Hewstone and Brown, 1986). Many empirical studies offer evidence that individuals with more interethnic relations at the neighbourhood level are more tolerant towards other ethnicities in general (Laurence, 2011; Stolle et al., 2008; Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi, 2002). Since one of the neighbourhood's core role is to function as a place for psychological relaxation and recreation (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001; Forrest, 2008) it may explain why especially interactions at the neighbourhood level adds so much weight in assisting individuals to overcome prejudices and distrust. Whilst many have noted that social relations in an urbanised age is characterised by fluidity and anonymity (Forrest, 2008; Urry, 2000), neighbourhoods provide a more intimate context for individuals to both recreate but also interact in a more personal and less anonymous manner. In this sense, neighbourly contacts with out-group neighbours may be one of the few means to encounter individuals of other social groups on a more consistent basis and establish a relationship grounded on tolerance and trust.

6.2.1 Migrant-local social relations in urban China and research hypothesis

There is a growing body of literature concerned with neighbourly relations in Chinese cities but research so far has paid a lot of attention to the frequency of local interactions ranging from visiting each other, mutual support and neighbourly communications. However, less focus has been placed on the affective side of neighbourhood relations, which involve residents' mutual trust and level of amity towards each other. Nevertheless, there are grounds to believe that the underlying dynamics of the affective neighbourly relationship may be similar to the ones of intergroup neighbouring activities. For instance prejudices towards migrants and the

tendency to rely on in-group ties (Chen et al., 2011; Roberts, 2002; Solinger, 1999; Whyte, 2010) could affect both the neighbourly interaction and the affective neighbourly relationship between migrant and local neighbours. Moreover, the effect of neighbourhood diversity and area poverty that are present in urban China may equally affect the affective relationship between migrant and native residents. However, existing neighbourhood studies on urban China also indicate that the affective relationship may be particularly dependent on the neighbourhood housing type. Although neighbouring is losing its importance especially in new commodity neighbourhoods (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Li et al., 2012; Wu and He, 2005) there is also evidence suggesting that residents in commodity neighbourhoods have a strong sense of community (Breitung, 2012; Pow, 2007; Pow and Kong, 2007; Yip, 2012; Zhu et al., 2012). For instance, Yip (2012) examined the sense of community, which is measured by the resident's sentiments towards neighbours and the neighbourhood in general, found that residents living in commodity housing neighbourhoods have the strongest sense of community compared to other neighbourhood housing types. Yip (2012:233) speculated that the reason for this outcome is because homeowners tend to engage more in collective actions to defend their interest against more powerful market plays such as the private developer or property management agents. However, in addition to collective interests, other researches stress the importance of a shared social identity amongst commodity housing residents (Breitung, 2012; Pow, 2007). Interviews conducted with commodity housing homeowners revealed that there is a strong desire to separate between 'insiders' who are fellow residents and 'outsiders' who do not live in the same estate. Insiders in this sense are perceived as fellow homeowners rather than tenants (Breitung, 2012:285), whilst residents often consider migrants as outsiders and associate outsiders with crime and poor manners (Breitung,

2012:286). The findings of Breitung (2012) therefore not only suggest that residents separate between insiders and outsiders but also assign different qualities to them. Being able to afford to live in a commodity housing appears to matter greatly in the way residents perceive their own social class and the social status of their neighbours. Indeed the findings from Li et al. (2012:249) provide further evidence as they found that compared to homeowners of public housing or relocations settlements, homeowners of commodity housing neighbourhoods tend to feel greater pride in their homeownership, which in turn strengthen their attachment to the neighbourhood. This sense of pride to belong to an exclusive neighbourhood is further strengthened by the marketing strategies of private developers who advertise commodity neighbourhoods as 'civilised' communities (Pow, 2007). All these findings may signal that despite lower neighbouring activities, commodity housing residents still consider their neighbours as highly trustworthy due to their shared sense of belonging and social identity. In comparison the perceived social distance between migrant and local residents may be larger in poorer neighbourhoods. Existing studies reveal that long-term residents living in low-income communities have strong intentions to move out stating the influx of migrant residents has changed the locality (Wu, 2012). The role of neighbouring may be more important in low-income and diverse neighbourhoods given this strong differentiation of 'us' and 'them' amongst residents in low-income neighbourhoods. In regards to effect of neighbouring activities, there is also evidence implying that more frequent neighbouring activities can improve a resident's sense of community and his or her relationship towards the neighbourhood. Research shows that frequent neighbourly interaction bears positive outcomes such as fostering a stronger attachment towards the neighbourhood and higher residential satisfaction (Li et al., 2012).

Based on the knowledge that the social relationship between migrants and locals is affected by stigmatisation and prejudice, this study *firstly hypothesises that the affective relationship between migrant and local neighbours is truncated and is worse compared to the relationship between fellow in-group members (H1).* However, the literature review further indicates that frequent neighbourly interactions may contribute to a better relationship (Gundelach and Freitag, 2014; Stolle, 2008). Thus the *second hypothesis assumes that neighbourly interaction has a positive effect on the affective relationship between migrant and local neighbours (H2).* Furthermore, *I hypothesise that in comparison to a native Shanghai residents, migrant residents are more likely to have a positive relationship with their indigenous Shanghai neighbours (H3).* This hypothesis is based on the existing literature that migrants in urban China are more willing to establish social ties with indigenous residents since migrants are in more need for bridging social support networks in order to overcome the institutional discrimination of the hukou system (Yue et al., 2013; Liu et al., 2013). Finally, *I hypothesise that the underlying dynamics of affective neighbourly relations is significantly different between commodity housing neighbourhoods and older and less affluent neighbourhoods such as traditional courtyards, work unit housing and relocation housing settlements (H4).* This hypothesis is based on the existing knowledge that in comparison to older neighbourhoods (such as courtyards and work units), residents in privately developed commodity neighbourhoods are less likely to interact with their neighbourhoods but are still very emotionally attached to the neighbourhood and consider their neighbours as equals (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Li et al., 2012; Pow and Kong, 2007).

6.3 Data and methods

6.3.1 Measuring the affective relationship between neighbours and intergroup neighbouring activities

The dependent variable of this study aims to reflect the affective relationship between residents. The study follows the approach by Buckner (1988) and Unger and Wandersman (1985) but make some amendments to the index of affective neighbourly relations in order to render it more comprehensible and relevant for the Chinese context. The index consists of four subcategories measuring the levels of mutual amity, care, trust and familiarity. Each sub-question is measured on a scale of 0-5 whereby 1 is highly disagree, 5 is highly agree; and 0 means not applicable. The survey asked migrant residents to describe their relationship with native residents whilst local residents were asked about their affective relationship with migrant residents. The intergroup neighbouring activity variable used in this chapter is the same as the one used in chapter five and includes the frequency of visiting each others home, helping and receiving support from neighbours (the survey did not specify what kind of help although helping neighbours take care of children or pick up children from school were mentioned as examples) and finally exchanging greetings. For the convenience of the reader the index for neighbouring activities can be seen again in table 6.1. Migrant residents were asked about their neighbouring activities with locals whilst native residents had to answer about their frequency of interacting with their migrant neighbours.

Table 6.1 Subcategories of intergroup neighbouring activities between migrant and local residents (weighted, in %)

	Frequently	*Sometimes*	*Seldom*	*Never*
Visiting each other	1.21	11.76	33.98	53.05
Supporting each other (i.e. take care of children etc.)	2.45	27.91	48.02	21.61
Greeting each other	14.42	40.27	32.74	12.57

6.3.2 Neighbourhood level control variables

This chapter controls for the same three contextual variables as chapter five namely

the percentage of migrant residents in the neighbourhood and the poverty rate of the

neighbourhood by adopting Wu et al.'s (2010) method of measuring poverty through

the number of recipients of the Minimum Living Standard Support (MLSS). Finally

the analysis includes the housing type of the neighbourhoods in order to control for

varying levels of neighbouring practices that are due to elements of the built

environment.

6.3.3 Individual level control variables

Individual level variables include education level, income, age, tenure, length of

residency and hukou status. Again the same interaction terms (income, migrant

concentration in the area, neighbourhood poverty) were included in order to account

for the difference between migrant and indigenous residents.

6.4 Initial data findings

6.4.1 Comparing in-group and out-group affective relations amongst residents

Tables 6.2 and 6.3 show the current level of in-group and out-group affective

relationship of migrant and local residents. I included the results about how much

migrant and indigenous residents neighbours felt towards their own social group in

order to put our findings into perspective.

Table 6.2 Affective relationships of migrant and local residents with fellow *in-group* neighbours (weighted, in %)

	1 (=lowest)	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5 (=highest)*
Friendly to each other	2.00	2.98	29.52	40.62	24.88
Care for each other	2.42	7.14	36.86	37.87	15.71
Trust each other	1.04	4.70	45.74	31.71	16.82
Familiar with each other	0.98	7.93	41.71	31.77	17.61

Table 6.3 Affective relationships of migrant and local residents with *out-group* neighbours (weighted, in %)

	1 (=lowest)	2	3	4	5 (=highest)
Friendly to each other	0.99	8.57	55.29	27.53	7.62
Care for each other	3.49	19.70	52.12	20.20	4.50
Trust each other	1.07	9.19	64.49	20.61	4.63
Familiar with each other	3.30	17.49	51.88	23.31	4.02

Table 6.2 reveals that both native and migrant residents have a mixed to positive affective relationship with their fellow in-group neighbours, as less than ten per cent of residents report that they for example distrust or do not care for their in-group neighbours. Instead more than half of the respondents state that they exchange amicable sentiments with their in-group neighbours and almost half of residents find that they are familiar with other fellow in-group neighbours. In comparison to in-group affective relations, residents in Shanghai feel much more distanced towards their out-group neighbours (see table 6.3). More than 20 per cent of residents state that there is no mutual care and trust between themselves and out-group neighbours and that they are unfamiliar with their migrant/native neighbours. It is also worthwhile to mention that a large share of residents have chosen a neutral value to describe their current relationship with both in-group and out-group neighbours. Over half of respondents reported mixed feelings towards out-group members whilst around 30 to 45 per cent expressed similar sentiments towards their in-group neighbours. This outcome may reflect the growing degree of indifference and apathetic feelings amongst neighbours and the decline of neighbourhood level social relations as noted by earlier studies (Forrest and Yip, 2007). Nonetheless, there are still more than a quarter of residents who report that they have positive psychological bond with their out-group neighbours.

