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THE QINGLI PATH AND GOVERNANCE STRATEGY IN A RURAL-TO-URBAN COMMUNITY: EQUILIBRIUM AND CIRCULATION IN THE RECYCLING OF WASTE IN THE CHAOLAI GREEN HOME COMMUNITY

Shuhui Wang^{1*}, Tianshu Gao², Ying Zhang³

¹The Experimental High School Attached to Beijing Normal University, Beijing, China

²Institute of Evidence Law and Forensic Science, China University of Political Science and Law, Beijing, China

³Department of Sociology, Peking University, Beijing, China

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Corresponding Author: Shuhui Wang
(shuhuiwang2025@gmail.com)

ABSTRACT

In the course of China's large-scale urbanization, the nation's social governance has gradually shifted from a parallel model of urban residential community governance and rural villager autonomy to a model dominated by the former. It is within this transition that rural-to-urban resettlement communities (nongzhuanju shequ), as a unique social phenomenon, have emerged, exhibiting characteristics of both urban "stranger societies" and rural "acquaintance societies". Consequently, the complexity of governance in these communities lies in a dual challenge: on one hand, the traditional norms of etiquette and reason (qingli) that structured rural society are significantly weakened; on the other, the formal rules of institutionalized urban governance cannot be mechanically applied. This paper, based on an ethnographic study of a rural-to-urban community in Beijing's Chaoyang District, focuses on the conflict over waste recycling in community spaces to demonstrate the interaction between qingli and formal governance rules. The analysis illustrates that urbanization is not merely a spatial transformation of "villagers moving into high-rises", nor is it just a change in legal identity from farmer to citizen. Rather, it is the urbanization of people themselves—a process of reconstructing interpersonal relationships and achieving a balanced, effective governance through empathy and mutual understanding.

KEYWORDS: Rural-to-Urban Resettlement, Qingli (Reason and Sentiment), Normative Governance, Waste Recycling.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. *Research Background: Rural-to-Urban Communities in the Process of Urbanization*

The historical trajectory of urbanization, from agrarian to industrial societies, has typically been a “natural history” of cities, with urban communities forming in response to the rise of new industries or industrial shifts. However, the high-speed, state-led urbanization process in China has been characterized by both the transition from work-unit (danwei) based housing to commercial residential communities and the emergence of numerous rural-to-urban resettlement communities (nongzhuanju shequ) (Hsing, 2010). This phenomenon is a distinct feature of China’s transformation from what sociologist Fei Xiaotong termed “From the Soil” into an “urban-rural China” (Fei, 1992). These resettlement communities can be broadly categorized into **three types** urban expansion, new town development, and land transfer models. This paper focuses primarily on the first two types, as well as land transfer cases where villagers’ legal identities are officially changed. These new social formations are often referred to by researchers as transitional or transformational communities, defined by their hybrid nature—possessing the physical form of an urban community while retaining certain social attributes of their rural past (He et al., 2021).

The proliferation of rural-to-urban communities, especially in megacities like Beijing, has rapidly transformed rural residents into urban citizens through processes of agricultural land expropriation and resettlement (Liu et al., 2022). This blurring of the urban-rural boundary has not only altered the physical living environment of former villagers but has also triggered profound transformations in their lifestyles, traditional customs, and modes of governance (Shin, 2016). A critical issue for China’s urbanization and social governance is how to facilitate the adaptation of this resettled population from a rural to an urban way of life, ensuring they can “arrive, settle in, and live well” (Zhu et al., 2025). Specifically, in these communities, urbanism and rurality intertwine, while modernity and tradition collide. The influx of migrant renters further complicates governance, creating a dynamic and fluid social order, unlike the relatively static equilibrium found in traditional work-unit compounds or village communities.

In 2019, the Fourth Plenary Session of the 19th CPC Central Committee set **two key goals for grassroots governance** first, to “build a social governance community in which everyone has

responsibilities, fulfills their responsibilities, and enjoys the benefits”, and second, to “improve the urban and rural grassroots governance system that combines self-governance, rule of law, and rule of virtue under the leadership of Party organizations” (CPC Central Committee, 2019). How to achieve the effective operation and social integration of rural-to-urban communities has thus become a crucial research topic, directly related to the stability of grassroots social governance and the satisfaction of residents’ aspirations for a better life.

1.2. *Research Problem: Governance Dilemmas in Rural-to-Urban Communities*

To gain an in-depth understanding of the specific problems facing rural-to-urban communities, this study selected the Chaolai Green Home Community in Beijing as a fieldwork site. Established in 2005 through the relocation of five administrative villages, Chaolai is a typical resettlement community. Its residents are predominantly original villagers, with tenants accounting for nearly a quarter of the population and senior citizens making up 25%. These demographics present unique governance challenges, including conflicts over pet ownership, public spitting, elevator installation, and, most notably, the accumulation of recyclable materials in public spaces.

During the field investigation, this study found that the accumulation of collected recyclables occupying community space and creating fire safety hazards (hereafter, the “recyclables problem”) is particularly prominent. Some senior residents have continued the pre-relocation habit of collecting and haphazardly storing these materials. This practice not only occupies public areas like bicycle sheds and degrades the community environment but also sparks conflicts among residents and between residents and community managers.

Further analysis reveals that this problem is deeply rooted in the specific characteristics of the resettlement community. First, the act of collecting recyclables reflects the traditional rural values of resourcefulness and frugality, carrying both cultural and economic significance for the residents. Second, because many community staff members are themselves resettled villagers, they often exhibit a degree of tolerance for this habit. This tension between cultural empathy and official governance responsibilities complicates the management of the issue. The recyclables problem is therefore not merely an environmental challenge but a microcosm of the broader conflict between tradition and modernity, and between informal norms and formal

rules, that defines the social transformation in these communities. This study thus uses the governance of waste recycling as a lens to explore how to achieve a balance between cultural adaptation and effective governance.

Based on this fieldwork, the study will focus on the governance dilemma of the recyclables problem in the Yunshiyuan residential quarter of the Chaolai community. It will explore the conflicts and potential mediation paths between traditional lifestyles and the modern urban governance system. Specifically, this study seeks to answer the following questions

- Why is the recyclables problem so prominent in rural-to-urban communities?
- What are the unique mechanisms that shape this issue compared to ordinary urban communities?
- What are the respective demands of the diverse actors (elderly recyclers, community and property managers, and other residents)?
- What conflicts of interest emerge among them in the governance of recyclables?
- How do community and property managers collaborate to address this issue?
- What specific mechanisms and methods do they employ to achieve effective governance?

