
Research Paper

Out-migrate Elites as Rural-Urban Link

An Innovative Pathway Toward Rural Development Around Metropolis

Tianzhu LIU, China

Jingsheng LI, Tongji University, China

Abstract

Urbanization has caused the outflow of rural population, leading to the depression in rural areas. However, out-migrate elites (OMEs) are found involving in rural affairs in China's coastal areas and contributing to the rural development. This paper questions what is the role OMEs play in rural development. We undertake the research with the participatory research method: taking the practice of village planning as the opportunity to conduct in-depth interviews, questionnaires, and observations in the planning processes. The analysis concludes the binary nature that OMEs have: both "rural" and "urban". OMEs' kin, geographical and economic relations with the village derived from their rural experience, are the motivation of their participation in rural affairs, while their urban life experience contributes to the significant human, physical and social resources that the village is lack of. On this basis, OMEs deliver resources to the village in the process of participating in rural development. Through the delivery of knowledge and physical resource, they provide diversified ideas and funds for the village. Meanwhile, they bring long-term influence to the villagers by affecting their values and building endogenous capacity for the village. Furthermore, OMEs help expanding the social network of the village by introducing their personal social resources from cities into the village, bringing developing opportunities for the village.

Keywords

Out-migrate elites, Rural-urban link, Rural development, Village planning

1. Introduction

The rapid growth of urbanization and industrialization in China in recent decades has brought about the prosperity of the whole nation, but also accompanied by the large population flowing into the city from rural areas. The proportion of rural population to total population decreased from 82.1% in 1978 to 41.5% in 2017 (National Bureau of Statistics, 2018). Most of the rural population who have moved to the city are young and middle-aged people aged from 15 to 50 years old with greater ability. In such way, urbanization has caused the outflow of rural population, as well as the productivity, capital, and knowledge resource, leading to the depression in rural areas. Thus, unbalanced urban and rural development come to be a significant problem around metropolis in this era. On the other hand, however, diverse subjects in cities are involved in rural areas in different ways as the rural villages are increasingly open, which could be seen as the rural urban interaction, supplying the rural endogenous power (Douglass, 1988; Sabet and Shahryar, 2017). Especially

in coastal metropolitan areas where cities are in high degree of aggregation with strong economy, with the increasing integration of urban and rural areas, individuals and organizations from cities participated in the development of the rural villages and affected them. In this rural-urban interaction, we recognized a type of people and we call them “out-migrate elites” (OMEs). They were born in the village and now live in the cities, but still keep contact to the village and bring opportunities to the village.

There have been some discussions about this group of people. It's found that new generation of rural elites who go out to work have improved their abilities and insights in the process of earning a living and employment, thus making up for the lack of resources, projects and leaders in the village (Chen, 2015). It is also concluded in the study that more than half of the “County sage” had experience in migrant work, contributing to their “elites” property (Xu, 2015). Having a strong sense of self is an important attribute of the village elite, which is related to the experience of having more education and working and living outside (He, 2000). These researches further prove the value of OMEs, but they simply discuss the elite attributes of the persons who are out of the village. The value of OMEs in village development has not been systematically studied. What is the role OMEs play in rural development? Specifically, what characteristics do OMEs have? Why do they keep contact with the villages? And on those basis, in what way do they affect the rural villages? These are the questions we are going to explore in this research.

2. Definition and methodology

2.1. Definition of Out-Migrate Elites

In order to carry out the research, we need to have a preliminary definition of the OMEs. Though there is no generic concept and title accepted by academia, scholars have recognized the existence and value of this group of people. Luo described them “the third force”, representing people who went out from villages and work in administrations and enterprises but still care about village development and try to deliver resources for the village (Luo, 2002). Ren (Ren, 2003) named these former villagers who were seeking development outside the village but participate in the village life crossing space barriers as “outflow elites”, with the meaning of the potential of elites' return and the long last contact with the village.