6.4.2 Correlation between friendliness, care, trust and familiarity

With regards to the correlation between the four indicators of affectively neighbourly relations the results in table 6.4 show that they are all highly correlated with each other, as all correlations exceed 0.6. The only slightly weaker correlation (0.51) is found between the degree of friendliness between neighbours and how the familiarity between residents. The reason for this could be related to the specific nature of the indicators. Most residents would try to be friendly towards their out-group neighbours unless they are fundamentally against them due to various reasons (such as discrimination). Therefore friendliness between residents can be considered as a neighbourly bond that requires less emotional investments but still reflects the degree of tolerance towards someone or a particular group. Being familiar with out-group neighbours on the other hand could be regarded as a more intimate form of affective relations that requires residents to engage with neighbours over a longer period of time in order to get to know each other. Therefore this may explain why not all residents who consider their relationship with out-group neighbours as friendly would also be familiar with them. Similar to mutual familiarity, mutual care can also be interpreted as a more active and engaging form of neighbourly relationship that may require some form of neighbourly interaction in order for residents to feel mutual care. This could range from talking to each other about one's problems or challenges up to offering support to others. Intergroup trust amongst neighbours on the other hand may not necessarily require interaction between residents but instead it is more based on whether residents would consider their out-group neighbours as similar to themselves or rather dissimilar. Referring to existing trust studies, stronger intergroup neighbourly trust would signal that the social distance between individuals is short and that they feel a sense of shared identity (Alesina and Ferrara, 2000; Delhey and

Newton, 2005). Nevertheless, as mentioned in the above sections, interaction could be another way of reducing the social distance between neighbours. Overall the correlation shows that the four domains of affective neighbourly relationship are strongly associated with each other.

Table 6.4 Correlation of Friendliness, mutual care, trust and familiarity between migrant and local residents (weighted)

	Friendliness	Mutual care	Mutual trust	Familiar with each other
Friendliness	1			
Mutual care	0.64	1		
Mutual trust	0.61	0.67	1	
Familiar with each other	0.51	0.68	0.67	1

6.5 Results of the mixed effects linear regression

In order to assess the interwoven relationship between neighbourhood characteristics and the frequency of neighbouring activities, the variables were entered in a stepwise manner. Model 1 (see table 6.5) includes all independent variables except for the frequency of intergroup neighbouring, which is added in model 2 (see table 6.6) in order to see how it alters the effects of all other determinants.

6.5.1 Multilevel modelling the dynamics of the affective neighbourly relation between migrant and local residents

Before discussing the model results, a likelihood ratio test was conducted in order to verify whether using a mixed effects model is justified in the case of this study. The multilevel model performs better than the OLS model as the result significantly rejects the null hypothesis (p<0.001). A further justification for the mixed effects model is that more than 30 per cent of the dependent variable's variation can be explained through neighbourhood level determinants. Finally the AIC and BIC of the

models are reported in table II in Appendix 2, which also shows a comparison of the

mixed effect models with its OLS counterparts.

Table 6.5 Determinants of the affective relationship between migrant and local neighbours (N=1400, weighted)

| | | Model 1 | |
		B	S.E.
Constant		10.567***	0.403
Neighbourhood level			
Area poverty		0.299	0.375
Neighbourhood type	Courtyard housing	0.726	0.956
	Work unit	2.368**	0.715
	Relocation housing	1.960**	0.586
	Commodity housing	2.452***	0.435
	Urban villages (reference)		
Migrant concentration		1.227*	0.549
Individual level			
Age		0.055	0.099
Length of residency		-0.154	0.110
Hukou status	Rural local hukou	0.008	0.469
	Urban migrant hukou	1.920***	0.379
	Rural migrant hukou	1.949***	0.485
	Urban local hukou (reference)		
Education level		0.085	0.086
Household income		-0.165	0.125
Tenure	Tenant	-0.199	0.225
	Owner (reference)		
Interaction terms			
Hukou and income	Local rural	0.685	0.417
	Urban migrant	-0.250	0.345
	Rural migrant	-0.044	0.185
	Local urban hukou (reference)		
Hukou and area poverty	Local rural	0.249	0.192
	Urban migrant	-0.360	0.572
	Rural migrant	0.143	0.244
	Local urban hukou (reference)		
Hukou and Migrant concentration	Local rural	-0.177	0.327
	Urban migrant	-0.568	0.371
	Rural migrant	-0.508	0.268
	Local urban hukou (reference)		
Within area variance		5.34	0.507
Between area variance		2.65	0.609

Notes: * $p<0.05$; **$p<0.01$; ***$p<0.001$; significance $p<0.001$

With regards to the neighbourhood level determinants, neighbourhood-housing type is the most significant factor. In comparison to urban villages, residents living in work units, relocation houses and commodity neighbourhoods are all more likely to trust and care for their out-group neighbours. This may be due to two reasons pertaining to the special characteristics of urban villages. Firstly, the residential composition of urban villages, which mainly consists of rural migrants and local villagers, could be a reason. Previous research already showed that local villagers have a very paradoxical relationship with rural migrants whom they consider as inferior but also as a necessary source of income (Chung, 2010). As a consequence local villagers and migrants rarely interact and their relationship is superficial and distant. Secondly compared to other neighbourhood types, urban villages usually have an extremely high concentration of rural migrants. In the Shanghai survey the concentration varied between 60 to 76 per cent however, this is by far not the most extreme as the average of urban villages amount to 80 per cent rural migrants residents (Chung, 2010). The absence of indigenous residents could be a simple reason that prevents any consistent relationship between migrant and local neighbours from emerging. For the remaining neighbourhood types there are other reasons that lead to a stronger affective relationship between migrant and indigenous neighbours. For example, stronger ties between fellow staff may be the reason in work unit neighbourhoods. Moreover, residents in relocation settlements feel more trustful and familiar towards their out-group neighbours possibly due to their lower income level, which is often related to more frequent social interactions at the local level. Apart from the neighbourhood housing type there is also a weak but positive association between the number of migrant residents in the area and affective neighbourly relations. This signals that a

stronger presence of out-group residents does not lead to negative sentiments between the majority and minority group in Shanghai.

With respect to individual level factors, only hukou status is significantly related to the affective relationship between migrant and local neighbours. Both urban and rural migrants are more likely to have a more caring and trustful relationship with native neighbours than the other way around, suggesting that urban natives are still struggling to adapt to the influx of migrants over the last decade. It is also important to mention again that many factors that were significant predictors of general neighbouring activities, such as length of residency or age, do not affect the affective side of neighbourhood relations between migrant and native residents. The reason could be that in contrast to general neighbourly interactions, contextual factors play a more significant role for intergroup relations. For most residents, interacting or having a trustful relationship with out-group neighbours is not a necessity, especially in areas where the presence of out-group members is low and they have the option to entirely rely on their in-group neighbourly ties. Thus it is possible for residents to remain involved in the neighbourhood whilst isolating themselves from their out-group neighbours. This is particularly true for indigenous residents who already have an established social network whereas migrant inhabitants still need to reach out to native neighbours in order to strengthen their local support ties. Consequently it is understandable that the underlying dynamics of one's willingness to interact locally differ from one's inclination to feel familiar and trustful towards their out-group neighbours. Lastly, it is interesting to note that none of the interaction terms are significant therefore suggesting that the effect of migrant concentration applies to both locals and migrants.

6.5.2 Modelling the mediating effects of intergroup neighbouring activities on the affective relationship between migrant and local neighbours

In model 2 the intergroup neighbouring activities variable was added in order to investigate how the frequency of intergroup neighbouring can affect the affective relationship between migrant and local neighbours (see table 6.6). In order to confirm whether adding intergroup neighbouring improves the model fit, a likelihood ratio test was conducted. The result shows that the variable adds one more degree of freedom and based on the significant p-value ($p<0.001$) it is therefore possible reject the null hypothesis and justifies the inclusion of the intergroup neighbouring variable.

Table 6.6 The affective relationship between migrant and local neighbours controlling for intergroup neighbouring (N=1400, weighted)

		Model 2	
		B	S.E.
Constant		7.515***	0.494
Neighbourhood level			
Area poverty		0.496	0.349
Neighbourhood type	Courtyard housing	0.692	0.553
	Work unit	1.779	0.942
	Relocation housing	1.444	0.887
	Commodity housing	1.832***	0.454
	Urban villages (reference)		
Migrant concentration		0.512	0.470
Individual level			
Intergroup neighbouring activities		0.582***	0.048
Age		-0.056	0.085
Length of residency		-0.101	0.097
Hukou status	Rural local hukou	-0.162	0.541
	Urban migrant hukou	0.985**	0.351
	Rural migrant hukou	1.141**	0.377
	Urban local hukou (reference)		
Education level		0.052	0.068
Household income		-0.253**	0.094
Tenure	Tenant	-0.124	0.193
	Owner (reference)		
Interaction terms			
Hukou and income	Local rural	0.728	0.502
	Urban migrant	-0.036	0.308
	Rural migrant	0.083	0.177
	Local urban hukou (reference)		
Hukou and area poverty	Local rural	0.200	0.159
	Urban migrant	-0.470	0.442
	Rural migrant	0.172	0.142
	Local urban hukou (reference)		
Hukou and Migrant concentration	Local rural	0.049	0.345
	Urban migrant	-0.152	0.271
	Rural migrant	-0.270	0.206
	Local urban hukou (reference)		
Within area variance		4.36	0.412
Between area variance		1.70	0.401

Notes: * p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001; significance p<0.001

With regards to the determinants, as expected the significance of variables changed considerably after including intergroup neighbouring. Compared to model 1 where the concentration level of migrants was significant, in model 2 there is no longer a statistically significant relationship between migrant concentration and the affective relationship between migrant and indigenous neighbours. This result indicates that more frequent neighbouring activities fully explain the positive association between migrant presence and the affective relationship between out-group neighbours. The interview with a native Shanghai residents who is a member of the local residential committee, further validates how the attitude of herself and other native residents towards migrants have changed in the last decade during which her neighbourhood experienced a rapid increase of migrant residents: "*It would be impossible to say that the attitudes* [of native Shanghai residents and myself] *have not changed* [for the better] *after so many years. As the head of the residential committee, I have met many migrant residents and some of them displayed great civil courage…the majority of them are very good. There are of course also some who are not so good…but they only form a minority*". Moreover, the significance of the hukou variable also dropped considerably for both rural migrants ($p<0.01$) and urban migrants ($p<0.01$). This outcome implies that being a migrant increases the likelihood of frequently interacting with local neighbours, which in turn leads to a more trustful and amicable relationship between migrant and indigenous neighbours. The reason why residents who live in more diverse neighbourhoods are more caring and trusting towards out-group neighbours is mostly because they have more chances to encounter and interact with out-group neighbours. This result confirms our *second hypothesis* that more frequent interaction between migrant and native residents can lead to a more positive affective relationship between migrant and indigenous neighbours. Nonetheless it is still

possible to validate the *third hypothesis* since compared to Shanghai residents migrant residents are still significantly more likely to have a positive affective relationship with their native neighbours.