By exploring these questions, this study aims to reveal the core contradictions in the governance of recyclables in rural-to-urban communities and to provide practical insights for resolving this and similar challenges.

1.3. Research Significance

Theoretical Significance: Focusing on the balance and cycle of recyclables management, this study advances research in the field by exploring the logic of governance and cultural adaptation in rural-to-urban communities during the process of urbanization. While existing literature on urban waste management often focuses on standardized governance in commercial housing communities, it pays less attention to the unique context of resettlement communities. By analyzing the role of qingli-based governance, this study expands the theoretical perspectives on this topic. From the viewpoint of the governance cycle, this study also analyzes the multiple meanings of recyclables for different actors and explores how the logic of qingli in these communities adapts to the demands of modern governance. By analyzing this case, the study provides theoretical support for exploring the compatibility of formal rules and informal norms in community governance, deepening the understanding of the flexibility and adaptability of

grassroots governance.

Practical Significance As key nodes in the integrated development of urban and rural areas, the governance practices of rural-to-urban communities offer important lessons for China's urbanization process. Through a micro-analysis of recyclables management, this study reveals how a community can achieve cultural adaptation and interest coordination through flexible governance in a context where traditional culture and modern requirements are intertwined. Firstly, this study provides concrete recommendations for governance practices. It finds that flexible governance can create a balance among multiple interests by dynamically regulating rules and qingli, thereby achieving sustainability. This model has important reference value for other similar issues. Secondly, the governance balance and circulation mechanism proposed here offers a reference for policy-making at the governmental and grassroots levels, such as adjusting the assessment methods for environmental governance in these communities and adopting a more positive view of flexible governance approaches. This study not only deepens the understanding of the recyclables problem but also provides a theoretical basis and practical inspiration for a governance model that is compatible with both reason and rules.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. From Governance of Urban and Rural Communities to Transformational Governance of Rural-to-Urban Communities

Since "community governance" was first included in the Party's programmatic literature in 2012, it has been a central topic in China's social governance research (Cai, 2017). In the context of rapid urbanization and urban-rural integration, rural-to-urban resettlement communities have recently garnered more scholarly attention as a special type of community transitioning from a rural to an urban form (Liu et al., 2022). These communities are the product of government-led, mandatory institutional change, where traditional villages are integrated into urban districts through policy-driven relocation (Liu et al., 2022). They are distinct from both traditional urban neighborhoods and their rural predecessors, representing a "mixed community" with both rural and urban attributes (Tang, 2014). Academic research has examined these communities from the perspectives of grassroots organizational transformation, public service and management, and governance models. This paper builds on this work

by focusing on cultural adaptation, the role of qingli, and spatial governance within this transitional context.

Cultural Adaptation in the Transition of Rural-to-Urban Communities The academic literature has documented the many cultural adaptation challenges faced by residents of resettlement communities, including the conflict between traditional habits and modern norms, the reorganization of social relations, and identity dissonance (Qian, 2017). One manifestation of this is the conflict between residents' behaviors and urban living standards. The phenomenon of "destroying greenbelts to plant vegetables", for example, reveals how resettled residents may retain a small-peasant economic mindset, transforming public green spaces into private gardens (He et al., 2009). Such actions damage the community environment and highlight the friction between traditional concepts and modern urban governance.

Changes in social networks further exacerbate the problem of cultural adaptation. After "moving into high-rises", the original social network of the "acquaintance society" is disrupted, and new social relations form slowly, leading to a weakening of community cohesion and social capital. The reconstruction of social networks for rural migrants in these centralized settlements is a complex and gradual process.

Identity dissonance is another critical issue. Passively urbanized villagers often struggle to transition from a rural to an urban identity, and this break in self-identification directly affects their social participation and psychological well-being (Zhu et al., 2025). A lack of social trust can also lead residents to exhibit greater insecurity in their social interactions, weakening the community's overall trust system.

Qingli in the Governance of Rural-to-Urban Communities In modern urban community governance research, the emphasis is typically on legal principles and formal rules, with little attention paid to emotion or qingli. Recently, however, some scholars have begun to discuss the unique dimension of emotion in community governance within the Chinese socio-cultural context.

Emphasizing emotional factors can effectively compensate for the insufficient supply of formal rules and institutions in urban governance. Moreover, Chinese society possesses abundant resources for emotional governance, such as the traditional social norms of "face" (*mianzi*) and "human sentiment" (*renqing*). This perspective aligns well with the tradition of research on qingli in

Chinese legal and social history (Wang & Li, 2021; Liu & Li, 2021).

From this viewpoint, the characteristics of the "acquaintance society" described by Fei Xiaotong and the logic of qingli remain highly relevant in the governance of rural-to-urban communities (Fei, 1992; Barbalet, 2017). Qingli, as a localized tool of rural governance, can enhance effectiveness through resources such as personal relationships, face, and social networks. At the micro-level, *renqing*, as the connective tissue of the acquaintance society's power network, shapes the order and logic of rural social life. Grassroots cadres, as members of the local society, are deeply embedded in this network and often allocate public resources through social relations to achieve more effective governance.

Although these studies focus on rural contexts, the logic of qingli is still visible in the governance practices of resettlement communities. However, some studies also point out that these communities are transitioning from an "acquaintance society" to a "semi-acquaintance society" (He, 2013). Changes in living space have led to a lack of subjective consciousness among residents, creating a phenomenon of "villagers in the community" and a weakening of public spirit and modern homeowner awareness. In this semi-acquaintance society, a social form between an acquaintance society and a mass society, relationships shift from familiarity to mere recognition, and social norms gradually move from a rule of ritual to a rule of law.

In response to the special governance needs of these communities, many studies have proposed more adaptive governance paths. As a process involving multiple actors, the governance of rural-to-urban communities emphasizes that capacity is the key to achieving effectiveness. The role of property management is crucial in this regard. Property management is not just the management of things, but a practice that integrates the "management of things" with the "management of people" (Zhang et al., 2018). By popularizing property knowledge and cultivating homeowner awareness, property management can enhance residents' knowledge and participation in community affairs (Fu, 2015). Furthermore, drawing from the logic of qingli, the system of reason within China's mobilization-style governance is also applicable here.

Although social actors may not strictly follow principles of rationality, their actions often conform to a logic of being "reasonable and fair" (*heqing heli*), and thus interactions among different actors at the grassroots level are always conducted within the framework of qingli.