Learning from the above literature, we use the term “out-migrate elites” here, aiming to directly express the identity of our research objects, especially the attributes comparing to the normal villagers who live inside the village. “Out-migrate” describes the status of grown up in the village but going out to study or work, and often living outside the village. “Elite” means that he or she can help the village public affairs because of the resource advantages. Actually “out-migrate” determines the attribute of “elite”: the small-scale peasant economy situation in China determines that it is difficult for the rural areas to achieve the affluence of most people simply through traditional agriculture. Those who come to the town and city through employment, business, military participation, and further studies have the ability to make a living in the city through their efforts, gradually escaping from the way of relying on land to survive. In conclusion, OMEs in this paper are defined as “the original villagers who migrate to cities to make a living but still care about the development of the village and have

the ability to provide certain resources to the village". This includes, but is not limited to, civil servants, entrepreneurs, engineers, and the alike who works outside the village.

2.2. Participatory research method

In order to answer the questions mentioned before, we undertook the research with the participatory research method, with the opportunities provided by the village planning projects in coastal areas of China. Village planning aims to promote rural socio-economic development through industry planning and spatial strategies, based on the investigation and communication with villagers (Li, 2019). As a part of public policy of rural areas, the planning compilation is normally authorized by government and is always supported positively by villagers. With the support of village planning projects, we have little difficulty to get access to the village and to contact villagers and OMEs, being able to gain trust with them so as to collect information and to conduct in-depth interviews and questionnaires. Moreover, as a typical tool to promote village development, the planning process reflects the OMEs' participation in rural development. Thus, we got the chance to organize meetings and discussions so that it was possible to make observations in the planning processes of initiation, design, decision-making, and implementation (see figure 1).



Figure 1 Group meeting of village planning process in case study villages

2.3. Case study villages



Figure 2 The location of case study villages (left: in China, middle: in Fujian, right: in Zhejiang)

Explicitly, three rural villages (figure 2) in the coastal areas of China, Leishan Village (L village), Pucheng Village (P village), and Tangxi Village (T village), were studied as example, from 2014 to 2017. They belong to Ningbo (L village and T village) and Fuzhou (P village), two well developed large municipalities, at the administrative level. Though through different ways, OMEs in those villages participated in the planning process in diverse forms. Besides to the basic information like geographical and cultural resources of the villages, we collected data through the observation in group meetings and semi-structure interviews and questionnaires with OMEs. Different village planning projects were initiated for different

reasons and therefore were accompanied by different participants, so the research method applied in those cases were not exactly the same.

T village belongs to Yuyao, Ningbo, with the distance of 86 km to Ningbo city centre, 71 km to Yuyao city centre and 11 km to the town, with around 1280 people in 2014. Its village planning was initiated in the 2014 by the villagers, looking for an avenue to better village industry to improve the villagers' income. So that the funding of planning was shared by the village and government. The village has very proactive leaders, who recognized the value of those people *"who has quite good status in cities but always contact the village as well"* and thus organized a series of activities attached to the village planning to enrol them in the process. In addition, a Wechat (a social media app) group was built for the instant communication between villagers, OMEs and planners. In T village, we mainly collect information about OMEs via the village head and through the observation in the planning discussion meetings and the group discussion via social media.

P village is located on the southwest of Fuzhou, with the distance of 80km to Fuzhou city centre and 22km to Yongtai county centre. It is composed of three administrative villages with continuous built-up area and with the villagers sharing same ancestors so that they treat the villages a whole from a cultural identical perspective. P village is very large because of the mentioned reason with around 7000 villagers, 49% of whom migrated to the large cities, mainly being in business. The village planning project started in 2016 because of the OMEs' willing to improve the living environment of the aged and the project fund was shared by OMEs and government. While the main initiator of the planning project was the OMEs group and the amount the the OMEs is considerable, we did semi-structured interview with some OMEs and did a questionnaire through the internet with the help of an OME who was the main contact of the project.