After controlling for neighbouring activities, the significance of neighbourhood types has also changed as relocation settlements and work-unit estates are no longer significantly associated with better neighbourly sentiments. This outcome may imply that residents in relocation and work-unit neighbourhoods feel trustful towards each other because they tend to interact more frequently with each other. Consequently, model 2 also provides statistical evidence to verify the *fourth hypothesis* that living in older neighbourhoods is significantly associated with frequent neighbouring activities and thus resulting in a more trustful and caring relationship between migrant and indigenous residents. Only commodity neighbourhood has retained its high significance level ($p<0.001$), which I believe is related to the fact that commodity residents share a strong common identity as fellow residents of a gated community. Owning a property in the same neighbourhood and taking collective actions such as participating in homeowners associations may have strengthened the affective relationship between neighbours. Finally in model 2, income has become a very significant determinant ($p<0.01$). After controlling for intergroup neighbouring the results show that the higher the income of households the more likely residents are to feel distanced from their out-group neighbours. The finding that higher income itself leads to social alienation and distrust between migrant and native neighbours is not surprising, as previous studies have come to similar conclusions (Li et al., 2012). The largest reason could be that those with a higher socio-economic status are less involved locally and thus also feel more alienated and distrustful towards their

neighbours. This would also explain why the variable has gained significance after controlling for the frequency of intergroup neighbouring, implying that affluent households, which are more locally involved, are also exempt from this negative effect and have a stronger affective relationship with their out-group neighbours.

6.5.3 Separate analysis of each indicator of the affective neighbourly relations

A likelihood ratio test was conducted for all models and it was found that the inclusion of the intergroup neighbouring variable adds one additional degree of freedom and is a significant improvement to the models and therefore justifies its inclusion. The analysis follows the same logic as section 6.5.2 and calculates a mixed effects linear regression model for each indicator before and after controlling for the effects of intergroup neighbouring. Table 6.7 presents the mixed effect linear regression results for the friendliness indicator whereby 'Friendliness I' shows the results before controlling for intergroup neighbouring activities and 'Friendliness II' shows the results after adding the neighbouring variable. The same applies for the other models. Table 6.8 displays the results for the mutual care variable. Table 6.9 shows the regression results for mutual trust and finally the mixed effects linear regression results for familiarity between out-group neighbours can be observed in table 6.10.

Table 6.7 Mixed effect linear regression of mutual friendliness before and after controlling for intergroup neighbouring (weighted)

		Model 3 Friendliness I		Model 4 Friendliness II	
				B	S.E.
Constant		2.633***	0.224	1.848***	0.109
Neighbourhood level					
Area poverty		0.047	0.095	0.101	0.078
Neighbourhood type	Courtyard housing	0.501***	0.163	0.486***	0.067
	Work unit	0.843***	0.107	0.688***	0.147
	Relocation housing	0.690***	0.064	0.553***	0.116
	Commodity housing	0.727***	0.153	0.564***	0.084
	Urban villages (reference)				
Migrant concentration		0.079	0.139	-0.111	0.109
Individual level					
Intergroup neighbouring activities				0.150***	0.014
Age		0.023	0.024	-0.004	0.024
Length of residency		-0.033	0.031	-0.021	0.025
Hukou status	Rural local hukou	0.005	0.092	-0.044	0.079
	Urban migrant hukou	0.518***	0.088	0.268**	0.097
	Rural migrant hukou	0.560***	0.099	0.340***	0.089
	Urban local hukou (reference)				
Education level		0.007	0.021	-0.001	0.017
Household income		-0.018	0.033	-0.040	0.026
Tenure	Tenant	-0.006	0.064	0.023	0.060
	Owner (reference)				
Interaction terms					
Hukou and income	Local rural	0.138	0.102	0.163	0.128
	Urban migrant	-0.071	0.072	-0.015	0.062
	Rural migrant	-0.009	0.049	0.024	0.046
	Local urban hukou (reference)				
Hukou and area poverty	Local rural	0.053	0.052	0.051	0.040
	Urban migrant	-0.031	0.159	-0.061	0.135
	Rural migrant	-0.084	0.099	-0.168*	0.066
	Local urban hukou (reference)				
Hukou and Migrant concentration	Local rural	-0.049	0.074	0.014	0.065
	Urban migrant	-0.050	0.095	0.059	0.073
	Rural migrant	0.007	0.061	0.069	0.058
	Local urban hukou (reference)				
Within area variance		0.471	0.041	0.403	0.034
Between area variance		0.161	0.040	0.132	0.045

Notes: * p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001; significance p<0.001

Table 6.8 Mixed effect linear regression of mutual care before and after controlling for intergroup neighbouring (weighted)

		Model 5 Mutual care I		Model 6 Mutual care II	
		B	S.E.	B	S.E.
Constant		2.522***	0.115	1.645***	0.143
Neighbourhood level					
Area poverty		0.099	0.091	0.159	0.081
Neighbourhood type	Courtyard housing	0.008	0.303	-0.001	0.184
	Work unit	0.590**	0.195	0.420	0.249
	Relocation housing	0.518**	0.164	0.368	0.236
	Commodity housing	0.712***	0.144	0.534**	0.167
	Urban villages (reference)				
Migrant concentration		0.440***	0.100	0.230*	0.095
Individual level					
Intergroup neighbouring activities				0.168***	0.015
Age		0.030	0.031	-0.004	0.028
Length of residency		-0.022	0.027	-0.007	0.027
Hukou status	Rural local hukou	0.308	0.199	0.254	0.239
	Urban migrant hukou	0.560***	0.133	0.288*	0.118
	Rural migrant hukou	0.576***	0.141	0.334**	0.104
	Urban local hukou (reference)				
Education level		0.019	0.025	0.008	0.021
Household income		-0.051	0.033	-0.077**	0.029
Tenure	Tenant	-0.084	0.080	-0.068	0.073
	Owner (reference)				
Interaction terms					
Hukou and income	Local rural	0.190	0.148	0.218	0.182
	Urban migrant	-0.028	0.135	0.035	0.128
	Rural migrant	-0.019	0.048	0.019	0.050
	Local urban hukou (reference)				
Hukou and area poverty	Local rural	0.044	0.052	0.041	0.042
	Urban migrant	-0.093	0.195	-0.125	0.164
	Rural migrant	-0.011	0.065	-0.103*	0.052
	Local urban hukou (reference)				
Hukou and Migrant concentration	Local rural	-0.226	0.108	0.159	0.130
	Urban migrant	-0.138	0.100	-0.018	0.072
	Rural migrant	-0.193**	0.067	-0.124**	0.045
	Local urban hukou (reference)				
Within area variance		0.559	0.289	0.475	0.033
Between area variance		0.289	0.075	0.180	0.044

Notes: * $p<0.05$; **$p<0.01$; ***$p<0.001$; significance $p<0.001$

Table 6.9 Mixed effect linear regression of mutual trust before and after controlling for intergroup neighbouring (weighted)

		Model 7 Mutual trust I		Model 8 Mutual trust II	
		B	S.E.	B	S.E.
Constant		2.721***	0.101	2.083***	0.122
Neighbourhood level					
Area poverty		0.035	0.128	0.079	0.122
Neighbourhood type	Courtyard housing	0.236	0.272	0.229	0.168
	Work unit	0.550**	0.168	0.426*	0.197
	Relocation housing	0.478***	0.122	0.370*	0.163
	Commodity housing	0.467**	0.142	0.338**	0.112
	Urban villages (reference)				
Migrant concentration		0.354	0.230	0.200	0.203
Individual level					
Intergroup neighbouring activities				0.122***	0.011
Age		0.006	0.028	-0.019	0.025
Length of residency		-0.050	0.031	-0.039	0.028
Hukou status	Rural local hukou	-0.024	0.160	-0.065	0.179
	Urban migrant hukou	0.415**	0.122	0.217	0.115
	Rural migrant hukou	0.367**	0.125	0.193	0.102
	Urban local hukou (reference)				
Education level		0.028	0.022	0.020	0.019
Household income		-0.058	0.031	-0.077**	0.027
Tenure	Tenant	-0.028	0.055	-0.015	0.047
	Owner (reference)				
Interaction terms					
Hukou and income	Local rural	0.114	0.117	0.137	0.135
	Urban migrant	-0.058	0.086	-0.012	0.080
	Rural migrant	0.002	0.052	0.030	0.052
	Local urban hukou (reference)				
Hukou and area poverty	Local rural	0.039	0.061	0.042	0.051
	Urban migrant	-0.140	0.203	-0.164	0.182
	Rural migrant	0.111	0.065	0.044	0.050
	Local urban hukou (reference)				
Hukou and Migrant concentration	Local rural	-0.036	0.094	0.014	0.100
	Urban migrant	-0.167	0.113	-0.080	0.096
	Rural migrant	-0.128	0.099	-0.078	0.087
	Local urban hukou (reference)				
Within area variance		0.389	0.028	0.343	0.025
Between area variance		0.152	0.038	0.112	0.031

Notes: * $p<0.05$; **$p<0.01$; ***$p<0.001$; significance $p<0.001$

Table 6.10 Mixed effect linear regression of mutual familiarity before and after controlling for intergroup neighbouring (weighted)