2.2. Community Spatial Governance Based on Waste Recycling

The challenges of cultural adaptation and the importance of qingli in social interactions are closely related to the transformation of physical space. The reconstruction of community space is therefore intimately linked to the shift in governance models in rural-to-urban communities. Another unique challenge for these communities is the loss of control over the material spatial order. After residents move from rural production and living spaces to high-rise residential buildings, problems of spatial disorder arise, such as the illegal occupation of public green spaces, disorderly parking in bicycle sheds, and the accumulation of debris in corridors. The accumulation of recyclables studied in this paper is one manifestation of this spatial disorder. Such phenomena not only damage the public environment but also expose weaknesses in the community's governance capacity.

Recyclables as a Renewable Resource Currently, academic research on waste governance focuses mainly on waste sorting and disposal in urban communities, treating recyclables as a sub-field of this broader topic. Recyclables are "items that have been discarded by consumers but still have resource recovery value". In urban society, the standardized management of China's recycling system is not yet perfect, and the supply of recycled resources may lack long-term stability. Therefore, informal recycling systems (including scavengers, scrap collectors, and environmental organizations) play an important role in the current urban waste recycling system (Wilson Center, 2021). Scavengers (referred to as "recyclables collectors" in this study) contribute to reducing the pressure on end-of-pipe disposal facilities by sorting recyclables from mixed waste (UPM, 2020). However, their activities also lead to environmental untidiness and are often met with disapproval from residents and managers. At the policy level, regulations such as Beijing's on domestic waste management aim to regularize waste classification while often excluding informal collectors from the formal system, placing them in an awkward position.

Recyclables in the Eyes of Residents: Clean Cities and Selling Recyclables Urban residents' attitudes toward waste are closely related to their living environment and resource concepts. Many hold an "out of sight, out of mind" view, believing that as long as garbage is removed from their immediate vicinity, the goal of a clean environment is met. This reflects that for many residents, cleaning up and segregating waste is the most effective means

to achieve cleanliness, while the essential issue of resource recycling receives less attention (Li, 2015).

The concept of the "Clean City", centered on ecological protection, people-oriented development, and sustainability, has gradually shaped the environmental and sanitation requirements of urbanization, aiming to improve the civility and quality of life of urban residents. Through waste management and resource utilization, the construction of Clean Cities not only optimizes the living environment but also promotes a shift in ideas and behaviors. As a result, urban residents' adaptation to a clean environment has gradually increased, and their expectations for community environmental governance have risen accordingly.

Finally, the act of selling recyclables is closely related to an individual's age, income level, and occupation. Studies have found that retirees and low-income households are often more actively involved in this behavior, suggesting it is driven by financial incentives. However, it is precisely the transition from rural to urban communities that makes the recycling of these materials problematic. The competition for recyclables and the space occupied by their accumulation are key problems for the spatial governance of rural-to-urban communities (Ho & Lo, 2022).

2.3. Commentary

Existing research on the governance of rural-to-urban communities provides a theoretical foundation for understanding the challenges of cultural adaptation and governance dilemmas during this transition. These studies have explored residents' issues with identity, social relations, and behavioral norms, offering useful perspectives. However, several shortcomings remain:

First, existing research is often limited to qualitative descriptions and theoretical interpretations, lacking empirical analysis of specific micro-level governance issues. For example, the formation mechanisms of recyclables governance and the interactive dynamics among its multiple actors in this specific context have not received sufficient attention.

Second, some literature overemphasizes the dichotomy between tradition and modernity, ignoring their interplay in governance practices. While qingli is recognized as an effective tool for rural governance, there is a lack of systematic discussion on how it can be integrated with modern urban governance systems in resettlement communities.

Lastly, most studies focus on waste classification

and standardized management in ordinary urban communities, with relatively little attention paid to resettlement communities. They fail to deeply reveal the complex conflicts of interest and interactions among recyclers, the community, property management, and other residents based on recyclables. The cultural and social logic behind this behavior, and how residents' concepts of cleanliness affect the governance process, also lack detailed analysis.

Therefore, this study takes recyclables management as its entry point to address these gaps. It will analyze the formation mechanism, governance dynamics, and balancing mechanisms of this issue, focusing on the interest conflicts and collaborations of multiple actors and exploring the potential of flexible governance in balancing rules and qingli.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Fieldwork Design and Implementation

This study employs a field investigation method to systematically analyze the practice of recyclables management in the Chaolai Green Home Community. The primary fieldwork was conducted over a three-month period from September to November 2023. The implementation of the fieldwork included the following components:

Field Visits and Observation Records The researcher conducted multiple visits to the Chaolai Green Home Community, particularly the Yunshiyuan residential quarter, focusing on the phenomenon of recyclables accumulation in bicycle sheds. Observations covered the daily behaviors of the seniors collecting recyclables, the execution of property management patrols, and the operational mode of community governance. Furthermore, the researcher participated in property patrols and bicycle shed cleanup activities, recording the details of interactions between community managers, property staff, elderly recyclers, and ordinary residents in an observation log.

Selection and Representativeness of Research Objects To ensure the comprehensiveness and diversity of the research results, the research subjects covered the main groups related to recyclables management, as follows:

Community Managers The community Party secretary, community director, and a site supervisor were selected, all of whom are directly responsible for recyclables management.

Property Management Staff The property management director and a supervisor, responsible for the management and practical implementation of recyclables governance.

Senior Recyclables Collectors: The study focused on 7 typical households of senior recyclables collectors, with recyclables stored in bicycle sheds numbered 2, 3, 4, 8, 17, and 20.

Residents Through residents' reception days and participation in cleanup activities, the head of the residents' delegation and several ordinary residents were contacted to understand their attitudes and demands regarding the recyclables problem.

3.2. In-depth Interviews and Focused Subjects

The study adopted a semi-structured interview method, conducting in-depth interviews with different subjects on themes of governance motivation, behavioral patterns, conflicts of interest, and governance effects. In total, 22 semi-structured interviews were conducted across the different subject groups. The interview content, combined with observation records, aimed to reconstruct the real situation of recyclables management from multiple perspectives. This study's discussion is primarily based on interviews with the following four categories of subjects

Community Managers

Secretary Zhang About 50 years old, Secretary of the Community Party Committee, with over 10 years of experience in community governance. His governance style tends toward modern urbanization. He was transferred to Chaolai Community at the end of 2022 and is familiar with some residents.