L village is located in Fenghua, Ningbo, with the distance of only 32 km to Ningbo city centre. Different from the former two villages, the planning of L village started in 2017 was not actually an official statutory planning but was a voluntary project attached to the activity *"nostalgia economy +"* organized by city government which aimed to improve the rural village development though community building. Because the village is very close to the city, many people still lived within the village. The village head didn't realize the value of OMEs, but she accepted our suggestions and contacted the OMEs to participate in the planning discussion, which was the main channel for the data collection.

3. Profile of Out-Migrate Elites

3.1. Basic characteristics of OMEs

In terms of age, OMEs are mainly young and middle-aged people. In P village, the average age of OMEs is 44 years old, and the average age when they migrate is 19 years old. The OMEs who are older than 60 years old often have weaker physical capacity and the less desire for struggling due to their age, and they miss the village life and choose to return to the village. As Lin S, OME in P village stated: *"The first generation of villagers who came to Shanghai to make a living have been in Shanghai for 30 years. Take my parents as an*

example, they came to Shanghai in 1988 and now they chose to go back to live in the village. My father and mother have returned to the village, and they are not willing to work so hard here. (In the city) Although they don't have to do much thing, they feel bored. In the village, the circle of communication is bigger, while in the city they can only share a small family. My mom lived very close to her sister in Shanghai, but they meet at most two times a month. However, in the village, friends meet everyday”.

Different from the occupational status in village where people mainly work in agriculture, the professions of OMEs are diversified because of the opportunities provided by the city. In P village, the professions of OMEs include at least civil servant, entrepreneur, engineer, university teacher, middle school teacher, and bank staff. In T village, more than 54 OMEs own the leading positions in their working area.

As for the geographical distribution, most of the OMEs live in cities not far from the village, normally in the same metropolitan area. As shown in figure 3, OMEs in P Village and T Village are mostly located in the county-level cities (Yongtai County/Yuyao City) and municipal-level cities (Fuzhou/Ningbo City) where the village belongs to in the administrative level and mega cities like Shanghai.

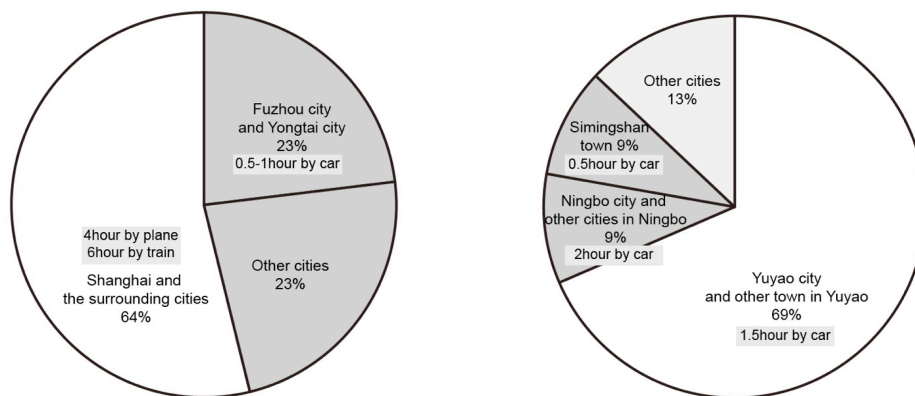


Figure 3 OMEs geographical distribution and time distance (left: P village; right: T village)

3.2. Resource characteristics of OMEs: based on the comparison of villagers

The above information about OMEs provides us with a view to understand their resource characteristics, especially with the comparison of villagers who stays inside the village. This characteristic will be described from the human resource, physical resource and social resource (Lin, 2005). In terms of human and physical resource, generally the most labour intensive age and the ability to set up a career in a more developed city are the support of OMEs' richness in resources, as well as the broad vision and ideas gained from the experience in the city. While many OMEs have also achieved business success, most of the people in the village are still peasants with an annual income of 7,500 yuan in average, relying on the economic support of the OMEs. Moreover, occupation, especially occupational status, is more indicative of the OMEs' rich resources. They have obtained professional skills and organizational skills related to their professions, and accumulated corresponding physical resources due to those skills. A considerable number of OMEs are leaders of government departments or management personnel of the company, which means relatively higher wealth, power and prestige resources (Lin, 2005).