		Model 9 Familiarity I		Model 10 Familiarity II	
		B	S.E.	B	S.E.
Constant		2.700***	0.171	1.969***	0.221
Neighbourhood level					
Area poverty		0.105	0.154	0.152	0.157
Neighbourhood type	Courtyard housing	-0.012	0.247	-0.021	0.186
	Work unit	0.389	0.337	0.248	0.399
	Relocation housing	0.277	0.314	0.154	0.396
	Commodity housing	0.553***	0.131	0.405*	0.194
	Urban villages (reference)				
Migrant concentration		0.371	0.231	0.201	0.232
Individual level					
Intergroup neighbouring activities				0.137***	0.017
Age		-0.003	0.029	-0.030	0.025
Length of residency		-0.051	0.049	-0.038	0.047
Hukou status	Rural local hukou	-0.249*	0.124	-0.289**	0.105
	Urban migrant hukou	0.427**	0.141	0.204	0.136
	Rural migrant hukou	0.425	0.151	0.232	0.130
	Urban local hukou (reference)				
Education level		0.027	0.027	0.019	0.022
Household income		-0.038	0.053	-0.059	0.046
Tenure	Tenant	-0.002	0.073	0.010	0.064
	Owner (reference)				
Interaction terms					
Hukou and income	Local rural	0.184	0.101	0.200*	0.096
	Urban migrant	-0.095	0.088	-0.044	0.077
	Rural migrant	-0.014	0.069	0.016	0.066
	Local urban hukou (reference)				
Hukou and area poverty	Local rural	0.048	0.054	0.036	0.052
	Urban migrant	-0.097	0.183	-0.123	0.166
	Rural migrant	0.124	0.069	0.049	0.063
	Local urban hukou (reference)				
Hukou and Migrant concentration	Local rural	0.112	0.111	0.166	0.101
	Urban migrant	-0.213	0.118	-0.114	0.100
	Rural migrant	-0.188	0.119	-0.131	0.111
	Local urban hukou (reference)				
Within area variance		0.510	0.049	0.454	0.040
Between area variance		0.217	0.060	0.151	0.037

Notes: * p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001; significance p<0.001

Overall the results of the four neighbourly relationship indicators conform to the results of the combined affective neighbourly relationship model. For instance the results for all four indicators reveal that both urban and rural migrants interact with locals neighbours more frequently and thus also tend to describe their affective relationship as more friendly, more based on mutual care, more trustworthy and more familiar. Furthermore the negative impact of higher income also remains largely consistent as it is significantly related with mutual care and trust (see model 6 and model 8). Higher income residents who have less engagement in the neighbourhood and especially with out-group neighbours may lead to a weak sense of mutual care towards out-group neighbours. Moreover, more affluent residents may also consider themselves as belonging to a higher social class as compared to most neighbours or at least compared to out-group neighbours and therefore perceive the social distance between themselves and out-group residents as larger. Unsurprisingly intergroup neighbouring is highly significant for all four variables indicating that more interaction between migrant and native residents is beneficial to the various domains of their affective relationship. This result thus reaffirms the hypothesis that more frequent interaction between residents can lead to stronger feelings of mutual care and trust but also improve the degree of friendliness amongst residents and allow residents to be more familiar with each other. The importance of intergroup neighbourly interactions is further highlighted through results of model 4 and 6. After controlling for the effect of intergroup neighbouring activities, the model results show that rural migrants in poorer neighbourhoods are more likely to describe their relationship with native residents as unfriendly ($p<0.05$) and lacking in mutual care ($p<0.05$). This suggests that those rural migrants who are interacting with their native neighbours

tend to have a more positive affective relationship with their Shanghai neighbours as opposed to those who never interact with them.

Apart from the similarities between the four domains of affective neighbourly relationship with the combined model, there are also some effects only pertaining to some indicators. For example in respect to the degree of friendliness between migrant and native residents the results from model 3 and 4 show that neighbourhood housing type is a highly significant determinant. The neighbourhood type variable remains unchanged even after controlling for intergroup neighbouring indicating that compared to residents in urban villages residents in all other neighbourhoods tend to perceive their out-group neighbours as friendlier. As mentioned earlier, friendliness may also reflect the degree of tolerance towards someone. Therefore this negative outcome signals that rural migrants and local villagers in urban villages have a particularly strained relationship due to a tenant versus landlord conflict for instance. This assumption is further strengthened by the results in model 5 and model 6 which shows that rural migrants living in higher migrant concentration neighbourhoods are less likely to describe their relationship with native residents as based on mutual care. This is in accordance with the findings of the previous chapter, indicating that especially migrants living in urban villages have a poorer relationship with native rural residents.

The effect of migrant concentration is only significant for the mutual care indicator and remains significant after controlling for intergroup neighbouring ($p<0.05$) signalling that the affective relationship between migrants and locals in more diverse areas is of a pragmatic nature. Since migrant residents form a sizeable share of the

local populace the cooperation between minority and majority group residents is particularly needed in diverse areas to tackle local problems and therefore residents are also more likely to care for their out-group neighbours. Finally with respect to the familiarity indicator the results of model 9 show that local Shanghai villagers are the least likely to describe their relationship with migrant neighbours as familiar ($p<0.05$) suggesting that the relationship between migrants and locals in urban villages is particularly distant and stagnant, therefore also confirming earlier research (Chung, 2010). However, this negative association is further strengthened after controlling for the effects of intergroup neighbouring ($p<0.01$). I assume that the low levels of neighbourly interactions help to mediate the social alienation between migrant residents and local villagers, although due to its low levels, the overall intergroup relationship still remains relatively distant. However, in addition the interaction term of income in model 10 also reveals that after controlling for intergroup neighbouring, rural hukou residents are actually more likely to feel familiar with their migrant neighbours ($p<0.05$). Whilst many rural villagers only rely on the rental income from their urban village property, some rural villagers are still actively engaged in businesses such as farming or manufacturing (Wu, 2004:213) and mainly rely on rural migrants as staff members and therefore live together with them. Consequently it is understandable that local villagers would perceive the relationship with their migrant neighbours as familiar.

6.6 Discussion and conclusion

Much research attention has been dedicated to social relations at the neighbourhood level and the Chinese government has placed high hopes on the role of neighbourhoods in alleviating existing problems of integrating rural migrants into the

urban society of China (Li et al., 2012; Wang et al., 2008; Shieh and Friedmann, 2008). Most studies so far have concentrated on the frequency of neighbourly interactions (Whyte and Parish, 1984; Wu and He, 2005; Forrest and Yip, 2007; Liu et al., 2012; Hazelet and Wissink, 2012) and place attachment (Breitung, 2012; Yip, 2012; Zhu et al., 2012) but there are less empirical research specifically investigating the affective dimension of neighbourly relations between migrant and native residents. This chapter has sought to fill this gap and explored the affective relationship between migrant and indigenous residents in Shanghai and how the neighbourly interactions and contextual factors may affect this outcome.

In general the findings of this chapter suggest that at current the affective relationship between migrant and local residents is relatively weak since only a third of respondents describe their relationship to out-group neighbours as trustful and caring. In contrast the relationship is considerably stronger between in-group neighbours, whereby especially urban Shanghai residents feel familiar and trusting towards their fellow Shanghai neighbours. Comparatively migrant residents remain relatively similar with regards to their affective relationship towards both local and non-local neighbours. The analysis results indicate that how much neighbours trust and care for each other also largely depends on whether they are from the same social group such as being fellow migrants or fellow natives. However, there are also signs of growing indifference and apathetic sentiments between neighbours, which is even more imminent for out-group relations. The large numbers of survey respondents who chose to describe their relations towards their neighbours as being neutral may reflect the rising trend of fluid and transient social ties in China's urban society as noted by Forrest and Yip (2007).

There are three key findings with respect to the underlying dynamics of the affective relationship between migrant and local residents. Firstly, migrant residents are significantly more likely to describe their affective relationship with out-group neighbours as positive in comparison to native residents. Part of the reason for this outcome is because rural and urban migrants are also more likely to engage in neighbouring activities with locals, which in turn reinforces their affective relations with indigenous Shanghai residents. As mentioned in the previous chapter, neighbouring activities are an important means of social interaction for migrants (Wu and Logan, 2015) and they are actively trying to reach out to native residents in order better survive in the host society. However, even after controlling for the effect of neighbourly interaction, both migrant groups are still more likely to have a good affective relationship with native neighbours than the other way around. This signals that the social distance between locals and migrants is also a likely reason for Shanghai residents to distrust their migrant neighbours and generally feel more alienated from them as compared to their affective relationship with fellow native neighbours. The social distance between migrants and locals is not simply caused by holding a rural status but is much more related with the various negative stereotypes that are attached to the general label of being a rural migrant. This shows that the negative effect of the hukou system has moved far beyond limited welfare access but in fact contributed to the labelling of a marginalised group. Nevertheless the second major finding suggests that the enduring social distance between locals and migrants can be reduced is through frequent intergroup neighbouring, which facilitates a positive affective relationship between migrant and indigenous neighbours. This outcome largely conforms with the basic assumption of the contact hypothesis and also supports existing arguments from multi-ethnic societies that frequent social

contact can help foster better intergroup relations and strengthen trust and tolerance between different social groups (Gundelach and Freitag, 2014; Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi, 2002; Laurence, 2011; Stolle et al., 2008). More frequent interactions such as mutual support and greeting each other facilitate a better affective relationship between migrant and indigenous neighbours.

However in addition to confirming existing arguments, this chapter also found that the importance of intergroup neighbouring activities as a facilitator of affective neighbourly relations varies significantly across different types of neighbourhoods. The third key finding of this chapter is that in comparison to commodity housing residents, residents living older, more deprived and more diverse settlements tend to rely more intergroup neighbouring activities as a means to create a positive affective relationship. The results found that the positive association between higher migrant concentration in an area and more positive affective neighbourly relations is mainly because its residents are more likely to interact with out-group neighbours. The exception to this trend is urban villages, where migrant residents are the least likely to feel trustful and amicable towards their out-group neighbours. This may be due to the fact that in some migrant enclaves the share of migrant residents can reach up to 80 per cent (Liao and Wong, 2015) and results in a lack of native residents to create any meaningful social connections. This disadvantage of urban villages is by no means limited to the Chinese case. Residents in migrant enclaves in other societies also suffer from a shortage of out-group social ties and run risk of being isolated from members of the host society (Logan et al., 2002; van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998). Another reason could be because of the complex economic relationship between rural migrants and their rural Shanghai landlords (Chung, 2010) who are especially

distanced from migrant neighbours. In addition, work-unit and relocation neighbourhoods and to some degree also traditional courtyards tend to have stronger trust and familiarity between migrant and local residents largely because residents in these neighbourhoods frequently interact with each other.