Director Lang About 50 years old, Community Director, a long-term resident of Chaolai Community. She is particularly concerned about the recyclables problem and is often directly involved in handling residents' complaints.

Site Supervisor Li About 30 years old, responsible for the specific implementation of recyclables cleanup in cooperation with the property management company.

Property Management Staff

Director Wang About 45 years old, Property Management Director, with long-term experience in property management and a deep understanding of the institutionalized process of recyclables management.

Supervisor Li About 40 years old, Property Management Supervisor, mainly responsible for daily inspections and the specific implementation of recyclables management; a key executor in the daily process.

Senior Recyclables Collectors

Research Objects The study focused on 7 typical senior recyclables collectors, involving bicycle sheds numbered 2, 3, 4, 8, 17, and 20 (See "Table 1").

Residents

Delegation Head Jiang About 70 years old, head of the community residents' delegation, retired. He works as a community legal consultant, is familiar with social governance, and is well-educated.

Other Residents Views and specific demands on recyclables management were exchanged with many ordinary residents through participation in cleanup activities.

4. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1: Overview of Senior Recyclables Collectors in Yunshiyuan.

Subject	Age	Family/Economic Background	Significance of Collection	Domain/Tool	Type & Frequency (Est. Monthly Income)	Relationship w/ Mgmt
Grandma 1	~70	Son is property manager. (Economic: OK)	"Have nothing to do", pass the time.	Bicycle Shed 8; Tricycle	Cardboards, plastic bottles. (RMB 300-500)	Harmonious
Grandma 2	/	Widowed; son lives nearby. (Economic: OK)	"Have nothing to do", pass the time.	Bicycle Shed 4; Big sacks	Cardboards. (Sells every 2 days)	Harmonious
Couple 1	~65	Live with daughter & grandson. (Economic: Poor)	Financial reasons.	Bicycle Shed 17; Big & small tricycles	All types. (RMB 2000-3000)	Harmonious
Grandpa	/	Lives with wife. (Economic: OK)	Exercise and walking.	Bicycle Shed 20; None	Plastic bottles, cardboards. (Sells 1/month)	Harmonious
Grandpa An	~70	Unknown. (Economic: Good, 4-5 houses)	Hobby.	Bicycle Shed 2, fire access, doorway, greenbelts.	All types. (Frequency unknown)	Incompatible.
Couple 2	~70	Live with daughter's family. (Economic: OK)	"Nothing to do". Exercise/income.	Bicycle Shed 3; Tricycle	Plastic bottles, cardboards, etc. (~RMB 300)	Harmonious
Sunglasses Man	/	Lives with wife & son. (Economic: OK)	Exercise. (Poor heart).	Bicycle Shed 2; None	Plastic bottles, cardboards. (RMB 200-300)	Harmonious

4.1. The Significance of Recyclables for the Seniors

(a) Continuation of Habits of Rural Life For the seniors in Yunshiyuan, the behavior of collecting recyclables can be traced back to their rural life experience. This behavior did not appear after urbanization but is a continuation of the concept of "thrift" and the logic of resource reuse in traditional rural culture. The rural seniors have generally experienced an era of material scarcity, and the concept of saving resources and reducing waste has been deeply rooted in their values and internalized into a lifestyle where saving resources is a virtue. Even after their economic conditions improved, this awareness of thrift has continued to run through their daily lives.

In traditional rural life, the bungalows where the seniors lived often had an attached courtyard, and the collection and sorting of recyclables were mostly limited to their own space, which was deemed a natural and daily behavior. With the advancement of urbanization, these seniors moved to high-rise residential buildings in rural-to-urban communities, and their living space changed dramatically. Garbage and recyclables are no longer confined to private yards but are concentrated in public areas (such as garbage bins). This change provides conditions for the seniors who have the habit of collecting recyclables to continue or even extend their behavior.

For them, recyclables are not just discarded garbage but potential resources, and collecting them has become a way to adapt to urban life.

(b) The Value of Recyclables Although the behavior of collecting recyclables is similar in nature, different seniors attach different meanings and values to them. This study found that the seniors who pick up recyclables can be roughly divided into two categories: one group builds the meaning of daily life and a sense of self-worth through waste recycling, while the other collects recyclables as an important means of livelihood. The former group is more numerous (see "Table 1").

(1) "Emotional value": Collecting recyclables as a continuation of labor and a "pastime of life"

For the seniors without economic pressure, collecting recyclables is more of a continuation of labor and a pastime. They do not regard this act as hard, tiring, and dirty work, or even as inferior, but take it as a way to exercise and pass the time. Through collecting recyclables, these seniors feel the pleasure and satisfaction brought by labor, as well as enjoy the opportunity to have contact with society, which provides emotional value. For example, an elderly man who is unable to participate in ball games or chess activities due to health reasons (see "Table 1": The Sunglasses Man) chooses to maintain his activity by collecting recyclables, while creating an income for himself (about 300 to 500 RMB per month). For him, collecting recyclables is not only for

"fun" but also a reflection of an independent life and an important way of self-identification in an urban environment.

(2) "Economic value": Collecting recyclables as a means of making a living

However, for another category of seniors with poor economic conditions, collecting recyclables has a more urgent economic significance. Often due to poverty or lack of other sources of income, these seniors are forced to choose this "dirty, hard, and tiring" activity to make ends meet. For instance, one couple (as indicated in "Couple 1" of "Table 1") has been collecting recyclables since 2008. They start working at 1:00 a.m. and continue for over 10 hours every day. This activity, which has been ongoing for 16 years, is their main source of income, earning them about 2,000 to 3,000 RMB a month. For this group of elderly people, recyclables are not only a resource but also a life support and their first choice when they have no other options.

4.2. The "Problem" Positioning of Recyclables by Different Subjects

The problem of recyclables has been brought to the forefront of community governance because of the conflicting interests and opposing perceptions it provokes. In the community where multiple actors live together, the existence of recyclables transcends the scope of a mere environmental problem and is given greater social significance. For different actors, the accumulation of recyclables conflicts with their own interests and cultural perceptions and is therefore seen as a "problem" that needs to be eliminated. The following will explore how waste touches on the core concerns of the community, property management, and residents, and becomes a focus of governance.