As for the social resource, figure 3 presents the comparison of the social network of a typical villager and an OME: the ability to access a wider range of resources. The village is a “society of acquaintance” which means that people are familiar with each other and have similar job occupation. Therefore, social relations are limited to small-scale primary relations and people’s interactions are often repeated with homogeneous resources, as shown in figure 2a. On the contrary, OMEs live in towns and cities and have developed various secondary relationships in social interactions. Thus, the social network is open and wide with rich heterogeneous resources, as shown in figure 2b. The latter may acquire a wider range of resources due to the opening of social networks (Lin, 2005).

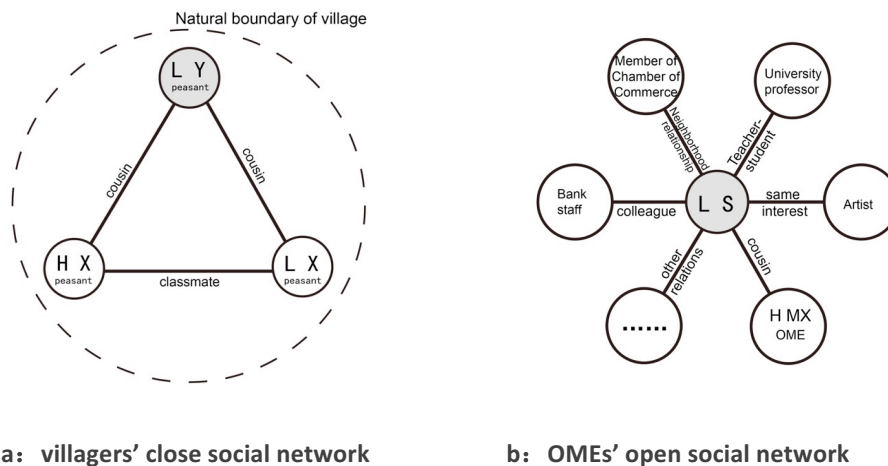


Figure 4. Comparison of social network of villagers and OME in P village

3.3. OMEs' Participation in rural affairs

In the era when transportation and internet infrastructure are not well developed, the OMEs keep in touch with the village by sending money to the family (Li and Xue, 2014). With the improvement of those infrastructure, the contact between those who migrated out and the village comes to be easier. 44% of the OMEs in P village keep contact with the village every week, while the remaining 36% keep monthly contact with the village. The frequency of visiting the village is determined by the geographical location. OMEs living in the county area always visit the village 20-30 times a year, while those who live in municipal-level cities go to the village about 10 times a year, and those who live in other cities return to the village 1-8 times a year. In the village planning projects, though in different ways, there are OMEs involved in the all those villages. OMEs in P village gathered together spontaneously with the consensus goal of making the village better for living. 44 OMEs in Shanghai and more than 20 OMEs in Fujian province were involved in the settlement of “Beautiful Village Committee” and were distributed with tasks by each person’s advantages. In T and L village, more than half of OMEs came to attend the village planning discussion after the call from the village head.

Other than the actual participation, the willingness of OMEs also reflects their possibility of participation in village affairs. In P village, 68% of OMEs are willing to give suggestions for the village development; 36% of them would donate for the village construction if needed; 32% of them would like to get policy and funding for village with their social resources; and 16% of them are willing to bring friends to consume in the village. OME in L village who was doing business in Ningbo believes that the development of the village still depends on young OMEs.

He was not likely to return to the village to make a living and work, but he could invest money to the village.

4. Social Relationship: the motivation of OMEs' participation in rural areas

The participation of OMEs to the village has been presented, further, it's necessary to understand why they are involved in the village issues. When we treat OMEs as a kind of exterior resource of the village, the social capital theory is helpful to explain their participation. In the theory, social relation, resource and action are the components of social capital (Lin, 2005). We have discussed the action and resources of the OMEs, so we try to explain the motivation of their behavior through their social relationship with the village.