In contrast to more diverse and older neighbourhoods, intergroup neighbourly interaction is not the main reason why residents in commodity neighbourhoods trust and feel familiar with their out-group neighbours. Instead commodity-housing residents have a strong affective relationship with their out-group neighbours due to a strong sense of shared social identity. In other words the social distance between migrant and native residents in commodity housing estates considerably smaller as compared to all other neighbourhood types. Taking pride in being fellow homeowners (Li et al., 2012; Pow, 2007) and perceiving neighbours as belonging to the same social class as oneself (Breitung, 2012; Yip, 2012) may be the biggest reason why residents feel close to each other. This strong sense of shared identity is further spurned by private developers often advertise commodity neighbourhoods as exclusive 'civilised communities' only accessible for those who can afford to purchase the property (Pow, 2007; Pow and Kong, 2007). This kind of marketing strategy may create a common identity and trust between fellow residents. Furthermore, a governance structure that enables collective problem solving, such as homeowners associations, further strengthens the affective relationship between residents. Consequently in commodity neighbourhoods institutionally based discrimination and stigmatization towards non-locals are completely overpowered by the shared social class of residents. However, the drawback of commodity neighbourhoods is that such tolerant attitudes are mainly reserved to those who live in

the same locality, which does not provide much comfort to poorer migrants who are the most affected by stigmatization and local hostility. Fundamentally there is no difference between low-income neighbourhood residents and commodity housing residents in terms of their negative perceptions towards rural migrants. In fact research shows that commodity-housing residents have their own means of demarcating insiders and outsiders and are much less tolerant towards outsiders who residents often identify as rural migrants (Breitung, 2012; Pow, 2007).

It is important to stress that what this study found is that the role of intergroup neighbouring is more significant in certain neighbourhood housing types such as work units and relocation settlements. However, this does not necessarily mean that intergroup neighbouring is also higher in these neighbourhood types. The results obtained in chapter five has revealed that none of the neighbourhood housing types, including older and poorer areas such as relocation settlements and work-units, are significantly related with the level of intergroup neighbouring. This indicates that although older and poorer neighbourhoods do not harbour the highest number of residents who interact with their out-group neighbours, neighbouring activities are nonetheless an important means to facilitate a positive out-group relationship. In other words this means that intergroup neighbouring simply play a more important role in older and poorer neighbourhoods as a facilitator of neighbourly trust and mutual care. In contrast, whilst commodity housing has comparatively the highest frequency of intergroup neighbouring (see chapter five), the role of neighbourly interaction is relatively insignificant in fostering trust and amity amongst residents. Consequently it is not always the neighbourhoods with the highest intergroup neighbouring rate where neighbouring also matters the most in relation to fostering trust and amity.

Overall the findings of this chapter have contributed to the understanding of neighbourly relations between migrants and locals and how they are related with the various changes at the grassroots level. The findings show that the privatisation of housing developments and the residential segregation based on socio-economic status has fundamentally changed how urban residents perceive each other's social identity. Whilst residents in older and poorer neighbourhoods tend to define their social identity based on their hukou status, the social distance in commodity neighbourhoods is no longer decided by hukou categories but instead hinges upon which social class an individual belongs to. Being a homeowner of a commodity property is becoming a primary means for urban residents to define themselves and others in the increasingly more market led economy of urban China. Another contribution of this chapter is that it shows how contact hypothesis can be interpreted in the context of neighbourly relationship in urban China (Allport, 1954; Hewstone and Brown, 1986; Pettigrew, 1998). The empirical evidence provided in this chapter reveals that aside from friendship ties advocated by scholars such as Nielsen et al. (2006) and Nielsen and Smyth (2011) neighbouring activities can be another form of intergroup contact that can facilitate trust and tolerance between migrants and locals in Shanghai.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

After decades of focusing on economic growth, Chinese cities are now turning their attention towards another pressing issue of a more social nature. The rapid urbanisation has not only brought unprecedented wealth and GDP growth but also one of histories' largest internal migrations. 245 millions of rural migrants are now living in Chinese cities and make up almost half of the urban population in major cities (NBS, 2013). Due to institutional limitations brought upon by the hukou system, rural migrants struggle to integrate into the city in economic but also in social terms. The exclusion from the public welfare system and institutionalised discrimination have led many indigenous residents to direct their discontent and stigmatised views towards rural migrants (Solinger, 1999, 2006). Furthermore, the large influx of rural migrants also resulted in a growing social tension between the urban natives and rural migrants leading to severe consequences such as physical and mental health problems (Chen et al., 2011; Cheng and Selden, 1994). This inability to socially integrate is also reflected in the way rural migrants are being described where terms such as 'floating population' (Solinger, 1999; Goodkind and West, 2002) or 'economic sojourner' (Solinger, 1999; Wu, 2012) are often used.

In light of these persisting difficulties of integrating migrants, scholarly and government focus have turned towards the role of the social network of migrants as a facilitator of social integration. Especially social ties with indigenous residents are

found to be beneficial such as better housing opportunities, psychological integration

and more intergroup tolerance (Liu et al., 2013; Nielsen et al., 2006; Nielsen and

Smyth, 2011; Yue et al., 2013). Studies on social relations at the neighbourhood level

are also starting to proliferate (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Li et al., 2012; Wu and Logan,

2015) although few studies have specifically addressed the intergroup social relations

between migrant and local neighbours. However, intergroup neighbourly relations

could be beneficial to rural migrants since findings from multi-ethnic societies show

that neighbourly relations are an effective means to facilitate trust and tolerance

between minority groups and the majority group (Laurence, 2011; Letki, 2008;

Pettigrew, 1998; Stolle et al., 2008). Especially in the context of urban China where

rural migrants are more reliant on local social relations due to their marginalised

status (Wu and Logan, 2015), neighbourly relations with native residents can be of

particular benefit for their social integration. *Consequently the objective of this*

research was to explore the current neighbourly relations between rural migrants and

native residents and analyse its underlying dynamics. Based on existing literature,

intergroup neighbourly relations in urban China is interpreted as both the frequency of

neighbourly interactions and the affective relationship between migrant and

indigenous neighbours (Mann, 1954; Talen, 1999; Unger and Wandersman, 1985).

Moreover, referring to existing literature in multi-ethnic societies, an analytical

framework was developed to examine the underlying forces that have led to the

current state of intergroup neighbourly relations between rural migrant and

indigenous residents. The framework accounts for both individual level and

neighbourhood level factors that may be associated with the intergroup neighbourly

relations of rural migrants. These factors are derived from existing studies on multi-

cultural societies and thus also allow the comparison between multi-ethnic cities in

mostly Western countries and the ethnically less diverse society in Chinese cities. The foundation for explaining the intergroup relations between rural and native neighbours is that it is driven by a combination of individual circumstances and contextual factors. At the individual level, the differing needs of social groups for neighbourly relations and prejudices towards migrants are taken into consideration. At the contextual level, neighbourhood characteristics such as the presence of migrant residents, the neighbourhood housing type and the poverty rate of the area are analysed. With regards to the methodology, this study builds its findings on a case study of Shanghai where a city wide household survey was conducted in 2013. In light of economic and time management reasons, selecting one of the largest cities in China and to conduct a city-wide survey was the most suited and practically most feasible strategy to gain an in depth insight. Since Shanghai incorporates many typical characteristics of China's rapidly growing cities, the findings from Shanghai are also representative of other Chinese cities to some extent. The research approach applied in this study is based on quantitative methods. First hand empirical evidence is mainly sourced from a household questionnaire survey of 1420 randomly sampled residents across Shanghai's neighbourhoods. Secondary data was collected from a wide range of sources including the sixth Chinese population census, Shanghai statistical yearbooks from 2013-2015 but also in depth reports regarding the current migration situation in China.

This concluding chapter will firstly summarise the key findings of the research conducted in the previous chapters. These are organised according to the three key research questions posed. The chapter then moves on to discuss how the results acquired in urban China can be compared to existing studies from multi-ethnic

societies. Finally the last part will elaborate on the broader implications of this research for both the theoretical debate and the practice.

7.2 The current trend of intergroup neighbourly relations in urban China

Research on intergroup relations is well established in multi-ethnic societies. Most empirical studies contend that intergroup relations tend to be less positive compared to the relationship between in-group members due to the large social distance between majority and minority group members (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2002; McPherson et al., 2001; Nannestad et al., 2008). Existing neighbourhood studies in urban China have placed their emphasis on the general neighbourly relations of urban residents whilst paying little attention to the relationship between migrant and native neighbours. Consequently this thesis firstly aimed to answer the following two questions. W*hat is the current level of neighbourly relations between migrant and local residents? How does it compare to the neighbourly relations between in-group neighbours?*

It is demonstrated that both the neighbouring activities and the affective relationship between migrant and local neighbours are relatively low. With regards to intergroup neighbouring activities, the numbers of residents who rarely or never visit or exchange support with out-group neighbours significantly outweigh those who state that they frequently or sometimes visit and help out-group neighbours. Neighbourly greetings form an exception as more than half of survey respondent state that they frequently or occasionally greet their out-group neighbours. The situation is relatively better in respect to the affective relationship between migrant and native neighbours. More than a quarter of residents state that they have a positive relationship with their

out-group neighbours whilst the number of residents who describe their affective relationship with out-group neighbours as negative is considerably lower. Overall, the out-group neighbourly relations in Shanghai are significantly lower than *in-group* neighbourly relations. Moreover, indigenous Shanghai residents in particular are less likely to describe their affective relationship towards rural migrants as positive and also engage in considerably less intergroup neighbourly activities. In comparison, there are more urban and rural migrant residents who state that their affective relationship with native neighbours is positive and also interact frequently with Shanghai neighbours.

There are two key implications of these findings. Firstly they warrant the need to differentiate between general neighbouring and intergroup neighbouring in urban China. Overall, the significantly lower levels of neighbourly interaction and affective relationship between rural migrants and locals reflect the problematic situation of rural migrants in trying to integrate into the city but also reveal that the social cohesion in urban China is strained. Although migrant and native urban residents share the same ethnicity and national belonging, the sense of 'us' and 'them' is still engrained in the mindsets of many indigenous residents (Malloy et al., 2004). Such sentiments of social distance is mainly caused by the institutionalised discrimination towards rural inhabitants in China who are not allowed to access equal welfare entitlements if they were to move to Chinese cities thus resulting in a predetermined inequality between rural migrants and urban natives. This institutional favouritism has resulted in a strong sense of superiority of native residents, which is further strengthened by the stereotypical view that rural migrants are less educated, poorer

and more prone to be involved in criminal activities (Chen et al., 2011; Wang et al., 2010; Whyte, 2010).