(a) Community: The Twin Pressures of Governance Costs and Standards As the central coordinating body of waste management, the community has to face the dual pressure of complaint handling and standardized assessment. First, the governance costs of handling complaints significantly increase the workload of the community. After residents complain about the accumulation of recyclables, the community needs to take joint action with the property management company through a "dual dispatch mechanism". In addition to clearing up the recyclables immediately, it is also necessary to carry out long-term tracking and follow-up visits. Community workers usually take on the role of "managing people", responsible for persuading all parties and coordinating their emotions, especially trying to persuade the seniors

not to pile recyclables in public areas. After the cleanup is complete, the community workers need to follow up on the situation for days or even weeks to prevent reoccurrence. Furthermore, the 12345 municipal hotline makes random return visits to assess community governance, which requires the community to continuously invest a great deal of time and energy in maintenance, further increasing the working costs of governance.

Second, the standardized requirements for annual assessments and inspections by the Office of Civilization have further strengthened the sense of standardization in community work. The monthly case statistics and quarterly assessments from the "12345 hotline" directly affect the community's annual performance rating. For example, among the 35 communities in the Laiguangying area, communities with excellent assessments can not only obtain more funding for party-building projects but also win bonuses for community workers. The inspections from the Office of Civilization are carried out at multiple levels, from the district and municipal to the central level, and the results directly affect the ranking of the community, thus influencing the overall performance evaluation. The pressure of these external assessment and inspection mechanisms has prompted the community to regard the waste accumulation problem as a "weakness" that must be addressed as a priority.

Although the community secretary emphasizes that the motivation to solve the recyclables accumulation problem comes more from "bottom-up" community needs, the essence of this motivation actually comes from an identification with modern governance concepts and the shaping of external standards. The external assessment mechanism not only directly increases the community secretary's attention to the recyclables problem but also profoundly shapes her governance philosophy in long-term practice, making her inclined to respond to the challenges of community governance in a standardized way. Having worked in commercial housing communities for many years, the secretary has accumulated rich experience in urban governance, and her direction has always been aimed at maintaining order and improving the environment. The dual effect of this modernizing consciousness and external assessment pressure places the recyclables problem on the community's "problem" agenda, thus becoming a governance problem that the community must address.

(b) Property Management Company: Fire Hazards and Daily Maintenance Investment The accumulation of recyclables poses a direct threat to

the operation of the property management company because of its fire hazards. Most of the accumulated materials are flammable (such as cardboard, foam, etc.), which significantly increases the fire risk in public areas. Once a fire is caused by recyclables accumulation, the property management company could face a penalty of up to 50,000 RMB. Although there have been no fires in public areas caused by recyclables in the past decade, fire accidents caused by hoarded materials in residents' homes have occurred from time to time, which has heightened the property management company's concern and sensitivity to waste management. The company makes the recyclables problem a high priority in its management to avoid potential economic losses and accountability.

Not only that, but daily maintenance and complaint handling have also significantly increased the workload of the property management company. The property management supervisor and customer service staff patrol the community every day, focusing on checking public areas such as bicycle sheds, and repeatedly reminding and supervising the sorting and cleaning of recyclables. When receiving complaints from residents, the property management company also needs to take joint action with the community to solve the problem through the "dual dispatching" mechanism. The property management company is mainly responsible for "managing things", that is, assisting the elderly in cleaning up the accumulated recyclables and ensuring that the sorting work meets the expected standard. The bicycle sheds have become high-risk public areas for recyclables accumulation. In order to reduce the probability of complaints from residents, property inspections and remediation are particularly frequent. This repeated treatment model significantly increases the input cost of property management—inspection and supervision work requires not only extensive human resources but also a great deal of time and energy.

(c) Residents: Public Spaces and Conflict of Concepts The occupation of bicycle sheds, a limited public resource, by recyclables is the direct reason why residents, especially young office workers, are most dissatisfied. Bicycle sheds are an important facility for charging and parking electric vehicles, but the accumulation of recyclables occupies the limited parking space, which directly affects the daily use of residents. This problem is particularly prominent for office workers, who not only complain about the problem through the "12345" hotline but also give direct feedback to the staff on the community's resident reception day, asking for waste disposal as

soon as possible to restore the normal use of the bicycle sheds. It can be seen that the occupation of bicycle shed space constitutes the most direct manifestation of the conflict between the waste problem and the residents.

The difference between urban and rural concepts of cleanliness further magnifies the dispute over recyclables accumulation. As a rural-to-urban community, some senior residents have moved into high-rise residential buildings, but their mindsets have not been completely "updated", and they still retain the concepts and habits of rural life. They argue that the accumulation of recyclables does not materially hinder others and therefore should not be considered a "problem". With the advancement of the community's urbanization, however, more and more residents, especially young people and tenants, have fully adapted to the modern concept of urban governance. They generally believe that the accumulation of recyclables not only affects the cleanliness of the community environment but also goes against the "urban cleanliness" standards of modern urban life and must be controlled. This conflict of urban and rural concepts not only reflects the differences among residents on the right to use space but also reveals the collision between traditional rural habits and modern urban governance concepts in the process of urbanization in rural-to-urban communities.

4.3. Mechanisms for the Recyclables Management Cycle

Recyclables management has created a complex and multi-layered governance cycle mechanism in the rural-to-urban community. The operation of this mechanism is not only influenced by the behavioral patterns of community residents but also closely related to the interaction and collaboration between the community and the property management company. The cycle of recyclables management includes daily, weekly, and irregular clean-up processes and reflects both the institutionalized nature of the governance model and the complexity of coordination and feedback in the governance process.

(a) Different Cycles of Garbage Cleanup

(1) Daily cleanup cycle

Daily cleanup is the most basic and frequent part of recyclables management. The behavior of the seniors collecting recyclables in the community triggers the starting point of governance. The property management staff conduct patrols in the morning and evening every day. They will immediately give alerts upon noticing an

accumulation of recyclables to ensure that they are cleaned up in a timely manner. At the same time, as most of the community workers are also residents who were converted from villagers, their acquaintance with the senior recyclables collectors also provides more emotional ties and communication channels for daily governance. When community workers notice an accumulation of recyclables that has not been cleaned up in a timely manner, they will take the initiative to remind the seniors to dispose of them. Most seniors have a good attitude and are willing to cooperate with the community and property management staff in organizing their recyclables.

(2) Weekly cleanup cycle

Every Friday, the community and the property management staff work together to conduct a focused and organized cleanup operation for one of the bicycle sheds in Yunshiyuan. The community and property management will notify the seniors who have accumulated recyclables in advance to clean up the waste by Friday. If the seniors fail to clean up on time, the community and property staff will contact the corresponding senior recyclables collectors on the day of cleaning the sheds, help them sort out the wastes, and even help contact waste recyclers to collect the materials when necessary, so as to achieve a cleanup.