4.1. Kinship: rooted relationship of OMEs and the village

There is a strong "family" concept in Chinese culture especially in rural areas. Fei described it as "the differential mode of association", which means that the most intimate relationship is with relatives such as parents, and as the kinship goes weaker, the social tie becomes weaker (Fei, 2006). Many young and middle-aged OMEs have parents who still live in village because of the difficulties in adapting the lifestyle in cities, which is the reason why OMEs have intimate contact with the village. In P village, 76% of the OMEs visit the village for their parents and relatives, composing the main reason for why visiting the village. For those OMEs, they care about the living environment of village because the infrastructure and environment is strongly related to the living quality of their parents and relatives.

In addition, OMEs have clan relations with the village, which is derived from the sense of belongings based on kinship, and 60% of the OMEs expressed that they will visit the village for ancestors' worship festival. Ancestral halls and activities are active till now, for which hundreds of OMEs came back to the village in the worship festival day in 2016 even though it was not in vacation.

4.2. Geographical relationship: OMEs' willingness to return to the village in the future

While the kin relationship leads to the connection between OMEs and the individual villagers, the geographical relationship brings the connection between OMEs and the village itself. 80% of the OMEs in P village indicated that they would like to return to the village for vacation or after retirement.

The natural environment, cultural environment and friendly social interaction atmosphere in the village are important parts of the OMEs growth, composing the beautiful memory and the nostalgia of their life. In P Village, the OME Zhang MH introduced the traditional house with deep emotion as *"I always dream of this place."* Zhang ML expressed his love for hometown as *"The landscape and scenes of the village have always been a beautiful thing for us. We should keep those good memories."* Lin JY, the OME who was doing business in the county, expressed her emotion for the village through the willingness to repair the ancestral home: *"I come back here three to four times a year. My best memories are about here. I want to come back and repair the old house...Then I can bring my child here to live and for vacation."* Tang YJ in T village and Lin S in P village expressed most OMEs' willing to return to the village after retirement that *"I will go back to the village within five years in the*

future. My wish is to have a room to stay in the village." Though qualified to migrate Hukou to cities, some people chose not to do so just for keeping his land property in the village.

4.3. Economic relationship: property relations and industry opportunities

Most of OMEs have property related to house and land in village. In terms of land and house property, due to the collective ownership of village land in China, the property distribution of the village is closely related to the household registration (Hukou). The OMEs with their Hukou in the village still have the property of farmland, homestead, and cooperative shares. Moreover, there are some situations that OMEs still owns property in village though their Hukou migrated out. In general, almost every OME have property rights inherited from their parents and other relatives. For example, Lin JY, the OME of P village has been working in the city for decades with her Hukou in the city, will inherit a traditional house owned by his uncle. Further, if the land property has been confirmed before the migration of OMEs' Hukou, OMEs will have farmland property for a certain number of years. For example, P village has already done land rights confirmation about 30 years ago and the OMEs who moved out of his Hukou to the city after the confirmation still has a homestead and farmland. For another scene which can be seen in T village, with the permission of villagers, some OMEs have the shareholding of the cooperative whatever his/her Hukou is in the village or not. These are strong and long lasting ties between OMEs and the village, promoting OMEs paying attention to the village issues, which are related to their private property.

Another aspect of economic relation is about the industrial development. For those OMEs who want to operate a company, there is an advantage in the low cost of both land price and human labour for developing industry (a farm or a resort for example) in the hometown village. In addition, due to the demand for social network in business, people who go out to do business often operate industries that are related to the village and gather in neighbouring cities. For example, P Village has a traditional industry that produces dried fruit, and later OMEs who went out for business are mainly engaged in the food industry and gathered in Shanghai and surrounding cities for mutual support. This kind of link promotes OMEs to link each other closely so that they always have a sense of belongings of the hometown village.