The second implication of these findings is more positive and underlines the importance of the neighbourhood as a platform for intergroup contact to take place. Despite findings that suggest social networks are diversifying in urban China (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Hazelzet and Wissink, 2012; Liu et al., 2012) opportunities for migrants and locals to create social relations with each other are still rare. In an increasingly segregated society created through labour market segmentation (Fan, 2002) and the hukou restriction that prevent migrants from accessing the same public resources such as schools (Chan, 2009), intergroup contacts are mostly transient and do not have any lasting impacts on the social distance between migrants and locals. The findings of this study showed that for a sizeable share of the population, the neighbourhood could be an important channel to engage with out-group residents in a consistent and intimate manner. The cross tabulation results (in chapter four, section 4.4) further signals that good neighbourly relations may also positively influence general perceptions of trustworthiness between migrants and locals.

7.3 The dynamics of intergroup neighbouring activities in Shanghai

Existing research suggests that in addition to individual level determinants, neighbourhood factor also play an important role in influencing intergroup neighbouring activities. Especially residential diversity and neighbourhood deprivation are negative predictors of intergroup neighbourly interactions (Bécares et al., 2011; Guest et al., 2008; Laurence, 2011; Letki, 2008; Putnam, 2007). Consequently, chapter five set out to explore the following two questions. *What are*

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the key determinants of the neighbourly interactions between migrant and local

residents? How do neighbourhood characteristics affect the frequency of intergroup

neighbouring activities?

The results of the multilevel model provide two major findings. The results in chapter

five reveal that the reason why intergroup neighbouring activities are scarce in

Shanghai is partly due to the generally declining neighbouring activities in urban

China. Especially younger residents and households without children or fewer family

members tend to be less engaged locally. However, in addition to the reasons

applying to general neighbouring activities, there are also specific reasons pertaining

to intergroup neighbouring activities only. The reason for this is related to the

differing need for intergroup social ties. Rural migrants have considerably fewer

social connections in the city and most of their social capital is restricted to fellow

migrants who suffer from the same limitations. Their support for each other is

therefore also limited to certain areas and rural migrants need to acquire social ties

with locals in order to overcome other types of obstacles in order to integrate into the

city. There are therefore tangible benefits from social ties with locals as evidenced by

the research from Yue et al. (2013) and Liu et al. (2013). In contrast, there is

considerably less incentive for native residents to create social ties with rural migrants

as they already have an established social network in the city. In addition, local

residents are often discouraged from interacting with rural migrants due to existing

stigmas (Cheng and Selden 1994; Wang et al., 2015), ultimately leading to the

asymmetric relationship. The asymmetric need for out-group relations is reflected in

the everyday life of residents where many rural migrants in a neighbourhood would

share the same native neighbour as a friend whilst a larger share of native residents would prefer not to interact with migrant residents.

With regards to the role of the neighbourhood, the analysis show that residents living in neighbourhoods with a higher percentage of migrants residents are significantly more likely to interact with their out-group neighbours than compared to areas where there are fewer migrant residents. This finding particularly applies to native Shanghai residents, suggesting that higher availability of migrant residents in the neighbourhood can result in better chances for locals to interact with their migrant neighbours. However, it is also important to note that extreme levels of migrant concentration in an area are an exception to this positive trend as urban villages where the percentage of migrant residents can reach to as high as 80 per cent may also impede on the likelihood to interact with out-group residents. This is particularly the case for migrants living in urban villages as they have fewer encounter chances with native residents and are more reliant on in-group ties with fellow migrants and isolated from the host society compared to migrants living in any other neighbourhood housing type. Similar results were also found from residents living in migrant enclaves in multi-ethnic societies who benefit from in-group support but lacked social connections with locals (van Kempen and Özüekren, 1998; Light et al., 1994). Furthermore, in contrast to multi-ethnic societies, there is no evidence suggesting that residents living in poorer neighbourhoods are less likely to interact with their out-group neighbours. In fact, for rural migrant residents, the opposite is true as rural migrants who are living in more deprived neighbourhoods tend to have more out-group neighbourly interaction. The reason for this may be that rural migrants who are poorer and live in more deprived areas are also more dependent on

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informal ties to survive in the city and use neighbourly interaction as a means to overcome their institutional limitations. Another potential explanation as to why area poverty is not related with lower intergroup neighbouring is because in comparison to Western countries, the poverty rate in urban China is considerably less extreme (Wu et al., 2010). Moreover, rural migrants are also more spatially mobile and would only settle in areas once they have found a job (Li and Zhu, 2015). Consequently, it is less likely that rural and native residents are in direct competition in China's poverty neighbourhoods.

7.4 The determinants of the affective relationship between migrant and local neighbours in Shanghai

Most neighbourhood studies in urban China concentrate on the neighbourly interactions of residents whilst less attention has been devoted to the affective dimension of neighbourly relations. Amongst others the literature contend that social distrust between minority and majority group residents can be alleviated through frequent neighbourly interactions (Gundelach and Freitag, 2014; Laurence, 2011; Stolle et al., 2008). The rationale of the contact hypothesis argues that frequent neighbourly interaction between majority and the minority group residents can reduce their social distance and turn the 'them' and 'us' into 'we' (Allport, 1954; Hewstone and Brown, 1986; Pettigrew, 1998). According to Stolle et al. (2008), it is diversity *without* interaction that leads to distrust between minority and majority residents. Consequently, chapter six tried to answer the following research questions. *What are the underlying factors of the affective neighbourly relationship between migrants and locals? Specifically, does more frequent intergroup neighbouring lead to a stronger affective relationship between migrant and local residents?*

The modelling results of chapter six revealed two major findings. Firstly the analysis confirms that the contact hypothesis also applies to the Chinese case, as residents who have more intergroup neighbourly interaction are significantly more likely to trust and care for their out-group neighbours. This applies to both migrant and indigenous residents, suggesting that neighbourly interaction provides the chance for residents to overcome their prejudices and create a relationship based on reciprocal trust and mutual care. Secondly, the multilevel models show that commodity housing neighbourhood residents have a strong affective relationship with out-group neighbours is because of their shared social identity of being belonging to the same social class. This shared sense of identity largely stem from the residents perception that their neighbours are fellow homeowners who can afford to live in the same estate. Moreover, the advertisements of private developers praising gated neighbourhood as 'civilised enclaves' and the existence of homeowner associations may further strengthen this shared social identity. Intergroup neighbourly interactions in this sense are not a necessity in commodity housing neighbourhoods in order for residents to trust and care for each other. Consequently, in commodity neighbourhoods institutionally based discrimination and stigmatization towards non-locals are completely overshadowed by the shared social class of residents. However, the disadvantage of commodity housing neighbourhoods is that this shared sense of identity is only reserved to fellow neighbours, but residents are much more hostile towards 'outsiders' who do not live in the same estate such as rural migrants (Breitung, 2012; Pow, 2007). In contrast, the role of intergroup neighbouring activities is much more significant in older, less affluent and more diverse neighbourhoods where residents do not perceive their out-group neighbours as being

similar to themselves. Consequently, social interaction between migrant and local residents becomes the key mechanism to shorten their social distance and to break down existing stigma.

7.5 Knowledge contribution to neighbourly relations in urban China

With regards to the contribution of this study to the knowledge of neighbourly relations in urban China, there are two main conclusions. Firstly, it is acknowledged that the social network of urban residents is diversifying and that neighbourhood based social relations are gradually being replaced by non-territorial social ties (Forrest and Yip, 2007; Hazelzet and Wissink, 2012; Liu et al., 2012). However, this study has shown that the neighbourhood continues to serve an important function namely as a platform that enables migrant and local residents to interact with each other in more direct, personal and consistent manner. So far, more scholarly attention has been dedicated to the benefits of social ties between migrants and natives and the findings are very valuable for understanding the relationship between social network and integration. However, more importantly studies should focus on how these social ties between migrants and natives are formed in the first place since this will also provide information on how intergroup ties can be facilitated. This thesis has tried to contribute in this regard by highlighting the role of neighbourly relations and how changes to the neighbourhood contexts may affect this outcome. Future researched is needed in order to identify other arenas that are conducive to the relationship between migrant and indigenous residents of Chinese cities.

Secondly, the abolishment of the work-unit system and the rise of middle class residents may be the main causes for the decline of neighbourly interactions

(Breitung, 2012; Hazelzet and Wissink, 2012; Li et al., 2012; Yip, 2012) but this is not sufficient to explain the low levels of intergroup neighbourly relations between migrants and indigenous residents. The consensus appears to be that the social network of residents has simply *dispersed* and especially "for migrants having a mutual source area is the main impetus for relationships, and contacts with fellow migrants in multicultural Guangzhou are preferred" (Hazelzet and Wissink, 2012:218). Therefore, social relations "within neighborhoods do persist, it is concluded here that the importance of these within the overall system of social networks is limited" (Hazelet and Wissink, 2012:218). However, this study has revealed that the stigmatisation of rural migrants and the worsening residential segregation of rural migrants are also threatening the neighbourly relations between migrants and locals. The decline of neighbourly relations therefore *should not* be interpreted as a *natural* dispersal of the social network of urban residents. Instead the hukou classification and the labour market segmentation, which forced the image of a so-called 3D (dirty, dangerous and demeaning) worker upon rural migrants, as well as existing socio-economic inequalities have led to the stigmatisation of rural migrants and therefore impeded on their chances to create social relations with indigenous residents. In addition, the worsening residential segregation of rural migrants and locals caused by the demolition of affordable neighbourhoods as well as the high prices of commodity housing estates (Liao and Wong, 2015; Li and Wu, 2008; Wu, 2004) are also threatening the chances for migrants to interact with their indigenous residents. This thesis concludes that it is possible and necessary to counteract the decline of neighbourly relations in order to contribute to the social integration of rural migrants.