(3) Irregular inspection cycle

Irregular inspections mainly stem from resident complaints and government inspections. After residents make a complaint through the "12345" hotline, the community and the property management company need to respond immediately, investigate the problem, and implement clean-up actions. This process not only requires efficient cooperation between the community and the property management but also involves a complex feedback mechanism: after processing, a return visit is required to ensure that the complainant is satisfied with the outcome. Meanwhile, the government's regular inspection of the community also creates external pressure for recyclables management, especially in the year-end assessment and inspection by the Office of Civilization, where the performance of the community and the property management directly affects the staff's year-end bonus. Driven by these external pressures, the implementation of recyclables management has been strengthened. However, the short-term effects of governance are often not durable, and the problem tends to recur after the inspection is completed.

(b) Interactive Mechanism in Governance The

mechanism of recyclables management goes beyond a mere cleanup process; it involves engagement between the community and the property management company. The community and the property management company perform different functions. While the community focuses on the management and coordination of people, the property management company places emphasis on the execution of specific matters. In the process, the two form a partnership of shared governance, responding to practical problems in recyclables management through their respective divisions of labor.

(1) Collaboration at the community level (people management)

Community workers play an important coordinating role in the recyclables management process. Not only do they need to communicate with residents on a daily basis, but they also need to mediate when conflicts arise. As most of the community workers and residents have known each other for a long time, the workers are able to make use of social relations, relying on the network of the acquaintance society to enable both residents and the senior recyclables collectors to understand each other through emotional mediation and reach a stable and balanced governance situation.

(2) Collaboration at the property management company level (affair management)

The property management company is responsible for the specific task of executing the recyclables cleanup. The duties of the property management staff are not limited to daily patrols but also include assisting the seniors in handling, sorting, and disposing of their recyclables during intensive cleanups. The property management company has a more standardized management model and relies on an institutionalized cleanup process to ensure governance effectiveness. In the event of a complaint from a resident, the property management company needs to work with the community to investigate the complaint and implement the cleanup to ensure that the results comply with the relevant government requirements.

(3) Interactive cooperation of the community and property company

The interactive cooperation of the community and property company is an important part of the recyclables management mechanism. In actual governance, the functions of the community and the property management company are complementary: the community is responsible for handling the emotions of the residents and coordinating the work, while the property management company is

responsible for the specific task of recyclables cleanups. Taking residents' complaints as an example, the process is often complicated: when residents lodge their complaints through the "12345" hotline, the community and property management will need to jointly investigate and handle them, and finally make a return visit to confirm whether the results are satisfactory. This process has resulted in a collaborative chain between the community and the property management company. Although a more efficient workflow has been developed in terms of governance, due to the repetitive processing model, the effect of governance is often limited to the short-term resolution of conflicts and fails to fundamentally address the persistence of the recyclables problem.

(c) Continuity of Cycles The cyclical nature of recyclables management is not only reflected in the persistence of the seniors' behavior but also in the institutionalization of the community governance model.

(1) Persistence of the seniors' behavior

Many seniors collecting recyclables do not fully realize the impact of this behavior on the community environment but regard it as a daily activity, and some of them even take it as a form of emotional sustenance or part of their daily life. For seniors without financial pressures, collecting recyclables is not only a way to exercise but also provides emotional value (e.g., reducing loneliness, increasing social interaction). For financially-strained seniors, recyclables collection has become an urgent means of livelihood. These behaviors are rooted in the social and economic status of the seniors and their particular perception of life's resources. In the long process of socialization, recyclables collection has gradually become an inertial behavior for these seniors. Even in the face of community management measures, many seniors still continue this behavior.

(2) Institutionalization of governance model

The community and property management company have institutionalized the model for dealing with recyclables, and each governance action basically follows the same steps. Although such institutionalization improves the efficiency of governance, it also limits change and innovation in the governance process. In each governance action, the community and the property management company only repeat operations such as reminding, cleaning up, and assisting, and lack new strategies and long-term behavioral guidance. The repetition of this governance model and the lack of enforcement means make it difficult to fundamentally solve the problem of recyclables management. In the absence

of more appropriate management measures, the seniors continue their recyclables collection behavior, forming the continuity and repetition of the governance cycle.

4.4. Balance of Governance

The reason why recyclables management can form a cycle is that each actor has reached a balance of governance in the interaction, and the method of promoting this balance is worthy of in-depth discussion. How this method differs from the common urban governance path and how it shows its unique adaptability in the special context of rural-to-urban communities is the key to understanding the recyclables management cycle.

(a) Normative Rules Vs. Qingli-based Compromise Urban communities are generally governed by modernized, rule-based approaches that improve efficiency through legal and institutional clarity (Bray, 2006). When applied to recyclables accumulation, this model manifests as strict constraints: according to the Civil Code and relevant property management regulations, the responsibility for managing recyclables accumulation is clearly defined, and if violations are found, the property management can carry out mandatory cleanups and impose penalties. Such standardized governance has been widely used in commercial housing communities and shows high adaptability. Most residents in these communities are well-educated middle and high-income earners and have a high level of cognition and acceptance of rules. Meanwhile, contracts are the core of these communities, and social relations are relatively distant. Hence, governance depends more on the rigidity of rules. The advantage of standardized governance is that it delineates behavioral boundaries through clear rules, reduces repetitive problems, and improves efficiency.

However, it is evidently difficult to simply apply this model to recyclables management in rural-to-urban communities. First, the constraint logic of standardized governance faces a practical dilemma here. Residents in these communities, especially the seniors, have long been influenced by their rural life experience, and it is difficult for them to fully accept the standard requirements of urban governance. For them, recyclables accumulation is not a "violation" but a part of daily life that has a certain meaning. Second, mandatory means would be regarded as "unreasonable" (*bu jin renqing*) in the acquaintance society of these communities, which would cause resistance and even destroy internal harmony. The *qingli* constraint of an acquaintance society

emphasizes the maintenance of interpersonal relationships, which is often ignored by the rigid implementation of rules. It can be seen that rigid governance relying solely on rules is unable to deal with the recyclables management problem in the community.