4.4. The binary "rural" and "urban" nature of OMEs

Based on the description of the resources and social relationships of OMEs, a diagram depicting the social relations of OMEs and the village is drawn as shown in Figure 5, from which we conclude the binary nature of OMEs: the "urban" characteristic and "rural" characteristic. The "urban" characteristic presents the resource heterogeneity due to OMEs' occupational and workplace differentiation from their city living experience. This can be seen from the comparison outside and inside the natural boundary in figure 5. The latter "rural" property is reflected from the strong social link between OMEs and the village as well as within the OMEs group, which can be seen as "strong tie" because those are within the cultural boundary of the village shown in figure 5.

The social capital theory refers to the relationship between the strength of the relationship and the acquisition of resources. The weak tie theory believes that infrequent contact "weak tie" brings heterogeneous resources that are not easy to get in normal life (Granovetter, 1973), emphasizing the importance of heterogeneity of resources, though meaning the difficulty of the access of the resources. On the other hand, Chinese scholar Bian proposes that China is a strong relation-based society and the success of action depends not on the

breadth of information that weak ties can bring but on the certain help that strong ties can provide (Bian, 1998), underlining the importance of strong ties, though accompanied with less resources. However, when we talk about OMEs, this group could be treated as the combination of “strong tie” and “heterogeneous resources”, thanks to the binary nature it contains. This characteristic indicates the convenience of getting diversified resources from OMEs. Especially when OMEs gather together, they cooperate and deliver integrated resources gained from the city to the rural village.

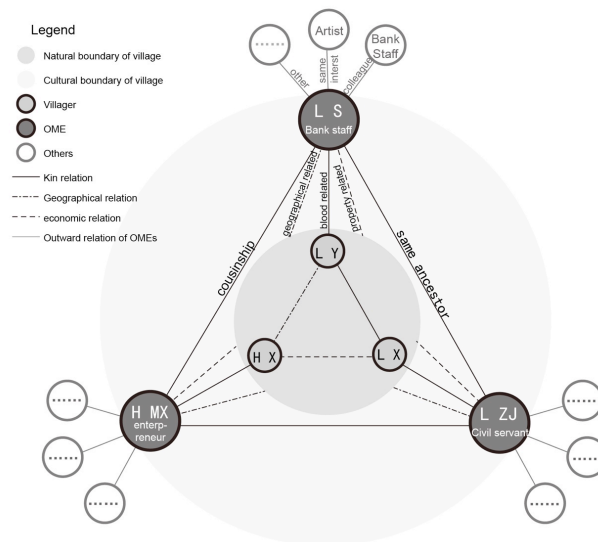


Figure 5 Diagram of the social relation network between OMEs and village (P Village)

5. OMEs' contribution to rural development: the delivery of urban resources to rural community

5.1. Delivery of information, knowledge and physical resource

Based on their own professional knowledge and long-term experience in cities, OMEs have developed diversified ideas for the village development. For example, in the discussion of industrial development in T Village, the OME Tang W working in the county government department proposed the idea to produce of agricultural and handicraft products in the coming years and to develop sports and health related projects in the long run, based on his knowledge of policy environment and economic situation in the county; while entrepreneur Tang ZG, based on his business management experience, recommended that the village could diversify its financing forms such as attracting private capital, crowdfunding, and shareholding. In terms of living facilities improvement, because OMEs have experience in the city and also have their own actual needs for the village facilities, they have put forward very specific ideas and suggestions for the improvement of the living environment, such as “constructing the waterfront road with the roadway 6 meters wide and the sidewalk 2 meters wide, along with the houses with shops on the ground floor...” and the OME who has gained training about urban planning even drew the section of the waterfront road to guide the construction. Those are ideas not be recognized by villagers and could be good opportunities for the village.