7.6 Generalising Shanghai's findings

There are several aspects that need to be mentioned when discussing how generalizable the findings from Shanghai can be for other Chinese cities. Firstly, Shanghai is a city where discrimination towards rural migrants has been documented long before the introduction of the hukou system (Honig, 1992) and therefore the question arises whether Shanghai's migrant-local relationship may be unique compared to other cities. More recent studies have revealed that discrimination towards rural migrants is largely due to the sense of superiority of native residents and can be found in many cities of China (Wang et al., 2015; Cheng and Selden, 1994). As a consequence, although Shanghai's discrimination may be longstanding, the nature of discrimination may be similar to other Chinese cities. The hukou system in this sense has only exacerbated the sense of superiority and the stigmatisation of migrants but not fundamentally altered its nature. The second issue of comparability is the extent of hukou reforms and economic development, which vary considerably across Chinese cities. Especially smaller and less developed cities tend to have better hukou regulations as compared to megacities such as Shanghai, Beijing or Guangzhou. In smaller Chinese cities it tends to be considerably easier to obtain an urban hukou as compared to Shanghai. Attracting rural migrants to smaller cities by offering better hukou and integration policies forms a key part of the Chinese government's attempt to ease migration into large Chinese cities (State Council, 2014). Consequently, the question arises as to whether findings from Shanghai, a city with very strict hukou and settlement policies, can be compared to that of smaller cities. Despite differences in hukou regulations however, as mentioned before the fundamental nature of discrimination towards rural migrants remains the same

although it is acknowledged that the problem may be less accentuated in smaller

cities. Therefore overall, I would like to suggest that the findings from Shanghai can

also be useful to other cities regardless of their size, economic development and

hukou policies.

7.7 Wider implications

This study has revealed several findings that may be useful to the wider theoretical

understanding on the relationship between neighbourhoods and intergroup social

relations.

7.7.1 Testing the contact and conflict hypotheses in the Chinese context

One of the key findings of this study is that although the concept of intergroup social

relations is largely based on empirical studies from multi-ethnic societies, its

underlying principles can also be extended to ethnically less diverse societies such as

in the case of urban China. Whilst ethnicity forms a key factor that demarcates one's

social identity, in the case of urban China institutional differentiation in the form of

the hukou status coupled with informal discriminatory practices have led to similar

outcomes. Rural and urban residents share the same Han ethnicity but the limited

access to the urban welfare entitlements and over-representation of rural migrants in

3D employments have widened the social distance between urban local residents and

rural migrants.

With respect to the longstanding debate of whether residential diversity leads to better

or worse intergroup relations, this study provides empirical evidence in support of the

contact theory (Allport, 1954; Hewstone and Brown, 1986; Pettigrew, 1998). Most

findings from multi-ethnic societies agree with the conflict hypothesis and contend that higher residential diversity lead to a decline of intergroup trust and tolerance as well as interaction (Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi, 2002; Laurence, 2011; Putnam, 2007; Stolle et al., 2008). In contrast to their findings, it appears that China is more responsive to the contact hypothesis. Indeed existing studies of Nielsen et al. (2006) and Nielsen and Smyth (2011) have already shown that the contact hypothesis applies more the context of China but their research was restricted to the positive effect of intergroup friendship ties. This thesis extends the evidence base to the neighbourhood and demonstrates that higher residential diversity is also positively associated with intergroup relations. The multilevel models show that residents living in areas with more migrants are also more likely to interact with their out-group neighbours and tend to describe their affective relationship with out-group neighbours as more positive. The explanation for this may be that compared to multi-ethnic societies where residents are divided by very different ethnicities and cultural practices, rural and urban residents in urban China have far more in common such as a shared national identity, language as well as shared cultural customs. More importantly the stigmatisation of internal migrants is much more related to institutional discrimination rather than direct conflicts of interest between rural migrant and urban locals.

7.7.2 The specialised role of the neighbourhood as a facilitator of intergroup contact

The declining importance of the neighbourhood has been well documented in existing literature and forms the dominant view amongst scholars (Fischer, 1975; Forrest, 2008; Guest, 2000; Urry, 2000; Wellman and Leighton, 1979; White and Guest, 2003; Wirth, 1938; Wissink and Hazelzet, 2012). The social lives of people are increasingly

influenced by global rather than local dynamics as information flows and social relations become disembedded from the locality (Forrest, 2008). However, despite the apparent loss of significance of the neighbourhood, many studies still contend that the residential neighbourhood continues to serve specialised functions to certain social groups (Forrest, 2008; Kearns and Parkinson, 2001; Li et al., 2005; Savage et al., 2005; Secor and O'Loughlin, 2005; Talen, 1999). In line with this argument, this thesis contributes to the debate by providing empirical evidence showing that the neighbourhood continues to be of significance for the interpersonal relationships of urban residents. In an increasingly more diverse society, seemingly unimportant neighbourly relations with residents belonging to a different group can affect the wider perception and degree of tolerance of individuals towards marginalised and minority groups. The findings of this study show that more frequent neighbourly interactions can lead to a more positive affective relationship between migrant and indigenous residents. This gives grounds to speculate that intergroup neighbourly relations can also influence the overall attitude of locals towards non-locals. Indeed chapter four's tentative analysis of general social trust between migrants and locals and intergroup neighbourly relations may also point towards this specialised function of the neighbourhood based social relations. Consequently, this thesis contributes to a small but growing strand of literature that specifically highlight the role of neighbourly relations as a bridge that helps connect members of the minority group with members of the majority group (Henning and Lieberg, 1996; Laurence, 2011; Stolle et al., 2008). Based on this understanding, this thesis calls for more research in order to better understand how intergroup neighbourly relations can be of assistance to integration of marginalised groups.

7.7.3 Policy implications

Finally, the findings of this thesis may also be of use for policy makers as well as urban planning professionals. However, before discussing how neighbourhood based policies may improve the intergroup neighbourly relationship between migrants and locals it is important to bear in mind several cautionary remarks. Whilst this study supports the importance of the neighbourhood as a facilitator of intergroup relations, it is crucial to interpret these results in a wider social and institutional context. What is fundamentally causing the large social distance and poor relationship between migrants and locals are the structural inequalities between rural and urban residents. Unequal employment opportunities and the institutional obstacles that prevent migrants from using the same public facilities such as school or public housing are the core reasons why the concept of 'intergroup' even exists in China. If the Chinese welfare system provided equal opportunities to rural and urban migrants then it is highly likely that the social distance between migrants and locals may not have worsened to the current extent. For instance, migrant enclaves with extreme concentrations of migrant residents may not have existed in the first place if rural migrants were offered the same housing opportunities as native residents. Indeed, evidence from the Netherlands show that in a welfare state where immigrants are also included, concentrations of ethnic minorities are considerably lower and therefore its negative effects are also less accentuated (Musterd, 2003; Musterd and Deurloo, 2002). Therefore by no means does this thesis suggest that simple tinkering of the residential composition in neighbourhoods for instance, is sufficient to solve the current crisis of migrant-local relations and migrant social integration. Instead, neighbourhood and planning policies need to be combined with deep reaching hukou

reforms that would bring about equality between rural migrants and locals in terms of welfare entitlements, usage of public facilities such as schools.

Bearing in mind these precautionary remarks, I argue that there are two important policy implications from the findings of this thesis. Firstly, it highlights the importance of neighbourhoods and shows that planning can play an active role in improving the social integration of rural migrants in urban China. This thesis shows that in addition to enhancing working conditions and removing institutional limitations, which are all important but not sufficient, it is also important to focus on the residential environment of rural migrants. More specifically, planning policies should aim to prevent further residential segregation between migrants and locals. The findings of this study show that the continuing concentration of migrants residents, due to the demolition of affordable neighbourhoods, can have negative effects on the social relationship between migrant and local residents (Liao and Wong, 2015). However, instead of artificially creating mixed neighbourhoods by enforcing a quota of migrant and local residents, it may be more useful to allow rural migrants to access affordable housing schemes. The second policy implication relates to an existing neighbourhood based government policy in urban China. Refinements to the existing policy of 'community construction' (see Shieh and Friedmann, 2008 for more information) are needed in order to fully exploit the positive role of neighbourhoods. The design of community construction strategies should aim to encourage more interaction amongst its residents rather than focusing solely on providing administrative services, which is currently regarded as the top priority of local *juweihui* officials (Shieh and Friedmann, 2008). Intergroup contact amongst residents

should be prioritized and *juweihuis* need to assume a more facilitative role, creating

opportunities for migrant and local residents to interact with each other.

Appendix 1: Survey questionnaire

Questionnaire no：

Dear Sir or Madam,

I am a professionally trained survey researcher from the research group "Building harmonious communities in Shanghai". We randomly selected your household to survey your household's living condition, your living experience in the locality and community activities and participation, as well as you and your family's basic socio-economic characteristics. We will provide the survey data to foreign university and scholars for research purpose. We will strictly follow the Chinese government law of conducting surveys (Tongji Fa), and all data will be only used in academic research. All information we collect from you will be anonymous and be kept confidential. Thank you very much for your support and cooperation!