Compared with standardized governance, this study found that rural-to-urban communities often adopt a more suitable approach to meet their governance needs—qingli-based governance. This approach differs from Western concepts of ‘negotiated governance’ or ‘community mediation’ in that it relies less on formal processes and more on pre-existing, culturally specific social ties and sentiments (*renqing*) rooted in the ‘acquaintance society’ network. Community and property management workers, as part of these communities, can understand the significance of recyclables collection for the seniors, so they choose to compromise through qingli rather than mandatory cleanup. Qingli-based governance does not pursue the rigidity of rules but achieves behavioral adjustment through the relationship network and cultural understanding in the acquaintance society. In practice, community and property management workers allow the seniors to accumulate recyclables for a short period and remind them to organize or sell them in a timely manner when appropriate. Such a compromise comes from the “affection” (*qingfen*) between the community, the property management, and the senior residents, as well as an understanding of rural thoughts and habits. This understanding is not from an external management perspective but arises because most of the community and property management workers themselves have experienced the process of rural-to-urban transition and share a similar cultural background and life experience with the senior residents. Thus, they can understand that for these seniors, recyclables collection is a continuation of a life rooted in a culture of frugality. In the process of governance, therefore, they are more inclined to start from qingli and understand the behavioral logic of the seniors, rather than blindly relying on the rigid implementation of norms.

Meanwhile, the senior recyclables collectors also show an understanding of the logic of qingli in their management. They usually do not show strong resistance to the requirements of the community and property management, especially in the case of government inspections or resident complaints, and are often willing to cooperate in the cleanup. Such cooperation is not rooted in an agreement with the norms but in a qingli-based interaction with the community and property management. Although

they may not fully understand the normative requirements of modern urban governance, they will not come into conflict with the community or property management over it. This two-way interaction based on mutual understanding and respect allows the qingli-based compromise to work effectively and has become one of the core logics of recyclables management in rural-to-urban communities.

(b) Boundary of Flexible Governance This study found that the community and the property management adopted a flexible governance strategy in recyclables management and succeeded in achieving a dynamic equilibrium by flexibly adjusting the rigidity of management (Hu et al., 2018). The core of this governance model lies in the precise control of the “degree” (*du*), or the boundary of flexible governance: allowing the elderly to accumulate recyclables for a short period, but also ensuring that the accumulation does not have a substantial impact on public order and conforms to the requirements of the ground rules. The accumulation of recyclables is usually considered to have reached the upper limit of this “degree” when it is characterized by the following features: the accumulation is too cluttered and occupies a large amount of public space, the total amount has reached a saleable size, or it has caused conflicts due to complaints from residents. At this point, the property management usually advises the elderly to organize or sell their recyclables in a timely manner through negotiation and reminders, so as to prevent the accumulation from getting out of control. Most seniors, when reminded, are able to clean up their recyclables or sell them in a timely manner, thus avoiding exceeding the boundary of governance and maintaining the basic order of the community and the rules of environmental governance.

The elasticity of flexible governance provides room for all parties to adjust, helping to form a dynamic equilibrium that does not jeopardize the interests of all parties: the seniors are able to gain the benefits of recyclables; the community and property management fulfill their governance tasks, and the basic needs of the residents are protected. However, such an equilibrium is not static, and its sustainability depends on a common adherence to and understanding of this “degree”.

The case of “Grandpa An” (see “Table 1”) is a classic counterexample to the failure of flexible governance, as he made a prolonged and repeated breach of the “degree” of governance. As one of the seniors in the community with one of the worst piles of recyclables, Grandpa An stacked materials in

multiple areas, including his own home, in front of his house, in front of his unit, and in the bicycle shed. These recyclables not only took up a lot of public space but also directly interfered with the daily life of other residents, such as blocking the entrance to the elevator and making it impossible to park bicycles in the shed. Although the community and property management repeatedly advised and urged him to clean up or sell his recyclables in a timely manner, he always refused to cooperate. To make matters worse, Grandpa An showed extreme resistance during the complaint handling process on several occasions, including going directly to a property management worker's home to pester and threaten him, and even pointing a knife at himself in protest during another coordination. Because of his frequent boundary-crossing behavior and difficulty in communicating, the community eventually had to label him as a "deadbeat" and consider him a special challenge in recyclables management.

The behavior of Grandpa An not only breaks the boundary of flexible governance but also leads directly to the interruption of the governance cycle. His case shows that flexible governance is not applicable in all contexts and that its operation needs to be premised on a set of boundaries that are commonly observed. When these boundaries are repeatedly breached, the logic of flexible governance fails, and new coping strategies must be sought. In contrast to Grandpa An, most seniors are able to abide by the boundaries in the governance process and clean up their recyclables on time, which enables flexible governance to operate effectively in most contexts in the community, achieving a coexisting governance of qingli and rules.

(c) Tensions in Equilibrium The equilibrium of recyclables management is not static and stable but is deeply embedded in multiple tensions, which are particularly complex in the context of rural-to-urban communities. First, the conflict between rural culture and modern concepts of urban governance constitutes the most prominent source of tension. Some of the senior residents keep the traditional concepts of "thrift" and reuse of resources from rural life, which are in direct opposition to modern concepts of urban governance. The latter centers on the notion of "cleanliness" and environmental order and views the accumulation of recyclables as a violation of public space and environmental cleanliness. This conceptual difference exists both between generations (between senior and young residents) and within population groups: the community, property management, some seniors who do not collect recyclables, and even some who

do, regard collecting recyclables as "unclean" and "dirty", especially when it is associated with dumpster diving (see "Figure 1" below). However, most of the senior recyclables collectors believe that their collection is a perfectly normal labor practice and a rational use of resources. It can be seen that the community, property management, and some residents have turned to modern governance concepts, while others adhere to traditional rural habits, resulting in inconsistent concepts within the community and forming a cultural tension.

Second, the negotiation between the rights of seniors and community norms constitutes another kind of tension. On the one hand, seniors see recyclables collection as an important part of their lives that is neither illegal nor disruptive. They often believe that "they have done nothing wrong" and that collecting recyclables is an expression of personal freedom of choice. On the other hand, the community and property management are required by the rules to manage recyclables by including them in the context of environmental governance. However, the property management company actually lacks the real power to enforce the law and can only rely on flexible governance to find a path that follows the rules while respecting the rights of individuals in a long-term negotiation with the seniors.

It is noteworthy that the tensions in the governance equilibrium do not result in antagonism but rather become a driving force for understanding and collaboration among multiple parties, infusing governance with greater resilience and flexibility and creating an equilibrium that is both dynamic and inclusive.



Figure 1: A Senior Collecting Recyclables from a Dumpster.