Moreover, those ideas are able to be achieved because of OMEs' involvement and operation in the project. For individual behaviour, this is reflected in the investment of funds and human labour by OME individuals. Based on the improvement of village environment and the development of individual industry, they provided funds by themselves for village construction and development. For instance, Lin Z, OME in P village devoted money for the construction of village pavilion and main road. In T village, Tang ZY wanted to invest in the hotel located in the village and was in the process of negotiation. Chen SH came up with the idea of developing local specialty for the village and has put it in practice with the result of well designed tea product, using the village's name as its brand name. For the village construction fundraising, the OME representative Lin ZJ expressed the general idea of OMEs as: *"We are obliged to pay for the village construction...The people living outside of the village are wealthier and ought to do something for the village."* As for the public projects which requires large amount of funding, programs are more implementable with the OMEs' participation. Taking the waterfront road project of P village as example, the project's proposal, initiation, design, and implementation fundraising were all driven by the operation of the OMEs. They planned the project based on their own expertise, estimated the budget, and contacted the design company. In the fundraising phase, they apply government funds through their channel and invest their own money and goods for the project. Lin Z, entrepreneur who was in charge of the fundraising told us how the money raising was planned: *"how to gather more than 9 million yuan for this project? First of all, we should apply for the money from government in the name of the 'beautiful village construction', which could get about 2 million yuan, and then it is not difficult for us to raise 1 or 2 million from individuals"*. In those ways, OMEs introduces information, knowledge and physical resources into the village to provide ideas and development conditions for village development.

5.2. Delivery of values and capacity building

In their experience in large cities, OMEs have cultivated the values to understand the precious value of traditional culture and natural environment of rural areas. In the process of participating in the development of the village, the values were imported into the village and affected villagers. Taking the traditional landscape conservation as an example, in all those three villages, when the villagers proposed to demolish the traditional buildings and build the European-style houses, OMEs emphasized the preciousness of the tradition and proposed the necessity to protect traditional features. They suggest that the buildings should keep old style and should not use cement and steel in construction. As the authorized elites, they have influenced villagers and led their value orientation in the process.

In addition, as OMEs have broaden their horizons, accumulated knowledge, and fostered the consciousness of modern citizenship (Yang, 2008), combined with the authority of their elite roles and the ability to integrate village interests (Luo, 2002), they bring about the consciousness of modern governance to the rural village and promote the capacity building by encouraging the villagers through directly participating in village management and the organization of public activities. Research on rural social information dissemination points out that when information sources are homogenous to recipients, that is, when they have the same intention, subculture, language, and personal and social characteristics, the effect of communication to gain knowledge or change attitude is obvious (Rogers and Berger, 1988). The OMEs act as the "source of information" – comparing to the external subjects such as planners and government, the same cultural and linguistic background of OMEs and

the villagers determines the efficiency of communication with the villagers. At the same time, because of knowledge and occupation, they have prestige and authority among the villagers, thus being more effective in delivering information to the villagers. Taking L village for example, the new head of Chen SH, also as the senior executive of a big company in Ningbo, introduced the “5S Management Rule” into the village. He invited the old authorized villagers to give suggestions and make decisions and regulated the reimbursement system of the collective expenditure, modifying the governance model. Based on the introduction of those values and the consciousness of modern governance, the villagers have been fundamentally promoted, thus affecting the development of the village in the long run.

5.3. Expanding social network of the village: bringing developing opportunities for the village

The OMEs' participation has also expanded the social network for villages, through their own social resources, to attract more attention and development possibilities. These social resources include top-down government resources, potential investment subject resources, related technical organizational resources, and so on. In L Village, OME believed that the village had potential to attract investment, so he organized social media group with the entrepreneurs he made friends in business to introduce potential investors to the village. In P village, civil servants (those who were retired and who were serving in the occupation), entrepreneurs, teachers and other OMEs working in the local or other cities were organized as a committee. The civil servants and the member of the chamber of commerce usually have the social relations with government officials so that they were in charge of the contact with the government officials to gain policies, funds, and information support from the special bureaus such as traditional village conservation office. OMEs in the enterprise have social relations with the local propaganda company so that they are required to contact local TV station to film the tourism video for the village. OMEs brings more attention to the village and more development possibilities by introducing their social resources to the countryside.