Shanghai Household Survey Questionnaire

（2013）

Survey Respondent：Household is the basic research unit，questions to be answered by 1 person, namely the head of household (resident with the main financial income) Survey time：**July, 2013**

Address of the respondent：_____District (Qu/Xian)_____Jiedao（Zhen）_____Residential committee (juweihui)_____Road_____Nong_____Number_____ Flat number

Time of interview：**2013** ____month____day

Surveyors signature：_____ Duration of survey_____(min) Survey supervisor signature_____

Serial no	*Relationship with head of household*	*Gender*	*Age*	*Marital status*	*Education*	*Employment status*	*Trade*
A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	A8
	(see note 0) head of household should fill this column	1 male 2 female		1 unmarried 2 married 3 divorced 4widowed	(see note 1)	(see note 2) Those who chose 9-16 go to A10	(see note 3)
1	0 (head of household)						
2							
3							
4							
5							

Note 0: 1 spouse; 2 children; 3 parents; 4 parents in-law; 5 grandparents; 6 Son/daughter in law；

7 grandchildren; 8 siblings; 9 other

Note 1: 1 no education; 2 elementary school; 3 middle school; 4 high school; 5 three year college;

6 four year college; 7 undergraduate; 8 master of above; children below the age of 6 fill in "/"）

Note 2: 1 government department; 2 Public sector; 3 State enterprise; 4 Collective enterprise; 5 private business (including small businesses); 6 other domestic financial organisations; 7 Foreign investment companies; 8 other forms of employment (including part-time)

9 student 10 domestic worker； 11 retired； 12 unable to work； 13 waiting for work allocation；

14 unemployed； 15 entering another study； 16 others

Note 3: 1 farming and fisheries； 2 mining sector； 3manufacturing sector； 4 Energy

sector； 5 Construction sector； 6 transport and logistics and telecommunications；

7 Software and informatics 8 wholesale and retail； 9 hotel and gastronomy； 10 Finance and

Insurance sector； 11real estate； 12 Leasing and business services；

13 Research and development; 14 public amenities management； 15 residential service and

other service； 16 Education； 17Hygiene、Social security and welfare sector；

18 Culture, Sports, media sector; 19 Public management and social organisations； 20

International organisation

Serial no	*Occupation*	*Health status*	*Hukou status*	*Place of hukou registration*	*Social security*
A1	A9	A10	A11	A12	A13
	(see note 4)	1healthy 2 disabled 3 Longterm illness 4 common illness 5 other	1 local non agricultural 2local agricultural 3 non-local non agricultural 4 non-local agricultural	1 this jiedao (zhen) 2 This district 3 This city 4 outside of this city	(See note 5).
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					

Note 4: 1 management position in government or companies; 2 Skilled or technical personnel; 3 Administrative staff; 4 Business or service sector staff; 5 Farming, forestry, animal husbandry, fishing and production staff;   6 manufactoring, logistics and related staff; 7 Army soldier; 8 difficult to categorise

Note 5: 1 Pension insurance; 2 Health insurance; 3 Unemployment insurance；   4 Work related injury insurance；   5 other insurance；   6 Housing support；   7 none of the above

If the respondent has spouse please answer A14 otherwise go to A15

A14. Where does your spouse live?

  1.Same residence   2.Same city but other residence   3.Other city   4. Other village

5. Others____

If respondent has underage children please answer A15-A16，otherwise go to A17

A15.Where does your child live (choose the oldest one to describe)

  1.same residents   2. Same city but other residence   3. Other city

4. Other village   5. Others____

A16. If your child is within school age (6-15 years old) which type of school does he/she visit (choose the oldest within school age child to describe)

  1.Public school in this city   2.Private school in this city   3.migrant school in this city   4.school in their hometown   5.not visiting any school   6.no children within school age

If you migrated to Shanghai please answer A29-A31 otherwise move to part 2

A17.Which year did you live your hometown？_____

A18.What year did you arrive in Shanghai?_____

A19.What was the reason for coming to Shanghai?

1.Look for a satisfying job   2.Better personal development   3.Improve quality of living
4.Children's education   5.marriage   6.others_____

Part 2: Household income information

B1.Your average income per month in 2012_____ Yuan；Your household's average income per month in 2012_____Yuan

B2.Your household's total savings in 2012_____Yuan；Other assets（i.e. stocks etc.）
_____Yuan（if none write: "0"）

B3.Your household's average daily expense per month in 2012 (clothing, food, housing, transport, health, education, gifts, repayment, travel etc.)_____Yuan/month

B4.Your household's average food expense per month is _____Yuan/month

B5.Your family's average expense per month for children education_____Yuan/month（if none write: "0"）

B6.How much roughly was your electricity bill last month? _____Yuan

B7.If you remit money to your home then what was the total in 2012?_____Yuan（if none write: "0"）

B8.If you household encountered problems, where would you receive financial support from?
   1.Government support   2.Social security support   3.Danwei/company support
4.Kin and friends support   5.No support   6.No need for support   7.other_____

Part 3: Housing conditions

C1.Your residence is： 1.sharing the flat with others（Same flat/room） 2.only this household
3.other_____

C2.Hpw big is the floor space (building area) of your residence_____m^2；If you are sharing then how many people are you sharing with?_____ person(s)，The total floor space of your shared residence is_____ m^2

C3.Your residence has:a: _____rooms，b: _____living room（if none write: "0"）

C4.What year did you start living in this residence?_____year

C5.How much rent/mortgage instalment are you paying_____Yuan，How many percent of your household's monthly income does it take up_____%（if none write: "0"）

C6.Does your household have any of the following facilities（you may choose multiple）:
  1 Independent kitchen   2 Independent toilet   3 Bathroom   4 Portable gas
  5 Gas pipes   6 Air conditioning   7 Heater   8 Internet   9 none

C7.What is the property right of your residence
If you are a homeowner:
1．Inheritance/self built   2．Bought from the village collective

3．Bought from danwei

4．Bought as an affordable property

      (government scheme)

5．Shared ownership of an affordable housing

unit/ partially supported by danwei

6．Bought as a private property (commodity)

7．Compensation housing due to relocation

8. other _____

If you are a tenant:

9 Renting from public housing

10 Renting from danwei

11.Renting from workers dormitory

12.Renting from property built by local

      villagers

13 Renting from private landlord

14. Renting from village collective

15. Free housing from danwei

16. other_____

Part 4：Neighbourhood community experience

D1 How would you describe your sense of community：

		Highly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Highly agree	Not sure
1	People in this neighbourhood treat me and my family very well	1	2	3	4	5	0
2	People in this neighbourhood have similar values and habits	1	2	3	4	5	0
3	I can receive support from my neighbours	1	2	3	4	5	0
4	I know many people from this neighbourhood	1	2	3	4	5	0
5	Many neighbours know me	1	2	3	4	5	0
6	I feel that I belong to this neighbourhood	1	2	3	4	5	0
7	I care about how neighbours perceive me	1	2	3	4	5	0
8	My family and I participate in community activities	1	2	3	4	5	0
9	If there are problems, members of the community will solve it together	1	2	3	4	5	0
10	Being a part of this community is important for me	1	2	3	4	5	0
11	Members of this community take care of each other	1	2	3	4	5	0
12	I am willing to live here permanently	1	2	3	4	5	0
13	I am willing to live in this district permanently	1	2	3	4	5	0
14	I am willing to live in Shanghai permanently	1	2	3	4	5	0
15	The majority of native Shanghai residents in Shanghai are trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	0
16	The majority of migrants in Shanghai are trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	0

D2.If you encounter housing problems or problems related to the neighbourhood, who would you ask

for help?（you can choose multiple）：

1 Friends   2 Residential comittee (juweihui)   3 Village committee (cunweihui)   4

Housing management or developer   5 Housing association   6 Related government department

7 Media   8 not encountered yet   9 other_____

D3.How would you describe your household's relations with the majority of native Shanghai residents

(bendiren) in this neighbourhood (shequ)?

		Highly disagree				Highly agree
1	Friendly towards each other	1	2	3	4	5
2	Caring for each other	1	2	3	4	5

3	Trusting each other	1	2	3	4	5
4	Familiar with each other	1	2	3	4	5

D4. How would you describe your household's relations with the majority of migrant residents (waidiren) living in this neighbourhood (shequ)?

		Highly disagree				Highly agree
1	Friendly towards each other	1	2	3	4	5
2	Caring for each other	1	2	3	4	5
3	Trusting each other	1	2	3	4	5
4	Familiar with each other	1	2	3	4	5

D5.How does your household interact with native Shanghai residents (bendiren) living in this neighbourhood (shequ)?

		Frequently	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
1	Visiting each other's home	1	2	3	4
2	Helping out each other	1	2	3	4
3	Greeting each other	1	2	3	4
4	other （please state） _____	1	2	3	4

D6. How does your household interact with migrant residents (waidiren) living in this neighbourhood (shequ)?

		Frequently	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
1	Visiting each other's home	1	2	3	4
2	Helping out each other	1	2	3	4
3	Greeting each other	1	2	3	4
4	other （please state） _____	1	2	3	4

D7. Where does the majority of your friends come from?

1.Same hometown (or same city)   2.Same province (but different hometown)

3.From other province   4.from Shanghai   5.other_____

D8.Where does the majority of your friends live? （choose only one）

1. Same neighbourhood   2. Same district

3. Different district in Shanghai   4.Outside Shanghai

D9.Is your neighbourhood gated and with security guards (physical gate and non-residents are not allowed in)? 1.Yes   2.No

D10.Do you think your neighbourhood will face redevelopment?   1.Yes   2.No

D11.How many years do you plan to live here? _____Year

The survey has been completed, thank you very much!

The following information should be obtained from the respective juweihui：

Neighourhood housing type where the respondent lives in （choose only one）

1. Traditional Courtyard   2.Work-unit   3.Commodity housing   4.Relocation home   5.Publicy rented housing   6.Affordable housing (government scheme)

 7.Urban village   8. Provisional shelters   9.other_____

The share of migrant residents in the juweihui _____%

The number of Minimum Living Standard Support recipients in the juweihui_____Person(s)

Appendix 2: Post estimation results

Table I Post estimation analysis of the intergroup neighbouring models

	R-Squared	AIC (Akaike Information Criteria)	BIC (Bayesian Information Criteria)
Intergroup neighbouring OLS model	0.164	5767.184	5903.627
Intergroup neighbouring mixed effect linear regression		5631.559	5778.947
Intergroup visit OLS model	0.160	2951.885	3088.327
Intergroup visit mixed effect linear regression		2820.566	2967.505
Intergroup support OLS model	0.118	3104.941	3241.383
Intergroup support mixed effect linear regression		2993.915	3140.853
Intergroup greeting OLS model	0.131	3500.199	3636.642
Intergroup greeting mixed effect linear regression		3368.772	3515.711

Table II Post estimation analysis of the affective neighbourly relations models

	R-Squared	AIC (Akaike Information Criteria)	BIC (Bayesian Information Criteria)
Intergroup affective neighbourly relations OLS model 2	0.310	6244.382	6375.488
Intergroup affective neighbourly relations mixed effect linear regression model 2		6151.378	6292.973
Intergroup friendliness OLS model 4	0.235	2898.869	3030.046
Intergroup friendliness mixed effect linear regression model 4		2825.339	2967.01
Intergroup care OLS model 6	0.256	3190.34	3321.517
Intergroup care mixed effect linear regression model 6		3102.535	3244.209
Intergroup trust OLS model 8	0.205	2697.044	2828.221
Intergroup trust mixed effect linear regression model 8		2648.23	2789.901
Intergroup familiarity OLS model 10	0.233	3131.243	3262.349
Intergroup familiarity mixed effect linear regression model 10		3013.403	3154.997

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