5. COUNTERMEASURES

The synergy of the government, community, and property management is crucial in the recyclables

management process. In order to effectively solve the problem of recyclables management in rural-to-urban communities, all parties should take targeted measures according to the needs and characteristics of different groups, so as to ensure the long-term and sustainable effects of management. These measures not only help to improve the management of recyclables but also promote the smooth integration of residents who have transferred from rural areas to live in the city, so that they can “come, stay, and live well”, thereby realizing social harmony and sustainable development.

(a) Government Response First, the government should adjust relevant policies based on the special characteristics of rural-to-urban communities. For grassroots communities, the government should determine the assessment requirements for environmental governance in an appropriately scientific manner and avoid overly rigid assessment criteria. Especially for special communities like these, the recyclables accumulation is different from that of ordinary urban neighborhoods. Therefore, the government should adjust the criteria for judging recyclables management according to the specific conditions of these communities, instead of treating all communities equally. In this way, the actual difficulties and governance needs of rural-to-urban communities can be better reflected, and unrealistic assessment criteria can be avoided from aggravating the burden of grassroots governance. The purpose is to ensure that residents of these communities can make a smoother transition to urban life and achieve the goal of “coming and staying here”.

Second, the government should start from the perspective of cultural adaptation and traditional habits and squarely regard recyclables collection as a cultural habit, which will help to improve public inclusiveness. The government should be aware that the problem of recyclables management does not lie in the “collection” of recyclables but in the location and manner of their “accumulation”, so that due consideration can be given to allowing grassroots communities to open up suitable accumulation sites for this small group of collectors. In this way, senior recyclables collectors will be included in the formalized recycling system, and their contribution to recycling will be properly recognized, without compromising fire safety and the public space needs of other residents in their daily lives. Such measures can respect the traditional habits of the seniors while guaranteeing public safety and the quality of life of residents, thus creating a more inclusive community and helping the seniors to better integrate into urban life.

(b) Response of the Community and Property Management Company At the community and property management levels, the measures adopted for different types of senior groups should be differentiated to ensure the diversity and comprehensiveness of the governance effect and create conditions for the better integration of resettled residents into “life in the building”.

For the majority of the seniors who cooperate with the governance efforts, the community and property management should adopt more humane measures. First, under the premise of policy adjustment, the community can view recyclables collection as part of the cultural tradition of thrift and as a continuation of the history and culture of the rural-to-urban community, thus changing the negative perception of this behavior in the community at large. This not only recognizes and legitimizes the value of the behavior of senior recyclables collectors but also increases social acceptance of their behavior. Furthermore, the community can also invite young people to have hands-on experience in the form of labor education by organizing activities, so as to deepen their understanding of recyclables collection and recycling. This creates a more positive perception of this type of traditional culture among the young generation and helps these seniors better integrate into their community.

For stubborn residents who do not cooperate, especially those who refuse to communicate with the community and property management, the community and property management should flexibly apply the “Fengqiao Experience”. The “Fengqiao Experience” emphasizes the advantages of an acquaintance society in grassroots governance, making use of relationships and cultural ties within the community. Community workers can address the problem of non-cooperation in a step-by-step manner by building trust and listening to the needs and difficulties of the seniors. On the basis of respect for individual differences, conflicts can be gradually eliminated through gentler and more humane methods of governance to promote the smooth implementation of recyclables management, thereby helping these seniors better adapt to urban life.

6. CONCLUSION AND OUTLOOK

Starting from the special position of rural-to-urban communities in China’s urbanization process, this study pays full attention to the complexity of their governance. It takes the balance and circulation in the recycling of waste in the Chaolai Green Home Community as an entry point to demonstrate the conflict and accommodation of the concepts and

positions of all parties involved in governance: the community, the property management, and the residents. This competition and governance based on community space is not simply an either-or pattern in which one party overrides the other, or rules override qingli, and qingli breaks the rules, but a process in which the concepts and demands of all parties reach an equilibrium of governance and reproduction through constant testing and compromise. The study's core theoretical contribution is the identification of 'flexible governance' – a dynamic model where qingli (reason and sentiment) is not an obstacle to, but a necessary and functional component of, modern rule implementation, creating a sustainable 'governance cycle' specific to China's rural-to-urban context.

With regard to the governance of rural-to-urban communities, there are currently two main views in the academic circle. One is that as a kind of "transitional community", they will be transformed into truly urbanized communities in the future (Liu, 2024). In this perspective, the problems faced by their governance are only a temporary or transitional state, and ultimately there will be a path towards the rule of law of a "stranger society". Therefore, the corresponding countermeasures are to increase the guidance and education of the residents, so that they can adapt to modern urban life, and then replace the cultural remnants and qingli space of the rural community with a general urban community management model. The logic behind this view is the dual opposition between urban and rural areas, which regards rural tradition as an obstacle to urbanization. Evidently, this view has a certain linear evolutionary thinking, ignoring the complexity of governance in these communities and the implications for urban community governance in China contained in their governance process.

Another view holds that rural-to-urban communities have a certain historical continuity, and rural traditional resources are not all opposed to modernization, as their unique local traditions can be incorporated into the construction of modern new traditions and thus become a "resource that can be

mobilized" in the construction of urban communities in China today (Tang, 2014). This study focuses on the cultural adaptation and qingli factors in the governance of rural-to-urban communities, which is to fully tap the local resources in China's unique community governance to shape the governance model suitable for the operation of these communities.

Further, in terms of urban community governance across the country, some scholars have concluded that China's community construction over the past 40 years has experienced a historical evolution from political application and mobilized governance to reason-based governance, presenting a realistic transformation from human favor and face, and reciprocal strategies to emotional ties (Chen & Qu, 2020). It is even believed that protecting community emotion and resorting to reason-based governance has become an inevitable trend in community governance theory and practice. This study does not support a comprehensive approach to emotional governance or qingli-based governance based on local cultural resources. Instead, it focuses on the coordination and balance between modern social rule governance and the qingli factors in the cultural adaptation of rural-to-urban communities based on their actual situation.

Indeed, the report to the 19th CPC National Congress also pointed out that "As socialism with Chinese characteristics has entered a new era, the principal contradiction facing Chinese society has evolved into the contradiction between unbalanced and inadequate development and the people's ever-growing needs for a better life". This requires us to put the concept of "walking in others' shoes" into the practice of community governance and the shared community model in pursuit of good governance in the new era of social governance. However, this process of achieving governance is neither formal rules overpowering qingli nor qingli overpowering formal rules, but rather the two are adapted to each other and are used interchangeably. In this regard, this study is only the beginning.

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