6. Conclusion and discussion

We conclude the “binary” nature that OMEs have. To the standpoint of OMEs' relation with cities, the experience of working and living in the city contributes to the significant human, physical and social resources of OMEs. From the perspective of OMEs' tie with villages, the kin, geographical and economic relationship is found as the fundamental connections. The “binary” characteristics and the development of metropolitan area, especially the construction of highway and internet infrastructure, make it possible for OMEs to maintain close contact with the village. Meanwhile, OMEs' appeal to the countryside, which is based on their relationship with the village, and the environmental thrust from the cities, prompts them to participate in village affairs. It is in this process that OMEs deliver resources from urban to rural areas, promoting village development. Taking the rural planning process as the example, OMEs serve as the rural-urban link and provide a novel way for rural development by building endogenous capacity for the village. Through participating in public issues, OMEs bring the values and information from city into the village, diversifying ideas to the village development, and exchanging information with villagers to enhance their abilities. Furthermore, OMEs help expanding the social network of the village by introducing their personal social resources from cities into the village.

There are still some issues that need further discussion. First of all, as an important resource of the village, what kind of ways can promote the participation of OMEs in rural development? In addition, what kind of organization can strengthen the role of OMEs? As a link between urban and rural areas, in addition to playing a positive role in the countryside, can OMEs' actions in the countryside also have a positive impact on the city, so that this link is reciprocal? These are issues that need to be explored in the future.

7. References

- Bian, Yanjie (1998) "Retrieving Strong Relationships: China's Indirect Relationship, Network Bridge and Job Search", *Social Sciences Abroad*, No. 2
- Chen, Kaibing (2015) "Research on Rural Population Flow and Village Governance in the New Period: Based on the Investigation and Thinking of Shantou Village in East Zhejiang". *South China Rural Areas*, No. 5
- Douglass, Mike (1998) "A Regional Network Strategy for Reciprocal Rural-urban Linkages: an Agenda for Policy Research With Reference to Indonesia." *Third World Planning Review* Vol. 20, No. 1
- Fei, Xiaotong (2007) *From the Soil*, Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House
- Granovetter, Mark S (1973) "The Strength of Weak Ties", *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 78, No. 6 (May)
- He, Xuefeng (2000) "Village Elite and Community Memory: A Two-dimensional Framework for Understanding the Nature of the Village", *Social Science Journal*, No. 4
- Luo, Xingzuo (2001) "The third Force", *Zhejiang academic journal*, No. 1
- Li, Jingsheng (2019) *Principles of Rural Planning*, Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press
- Li, Nan; Xue, Jiliang (2014) "Outbound Labour Remittance Decision-making Mechanism: Active or Passive", *South China Rural Areas*, No. 6
- Lin, Nan (2005) *Social Capital: the Theory of Social Structure and Action* (translated by Zhang Lei), Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House
- National Bureau of Statistics (2018) *China Statistical Yearbook 2018*, China Statistics Press
- Ren, Min (2003) "Outflow Elites and Rural Development", *Youth Studies*, No. 4
- Rogers, Everett M; Berger, Rabel J (1988) *Rural Social Change*, Hangzhou: Zhejiang People's Publishing House
- Sabet, Naser Shafiei; Shahryar Azharianfar (2017) "Urban-rural Reciprocal Interaction Potential to Develop Weekly Markets and Regional Development in Iran" *Habitat International*, Vol. 61 (March)
- Xu, Ming (2015) *The Effect of the Rural Elite Social Network on Rural Governance: Take Rural Elite Council in D Country as an Example*, Hangzhou: Zhejiang Gongshang University
- Yang, Linfeng (2008). "Dialectical Thinking on the Power of the Returning Economic Elite", *Journal of Shanxi Agricultural University (Social Science Edition)*, No. 4